Hybridity and Identity
in the Pan-American Jazz Piano Tradition

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

The Kenneth P. Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2019

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

DIETRICH SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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The term Latin jazz has often been employed by record labels, critics, and musicians alike to denote idioms ranging from Afro-Cuban music, to Brazilian samba and bossa nova, and more broadly to Latin American fusions with jazz. While many of these genres have coexisted under the Latin jazz heading in one manifestation or another, Panamanian pianist Danilo Pérez uses the expression "Pan-American jazz" to account for both the Afro-Cuban jazz tradition and non-Cuban Latin American fusions with jazz. Throughout this dissertation, I unpack the notion of Pan-American jazz from a variety of theoretical perspectives including Latinx identity discourse, transcription and musical analysis, and hybridity theory. I demonstrate how the music of five Latin jazz pianists—including Pérez (Panama), Tania Maria (Brazil), Pablo Ziegler (Argentina), Eddie Palmieri (New York/Puerto Rico), and Jorge Dalto (Argentina)—exemplifies varying levels of *musical* and *cultural* hybridity that pinpoint diverse articulations of Latinx identity. Ultimately, this dissertation examines how these pianists and their compositional output reconcile, challenge, and uphold facets of a Pan-American jazz philosophy.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION: UNPACKING THE PAN-AMERICAN JAZZ PIANO TRADITION

The term Latin jazz is often employed by musicians, critics, and record labels alike to signify the fusion of Latin American music with jazz. This phrase represents a simple, yet effective means to market the music while also bringing attention to its signature innovators and their respective places of origin. In addition, it works to mobilize notions of Pan-Latin identity across borders. One could argue as well that such a loose and casual description of this hybrid art obscures more than it reveals and does little to illuminate the cultural heritage or the transnational flows through which the music operates. More importantly, genres such as samba, bossa nova, *son*, mambo, and even salsa are conflated or blurred together, effecting a cultural homogenization of Latinx music. As a result, meaningful discourses on the role of Latin jazz within the jazz tradition remain elusive.

Definitions of Latin jazz have also become inextricably linked to individualized conceptions of specific geographic regions. For Dizzy Gillespie, the fusing of Afro-Cuban music with jazz served as inspiration for exploring philosophies of Pan-African identity and politics. On the other hand, for musicians such as Arturo O'Farrill, the over-emphasis on Cuban genres

(or "Cuban centrism") in Latin jazz ultimately "does not reflect the global nature of the music."[1] Modern outlets such as Sirius-XM Radio 67 have represented Latin jazz predominantly through dichotomies of Afro-Cuban/jazz hybrids and occasional interpolations of Brazilian bossa nova and samba. Similarly, record labels specializing in Latin jazz (such as *Concord Picante*) have featured Afro-Cuban/jazz hybrids, Brazilian music, and to a lesser degree, an assortment of other Latin American and Caribbean styles. While such labels predominantly foreground the contributions of two musical cultures—Cuba and Brazil respectively—one could argue that they allow for little expansion or fluidity in recognizing additional cultural migrations throughout Latin America in its entirety.

These issues animate a number of questions that underlie this text. What do we make of fusions between tango, cumbia, merengue, and other Latin American genres with jazz? Should these genres be incorporated under the Latin jazz heading? Will doing so obscure the Afro-Cuban cultural elements vital to the genre's history? How should we define Latin jazz? Is it simply a marketing device disguising the fusion of Afro-Cuban music with jazz that coincided with the bebop era? Or is it more consistent with a globalized fusion of multiple Latin and North American genres?

[1] Christopher Washburne, "Latin Jazz, Afro-Latin Jazz, Afro-Cuban Jazz, Cubop, Caribbean Jazz, Jazz Latin, or Just…Jazz: The Politics of Locating an Intercultural Music," in *Jazz/Not Jazz: The Music and its Boundaries*, eds. David Ake, Charles Hiroshi Garrett, and Daniel Goldmark (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 80.

1.1 A CONVERSATION WITH DANILO PÉREZ

During the 2013 Detroit Jazz Festival, I had the opportunity to interview pianist Danilo Pérez about some of the core concepts that informed his music. In particular, I was curious about an original concept of his, which had been received by writers as a more appropriate substitute for the term Latin jazz. Pérez referred to his musical philosophy as "Pan-American jazz"—a term he coined. After introducing myself to the pianist from Panama, I inquired "What does 'Pan-American jazz' mean to you?" He responded with the following:

> It means that [in] the music of the Americas, that there is no separation. For me, there is the legacy of jazz that Jelly Roll Morton talks about, the Spanish Tinge. And there's the legacy that also developed that Dizzy Gillespie talks about. For me, that was global jazz. So it's very inclusive. [With] Latin jazz, there is a separation…I'm about inclusive. There are no borders. [2]

As described above, Pan-American jazz for Pérez embodies a wide range of ideas and philosophies including universalism, egalitarianism, and inclusiveness. There is the idea that social barriers (both physical and virtual) are porous, and the "free flow of musical ideas" encourages creativity throughout the globe.[3] At the same time, Pérez's concept seems to signify a transnational and globalized Pan-Latin identity that is merged from two streams: Jelly Roll Morton's "Spanish Tinge" and Dizzy Gillespie's influence on global jazz.[4] On the one hand, Morton's Spanish Tinge references Afro-Cuban music (and other Caribbean styles) and its influence on early New Orleans jazz. On the other hand, Gillespie for Pérez represents an

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[2] Danilo Pérez, interview by Billy D. Scott, Detroit, MI, August 31, 2013. Professor Geri Allen—who was my jazz piano instructor at the University of Michigan from 2011 to 2013—performed a duo concert with Pérez and was influential in providing access backstage.

[3] Rachel Harris, "Wang Luobin: Folk Song King of the Northwest or Song Thief? Copyright," *Modern China* 31, no. 3 (July 2005): 390.

[4] Alan Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton, New Orleans Creole and "Inventor of Jazz"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 62.

influential advocate for the globalized fusion of Latin jazz. It is from these two streams that Pérez critiques the term Latin jazz itself—which he argues causes separation—and calls for a more globalized term to describe the fusion of Latin music and jazz.

In conjunction with Pérez's viewpoints, this dissertation considers both the Afro-Cuban stream and other non-Cuban genres to develop a broad conception of Latin jazz and, by extension, the Pan-American jazz piano tradition. I analyze this tradition predominantly through the lens of hybridity theory, which provides tools for explicating the transnational cultural dynamics of Latin music. Specifically, I focus on five non-Cuban pianists whose music, philosophies, and identities exemplify varying layers of hybridity throughout multiple traditions: Danilo Pérez (Panama), Tania Maria (Brazil), Pablo Ziegler (Argentina), Eddie Palmieri (New York/Puerto Rico), and Jorge Dalto (Argentina). While I recognize and explicate Afro-Cuban music as an integral component of Latin jazz discourse, my focus on these non-Cuban musicians is designed to engage more comprehensively with Pan-American jazz conceptions. Through an examination of these artists, I contend that hybridity theory is capable of pinpointing multiple layers of cultural, ethnic, national, and international/diasporic identities. In this introduction, I will begin by providing topographical overviews of scholarly literature in Latin jazz studies and hybridity theory respectively. The latter sections then encapsulate my methodology and application of hybridity theory within diverse contexts of Pan-American jazz piano traditions.

1.2 LATIN JAZZ HISTORIOGRAPHY: AN OVERVIEW

Latin jazz has often been surveyed in scholarly literature on a Cuba/Caribbean, New Orleans, and New York City axis. New Orleans has received much attention in recent Latin jazz

texts for its role as a site of cultural interchange, it being a port city near the Gulf of Mexico during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[5] As John Storm Roberts has indicated, musical exchange frequently occurred between New Orleans and Havana since both cities "were on the same classical and theatrical tour circuits" and often reflected elements of the habanera.[6] In addition, Jelly Roll Morton's well-known reference to the Spanish Tinge—while also serving to recognize Spanish and Mexican music—has in turn elucidated the Afro-Cuban influence on early New Orleans jazz.[7] New York City during the 1930s has been perceived as another birthplace and mecca of Latin jazz. The development of the genre stems predominantly from Cuban and Puerto Rican migration and the innovative contributions of Latinx musicians within New York City jazz big bands. Some of the more prominent names include Cuban *sonero* and bandleader Machito, Puerto Rican timbalero Tito Puente, and Cuban trumpeter Mario Bauzá.

The seeds of Latin jazz were planted in the late 1930s and as early as the 1900s if we consider the musical interchange that took place between New Orleans and Cuba. For some, this early interchange in New Orleans represented a type of Latin jazz that anticipated later developments in New York City. For others, the interchange functioned more like a "tinge" than an early form of Latin jazz. Regardless, it was not until the late 1970s that the idiom (and jazz scholarship in general) was documented comprehensively in scholarly literature. With the release of *The Latin Tinge* in 1979, Roberts became one of the first scholars to pinpoint the Latin

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[5] John Storm Roberts, *Latin Jazz: The First of the Fusions, 1880s to Today* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1999), 5.
[6] Ibid., 5, 14. According to Roberts, the habanera was the "first major Latin influence on U.S. music" and "provided the rhythmic basis of the modern tango" (Roberts, 263).
[7] Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll*, 62. While the habanera emanated from Spain and was the "immediate ancestor" of the *contradanza*, it often exhibited "African-derived elements" (Roberts, 5). Thus, Morton's reference to the "Spanish Tinge" is inextricably linked to Afro-Cuban musical elements.

influence on U.S. popular music and to reference Latin jazz as a significant musical movement.[8] As a result, names such as Eddie Palmieri, Noro Morales, and "Mongo" Santamaría were credited in academic literature as the key innovators of the music. Furthermore, Roberts was influential in characterizing Latin jazz—along with other Latin genres—as a marginalized music: "The enduring importance of the hybrid called Latin-jazz has been *only slightly less underestimated* than the overall Latin tinge in U.S. music."[9]

It was not until the late 1990s that other academic sources (aside from some newspaper articles) on Latin jazz emerged. These included Christopher Washburne's "The Clave of Jazz" (1997), Geoffrey Jacques's "CuBop!" (1998), Steven Loza's *Tito Puente and the Making of Latin Music* (1998), and Roberts's *Latin Jazz: The First* of *the Fusions* (1999).[10] Via musical analysis, transcription, and a reexamination of early jazz in New Orleans, Washburne importantly sheds light on overlooked interchanges that occurred between jazz and Caribbean music.[11] Specifically, he analyzes Afro-Cuban rhythm within the context of straight-ahead jazz ensembles, including those of Count Basie and Miles Davis. Similarly, Jacques's "Cubop!" presents a historical overview of the cross-fertilizations between Afro-Cuban music and jazz. His chapter discusses how the adoption of Cuban music and culture by African American jazz

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[8] Roberts, *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), ix.
[9] Ibid., ix-x. Emphasis added.
[10] Some may argue that Puente's music was intended primarily for dance and hence emblematic of the mambo. However, as Loza indicates, Puente in the mid-1950s "began applying…juxtaposed jazz and Latin techniques in his arrangements and compositions" (Loza, 151). Moreover, when Puente moved to the Concord label in the 1980s, he reduced his large ensembles to smaller combos and incorporated more jazz-oriented improvisations.
[11] Christopher Washburne, "The Clave of Jazz: A Caribbean Contribution to the Rhythmic Foundation of an African-American Music," *Black Music Research Journal* 17, 1 (Spring 1997): 59.

musicians "expanded the African-American cultural palette and identity."[12] Loza's biography of Tito Puente on the other hand, includes an interview with the *timbalero* (and other key musicians who worked with Puente) and provides extensive musical analyses of his compositions and arrangements.[13] He also reexamines the "intercultural matrix" that shaped Latin music in New York City and its role in cutting through the social and racial barriers of Puente's era.[14] Finally, much like his previous work in *The Latin Tinge*, Roberts in *Latin Jazz* presents predominantly historical information on the idiom's development. This time, however, he provides more extensive coverage of South American genres and, in doing so, seems to extend the definition of Latin jazz beyond the realm of Cuba.

These trends continued into the early 2000s, particularly with the publication of three sources in 2002: the English edition of Isabelle Leymarie's *Cuban Fire: The Story of Salsa and Latin Jazz*, Rául A. Fernández's *Latin Jazz: The Perfect Combination*, and Washburne's eye-catching article "Latin Jazz: The Other Jazz."[15] Originally published in Spanish, Leymarie's *Cuban Fire* breaks new ground by recognizing Puerto Rico as an important contributor to the development of salsa and Latin jazz. Moreover, Leymarie highlights the Hispanic Caribbean's influence on these idioms specifically: "This book tells the story of Cuban music in its homeland and in the United States, but it also includes Puerto Rico—Cuba's musical sister—and the

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[12] Geoffrey Jacques, "Cubop! Afro-Cuban Music and Mid-Twentieth-Century American Culture," in *Between Race and Empire: African-Americans and Cubans before the Cuban Revolution*, eds. Lisa Brock and Digna Castañeda Fuertes (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 257.
[13] Steven Loza, *Tito Puente and the Making of Latin Music* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).
[14] Loza, *Tito Puente and the Making of Latin Music*, 222.
[15] It should be noted that a number of Spanish language sources on Latin Jazz have at times preceded, coincided with, and emerged apart from English language sources. For example, Isabelle Leymarie's *Cuban Fire* originally was published in Spanish in 1997 before its English language equivalent emerged in 2002. In addition, Raúl Fernández's book *Latin Jazz: The Perfect Combination*, which was published in 2002, features a bilingual Spanish/English text. On the other hand, Guido Michelone's 2011 text *El Jazz Habla Español: 63 Entrevisas con Musicos de Jazz, Blues, World, Tango-Jazz, Latin-Jazz, Flamenco-Jazz*, currently is featured as a Spanish-only text.

Dominican merengue, currently merging with salsa and Latin jazz."[16] Fernández's *Latin Jazz: The Perfect Combination* on the other hand, offers a more concise history of the genre. Like scholars before him, Fernández presents a decade-by-decade breakdown of each Latin jazz era. Unlike previous scholars, however, he also provides an in-depth cultural reexamination of early 1900s New Orleans.[17] Washburne in "Latin Jazz: The Other Jazz," discusses the marginalization of Latin jazz and its practitioners in traditional jazz historiography:

> In [Mark] Gridley's text [*Jazz Styles*], names such as Puente and Machito are entirely absent, and Mongo Santamaria is relegated to mention in a mere footnote. Such dismissive treatment is significant because much of the younger generation relies on educational institutions for their exposure to jazz. If these names of Latin jazz performers and their music are absent from the text, they are most likely not being taught at all, unless instructors are aware of and willing to introduce supplementary texts and recordings. As a result, a jazz history without Latin jazz is being perpetuated.[18]

Though not explicitly stated in the text, Washburne's article sheds light on the marginalization of Latinx musicians in jazz historiography and pedagogy.

Additional sources continued to appear in the years that followed, including Fernández's *From Afro-Cuban Rhythms to Latin Jazz* (2006), Adriana Bosch's documentary film *Latin Music USA* (2009), and Washburne's "Latin Jazz, Afro-Latin Jazz, Afro-Cuban Jazz, Cubop, Caribbean Jazz, Jazz Latin, or Just…Jazz" (2012). In his 2006 book, Fernández provides extensive information about the origins of *son*, salsa, and Latin jazz with a particular focus on musical migrations throughout Cuba and the Caribbean and other parts of Latin America. He also features rare interviews with important innovators of the music.[19] Much like Roberts's *Latin Tinge*, Bosch's film *Latin Music USA* outlines the impact of Latin music on the U.S. from the

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[16] Isabelle Leymarie, *Cuban Fire: The Story of Salsa and Latin Jazz* (London and New York: Continuum, 2002), 3.
[17] Rául A. Fernández, *Latin Jazz: The Perfect Combination* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2002), 121.
[18] Washburne, "Latin Jazz: The Other Jazz," *Current Musicology* 71-73 (2001-2): 416.
[19] Rául A. Fernández, *From Afro-Cuban Rhythms to Latin Jazz* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2006), x.

1930s to the present with commentary dedicated to Latin jazz.[20] Among the Latin jazz musicians featured are Machito, Mario Bauzá, Tito Puente, Tito Rodríguez, Cándido Camero, Chano Pozo, and Dizzy Gillespie. Perhaps the documentary's most important feature, however, is its portrayal of the Palladium Ballroom (1948-66) in New York City as a nexus for cross-cultural and interracial collaborations between musicians, singers, dancers, and audience members.

Washburne's chapter analyzes Latin jazz from a more theoretical angle. Specifically, he places Latin American/Caribbean music and jazz practice on opposite poles of a continuum.[21] This diagram in essence describes a cross-cultural negotiation that takes place within liminal spaces between the two traditions.[22] Washburne's "Latin jazz continuum" serves as the basis for two case studies: pianist/arranger Arturo O'Farrill (son of Chico O'Farrill) and *conguero* Ray Barretto.[23] The former serves as an example of how identities—such as Pan-African and Pan-Latin—are perpetuated through genre labels (for example, Afro-Latin).[24] The latter describes Barretto's attempts to distance himself from what he terms "Latin music barrio" in order to share the bill with jazz musicians who perform in more advantaged spaces.[25] Washburne's chapter builds upon previous Latin jazz literature by combining the historical, theoretical, socio-cultural, and musical-analytical approaches to the genre. I perceive this chapter—especially Washburne's explication of the Latin jazz continuum—as providing a coherent foundation and point of departure for future explorations in Latin jazz studies.

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[20] *Latin Music USA*, directed by Adriana Bosch (PBS, 2009), DVD (2009).
[21] Christopher Washburne, "Latin Jazz, Afro-Latin Jazz, Afro-Cuban Jazz, Cubop, Caribbean Jazz, Jazz Latin, or Just…Jazz: The Politics of Locating an Intercultural Music," 76.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid., 97.
[25] Ibid., 101.

While these scholars have done important work to unpack the Afro-Cuban influences of the music, others have utilized the term Latin jazz to account for musical traditions emanating from outside Cuba and the Caribbean. Washburne's Latin jazz continuum for example emphasizes the fusion of "Caribbean, *South-and Central American* traditional, folk, dance, and popular musics" with straight-ahead jazz.[26] His recognition of music traditions both within and outside Cuba as part of the Latin jazz tradition, points to the current transnational sphere of influence occurring throughout the idiom's development. Another often-overlooked source is Natalio Gorin's *Astor Piazzolla: A Memoir*.[27] Throughout the text, the famous Argentine bandoneonist and composer Astor Piazzolla discusses his affinity for jazz and the role it played in his innovations of *nuevo tango*—a fusion of jazz, classical, and traditional Argentine tango music. Perhaps the most pervasive example, however, is Guido Michelone's 2011 text *El Jazz Habla Español: 63 Entrevisas con Musicos de Jazz, Blues, World, Tango-Jazz, Latin-Jazz, Flamenco-Jazz*.[28] Michelone's interview-based book illustrates how Latin subgenres can exist under or in conjunction with the Latin jazz heading. The documentation of Latin fusions such as these ultimately have signaled advances in the genre's evolution and opened new avenues for scholarly research.

Overall, I see these interventions as consistent with Pérez's vision to expand Latin jazz beyond the realm of Cuba. Like Washburne, Pérez recognizes the transnational sphere of influence that embodies Latin popular music as an important facet of Latin jazz and its current

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[26] Ibid., 76. Emphasis added.
[27] Natalio Gorin, *Astor Piazzolla: A Memoir*, trans. by Fernando González (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 2001).
[28] Guido Michelone, *El Jazz Habla Español: 63 Entrevisas con Musicos de Jazz, Blues, World, Tango-jazz, Latin-jazz, Flamenco-jazz* (Milán: EDUCatt, 2011).

development. Particularly, through his own fusions of Panamanian and South American folkloric musics with jazz, Pérez is working to expand the scope of the Latin jazz continuum, which currently is incorporating genres such as tango-jazz and flamenco-jazz.[29] More importantly, his articulation of Pan-American jazz seems to be effective in negotiating and mobilizing this transnationalism on behalf of the Latinx community.

1.3 HYBRIDITY THEORY: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Since the 1980s, hybridity theory has played a prominent role across multiple disciplines. Scholars in postcolonial studies, cultural theory, and even law/legal studies employ the theory to identify cultural elements forged through convergences between nation-states, ethnicities, philosophies, and religions. Many of these authors conceive hybridity theory through notions of the local and global, Western and non-Western, and urban and rural. In addition, they often find the theory useful for identifying relationships between individual, collective, transnational, and racial identities.

Despite its wide use, many have struggled to provide a comprehensive definition of hybridity theory. Anthropologist Charles Stewart suggests that the conflation of hybridity with terms such as creolization, mestizaje, and syncretism often are at the heart of this problem:

> What does 'hybridity' mean that 'syncretism' does not, and how do either of these terms differ from 'creolization'? The problem is that all of these words have been used willy-nilly by different influential scholars, or regional schools of thought, often with little

[29] Ibid.

> effort to specify in detail what the term is supposed to mean, and which antecedent contexts of usage are being embraced, or rejected. [30]

Though Stewart argues that these terms do not contain "definitive, mutually exclusive spheres of reference," he does delineate boundaries between them while also providing his own definition: "[hybridity] begins in race theory/genetics, but has long since been extended metaphorically. Now largely synonymous with mixture."[31] Other scholars such as media and communications expert Marwan M. Kraidy, have moved away from providing a comprehensive definition altogether, opting instead for "ways to integrate different types of hybridity in a framework."[32] To put it another way, Kraidy aims to "situate every analysis of hybridity in a specific context where the conditions that shape hybridities are addressed."[33] Still others take part in an "antihybridity backlash" and deem the theory as unfeasible.[34] Within this section, I will provide an overview of hybridity's usage throughout the term's history and in contemporary contexts.

The origins of hybridity theory can be traced to early studies in biology from the eighteenth century and the Enlightenment period. As Kraidy and others argue, however, the Enlightenment notion of hybridity included a racist underpinning that inflects many of the early applications of the term.[35] In its original conception, hybridity denotes the impact of historical racial and cultural encounters experienced between European colonists and indigenous populations across the globe.[36] Hybridity was later employed within the context of biology and

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[30] Charles Stewart, "Creolization, Hybridity, Syncretism, Mixture," *Portuguese Studies* 27, no. 1 (2011): 48.
[31] Ibid., 48, 50.
[32] Marwan M. Kraidy, *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005), vi.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., x.
[35] Ibid., 48-49.
[36] Sheri C. Hardee, "Hybridity," *The Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies*, 458.

explained in terms of "racial hierarchy" by scientist Carl Von Linné.[37] Within this racist model, European bloodlines were situated at the top of the hierarchy while racial minorities occupied the middle and lower social positions.[38] Despite these highly problematic origins, anthropologist Brian Stross indicates that biological hybridity has played a significant role in the formulation of cultural hybridity discourse:

> Whereas notions of cultural hybridity derive from prior concepts of biological hybridity by means of metaphorical extension and through analogies founded on the metaphor, it is through classification that we can hope to bridge biology and culture in understanding how legitimate the metaphor might be and how many points of analogical similarity can be adduced.[39]

In short, hybridity has been relocated, appropriated, and reconfigured from biology to fields as diverse as postcolonial studies, critical race theory, music performance, media/communication studies, and legal studies.

Several scholars from postcolonial studies and fields engaging colonialist discourses have played an integral role in rearticulating hybridity theory. One of their primary focal points features a reexamination of historical hybrid processes incurred through colonialism such as syncretism, mestizaje, and creolization. Much of this reexamination has required redefining and demarcating the boundaries between these terms. Historically speaking, syncretism emerged as a form of hybridity that occurs in a religious context. In Catholic traditions, for example, syncretism was typically perceived by colonialists as having adverse overtones for its fusing of indigenous or West African religious elements with traditional Catholicism.[40] As Kraidy

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[37] Lars Allolio-Näcke, "Hybridity," *Encyclopedia of Critical Psychology*, 925-28.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Brian Stross, "The Hybrid Metaphor: From Biology to Culture," *Journal of American Folklore* 112, no. 445 (Summer 1999): 255.
[40] Kraidy, *Hybridity*, *or the Cultural Logic of Globalization*, 49-50.

indicates, syncretism here can "refer to a border zone of tension between religious universalism and particularism."[41]

On the other hand, post-colonial theorist Joel Kuortti and cultural theorist Jopi Nyman recognize syncretism as a type of cultural amalgamation that occurs in both sacred and musical settings within the "Spanish-speaking Caribbean."[42] For Stewart, the notion of syncretism is "originally applied to religious systems," but later "extends to fusions of idea systems: philosophies, ideologies, ritual practices, science/medicine."[43] Still for others, such as cultural theorist John Hutnyk, both syncretism and hybridity "are academic conceptual tools providing an alibi for lack of attention to politics."[44] Specifically, Hutnyk is referring to historical tendencies in syncretism studies to overemphasize the "turbulent effects of population migration" as merely a "descriptive condition" rather than a socio-political reality.[45] In short, the scope of syncretism—as Stewart and Hutnyk indicate—has expanded beyond the realm of religious studies and now is characterized by its interdisciplinary breadth.

To further complicate matters, mestizaje and creolization often have been conflated with hybridity and with each other. Scholars have argued for example, that both the terms mestizaje and creolization have been utilized throughout the history of Latin American politics to implement the "official ideology of nation building."[46] However, mestizaje typically is recognized through the lens of biological studies and "colonialist ideologies of race emphasizing

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Joel Kuortti and Jopi Nyman, *Reconstructing Hybridity: Post-Colonial Studies in Transition* (Kenilworth: Rodopi, 2007), 4.
[43] Stewart, "Creolization, Hybridity, Syncretism, Mixture," 50.
[44] John Hutnyk, "Hybridity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 92.
[45] Ibid., 94.
[46] Kraidy, *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization*, 51.

the alleged purity of the white colonizers" over indigenous populations.[47] Creolization, on the other hand, in Latin American discourses has been conceptualized as "peculiar to the Caribbean region" and to Creole culture as a whole.[48] Within the context of the United States, creolization historically has been linked to the "confluence of British, French, and African elements" that emerged in New Orleans and Louisiana throughout the 19th century.[49] Within this milieu, Creoles of European descent typically occupied a privileged social standing, while Creoles of color often were relegated to a "subordinate social position."[50]

To complicate matters even further, a Creole in the context of linguistics can refer to a type of pidgin language. Stewart defines pidgin as a "language learned as a first language by a succeeding generation."[51] Hutnyk similarly refers to pidgin as a "hybrid language" involving "one language's vocabulary imposed on the grammar of another."[52] Many pidgin languages emerged as products of slavery and colonialism. And though scholars in linguistics traditionally have found Creole languages to yield beneficial research, the problematic cultural contexts through which these languages emerged at times have not been discussed.[53] In turn, the "metaphorical appropriation" of Creole from the linguistics to the culturalist realm also has generated much acrimony amidst scholars of the former.[54]

During the early to mid-1990s, several scholars in postcolonial studies employed hybridity theory in pioneering ways, including Paul Gilroy and Néstor Gárcia Canclini.

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[47] Kuortti and Nyman, *Reconstructing Hybridity*, 4.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Kraidy, *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization*, 56-7.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Charles Stewart, "Creolization, Hybridity, Syncretism, Mixture," 50.
[52] Hutnyk, "Hybridity," 85.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.

However, it is Homi K. Bhabha, who is typically recognized as the most influential of this group. In *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha visualizes hybridity theory largely via his concept of the "third space."[55] Through a deep analysis of postcolonial literature, he unpacks the social dynamics of this space experienced between nations and states: "The non-synchronous temporality of global and national cultures opens up a cultural space—a third space—where the negotiation of incommensurable differences creates a tension peculiar to borderline existences."[56] Like many contemporary scholars in postcolonial, religious, and even legal studies, I extend the concept of the third space beyond the scope of Bhabha's original conception. Specifically, I argue that the philosophy of Pan-American jazz yields a type of third space where various Latinx identities are expressed, negotiated, and complicated. My second chapter—"Danilo Pérez, Pan-American jazz, and the Third Space"—provides extensive commentary on Pan-American jazz and third space analysis.

Researchers in cultural studies, social studies, and ethnomusicology also have centered hybridity theory on folk and popular music. Though much of this research has not been applied extensively to jazz or Latin jazz studies, it has often been used in discussions of more popular Latin American genres like salsa and cumbia. One potential reason for this tendency is the mass appeal of popular music and more specifically its capacity to create and mobilize political messages to a broader base. For example, popular Latin music scholars have found hybridity theory useful for analyzing transnational effects within the genre. As Deborah Pacini Hernandez argues in *Oye Como Va!*, hybridity in Latinx music is effective for pinpointing cultural identity across borders:

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[55] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 36-39.
[56] Ibid., 218.

> It is important to emphasize that nothing is exceptional about Latin/o American hybridity. The United States has a similar history of racial and cultural blending (as do many other nations around the globe), although a willingness to acknowledge, explore and celebrate it has been far more pronounced among Latin/o Americans than among non-Latinos…Collectively, the chapters in this volume illuminate the many ways that hybridity, *mestizaje* (racial and cultural mixture), transnationalism, globalization and border crossing of all sorts have both underpinned and pinned down Latino musical practices.[57]

At the core, Latinx music embodies hybridity theory through its ability to cross borders and appeal to Latinx diasporas both locally and globally. On the other hand, Latin jazz has often escaped academic analysis in this arena. This is arguably as a result of historical tendencies that focus on signature Latin jazz pioneers, musical analysis, and musical migrations rather than the transnational effects of Latin jazz on the Latinx community.

Others have found musical hybrids to be important markers of national identity. For example, in "Hybridity and National Musics: The Case of Irish Rock Music," Noel McLaughlin and Martin McLoone examine the role singer Van Morrison's music plays in bringing "local" or "periphery" Irish music traditions in communication with "global" or "center" rock music.[58] They argue that his music can be "both 'Irish' and 'global'" and yet—as evidenced by Morrison's connection to radio in his formative years and later rearrangements of traditional Protestant hymns—"confounds sedimented notions of both."[59] Still others, such as ethnomusicologist Sarah Weiss have reexamined hybridity theory's capacity to be analyzed through conflicting *perceptions* of authenticity and impurity of musics across the globe.[60] Weiss

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[57] Deborah Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!: Hybridity and Identity in Latino Popular Music* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), 3.
[58] Noel McLaughlin and Martin McLoone, "Hybridity and National Musics: The Case of Irish Rock Music," *Popular Music* 19, no. 2 (April 2000): 183-85.
[59] Ibid., 184-85, 187.
[60] Sarah Weiss, "Listening to the World but Hearing Ourselves: Hybridity and Perceptions of Authenticity in World Music," *Ethnomusicology* 58, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 507.

discusses how her world music students often perceived authenticity with positive notions of "localized" and "pure" music traditions emanating outside the Western world.[61] Conversely, her students tended to associate impurity with negative perceptions of "hybridity" and "globalization" as well as an imposition of Western musical elements on non-Western musical cultures.[62] Josep Martí on the other hand, posits a definition of hybridization that concerns musical hybrid formation: "[It is] the adoption by one concrete musical stream of musical elements that come from other streams. These elements are merged in such a way as to become a constituent part of the stream that has assimilated them."[63] Martí also identifies hybridity's role in association with innovation and a conflict with traditionalism in Catalan folk music.[64] It is because of these varying perspectives that I argue for delineating the boundaries between *musical* and *cultural* hybridity (see below).

Hybridity theory has also emerged in several new contexts including peace and conflict studies, international development, law/legal studies, and communication theory/media studies.[65] Freedman and Lottholz, for example, utilize hybridity theory as a "theoretical lens through which different social, political and legal processes may be viewed."[66] They conceive the Right to Peace as a type of Third Space, or "a result of international human rights legislation that has occurred in such a Third Space in the international human rights arena."[67] Similarly, Kraidy

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[61] Ibid., 507-08.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Josep Martí, "Hybridization and its Meanings in the Catalan Musical Tradition," in *Songs of the Minotaur-Hybridity and Popular Music in the Era of Globalization: A Comparative Analysis of Rebetika, Tango, Rai, Flamenco, Sardana, and English Urban Folk,* ed. Gerhard Steingress (Hamburg and London: LIT Verlag, 2002), 2, 6, 8.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Lemay Hébert and Freedman, *Hybridity: Law, Culture, and Development*, 3.
[66] Ibid., 39.
[67] Freedman and Lottholz, "Peace as a Hybrid Human Right," 37-39.

introduces the notion of "corporate transculturation" as a "new international communication framework with issues of hybridity at its core." [68] Other scholars such as Kuortti, Nyman, and Paul Sharrad analyze emerging types of cultural hybridity such as "strategic hybridity."[69] Sharrad specifically explains—using "Pacific interpretations of post-colonial theory" as a case study—how strategic hybridity operates as a form of "strategic essentialism," or how the "many and varied uses and misuses of the term hybridity may successfully be used in a strategic manner."[70] My third chapter—"Eddie Palmieri: Performing Strategic Hybridity in 'Mi Cumbia'"—discusses the notion of strategic hybridity within Palmieri's composition "Mi Cumbia."

In spite of its diverse and creative uses in biology, postcolonial studies, and beyond, hybridity theory has not been lacking in critics. For one, several scholars have confronted hybridity theory for its dependence "upon the proposition of non-hybridity or some kind of normative insurance."[71] Or to put it another way, it presupposes a "prior state of purity," which for some scholars can be interpreted as a "mythical construct."[72] Others have argued that hybridity theory is polysemic—containing several meanings depending on context—and lacks a clear-cut definition.[73] Still others have argued that hybridity theory is not applicable, since cultural interchange has occurred for generations and "all cultures are thus necessarily hybrid."[74]

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[68] Kraidy, *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization*, vi-vii.
[69] Kuortti and Nyman, *Reconstructing Hybridity: Post-Colonial Studies in Transition*, 13.
[70] Ibid. See also in *Reconstructing Hybridity*, Paul Sharrad's chapter "Strategic Hybridity: Some Pacific Takes on Postcolonial Theory."
[71] Hutnyk, "Hybridity," 82.
[72] Bakrania, "Hybridity," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.
[73] Darling-Wolf, "Hybridity," *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*.
[74] Ibid.

Despite these objections, I argue along the lines of Kraidy for "ways to integrate different types of hybridity in a framework" in correlation to the Pan-American jazz keyboard tradition.[75]

1.4 DELINEATING MUSICAL AND CULTURAL HYBRIDITY

Throughout this dissertation, I contend that hybridity theory can serve as an effective springboard through which other theories can be examined. The theory has the potential to shed light on the locations from which cultural formations emanate and how they combine to form social processes. For example, a focus on hybridity theory in Buenos Aires's jazz scene (which I pursue in chapter two) can initiate a better understanding of how identity formations, nationalist ideals, religious affiliations, and political movements operate in social spaces. I utilize two concepts as key discursive spaces in which hybrid formulations emerge: *identity* and *liminality*. In the context of Latin music genres—whether Latin jazz, salsa, Reggaetón, or cumbia—hybridity often indicates how Latinx identity is "underpinned and pinned down" both nationally and across borders.[76] Thus, how hybridization in Latin music pinpoints conceptions of Latinx identity (both national and Pan-Latin) is a central theme permeating each chapter. I conceptualize liminality on the other hand as a space where intermediate, multi-faceted, and ambiguous identities are reflected through these hybrids. In total, I explore how liminal identities are forged, negotiated, and embodied by Latin music hybrids and appending socio-political environments.

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[75] Kraidy, *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization*, vi.
[76] Ibid.

This dissertation also delineates the boundaries between *musical* and *cultural* hybridity. Music scholars often assume that hybridity theory accounts for both entities. As a result, the reader is often left perplexed about which hybridity is being discussed and more importantly, what each one entails. I conceive cultural hybridity as resulting from convergences between cultural entities—whether in identity politics, nationalism, globalization, religious ideals, or other realms—that are initially (to quote Stewart) *perceived* as "zones of differences."[77] My emphasis on perceived zone of differences brings attention to the idea that hybridity theory is contingent on constructions of purity.[78] At the same time, I recognize musical hybridity in Latin jazz as a type of fusion associated with notions of innovation and as an accessible entry point for identifying cultural processes.[79] In other words, I unpack elements of cultural hybridity through the lens of musical hybridity and discuss how both forms embody and inform the Pan-American jazz piano tradition.

I focus on five pianists (Pérez, Maria, Ziegler, Palmieri, and Dalto) whose music represents varying layers of hybridity within the Pan-American jazz tradition. Specifically, I illustrate how their hybrid musical platforms—whether tango-jazz, Brazilian pop-jazz, or salsa-cumbia jazz—can act to promote a Pan-Latin expression, a national identity, more localized references, or each of these concurrently. Ultimately, I illustrate how the Pan-American jazz keyboard tradition exemplifies aspects of hybridity, identity, and liminality within global, transnational, and diasporic spaces.

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[77] Stewart, "Creolization, Hybridity, Syncretism, Mixture," 53.
[78] Ibid.; John Hutnyk, "Hybridity," 82.
[79] Josep Martí, "Hybridization and its Meanings in the Catalan Musical Tradition," 8.

1.5 METHODOLOGY AND BACKGROUND

While I provide biographical details of these five pianists and relevant musical analysis of their music, I do not aim to confine this dissertation to these two approaches. Nor do I intend—to borrow a phrase from ethnomusicologist Timothy Rice—to "fawn over the musical works and performances of great composers and performers."[80] Rather, I aim to "explain the social and cultural environment in which such skill and talent is developed and supported" as well as the socio-political ideals that shape their music.[81] To put it another way, and to echo Guthrie P. Ramsey, this thesis is "not an exhaustive biography," but rather is designed to place each individual musician in communication with a number of theories that shed light on their performance environment.[82] In addition, I treat each individual Latin jazz pianist much like my interpretation of hybridity theory, as a lens through which other theories, social processes, and political ideals can be examined.

In several of these chapters, I employ jazz transcription to identify elements of cultural and musical hybridity. I personally created many of these transcriptions (unless otherwise noted) as a means to get "inside the music."[83] Furthermore, my approach to transcription can be said to oscillate between—to quote Charles Seeger—"prescriptive" and "descriptive" functions. Seeger famously defined the former as a "blue-print of how a specific piece of music shall be made to sound" and the latter as a "report of how a specific performance of it actually did sound."[84]

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[80] Timothy Rice, *Ethnomusicology: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 79.
[81] Ibid., 79.
[82] Guthrie P. Ramsey, Jr., *The Amazing Bud Powell: Black Genius, Jazz History, and the Challenge of Bebop* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 6.
[83] Edward Sarath, Interview by Billy D. Scott, Ann Arbor, MI, November 4, 2014.
[84] Charles Seeger, "Prescriptive and Descriptive Music-Writing," *The Musical Quarterly* 44, 2 (April 1958): 184.

While ethnomusicologists for years have debated and expanded the scope of Seeger's original definitions, I find musicologist Mark Clague's explanation to be informative:

> The beams and barlines of music notation are only rarely considered to encode meanings that lie outside the sounding surface of the music represented. Rather, notation is seen as *prescriptive*, telling a performer how to make music (sometimes in excruciating detail, at other times only suggestively), or *descriptive*, aiding the listener by showing how a musical event (such as a folk song or jazz improvisation) was executed.[85]

Along Clague's line of argument, I ultimately utilize transcription both prescriptively and descriptively, depending on the amount of detail required to convey a particular argument at a given point of time and the overarching format of the transcription itself.

The impetus for this dissertation stems originally from my experience as a jazz pianist. I was captivated by the pulsating rhythm and groove of Latin jazz as well as the art of performing the piano montuno. My interest in Latin jazz research became more prevalent during graduate studies at the University of Michigan (2011-2015) under the direction of musicologist Mark Clague and jazz pianist Geri Allen. Within this timeframe, I conducted research on Latinx performances of "The Star-Spangled Banner" including a rendition by Cuban jazz trumpeter Arturo Sandoval at the 2009 Orange Bowl.[86] Since entering the PhD jazz studies program at the University of Pittsburgh, I have come across several topics in the field that were amenable to new theoretical analyses.

My original motivation for Latin jazz research stemmed primarily from the music's historical omission in jazz studies. Of the existing Latin jazz texts and literature that have become available most have incorporated predominantly historical information. In other words,

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[85] Mark Clague, "Portraits in Beams and Barlines: Critical Music Editing and the Art of Notation," *American Music* 23, 1 (Spring 2005): 39-68.

[86] My research on Latinx performances of "The Star-Spangled Banner" resulted in a conference paper—"Expressing Latino/a identity in Performances of the National Anthem"—presented at the Forty-Third annual meeting of the Society for American Music (Montreal, 2017).

aspects of Latinx identity discourses, intersectionality, cultural politics, and other theoretical approaches have not been thoroughly integrated within the literature. In addition, I found myself concerned by the preponderance of Cuban-based Latin jazz narratives. At times Brazilian genres have been featured within these Latin jazz texts, however, little has been discussed about other Hispanic Caribbean and South American experimentations with jazz outside of Cuba. Although as a U.S.-born, non-Latinx, white male scholar my approach to Latin jazz will always be that of an outsider, I have sought various ways to get "inside the music" insofar as I am able. These include participant observation, Spanish language acquisition, and a more thorough awareness of broader Latinx marginalization in U.S.-based performance scenes.

1.6 DISSERTATION BREAKDOWN AND OVERVIEW

My second chapter unpacks the far-reaching implications of Danilo Pérez's term Pan-American jazz on behalf of the Latin jazz community. First, I use Bhabha's model to argue that Pan-American jazz has the capacity to operate as a type of third space.[87] While I recognize that Bhabha's conceptualization of the third space denotes more of a "subversive practice of resistance" to colonial hegemony, I use the term to account for and resolve the two streams from which Pan-American jazz emerged: Afro-Cuban jazz and non-Cuban Latin fusions with jazz.[88] Though I agree in part with Bhabha that the third space does not always function as a "third term that resolves the tension between two cultures," I contend that Pan-American jazz is both capable

[87] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 36.
[88] Kraidy, *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization*, 58.

of maintaining and alleviating the "tension of the opposition" of its two streams.[89] I demonstrate this through exploring various positions, labels, and definitions of Latin jazz from the perspective of musicians and writers within the Latin jazz community.

Furthermore, I discuss how the music of two pianists—Tania Maria (Brazil) and Pablo Ziegler (Argentina) respectively—operates within the framework of the Pan-American jazz model and the appending concept of the third space. I explicate how each pianist's compositional and improvisational style reflect the concept of "The Hybrid of Hybrids," a term posited by Raúl A. Fernández.[90] While Fernández uses the term to denote the mixture of Afro-Cuban traditional music with jazz, I perceive the concept as engaging multiple layers of hybrids within the Latin jazz panorama. My first case study discusses the various spaces bossa nova, samba, and the hybridized music of Maria occupies within the framework of Pan-American jazz discourses. It illustrates through transcription and musical analysis how Maria's compositions—which features a mixture of bossa nova, samba, jazz and pop sonorities—work to generate Pan-Latin, Brazilian national, transnational, and global identities that both deviate from and uphold core aspects of the Pan-American model. My second case study discusses the diverse ways *nuevo tango* and the music of Argentine pianist Pablo Ziegler operate on the Pan-American jazz continuum. In particular, I discuss how and to what extent *nuevo tango* has been represented within Latin jazz historiography and by extension how the music fits within the Pan-American jazz narrative. Through transcription and musical analysis, I demonstrate how Ziegler's music and jazz-

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[89] Nicolas Lemay-Hébert and Rosa Freedman, "Critical Hybridity: Exploring Cultural, Legal, and Political Pluralism," in *Hybridity: Law, Culture and Development*, eds. Nicolas Lemay-Hébert and Rosa Freedman (Florence: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 5.
[90] Fernández, "Si no Tiene Swing no Vaya' a La Rumba: Cuban Musicians and Jazz," in *Jazz Planet*, edited by E. Taylor Atkins (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), 7.

inflected improvisations expounded upon the *nuevo tango* tradition and was influential in laying the foundation for a more direct engagement with jazz.

In Chapter Three, I discuss how Nuyorican pianist Eddie Palmieri and his composition "Mi Cumbia" embody notions of strategic hybridity. My treatment of strategic hybridity differs slightly from that of legal scholars Joel Kuortti, Jopi Nyman, and Paul Sharrad, who conceive the concept as a form of strategic essentialism, or how the "many and varied uses and misuses of the term hybridity may successfully be used in a strategic manner."[91] Rather, I demonstrate—via musical transcription and a translation of the lyrics—how Palmieri's juxtaposition of salsa and Colombian cumbia represents a strategic hybridity that critiques hegemonic power structures and signifies a Pan-Latin identity with a transnational mobility. At the same time, I contend that "Mi Cumbia" additionally inscribes notions of both Colombian national identity and Pan-African identity through its affinity for Colombian musicians and its alignment with the "socio-political salsa" movement.[92] In total, this chapter demonstrates how the strategic combination of two distinct Latin American jazz traditions shapes multi-faceted Latinx identities that critique and negotiate hegemonic power structures operating within Colombia and abroad.

My fourth chapter features Argentine jazz pianist and Pan-American jazz forerunner Jorge Dalto. While I engage hybrid elements in Dalto's music—which includes innovative fusions of jazz, pop, tango, samba, and Afro-Cuban music—my primary focus concerns Dalto's historical representation within album and staged photography. First, I utilize elements of semiotic anthropology to highlight the role of "qualisigns" in material objects and their relation

[91] Ibid. See also in *Reconstructing Hybridity*, Paul Sharrad's chapter "Strategic Hybridity: Some Pacific Takes on Postcolonial Theory."
[92] For more information on socio-political salsa see Brittmarie Janson Pérez's article "Political Facets of Salsa."

to photographic subjects.[93] A term first coined by Charles Peirce, qualisigns—meaning a "quality which is a sign" or "quality that *could possibly* be paired with an object"—are inextricably linked to ideas of quality, potentiality, and embodiment.[94] In addition, they are capable of conveying a variety of meanings resulting from shifting contexts and are characterized by a fluidity that enables (to reference Paul Manning) an "entering in different interpretive orders."[95] In my analysis of Dalto's photos, I demonstrate how these qualisigns enter in different interpretive orders and contribute to certain narrative persona-identities in connection to the pianist and his beret.[96] I analyze how the visual representations of Dalto's beret are informed by the interpretive orders of Argentine revolutionary "Che" Guevara and jazz pianist Thelonious Monk respectively. Ultimately, my semiotic interpretation is meant to convey the significance of cultural hybridity in the framing of these photos and its perpetuation of individual and collective memories on behalf of the Latin jazz (and jazz) community.

1.7 A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Throughout this dissertation, I utilize several terms that require clear demarcation and explanation. Typically speaking, my use of the term Latin jazz primarily denotes the Afro-Cuban jazz tradition, but (depending on the context) can refer to Latin American musics emanating

[93] Charles Peirce, "Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs," in *Philosophical Writings of Peirce*, ed. by Justus Buchler (New York: Dover, 1995), 101.
[94] Ibid.; Paul Kockelman, "Semiotics: Interpretants, Interface, and Intersubjectivity," *Sage Handbook of Sociolinguistics* 157 (2005): 241.
[95] Paul Manning, "Materiality and Cosmology: Old Georgian Churches as Sacred, Sublime, and Secular Objects," *Ethnos* 73, no. 3 (September 2008): 328-29.
[96] Ibid.

outside Cuba. On the other hand, my application of Pérez's concept Pan-American jazz signals a clear interrelationship between Afro-Cuban music and non-Cuban Latin American factions of the Latin jazz tradition. Finally, I use the labels Latinx and Pan-Latin—as opposed to Latino/a, Pan-Latino, or Pan-Latino/a—as indicators of gender-neutrality.

1.8 FINAL THOUGHTS

This dissertation is designed to unpack the implications of Latin jazz—and by extension Pan-American jazz—and its designation as a "Hybrid of Hybrids."[97] Specifically, I ask what is hybrid about Latin jazz, how does it differentiate from other hybrid musical forms, and what does it say about transnational, collective, and national Latinx identity in music performance? Ultimately, this dissertation aims to negotiate, navigate, and engage the multifaceted streams of hybridity theory while concurrently articulating my conceptions and delineations of musical and cultural hybridity respectively. In total, I argue that the juxtaposition of hybridity theory with Danilo Pérez's concept of Pan-American jazz will bring about deeper understandings of Latinx identity as conceptualized and emitted through these musical fusions.

[97] Fernández, "Si no Tiene Swing no Vaya' a La Rumba: Cuban Musicians and Jazz," 7.

2.0 DANILO PÉREZ, PAN-AMERICAN JAZZ, AND THE THIRD SPACE: HYBRID OF HYBRIDS IN THE MUSIC OF TANIA MARIA AND PABLO ZIEGLER

2.1 DANILO PÉREZ AND PAN-AMERICAN JAZZ

2.1.1 Introduction

Since his arrival to the United States in the late 1980s, Panamanian pianist Danilo Pérez has been recognized as a pioneer in contemporary jazz performance. Deemed a child prodigy, Pérez is credited for challenging and transcending preexisting conceptions of the bop tradition through his modern interpretations of standards, unique compositional approach, and distinctive improvisational style. A conspicuous example of the latter occurs on Wayne Shorter's critically acclaimed 2005 album *Beyond the Sound Barrier*.[98] Throughout the recording, Pérez employs trance-like comping rhythms and improvisational devices that effectively straddle the line between the avant-garde and post-bop traditions**.** While Pérez is an adept performer of Afro-Cuban music, he is known in the Latin jazz community for his fusions of Central American and Panamanian music with jazz. This is particularly evident on his 2000 album *Motherland*, which features Afro-Cuban rhythms, piano montunos, spoken word, Panamanian folkloric music, and

[98] Wayne Shorter Quartet, *Beyond the Sound Barrier*, recorded Nov. 2002-April 2004, Verve Records B0004518-02, 2005, compact disc.

jazz.[99] By incorporating and juxtaposing elements of non-Cuban Latin genres with Afro-Cuban textures, Pérez's compositional output works to expand the musical, geographical, and cultural scope of Latin jazz as an idiom. More importantly, it is the musical and cultural dynamics of this fusion that underpins Pérez's concept of "Pan-American jazz."

As discussed in the preceding introduction, the pianist's notion of Pan-American jazz functions both as a critique and extension of the more common term Latin jazz. At the center of this philosophy—which he has promoted in various forms since the 1990s—is his stated idea that Jelly Roll Morton's "Spanish Tinge" (Afro-Cuban music and Caribbean styles) and Dizzy Gillespie's conception of "global jazz" collectively signify a Pan-American and by extension, Pan-Latin expression. To put it another way, his application of the term works to unify and mobilize factions of the Latinx community by incorporating musicians and musical traditions from nearly every sector of Latin America.[100] This approach effects multiple fusions between Afro-Cuban and non-Cuban genres with jazz. Moreover, unlike the term Latin jazz, Pan-American jazz allows for an all-inclusive outlook that is characterized by the crossing of borders.[101] Thus, the term communicates transnational socio-political ideals on behalf of the Latinx community and creates platforms for the music and its practitioners to operate on a more global scale. It can even be argued that the concept of Pan-American jazz is more comprehensive than the term "jazz" itself.

In this chapter, I explore the notion of Pan-American jazz from three theoretical perspectives. First, drawing from post-colonial scholar Homi Bhabha, I illustrate how the

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[99] Piano montunos are arpeggiated rhythmic patterns that outline chord progressions.
[100] Danilo Pérez, *Motherland*, recorded Feb. 28-Mar. 3, 2000, Verve Records 314 543 904-2, 2002, compact disc.
[101] Danilo Pérez, interview by Billy D. Scott, Detroit, MI, August 31, 2013.

concept yields a type of hybrid "third space" where various combinations of Latin music genres (Afro-Cuban jazz and non-Cuban Latin jazz) work to construct, negotiate, and reconfigure notions of Latinx identity in performance settings.[102] Through an extended overview of Pérez's musical philosophies, I demonstrate how the act of conceptually merging Latin music genres can express varying layers of Latinx identities within this third space. In doing so, this chapter engages with and reevaluates the notion of a "Latin jazz continuum" posited by ethnomusicologist Christopher Washburne.[103] Secondly, I discuss the implications pertaining to the writings of journalists, jazz critics, and scholars who have both bolstered and complicated the idea of a Pan-American jazz in their publications. Lastly, I examine how and to what extent the music of two pianists from geographically discrete Latin American countries—Tania Maria (Brazil) and Pablo Ziegler (Argentina)—operates within the Pan-American jazz diagram. In total, this chapter works to challenge and redefine previous conceptions of Latin jazz discourse while illuminating the potential for a third space model.

My first case study features the bossa nova, samba, and pop-inflected music of Maria. First, I discuss how Maria's music and Brazilian bossa nova/samba in general, exemplify conflicting layers of innovation and complexity within the Pan-American jazz framework. While I contemplate how the music can operate as part of the non-Cuban Latin jazz branch of the diagram, I contend that Brazilian genres often exist as a co-equal branch with the Afro-Cuban jazz tradition. I address both possibilities by reexamining the music's historical portrayal in newspapers, radio, record labels, and jazz scholarship. In particular, I consider how bossa nova

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[102] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 36-39.
[103] Christopher Washburne, "Latin Jazz, Afro-Latin Jazz, Afro-Cuban Jazz, Cubop, Caribbean Jazz, Jazz Latin, or Just…Jazz: The Politics of Locating an Intercultural Music," in *Jazz/Not Jazz: The Music and its Boundaries*, eds. David Ake, Charles Hiroshi Garrett, and Daniel Goldmark (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 76.

and samba traditionally have occupied an ambiguous status under the Latin jazz heading. Through musical analysis and a reexamination of interviews with Maria, I demonstrate how her music is characterized by a "crossover appeal" that simultaneously yields Pan-Latin, Brazilian national, and global identities that both challenge and uphold core aspects of the Pan-American jazz model.

This is followed by a second case study of Argentine pianist and *nuevo tango* innovator Pablo Ziegler. Asking what role *nuevo tango* plays in Pan-American jazz discourse, I reexamine how the tradition has been treated historically within the mediums of Latin jazz literature.[104] I particularly explore what identities have been conferred to Ziegler and other Argentine jazz musicians from the perspective of U.S.-based sources. This study also considers how traditional tango—despite its century-long transnational influence—has at times been perceived more as a marker of Argentine national identity than a Pan-Latin expression. This chapter ultimately unpacks in more extensive detail the cultural dynamics and implications for incorporating *nuevo tango* as part of the Pan-American jazz model. In total, my focus on these two pianists and the third space, aims to capture how the term Pan-American jazz constructs, negotiates, and reconfigures notions of Latinx identity in Latin jazz performance spaces.

In the following section, I present a brief overview of the term "third space" and its application in scholarly literature. In particular, I illustrate how third space terminology can be effective for analyzing notions of Latinx identity within the Pan-American jazz framework. In

[104] Roberts, *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). In *The Latin Tinge*, Roberts discusses how tango along with jazz-inflected Cuban and Brazilian music genres, had a profound impact on the development of popular music within the United States.

doing so, I situate where and how my treatment of the third space differs from, extends, and parallels previous usages of the term.

2.1.2 Third Space Terminology: A Brief Overview

The concept of the third space has been employed across a variety of disciplines ranging from postcolonial studies, to cultural anthropology, and even legal studies. While its application varies across contexts, it emanates originally from postcolonial studies and the work of Homi K. Bhabha. In his groundbreaking 1994 text *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha introduces the third space as an "in-between" space where "translation and negotiation" takes place as a result of convergences between dominant (historically speaking, colonial) and subaltern cultures.[105] In particular, he defines it as a space "where the negotiation of incommensurable differences" between two cultures "creates a tension peculiar to borderline existences."[106] As Nicolas Lemay Hébert and Rosa Freedman indicate, this third space "is not necessarily a third term that resolves the tension between two cultures, but rather holds the tension of the opposition."[107] It is an in-between space (concurrently metaphorical and literal) through which "binary distinctions are dissolved."[108] Moreover, for Freedman and Phillip Lottholz, the term represents a space where

[105] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 38, 55.
[106] Ibid., 38, 218.
[107] Nicolas Lemay-Hébert and Rosa Freedman, "Critical Hybridity: Exploring Cultural, Legal, and Political Pluralism," in *Hybridity: Law, Culture and Development*, eds. Nicolas Lemay-Hébert and Rosa Freedman (Abindgon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 5.
[108] Ruth Houghton, "Hybrid Processes for Hybrid Outcomes: NGO Participation at the United Nations Human Rights Council," in *Hybridity: Law, Culture and Development*, eds. Nicolas Lemay-Hébert and Rosa Freedman (Abindgon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 76.

the subaltern "adopts elements from dominant, hegemonic discourses" and inverts them.[109] Similarly, for anthropologist Charles Stewart, the third space serves as a "space of resistance against modernist, nationalist projects of homogeneity" and a space where "creative expression takes place."[110] In summary, Bhabha's original treatment of the concept indicates how subaltern populations and entities historically have utilized the third space to express, articulate, and reconfigure notions of "ethnic and racial identity" through engagements (both borrowing and critiques) with colonial powers.[111]

Current uses of the third space extend beyond models of dominant and subaltern (or colonial and colonized) discourses. In recent decades, the term has been employed in religious studies, legal studies, media studies, and education. For example, Christopher Richard Baker's 2007 text *The Hybrid Church in the City: Third Space Thinking* discusses how the methodology of many Christian churches has come to reflect hybrid or "Third Space thinking."[112] In particular, Baker demonstrates how the "construction of local practical theologies" in churches are a product of the "relationship between *institutional* and *network* forms of organization" and "processes of *translation* and *negotiation,*" central components of Bhabha's third space model.[113] Ultimately, Baker works to create a "theology of the Third Space," which in addition

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[109] Rosa Freedman and Philipp Lottholz, "Peace as a Hybrid Human Right: A New Way to Realise Human Rights, or Entrenching Their Systematic Failure?," in *Hybridity: Law, Culture, and Development*, eds. Nicolas Lemay Hébert and Rosa Freedman (Abindgon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 38.
[110] Charles Stewart, "Creolization, Hybridity, Syncretism, Mixture," *Portuguese Studies* 27, no. 1 (2011): 51.
[111] Kariann Goldschmitt, "Hybridity," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed August 26, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2256796. 'Host' is a term sometimes used interchangeably with colonizers.
[112] Christopher Richard Baker, *The Hybrid Church in the City: Third Space Thinking* (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2007), 9.
[113] Ibid.

to exploring various realms of "post-liberal theology," directly engages the "hybridity of Jesus' own identity as Jesus and Christ."[114]

One of the more interesting and creative uses of the third space, however, has emerged within legal studies. A prominent example is found in the 2017 compendium *Hybridity: Law, Culture, and Development*, edited by Hébert and Freedman.[115] Within this collection, several authors contribute new treatments of hybridity theory and the third space that serve as extensions of Bhabha's original conceptions. For example, Freedman and Lottholz utilize hybridity theory as a "theoretical lens through which different social, political and legal processes may be viewed." [116] Moreover, they recognize the Right to Peace as a type of third space, or more specifically, a space of opposition where the "states from the Global South resist traditional notions of rights but use the existing human rights system to put forward their own ideologies that challenge the dominant framework."[117] In other words, these entities simultaneously utilize and contest aspects of the dominant culture in order to implement their individual ideologies within the "international human rights arena."[118] Similarly, Ruth Houghton argues that the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) acts as a type of third space that works to eradicate "distinctions between national and international or local and global" within the context of "international decision-making."[119] Houghton ultimately contends that "hybrid

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[114] Ibid.
[115] Nicolas Lemay Hébert and Rosa Freedman, *Hybridity: Law, Culture, and Development* (Abindgon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017).
[116] Rosa Freedman and Philipp Lottholz, "Peace as a Hybrid Human Right: A New Way to Realise Human Rights, or Entrenching Their Systematic Failure?," in *Hybridity: Law, Culture, and Development*, eds. Nicolas Lemay Hébert and Rosa Freedman (Abindgon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 38.
[117] Ibid.; Stewart, "Creolization, Hybridity, Syncretism, Mixture," 51.
[118] Freedman and Lottholz, "Peace as a Hybrid Human Right," 38.
[119] Houghton, "Hybrid Processes for Hybrid Outcomes," 76.

organisations…challenge the categories used to define actors in international decision-making as they provide spaces for participation."[120]

Another field of study to recently engage third space discourses is research in classroom pedagogy and education. One of the more important resources to emerge on this front is Kris D. Gutiérrez's 2008 article "Developing a Sociocritical Literacy in the Third Space."[121] Gutiérrez's treatment of the third space functions differently from Bhabha on a few fronts. First of all, as she indicates at the end of the article, Gutiérrez was unaware of Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* and the term third space throughout much of her writing process. Thus, her use of the third space operates largely outside Bhabha's and other original conceptions of the term. Secondly, Gutiérrez unlike others before her employs the term third space as an "abstract construct" that demonstrates the "transformative potential of a humanist and equity-oriented research agenda" for high school youth and education.[122] Drawing from her own fieldwork, the author focuses on the participation of "high school students from migrant farmworker backgrounds" during a UCLA summer program.[123] She illustrates how the emergence of a "collective third space" within this context helps students "to reconceive who they are and what they might be able to accomplish academically and beyond."[124] Gutiérrez ultimately argues that this third space is "mediated by a range of tools, including… sociocritical literacy," a concept involving

[120] Ibid.
[121] Kris D. Gutiérrez, "Developing a Sociocritical Literacy in the Third Space," *Reading Research Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (2008): 148-64.
[122] Ibid., 148.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.

"discursive and embodied practices including writing, reading, and performative activities with transformative ends."[125]

Similarly, John Potter and Julian McDougall's 2017 text *Digital Media, Culture and Education: Theorising Third Space Literacies*, discusses the interconnectivity of digital media, technology, and education through third space discourses. Like Bhabha, they recognize the third space as both a "literal and metaphorical meaning."[126] However, they take it a step further by elaborating on what the literal and metaphorical aspects actually entail. For example, they perceive the literal aspect as potentially a concrete location such as an "after-school club, a museum, a lunchtime activity."[127] Conversely, they argue that a metaphorical site is one where "learning is negotiated through agentive activity on the part of both learner and teacher, even in a formal setting."[128] Moreover, like Bhabha they also realize the third space as a "negotiated and contested area in which meanings are made and shared."[129] They apply this understanding within the context of educational and digital media settings and through the recognition of a "digital third space."[130]

Throughout this chapter, I argue that Pérez's conceptualization of Pan-American jazz points to the presence of a third space. Specifically, I contend that the pianist's conceptual merging of the Afro-Cuban foundation of Latin jazz with Latin American genres outside of Cuba *yields* a third space where Pan-Latin ideals and principles are negotiated, reconfigured, and mobilized. While Bhabha's notion of the third space originally was conceived as a "subversive

[125] Ibid., 149.
[126] John Potter and Julian McDougall, *Digital Media, Culture, and Education: Theorising Third Space Literacies* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 7.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.

practice of resistance" to colonial hegemony, I utilize the term as a reconciliatory device between the two streams from which Pan-American jazz emerged: Afro-Cuban jazz and non-Cuban Latin fusions with jazz. [131] In addition, whereas Bhabha argues *against* the idea of third space as a "third term that resolves the tension between two cultures," I contend that Pérez's application of the term Pan-American jazz and his emphasis on inclusiveness are intended to both hold and *alleviate* the "tension of the opposition" of its two streams. [132]

My focus on the third space deviates somewhat from Christopher Washburne's innovative theory of the Latin jazz continuum, particularly on two fronts. [133] For one, whereas Washburne conceives the Latin jazz continuum as consisting of two branches—with Latin music genres (both Afro-Cuban and non-Cuban) on one side of the scale and jazz on the other—I perceive Pan-American jazz (in line with Pérez) as containing an Afro-Cuban music/jazz hybrid on one side and a non-Cuban music/jazz hybrid on the other (see figure 1 and figure 2):

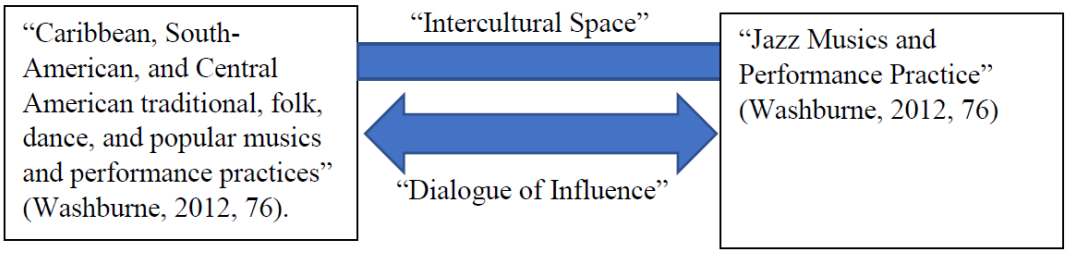

Figure 1. Christopher Washburne's "Latin Jazz Continuum"

[131] Marwan M. Kraidy, *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005), 58.
[132] Nicolas Lemay-Hébert and Rosa Freedman, "Critical Hybridity: Exploring Cultural, Legal, and Political Pluralism," in *Hybridity: Law, Culture and Development*, eds. Nicolas Lemay-Hébert and Rosa Freedman (Abindgon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 5.
[133] Washburne, "Latin Jazz, Afro-Latin Jazz, Afro-Cuban Jazz, Cubop, Caribbean Jazz, Jazz Latin, or Just…Jazz: The Politics of Locating an Intercultural Music," 76.

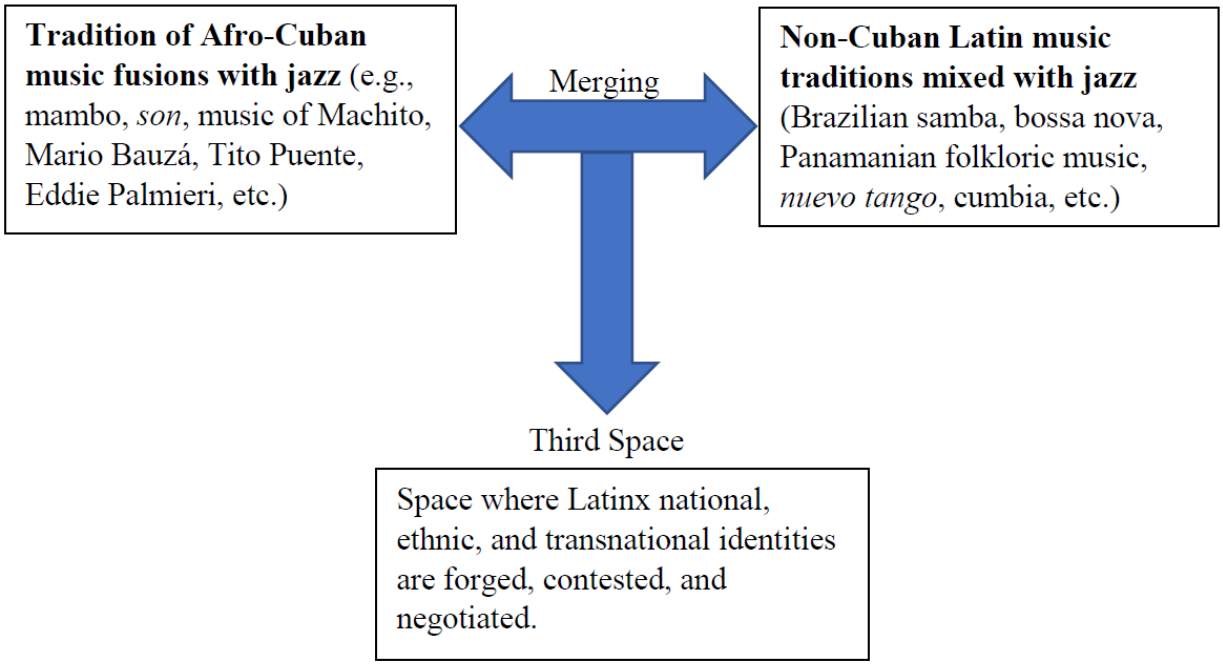

Figure 2. My Application of Danilo Pérez's Pan-American Jazz Model

Moreover, while Washburne argues that much of jazz performance takes place at various locations within the "intercultural space between the two ends of the continuum" or "dialectical middle ground," I focus on how the merging of Afro-Cuban music/jazz with other Latin genres/jazz (either in Latin jazz discourse or in performance) yields a *third space* where diverse Latinx national, ethnic, and transnational identities are forged, contested, and conveyed.[134] Whether or not an actual *musical merging* takes place between Afro-Cuban and non-Cuban jazz fusions, a type of *conceptual merging* occurs through an *awareness* of these two disparate yet interrelated branches of the Latin jazz tree.[135]

[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.

Conversely, one could argue that the tripartite model above contains in actuality at least five or six spaces. For example, the Pan-American jazz model potentially can be redistributed into the following combinations (See Table-1):

Table 1. Pan-American Jazz Fusions

Afro-Cuban Traditional and Folk
Jazz
Non-Afro-Cuban Traditional and Folk
Fusion of Jazz and Afro-Cuban Traditional and Folk
Fusion of Jazz and Non-Afro-Cuban Traditional and Folk
Hybrids of 4 and 5, etc.

Therefore, one could categorize Pan-American jazz and its appending subgenres (to quote Fernández) as a panoramic "Hybrid of Hybrids."[136] This alternate viewpoint arguably calls into question the feasibility of hybridity theory itself which hinges upon presumptions of purity.[137] However, with a preponderance of Afro-Cuban jazz literature permeating jazz scholarship and the consistent tendencies of jazz critics, journalists, scholars, and musicians alike to label Latin jazz as a dichotomy of "Afro-Cuban" and "Other," I find it necessary to engage with, elaborate on, and critique such viewpoints within the framework of this tripartite Pan-American jazz diagram. In short, I would argue that a focus on this model above and the appending notion of the third space is able to capture the cultural intricacies of Latin jazz performance practice.

[136] Fernández, "Si no Tiene Swing no Vaya' a La Rumba: Cuban Musicians and Jazz," in *Jazz Planet*, edited by E. Taylor Atkins (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), 3, 7.
[137] Bakrania, "Hybridity," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

2.1.3 Danilo Pérez: Articulating Pan-American Jazz

In engaging with Pérez's music and philosophies, it is useful to begin with the backdrop of his formative years in Panama. In a 2009 article from *Keyboard* magazine, Pérez discusses the cultural and musical undercurrents he internalized throughout his childhood:

> Another really important thing is that because of Panama's location as a country, being in the middle of the Americas, there are many different influences and cultures coming together. So I grew up with a lot of diversity. The radio in Panama at that time was called "No Format." So you'd hear Papo Lucca from Puerto Rico, and then Vladimir Horowitz, and then Marvin Gaye, and Michael Jackson. So that's how I thought things were supposed to be normally, and I developed a love for music beyond boundaries…I played tango, Brazilian, and salsa with my father's band—music was always presented in a diverse way to me.[138]

Pérez points to several features and concepts that underscore his musical philosophy in the excerpt above including the notion of "music beyond boundaries," which incorporates genres ranging from classical to R&B and rock.[139] It is especially important to note, however, his reference to Puerto Rican salsa pianist Papo Lucca. Pérez has discussed his connection to Lucca on numerous occasions, pointing to how Lucca influenced his overall musicianship and his sensibilities to Afro-Cuban music:

> And then around when I was 6 years old, we heard Puerto Rican pianist Papo Lucca, whom I mentioned earlier as a desert island choice…Lucca was using a lot of lines from people like Bill Evans and Bud Powell, which he arranged in salsa style or *son montuno* from Cuba…That's when I first started hearing some bebop and things like that in a salsa context.[140]

Pérez was also introduced by his father to the recordings and improvisational devices of Cuban musicians such as singer Beny Moré and pianist Pedro Jústiz Peruchín, who were regular

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[138] Jon Regen, "Danilo Pérez: Fearless Playing with the Latin piano Master," *Keyboard* 35, no. 4 (April 2009): 30.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Victor L. Schermer, "Danilo Pérez: Bridging Cultures and Dimensions of Jazz," *All About Jazz* (June 3, 2014).

performers in Panama during the 1960s. These references to Lucca and Moré point to historical negotiations that took place between practitioners of Afro-Cuban and salsa music (this relation will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three). In short, Afro-Cuban influence was prevalent in the early stages of the pianist's career. One could argue that Pérez's highlighting of Lucca and Peruchín as well as other Latin American genres like tango and Brazilian music, work to articulate an Afro-Cuban and Pan-Latin musical identity that form the backbone of his "music without boundaries" philosophy.

It is arguably the geographical element of Pérez's quote, however, that is most vital to comprehending Pan-American jazz. With Panama's location in the "middle of the Americas," geography plays a prominent role in articulating the pianist's Pan-American philosophy.[141] For one, Panama—unlike some landlocked Central American countries—straddles the Pacific Ocean on its south side and the Caribbean Sea on its north side. Furthermore, Panama serves as a gateway or liaison between South America and North America. Thus, the country is uniquely and favorably situated between two oceans and two continents, making it a prime location for cross-cultural interchange.

Moreover, the construction of the Panama Canal created a space in Central America that serves as both a commercial and cultural point of access between North and South America. In my interview with Pérez from 2013, he discussed how the Panama Canal's role as a cultural gateway is reflected metaphorically in his music:

> The music I try to do functions as the Panama Canal, the "Bridge of the Americas." We have thousands of influences. We have influences from all over the world…The "Heart of the World," that's what we call it. "Bridge of the Americas," "Heart of the World." So

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[141] Ibid.

> I think this culturally is a duty for me to do music that represents what we are to the world.[142]

For Pérez, the canal serves as a metaphorical bridge or nexus that connects musics, cultures, ethnic groups, and religions. While one may consider this philosophy as representing a type of mythical utopian vision that is more aspirational than tangible, understanding the cultural, political, and diplomatic role of the Canal can help provide texture to the metaphor.

Since its inception, the Panama Canal has served as a gateway for commerce and trade accommodating economic interests from around the globe. As one politician recently noted, the Canal became a beacon for global economies since it "dramatically improved trade routes and reduced transit times for goods moving between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans."[143] The notion of building a canal in Panama can be traced to the early sixteenth century with Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón, who was part of a famous Spanish expedition launched by Cortéz and Balboa in Central America.[144] Since then, nations as diverse as Spain, Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the U.S. have all contributed resources and blueprints in order to gain a foothold in the region.[145] However, it was the United States that exerted the most influence over the Canal's development.

The process of transition first began through communications with the "Federal Republic of the United Provinces of Central America," who reached out to the U.S. as early as 1823, and later with the help of the French in 1876.[146] By the turn of the century, the U.S. would gain full

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[142] Danilo Pérez, interview by Billy D. Scott, Detroit, MI, August 31, 2013.
[143] United States, Congress, Senate, Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, *Expanding the Panama Canal: What does it Mean for American Freight and Infrastructure?: Hearing before the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, United States Senate, One Hundred Thirteenth Congress, First Session*, April 10, 2013, Vol. 113-233, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2014, 1.
[144] Bernard G. Dennis Jr., *Engineering the Panama Canal: A Centennial Retrospective* (Reston: American Society of Civil Engineers, 2014), v.
[145] Ibid., v-vi.
[146] Ibid., v-vi.

sovereignty and oversight of canal construction via the "Panama Canal Treaty of 1903," which granted the U.S. permission to build over a "ten-mile wide strip of territory."[147] After years of failed engineering strategies and arduous manual labor—which several scholars have described as an "imperial project built on the backs of black migrant laborers and at the expense of Panamanians"—the Canal was completed and officially opened for trade in 1914.[148] The U.S. would then dominate the economic and geopolitical landscape of the Canal for much of the twentieth century. However, following a number of treaties enacted by Congress during the late 1970s, the U.S. would eventually transfer ownership to the Panamanian government in 1999.[149] Though the Canal throughout its history has endured much political instability and periods of drought (particularly in 1977), the waterway has ultimately been perceived by many (for better or worse) as an "icon of the seemingly inexorable march of modern technology and global connection."[150]

One could argue that Pérez's global focus can be analyzed through the conceptual lens of what Ashley Carse has described as "Global Theory in Panama."[151] First of all, by referring to the Panama Canal as the "Bridge of the Americas" and the "Heart of the World," Pérez articulates what the waterway has meant culturally, politically, economically, and musically to Latin America on a global scale.[152] In line with Pérez's philosophy, Carse details the global impact of the canal topographically and economically:

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[147] Ashley Carse, *Beyond the Big Ditch: Politics, Ecology, and Infrastructure at the Panama Canal* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014), 16.
[148] Bernard G. Dennis, Jr. *Engineering the Panama Canal*, v; Carse, *Beyond the Big Ditch*, 6.
[149] Carse, *Beyond the Big Ditch*, 16.
[150] Carse, *Beyond the Big Ditch*, 2.
[151] Ibid., 8.
[152] Danilo Pérez, interview by Billy D. Scott, Detroit, MI, August 31, 2013.

> If anything is global, the Panama Canal must be. Over one million vessels have passed through the waterway since it opened for business in 1914. During the first decade, one to five thousand ships transited per year. In recent years, twelve to thirteen thousand ships have transited annually, carrying about 5 percent of all global trade. This is not to say that the canal links the entire globe. Rather, the waterway primarily serves specific maritime routes. Nearly 40 percent of canal traffic by tonnage in 2012 traveled between Asia (mainly China) and the eastern United States. Ships plying the second most traveled route, between the eastern United States and western South America, made up 9 percent of canal traffic.[153]

As Carse indicates, diverse economic factions from the U.S., Asia, and South America have contributed extensively to the global trade market encircling the Panama Canal.[154] In particular, the Chinese cultural and economic contributions to Panama and further "linkages between Asia and Latin America" have been prominent.[155] Cultural anthropologist Lok Siu argues for example that Panama's Chinese populations—which first appeared in the form of migrant workers in 1854—have expressed a form of Chinese cultural identity that is "embodied by people, goods, investments, and politics" and currently "is presented as an integral, if not also inevitable, aspect of Panama's future."[156] Thus, when Pérez argues that "we have thousands of influences…from all over the world," he essentially (like Carse and Siu) is referring to a type of co-presence or overlap between global musical, economic, and migrational forces operating within the social milieu of the Panama Canal.[157]

While Carse recognizes intersections of global and local forces that historically have congregated at the Panama Canal, he does so specifically through the lens of a global-local

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[153] Carse, *Beyond the Big Ditch*, 8.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Lok Siu, "Ethnicity in Globalization: The Return of the Panama Canal, the Hong Kong Handover, and the Refashioning of Chineseness," *Review: Literature and Arts of the Americas* 39, no. 1 (2006): 48.
[156] Ibid., 47-48.
[157] Danilo Pérez, interview by Billy D. Scott, Detroit, MI, August 31, 2013.

interface characterized by a "tension between two infrastructures that crossed scales."[158] Rather than conceptualizing infrastructures as "hard technical artifacts or systems," he employs the term to denote a "process of relationship building and maintenance."[159] Pérez's vision of the Panama Canal functions much like Carse's understanding of the waterway as an infrastructure, where global and local entities intersect in a "process of relationship building and maintenance."[160] To put it another way, the tensions experienced between local and global forces within such processes have yielded multifarious musical influences, interactions, and identities within Panama as a whole. More importantly, the Canal's wide-ranging "influence on commercial networks" has concomitantly yielded musical networks that have consequently impacted the cultural dynamics in which collaborations emerge within Panama, throughout Latin America, and in global spaces.[161] Ultimately, one could argue that Pérez's focus on the Panama Canal as a metaphorical representation imbued in his music, is relevant if we consider the dynamic cultural, physical, economic, and geographical influence the canal has exerted throughout Central America, Panama, and Latin America as a whole.

Pérez's musical philosophies, however, are most conspicuously understood through his emblematic role as a cultural jazz ambassador. This honorable distinction has encompassed a myriad of positions and responsibilities that are heavily transnational and global in nature. One of Pérez's most recent roles has been as coordinator of Danilo's Jazz Club in Panama City.[162] A significant goal when opening the club in 2014 was to establish Panama as "the capital of jazz in

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[158] Carse, *Beyond the Big Ditch*, 10.
[159] Ibid., 11.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid., 18.
[162] Melena Ryzik, "Aiming to Create a Jazz Capital: Danilo Pérez Builds a Magnet for Musicians in Panama," *The New York Times* (Jan. 18, 2015): C1.

Latin America."[163] More importantly, Pérez's advocacy for the venue has provided economically marginalized Panamanian musicians opportunities to perform with world-renowned musicians while receiving public recognition for their musical talents.[164] An important precursor to Danilo's Jazz Club was his founding of the Panama Jazz Festival in 2003. The annual festival importantly has introduced several renowned U.S. jazz musicians—such as saxophonist Joe Lovano and bassist John Patitucci—to the country and generated a space for Panamanian jazz musicians to showcase their talents through featured performances and laid-back jam sessions.[165] It is through his role as "UNESCO Artist for Peace," however, that Pérez has been most influential. Specifically, the platform has allowed Pérez to fully implement his musical vision of Pan-American jazz, which has not only worked to foster a bridge between cultures across the globe, but has called for "collective healing from the effects of the social changes that have left wounds in the Latin American people."[166] Thus, at the center of this global outreach is a Pan-Latin expression that is meant to address economic marginalization throughout South and Central America and the Hispanic Caribbean.

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[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Howard Reich, "'I've Got to Go Back Home'; Jazz Pianist Danilo Pérez's Music Soothes a Nation in Transition," *Chicago Tribune* (March 2005): 5.1.
[166] UNESCO Office in Santiago, "Interview to Danilo Pérez, Jazz Musician and UNESCO Artist for Peace: 'Jazz is a tool for social change,'" (February 24, 2014), accessed September 23, 2018, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/member-states/single-view/news/interview_to_danilo_perez_jazz_musician_and_unesco_artist/www.unesco.org.

2.1.4 Articulating Pan-American Jazz: Newspapers, Magazines, and Historiography

The *ethos* of Pan-American jazz has been articulated both directly and implicitly by writers, jazz critics, historians, and musicians. On the one hand, authors of newspaper articles, magazines, and Latin jazz historical texts often have juxtaposed and conflated Latin music genres within the framework of Latin jazz discourse. Such encapsulations would seem to support the notion of Washburne's Latin jazz continuum, where numerous Latin music traditions collectively account for the left-hand side of the diagram opposite the jazz tradition. On the other hand, several of these sources seem to adhere to Pérez's conception of Pan-American jazz through a demarcation of an Afro-Cuban and a non-Cuban Latin music stream mixed with jazz.

The recognition of Afro-Cuban and non-Cuban Latin branches within Latin jazz writings often has been recognized as a 1990s phenomenon. Take for example music critic Fernando González in this excerpt from his 2004 article "What Latin Jazz? Moving Beyond Jazz-with-Congas":

> Bauzá, who died in 1993, insisted on calling his music Afro-Cuban jazz, however, and was known to growl impatiently on occasion that 'no one except [Cuban saxophonist and bandleader] Paquito D'Rivera plays Latin jazz. Everybody else plays Afro-Cuban jazz…' But by the late 1990s, a young generation of musicians from throughout the Americas and Spain was coming of age and exploding all conventional notions about Latin jazz. These upstarts knew as much about jazz as they did about the indigenous styles of their native countries. Their Latin jazz, as Bauzá had persistently implied, was not yet another variation on Afro-Cuban jazz. Rather, the music was a blend of styles, rhythms and aesthetics as diverse as the people who created it.[167]

González makes several key observations concerning the makeup of Latin jazz as a genre. For one, he discusses how Latin music innovators such as trumpeter Mario Bauzá accepted the Afro-

[167] Fernando González, "What Latin Jazz? Moving Beyond Jazz-with-Congas," *Jazziz* 21, 9 (September 2004): 47.

Cuban jazz branch as the true source of the Latin jazz label and tradition. Moreover, Bauzá's slightly sarcastic reference to D'Rivera—who is well-versed in numerous Latin music genres such as tango, merengue, and other Caribbean styles—points to a perceived existence of another stream in Latin jazz. Similarly, González's reference to "their Latin jazz" and indigenous Latin music styles performed by a "young generation of musicians from throughout the Americas and Spain," acknowledges an *alternate* Latin jazz or a second branch (or branches) of the Latin jazz continuum extending beyond the Afro-Cuban tradition. Though the article focuses on indigenous Latin music and jazz combinations as a post-1990s phenomenon, it arguably neglects the practitioners and works of *nuevo tango*, bossa nova, and other Latin music genres that preceded the 90s.

Other articles gravitate toward a concept of Pan-American jazz by recognizing the co-presence of multiple "schools of Latin jazz."[168] For example, following the groundbreaking Smithsonian-sponsored exhibit "Latin Jazz: La Combinación Perfecta" (organized by historian Raúl A. Fernández) in the early 2000s, the project received some criticism for not incorporating other important Latin music genres:

> The exhibition has already encountered criticism, however, that it gives short shrift to other schools of Latin jazz, such as Brazilian bossa nova or Argentina's jazz tango…Fernández says the focus of the exhibition was music developed within Latin communities of the United States while acknowledging that the music now encompasses a wide range of styles, including flamenco jazz from artists such as pianist Chano Dominguez.[169]

Though Fernández's exhibit was deemed an important first step for introducing the music to wide audiences, it was criticized for not encompassing the music of the entire Latin American

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[168] Agustin, Gurza, "Finally, some due; The Smithsonian's 'La Combinacion Perfecta' at the California African American Museum traces the evolution of Latin jazz," *Los Angeles Times* (July 19, 2005): E.3.
[169] Ibid.

panorama (in this case, Brazilian bossa nova, Argentine tango, and Spanish flamenco). To put it another way, the exhibit was perceived as functioning in a "Cuban-centric" (also U.S.-centric) manner, a criticism that musicians such as Arturo O'Farrill and scholars have voiced in recent years.[170] At the same time, the critique of the exhibit does illuminate an awareness of both Afro-Cuban and non-Cuban factions of Latin jazz. Ultimately, the excerpt reveals a need to reevaluate where and to what extent Brazilian, Argentine, and (presumably) other traditions should be represented in Latin jazz literature and in relation to the Afro-Cuban music tradition.

The Pan-Latin outlook articulated by González in this article, begins with a critique of jazz documentaries (in particular, Ken Burns's 2001 documentary *Jazz*) and other sources that historically have ignored Latinx contributions to the jazz tradition:

> And when looking forward, [Ken Burns] does not see fit to include, in his list of 11 new artists, figures such as Panamanian pianist Danilo Pérez or Puerto Rican saxophonist David Sánchez. These are not Latin-jazz players working in some stylistic ghetto, but superior musicians who happen to be Latinos and who, for the past decade, have been developing a pan-Latin view of jazz that might very well be the music's future.[171]

González's pinpointing of Latinx omission in *Jazz* works to reevaluate jazz historiography's role in framing the music *exclusively* through dichotomies of black and white social interactions. In particular, it demonstrates how the preponderance of such jazz narratives have at times fostered negative socio-economic ramifications for Latinx jazz musicians. González's citing of numerous Latin jazz contributors from diverse Latin American countries (Cuba, Puerto Rico, Panama, Argentina), importantly points to collective and individual engagements with a multitude of

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[170] Washburne, "Latin Jazz, Afro-Latin Jazz, Afro-Cuban Jazz, Cubop, Caribbean Jazz, Jazz Latin, or Just…Jazz: The Politics of Locating an Intercultural Music," 80**.**

[171] Fernando González, "One-Note 'Jazz' Goes Flat Without a Latin Beat," *The Washington Post* (January 27, 2001): C.1; *Jazz*, directed by Ken Burns (PBS, 2001), DVD.

Latin music genres ranging from Afro-Cuban music, to salsa, samba, bossa nova, merengue, tango, and cumbia:

> Pick a name, any name: Bauzá, Puente, Frank "Machito" Grillo, Leandro "Gato" Barbieri, Jose Curbelo, Ray Barretto, Airto Moreira, Paquito D'Rivera, Jorge Dalto, Michel Camilo, Lalo Schifrin, Mongo Santamaria or "Chocolate" Armenteros, just for starts, and behind each you'll find a story, an American story. But you won't hear any of them in "Jazz," and that's too bad.[172]

While the assertions in this article deviate slightly from Pérez's awareness of an Afro-Cuban and non-Cuban Latin jazz tradition, González does channel the *ethos* of Pan-American jazz through his recognition of the music's Pan-Latin influences.

It should also be noted that some sources in Latin jazz historiography have exhibited Pan-American jazz narratives. For example, Latin music scholar Leonardo Acosta suggests the presence of two streams within the Latin jazz tradition:

> And what once was strictly a fusion of bebop and Afro-Cuban music is now absorbing the whole musical legacy of the Caribbean and Latin America, from Martinique to Brazil, from Panama to Argentina…There seem to be no more boundaries, as compositions teeter on the borderline of 'world music.' And why not? After all, Latin jazz was the first step towards this all-encompassing fusion, which certainly can contribute to cultural understanding among peoples of the whole world…Of course, traditional Afro-Cuban music, like salsa and 'danceable' Latin jazz, will go on, like New Orleans jazz or the everlasting blues. So, more than ever we must reject those prophets of doom who either predict the crisis of jazz or Latin jazz, or announce that globalization will bring a boring and sterile uniformity to music and the arts, which is exactly the opposite of what is happening.[173]

Acosta begins this excerpt by acknowledging that Latin jazz was initially "strictly a fusion of bebop and Afro-Cuban music."[174] He subsequently argues that Latin jazz in its current state is "now absorbing the whole musical legacy of the Caribbean and Latin America," a statement that

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[172] Ibid.
[173] Raúl A. Fernández, *Latin Jazz: The Perfect Combination* (San Francisco: Chronicle Book, 2002): 133.
[174] Ibid.

brings awareness to a second type or more contemporary Latin jazz.[175] This statement is especially vital, however, since it demonstrates in my mind how the Pan-Latin mobilization of the music operates on a more global scale. Specifically, Acosta's focus on Latin jazz and its gravitation towards "no more boundaries," "world music," and an "all-encompassing fusion," is achieved through individualized and collective musical innovations emanating directly from Latin American countries such as Brazil, Panama, and Argentina.[176]

Finally, it is necessary to unpack how Washburne's rendering of a Latin jazz continuum in 2012 (see figure 1), both deviates from and adheres to the Pan-American jazz model. While Washburne's continuum reveals important insights into the cultural dynamics encompassing hybrid Latin jazz performance traditions, I would argue that the model itself does not directly engage the Afro-Cuban stream of Latin jazz discourse.[177] As a result, the preponderance of Afro-Cuban musical output that has historically dominated Latin jazz narratives and literature is not entirely accounted for. Moreover, unlike the Pérez model—which I argue incorporates both an Afro-Cuban and a non-Cuban Latin music stream under the heading of Pan-American jazz—Washburne essentially dichotomizes the jazz tradition on one side with numerous Latin music styles and regions on the other.

This twofold encapsulation involving jazz and Latin music on the one hand serves to reinforce binary models that have characterized traditional jazz narratives. On the other hand, Washburne's continuum—by not foregrounding Afro-Cuban traditions—can be interpreted as reflecting the larger post-1990s stream that was already alluding to a Pan-American model.

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[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Washburne, "Latin Jazz, Afro-Latin Jazz, Afro-Cuban Jazz, Cubop, Caribbean Jazz, Jazz Latin, or Just…Jazz: The Politics of Locating an Intercultural Music," 76.

Moreover, though I value Washburne's premise that practitioners of jazz and Latin American music engage in a "dialectical middle ground" within an intercultural liminal space, I would argue that Pérez's *conceptual merging* of both an Afro-Cuban and non-Latin music stream yields a *third space* where Latinx identity is asserted, conveyed, and in some cases realized.[178] At the same time, Washburne's approach does importantly illuminate the Pan-Latin foundation that has come to inform and characterize Latin jazz as a genre. In doing so, Washburne aligns with one of the core aspects of the Pan-American jazz philosophy.

2.2 TANIA MARIA, BRAZILIAN JAZZ, AND THE HYBRID OF HYBRIDS

2.2.1 Introduction

The Brazilian jazz tradition has occupied an often-ambiguous position under the Latin jazz label. In jazz historiography for example, synopses of Brazilian genres like samba and bossa nova often appear under the Latin jazz heading alongside Cubop and other Cuban-inflected styles. Conversely, in Latin jazz literature, Brazilian music (though acknowledged) typically is relegated to a secondary status within the Latin jazz panorama behind Afro-Cuban jazz. Yet in other arenas—such as the Concord Picante record label and the Friday night Latin jazz special on Sirius-XM 67—Brazilian jazz inhabits a nearly equal standing alongside Cuban jazz. Such diverse viewpoints have led to numerous treatments of the music within Latin jazz scholarship. In total, whether Brazilian idioms are placed in the forefront or peripheries of Latin jazz

[178] Ibid., 76-77.

discourses, one could refer to these rich Brazilian jazz traditions (to borrow a phrase from Washburne) as "Brazilian Jazz: The Other Latin Jazz."[179]

Since the 1960s bossa nova movement, several Brazilian musicians have come into prominence both within the United States and abroad. Key figures include pianist/composer Antônio Carlos Jobim, vocalist Astrud Gilberto, trumpeter Claudio Roditi, and pianist/guitarist Egberto Gismonti. Arguably two of the most influential innovators within this tradition, however, were keyboardists/vocalists Tania Maria and Eliane Elias. Each emerging within the U.S. during the 1980s, Maria and Elias were influenced in varying degrees by traditional, folkloric, and urban-based Brazilian genres. As Storm Roberts indicates, however, their stylistic interpretations of these traditions were largely dissimilar:

> Though they share moments of similarity, the difference between Elias and Tania Maria is partly a function of the difference between a pianist and a vocalist-cum-pianist, but more particularly a matter of temperament. Elias is cooler, Tania Maria more down-home; Elias is rhythmically more urban-samba-oriented, Tania more *batucada*-inspired; Elias is from São Paulo, Tania Maria from Rio; Elias uses rhythm to give bite to her harmonic byplay, Tania Maria uses harmony to add kick to her rhythmic playing (and singing). These two artists present an extraordinarily complex pattern of similarity and diversity in what might seem a pretty limited field.[180]

The excerpt's distinction between "cooler" and "down-home" (though slightly problematic) is worth analyzing. Specifically, it alludes to Elias's more regular alignment with bossa nova ("urban samba") and Jobim-influenced traditions as opposed to Maria's more extensive employment of traditional/folkloric Brazilian rhythms and styles. While both artists were vital to the Brazilian jazz tradition, this section primarily examines the music of Maria. Through a focus on Maria's relationship with the Concord label, an analysis of her core philosophies, and musical

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[179] Christopher Washburne, "Latin Jazz: The Other Jazz," *Current Musicology* 71-73 (2001-2): 409-26.
[180] John Storm Roberts, *Latin Jazz: The First of the Fusions, 1880s to Today* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1999), 239.

transcription, this section illustrates how Maria concurrently emits Pan-Latin, Brazilian national, and global identities that both challenge and maintain key components of the Pan-American jazz model.

2.2.2 Tania Maria and *Concord Picante*

Maria's extensive musical output and journey to becoming a commercially successful artist stems largely from her association with the Concord Picante label. A subset or "sister label" of Concord Jazz—which was originated by Carl Jefferson in 1973—Concord Picante became a formidable force within the Latin jazz world throughout the 1980s.[181] Some sources have gone so far as to say that the label generated a "Latin-jazz revival in the recording industry."[182] Unlike previous Latin jazz labels and scenes situated on the East Coast, the meteoric rise of Concord Picante was a West Coast phenomenon.[183] Based near the San Francisco Bay Area, the label served as a pivotal forerunner of a burgeoning Latin jazz scene on the West Coast.[184] More importantly, it provided a spark for many Latin jazz artists who had been negatively affected by "the fragmentation of the Latin market."[185]

The monumental success of Concord Picante was a result of several well-conceived strategies and events, but two stand out. First and foremost, while Afro-Cuban music was still a

[181] S. Duncan Reid, *Cal Tjader: The Life and Recordings of the Man Who Revolutionized Latin Jazz* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2013), 215-17.
[182] Jesse "Chuy" Varela, "Still Spicy-Concord Picante Celebrates 25 Years," *JazzTimes-America's Jazz Magazine* 35, no. 6 (August 2005): 35-36.
[183] Storm Roberts, *Latin Jazz*, 206.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid., 206.

foundational cornerstone of the label, other Latin American genres were prominently featured. In particular, Brazilian jazz became an integral component:

> Jefferson also made a strategic—and highly symbolic—decision to embrace the widest possible range of music associated with the term "Latin jazz." He chose not to be confined by the standard reference of Afro-Cuban-originated styles and opted from the outset to include the Brazilian branch of the extended Latin-jazz family tree.[186]

Amongst the Brazilian musicians and groups Jefferson featured were guitarist Laurindo Almeida, Trio da Paz, and most notably Tania Maria. The label would also extend its boundaries to include the reggae and calypso-inflected music of Jamaican pianist Monty Alexander and the Caribbean Jazz Project.[187] Though featured to a lesser extent, the Argentine tango figured prominently in a 1985 collaboration between Brazilian-born guitarist Laurindo Almeida and U.S.-born guitarist Charlie Byrd.[188] Such assimilations under the Latin jazz heading appealed to a wide range of audiences and helped to generate sales.

Concord Picante was also known for an ability to sign and retain well-known Latin jazz musicians while concurrently discovering young talent. Founded in July 1979 and continuing into the 2000s, the label was able to land several key Latin jazz artists including vibraphonist Cal Tjader, timbalero Tito Puente, pianist Eddie Palmieri, conguero Mongo Santamaría, and so forth.[189] However, it was arguably the younger, newer generation that was responsible for the label's longevity. According to Holston, Concord Picante "benefited from the knowledge and counsel of its major artists in identifying promising new talent."[190] The two veterans most influential in pinpointing these new artists were Tjader and Byrd respectively. Tjader was largely

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[186] Mark Holston, "Full-Spectrum Latin Jazz," in *Concord Picante: 25th Anniversary Collection* (2005): 27.
[187] Ibid., 36, 43.
[188] Ibid., 35.
[189] Duncan Reid, *Cal Tjader*, 216; Storm Roberts, *Latin Jazz*, 206.
[190] Holston, "Full-Spectrum Latin Jazz," 28.

responsible for the meteoric rise of conguero Poncho Sánchez, who had performed as a sideperson with Tjader over a seven-year period. Just prior to his death in 1982, Tjader helped convince Picante to record the young conguero as a leader.[191] Sánchez would become one of Picante's most successful and popular bandleaders, producing more than twenty albums over a span of nearly three decades.[192] Ultimately, it was Sánchez who became the label's most important young artist to represent the Afro-Cuban/salsa branch of the Latin jazz panorama.

It was Maria, however, who became the most representative young talent to emerge on the Brazilian side of the label. Though she made a name for herself as a high-profile musician in Paris during the late 1970s, Maria was not an established artist within the U.S.[193] That would change, however, in 1980 when Jefferson—at the request of Byrd and with the guidance of Tjader—signed Maria to the label and subsequently released her first U.S.-based recording, *Piquant*.[194] During this timeframe, Maria along with Tjader were the first two musicians/bandleaders to sign with the record label as premier artists.[195] According to Storm Roberts, *Piquant* showcased Maria's innovative form of "jazz scat with a Brazilian equivalent."[196] In addition, it highlighted her original piano style, which drew from both "Cuban and Brazilian *guajeos*" and the "salsa/Cuban trick of creating cross-rhythms" in each hand.[197] These musical characteristics along with her explorations in rock and pop-oriented textures came to embody Maria's own personal sound and hence, a school unto herself. By combining

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[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid., 30
[193] Ibid.
[194] Storm Roberts, *Latin Jazz*, 195; Holston, "Full-Spectrum Latin Jazz," 28; Tania Maria, *Piquant*, recorded December 1980, *Concord Jazz Picante* CJP-151, 1981, album.
[195] Duncan Reid, *Cal Tjader*, 226.
[196] Storm Roberts, *Latin Jazz*, 195.
[197] Ibid., 195.

Brazilian, Afro-Cuban, funk, and jazz elements in both her vocalizations and rhythmic piano accompaniment, Maria's musical approach (to quote Holston and Pérez) exemplified a "music without borders."[198]

It can be argued that the emergence of Concord Picante during the 1980s laid the groundwork for the notion of Pan-American jazz. While there are important differences between Picante and Pérez's musical vision—which I will highlight below—the notion of extending the term beyond the realm of Cuba is consistent with both parties. This is not to say that either Picante or Pérez ignore Cuban sources of the music. Rather, Picante and Pérez simply push back against the preponderance of Cuban-centric narratives that have permeated discourses encompassing the music.[199] The difference between the Picante and Pérez philosophies, however, lies in the role Brazilian music plays in the overall makeup of Latin jazz (see Figure 3):

[198] Holston, "Full-Spectrum Latin Jazz," 35; Danilo Pérez, interview by Billy D. Scott, Detroit, Michigan, 2013.
[199] Washburne, "Latin Jazz, Afro-Latin Jazz, Afro-Cuban Jazz, Cubop, Caribbean Jazz, Jazz Latin, or Just…Jazz: The Politics of Locating an Intercultural Music," 80.

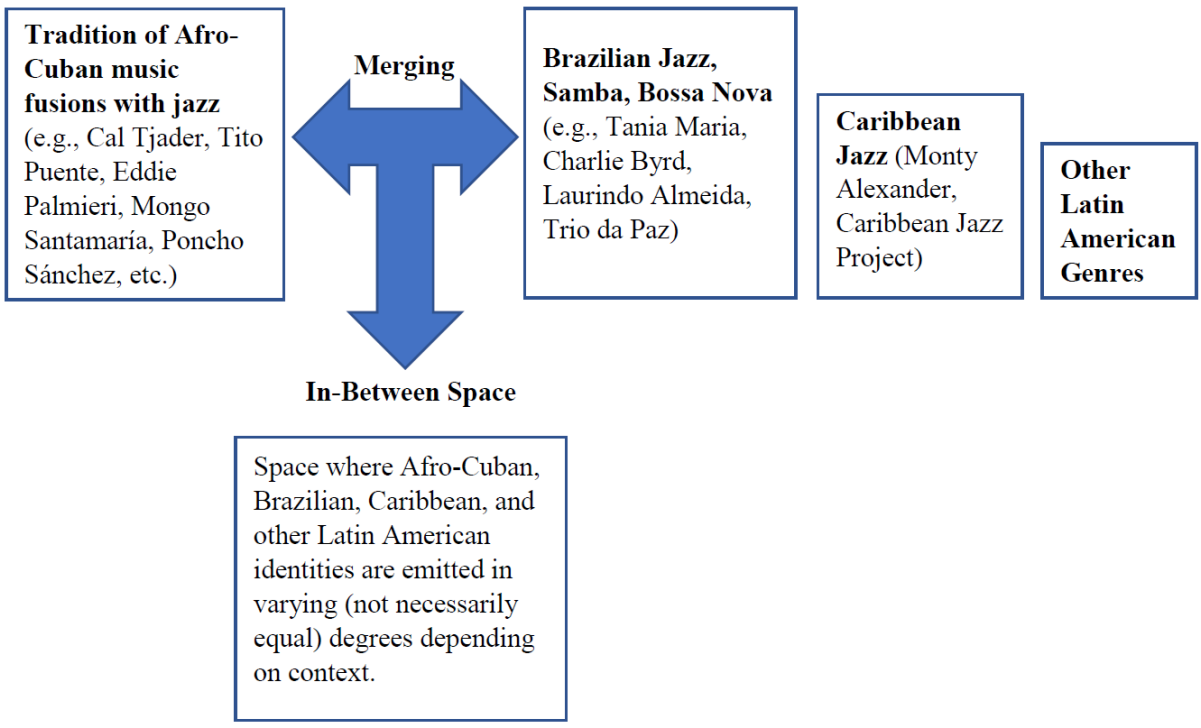

Figure 3. My Application of the *Concord Picante* Model

Specifically, whereas Brazilian jazz is a subset within the second branch of Pérez's model, the genre operates essentially as a co-equal branch in the Concord diagram.

It should also be noted that Picante's incorporation of Caribbean music potentially transports the Latin jazz genre beyond the realm of Latinx identity. Whereas Pérez's model exemplifies a clear-cut Pan-Latin identity and mobility that is articulated within a third space, Concord's inclusion of Caribbean music—in juxtaposition with Afro-Cuban and Brazilian genres—creates an in-between space where ambiguous (or to quote Webb Keane) "bundled"

identities are forged.[200] For example, the musical output of the Caribbean Jazz Project for Concord during the early 2000s—which merged elements of Afro-Cuban music, calypso, soca, reggae, and merengue—can be perceived as emitting a Pan-Caribbean (or perhaps Pan-African identity) rather than a Pan-Latin identity. Conversely, Almeida and Byrd's 1985 *Tango* album can be read as expressing a kind of Pan-Latin identity if we consider how their previous bossa-nova output and expertise is carried over to their engagement with tango. Through its allusion to traditional tango music on the other hand, their album can also be comprehended as a paean that celebrates Argentine national identity. The overall identities implemented by the Concord Picante label are often ambiguous yet universal and appeal to numerous audiences throughout Latin America, the Caribbean, and the world.

2.2.3 Tania Maria: Musical Philosophies

Maria holds specific philosophies and beliefs that inform her musical output. Several of these viewpoints have profound implications for comprehending the intricacies of the Pan-American jazz tradition. First of all, Maria is one of few musicians to treat her lyrics and vocalizations as an extension of her "piano voice":

> I don't consider myself a singer like Ella Fitzgerald or Sarah Vaughan…What I do vocally is only a complement to my piano. Sometimes you need a saxophone or a trombone sound. When I sing, the instrument I hear is a trombone, which is romantic but at the same time metallic. I like the strong syllables.[201]

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[200] Webb Keane, "Semiotics and the Social Analysis of Material Things," *Language & Communication*, 23 (2003): 414.
[201] Stephen Holder, "Brazilian Pianist on Expatriate Road to Stardom," *New York Times* (August 19, 1983): C.4.

One of Maria's signature techniques for enacting this dual vocal/piano voice consists of vocalizations that are performed in unison with the piano. They are usually percussive in nature and tend to oscillate between English and Portuguese-oriented syllables. Maria's style of scat has often been perceived as an innovative departure from U.S.-based scat icons like Ella Fitzgerald and Sarah Vaughan. Moreover, Maria's piano/vocal sound was perceived as a school unto itself and within the context of her Concord Picante recordings, set the stage for a new type of Brazilian Latin jazz.

Another philosophical facet of Maria's musicianship is her conception and application of language. Though she first came to prominence in France during the 1970s, Maria perceives the rhythms of the Portuguese and English languages as more amenable to jazz than French:

> There are only two languages I know of that have the right rhythm for my music: English and Portuguese. Even though I admired the Double Six of Paris, a wonderful vocal group that was popular in the 1960s, I don't believe that jazz and the French language belong together."[202]

Maria's assertion importantly sheds light on the relationship between jazz and modes of language. For one, the idea that Portuguese and English are rhythmically more feasible to jazz and Maria's music in general, points to a sort of syntactical or semantic "hipness" that becomes associated with these languages. By extension, Latin jazz labels historically have utilized both the Portuguese and Spanish languages as an integral component of its marketing appeal to both Western and non-Western audiences. Ethnomusicologist Timothy Taylor has highlighted the role "world music" industries—in which *Concord Picante* figures prominently—played in marketing aspects of language to both audiences throughout the 1980s:

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[202] Leonard Feather, "Tania Maria's Braziliance," *Los Angeles Times* (May 24, 1981): L50.

> In the world music field, authenticities and positions are mainly about language and sound. Even though authenticities in the world music field matter greatly, perhaps the most important position concerns the choice of language. Record labels and radio stations in the early days of world music were leery of non-English lyrics. The language question is frequently a difficult one for musicians, who don't want to alienate their original audiences, but who often want to attract and cultivate bigger ones…Most world music artists must grapple with the question of what language to sing in throughout their performing lives…World music artists need to include enough (but not too much) sounds of otherness to make it audibly clear that they are Others in the world music category.[203]

Picante's adoption of Spanish and Portuguese (the latter in the case of Maria) illustrates the music industry-based need to establish an "authentic" representation of its artists to English-speaking (particularly U.S.-based) audiences without disaffecting Latinx listeners. Moreover, Maria's oscillation between English and Portuguese lyrics in many of her songs (much like world music marketing) works to blur categorical boundaries and conceptions of Latinx identity.

Perhaps one of Maria's most overlooked contributions has been her critique of patriarchal gender and social norms that permeated Brazilian music scenes throughout the 1970s and 80s. In a 1983 interview, she discussed her experience as a female keyboardist and vocalist in Brazil during this timeframe:

> I was not happy with my life until I was 22 and decided, o.k., I'm going to be a musician…But it's been very difficult. In Brazil, I could survive as a musician, but I could not have a life. There were no real opportunities. Not only was I a pioneer, but I was a woman in a macho culture. A woman is supposed to serve a man, not try to do something he can do.[204]

Maria's experience in Brazil parallels many gender norms perpetuated within U.S. jazz scenes. Bebop culture for example, was largely responsible for effecting a masculinist environment that was often militant in nature and discouraged female jazz musicians from "approaching the bandstand." As Guthrie Ramsey discusses:

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[203] Timothy D. Taylor, *Music in the World: Selected Essays* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2017), 137.
[204] Holder, "Brazilian Pianist on Expatriate Road to Stardom," C.4.

> As they operated with somewhat different social standings, white and black masculinities in the musical world of the 1940s shared little save the marginalization of female musicians, especially instrumentalists. Black musicians negotiated their immediate social worlds to procure for themselves some of the traditional advantages of male power—earning wages, spectacle, and hegemony over women—in the context of a growing black, urban and artistic proletariat.[205]

As Ramsey touches upon, gender expectations pervading both pre and post-bebop social milieus often varied from vocalists to instrumentalists. Furthermore, as Jelly Roll Morton famously indicated, certain instruments throughout history have personified masculinism to a greater degree than others:

> As a matter of fact, I, myself, was inspired to play piano by going to a recital at the French opera house. There was a gentleman who rendered a selection on the piano, very marvelous music that made me want to play the piano very, very much. The only trouble was that this gentleman had long bushy hair, and, because the piano was known in our circle as an instrument for a lady, this confirmed me in my idea that if I played the piano I would be misunderstood. I didn't want to be called a sissy…So I studied various other instruments, such as violin, drums and guitar...[206]

Such stereotypical gender affiliations have long had adverse effects on female instrumentalists (especially saxophonists, brass instrumentalists, and percussionists) attempting to break into the jazz music industry.

Similarly, Latina vocalists and instrumentalists have struggled to find a foothold within the Latin jazz and salsa industries. As in the jazz world, the most successful female Latin jazz, salsa, or Brazilian jazz musicians typically have been vocalists (or pianists). Frances R. Aparicio discusses the dynamics of this phenomenon in traditional salsa ensembles:

> This historical veiling, moreover, has been coupled with the discriminatory practice of restricting women's participation to that of mostly vocalists, rather than opening up other roles such as instrumentalists, composers, arrangers, and most important, directors of

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[205] Guthrie P. Ramsey, *The Amazing Bud Powell: Black Genius, Jazz History, and the Challenge of Bebop* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 130.
[206] Alan Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton, New Orleans Creole and* "*Inventor of Jazz*" (Berkeley: University of California Press), 6, 8.

> groups... A "decent woman," says Latin society, does not belong in jam sessions nor in the masculine spaces of nightclubs, touring, and cast parties. The fact that Latinas have historically achieved more prominence as vocalists than in other musical roles suggests a process of containment in their professional development and opportunities. Women singers are allowed to perform onstage as long as they sing the words of others and as long as, in some cases, they play to the desires and fantasies of a male audience whose gaze continues to objectify female bodies.[207]

In other words, though Latina vocalists have been able to carve out a role for themselves, they often—as a result of objectification and containment—have had limited agency in their artistic and musical output. It should also be noted that while U.S.-born pianists Michele Rosewoman and Rebeca Mauleón and Canadian-born flutist Jane Bunnet were recognized as important contributors to the Latin jazz idiom, few Latina jazz instrumentalists were able to garner as much success during Maria's era. In addition, Maria was one of few female artists to be represented on the Concord Picante label beginning in the 1980s and beyond.

2.2.4 Tania Maria: Transcription and Musical Analysis

To comprehend how Maria's music operates within the Pan-American jazz model, it is important to analyze the intricacies of her samba and salsa-oriented comping and improvisations, scat technique, and dialogue between audience and performer. First of all, Maria's 'comping' style has been known to utilize a combination of samba and Afro-Cuban montuno patterns that often obscure the boundaries between the two seemingly disparate genres. This is particularly evident on a live 1985 rendition of "Sangria," which was recorded on *The Real Tania Maria:*

[207] Frances R. Aparicio, *Listening to Salsa: Gender, Latin Popular Music, and Puerto Rican Cultures* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 172-73.

Wild! on Concord Picante.[208] As a highly energetic, up-tempo piece, this live version of "Sangria" features a conspicuous vamp figure that oscillates between an F-7 and G-7 chord. In particular, Maria employs three different permutations over this progression. Two of these variations are more salsa-oriented and the third more indicative of a samba figure.

The first variation is a dyad figure that is commonly found in traditional Afro-Cuban and salsa music. Specifically, it functions as a montuno pattern that implies an F-7 chord in the odd measures and a G-7 in the even measures (see figure 4):

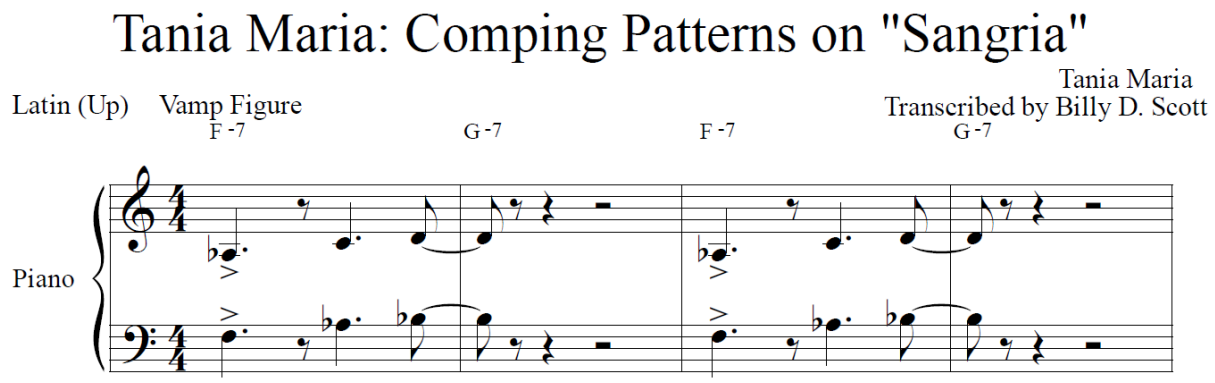

Figure 4. Tania Maria's Comping Patterns on "Sangria"

The figure is stacked predominantly in tenths and despite only consisting of two notes each—F and Ab, Ab and C in the left hand; Bb and D in the right hand—generates an open and full sound. Although the montuno falls primarily on beats 1 and 3, the dyad on beat 4+ (Bb and D) helps to generate a sense of forward motion. This passage is executed in conjunction with a repetitive ostinato pattern in the guitar, potentially reflecting funk and R&B styles.

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[208] Tania Maria, *The Real Tania Maria: Wild!*, recorded in September 1984, Concord Jazz Picante CCD 4264, 1985, album.

Another salsa-oriented figure Maria utilizes in "Sangria" is a two-handed montuno pattern that is highly rhythmic and virtuosic. Unlike the previous vamp figure, the montuno arpeggiates predominantly over a F-7 chord and does not seem to allude to a G-7 chord (see figure 5):[209]

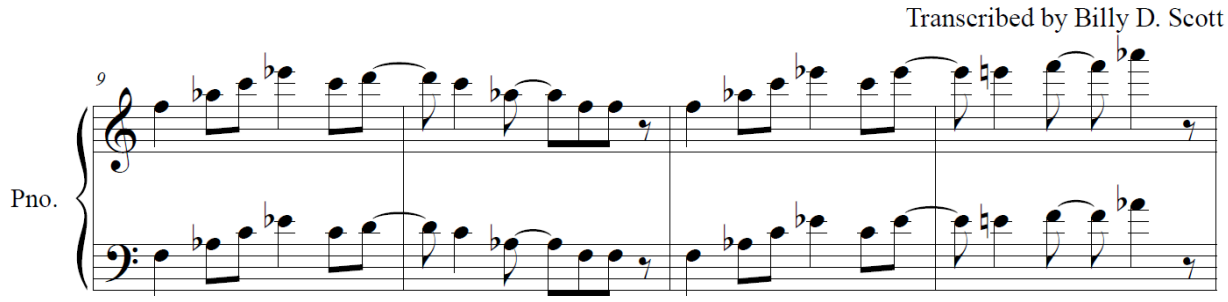

Figure 5. Tania Maria's Montuno on "Sangria"

The figure resembles a montuno through its alteration of on-the-beat and off-the-beat phrasing. Specifically, the figure begins on the downbeat in the odd measures and transitions to the off beats in the even measures. This oscillation between on-the-beat and more syncopated phrasing indicates the presence of a 2-3 *clave*. Another indication that the figure above functions as a montuno stems from Maria's chromatic approach in the fourth measure, which emphasizes Eb6, E6, and F6 before culminating with an Ab on beat 3+.

The third figure Maria interpolates is a more polyrhythmic samba-oriented groove (see figure 6):

[209] The final measure of Maria's montuno above actually includes a piano slide downward from the Ab6 in the right hand. For the sake of simplicity, however, it is omitted in the transcription above.

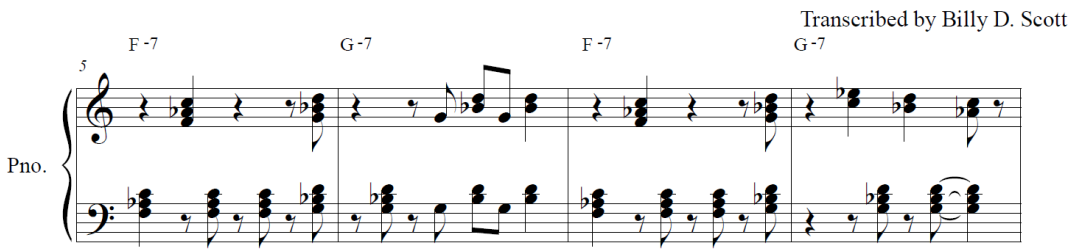

Figure 6. Tania Maria's Samba Comping Patterns on "Sangria"

Like the first example, this samba-inflected figure alternates between an F-7 and G-7, a typical vamp progression found in samba music, salsa, jazz, and even pop. However, the technique Maria employs within the vamp demonstrates a highly rhythmic independence between the left and right hands. For example, notice how Maria in her left hand displaces the F- chord primarily on the off-beats (beats 2+, 3+, and 4+ in first measure) and in contrast to the rhythms of her right-hand voicings. This is particularly evident in the fourth measure, where Maria performs a descending blues dyad in the right hand on beats 2, 3, and 4 against a G minor chord falling on beats 2+ and 3+ in the left hand. Considering the song's rapid tempo, this left-hand/right-hand independence illustrates a virtuosic technique. Overall, Maria's interpolations of these three vamp permutations within the context of a hybrid samba/salsa performance works to create a "music without borders."[210]

Another musical device Maria employs in "Sangria" is a technique of vocalization, which serves as a cultural nexus of communication between audience and performer. Interestingly, ethnomusicologist Christopher Small has explicated the dynamics of audience-performer communication within the context of the Western music concert hall. In his landmark book

[210] Holston, "Full-Spectrum Latin -Jazz," 35.

Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening for example, Small critiques the social conventions of the concert hall and its preservation of a "one-way system of communication":

> A flowchart of communication during a performance might show arrows pointing from composer to performers and a multitude of arrows pointing from performers to as many listeners as are present; but what it will not show is any arrow pointing in the reverse direction, indicating feedback from listener to performers and certainly not to composer (who in any case is probably dead and so cannot possibly receive any feedback). Nor would it show any that ran from listener to listener; no interaction is assumed there.[211]

Small's assessment of the concert hall social conventions and its proclivities toward one-way transmission is relevant to Maria's tendency to engage her audiences through lyrics or scat syllables.[212] If one were to construct a "flowchart of communication" in Maria's live performance of "Sangria," it would demonstrate multiple avenues of communication between herself, the other performers, and the audience.[213] Through her use of vocalizations, she involves the audience in a cultural dialogue and provides them with a platform to respond and *re*-articulate the vocables back to her. This approach (to use ethnomusicological terminology) blurs the lines between "presentational" and "participatory" performances.[214] As Ukrainian dance expert Andriy Nahachewsky indicates, the former typically "tend[s] to be perceived more as a product than a process. The success of a particular performance is judged by how it looks."[215] The latter on the other hand, "take[s] place at social events where a particular community comes together to celebrate."[216] In total, Maria in "Sangria" works to eradicate the boundaries

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[211] Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 6.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid.
[214] Andriy Nahachewsky, "Participatory and Presentational Dance as Ethnochoreological Categories," *Dance Research Journal* 27, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 1.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid.

separating performer and audience while upholding a core Pan-American jazz aspect, the conception of music as a cultural nexus.

It is also necessary to unpack the correlation between Maria's scat technique and piano "voice." This facet of Maria's musicianship represents a signature quality and is particularly evident on her song "Yatra-Tá" from *Piquant* (1981).[217] A fast-paced samba piece, "Yatra-Ta" features a variety of improvisational and comping techniques that inform both her piano and voice. One of these is an Eddie Palmieri-like, left-hand comping pattern which predominantly stresses the off beats. This is noticeable in one of the solo/montuno sections of the song (see figure 7):

[217] Tania Maria, *Piquant*, recorded in December 1980, Concord Jazz Picante CJP-151, 1981, album.

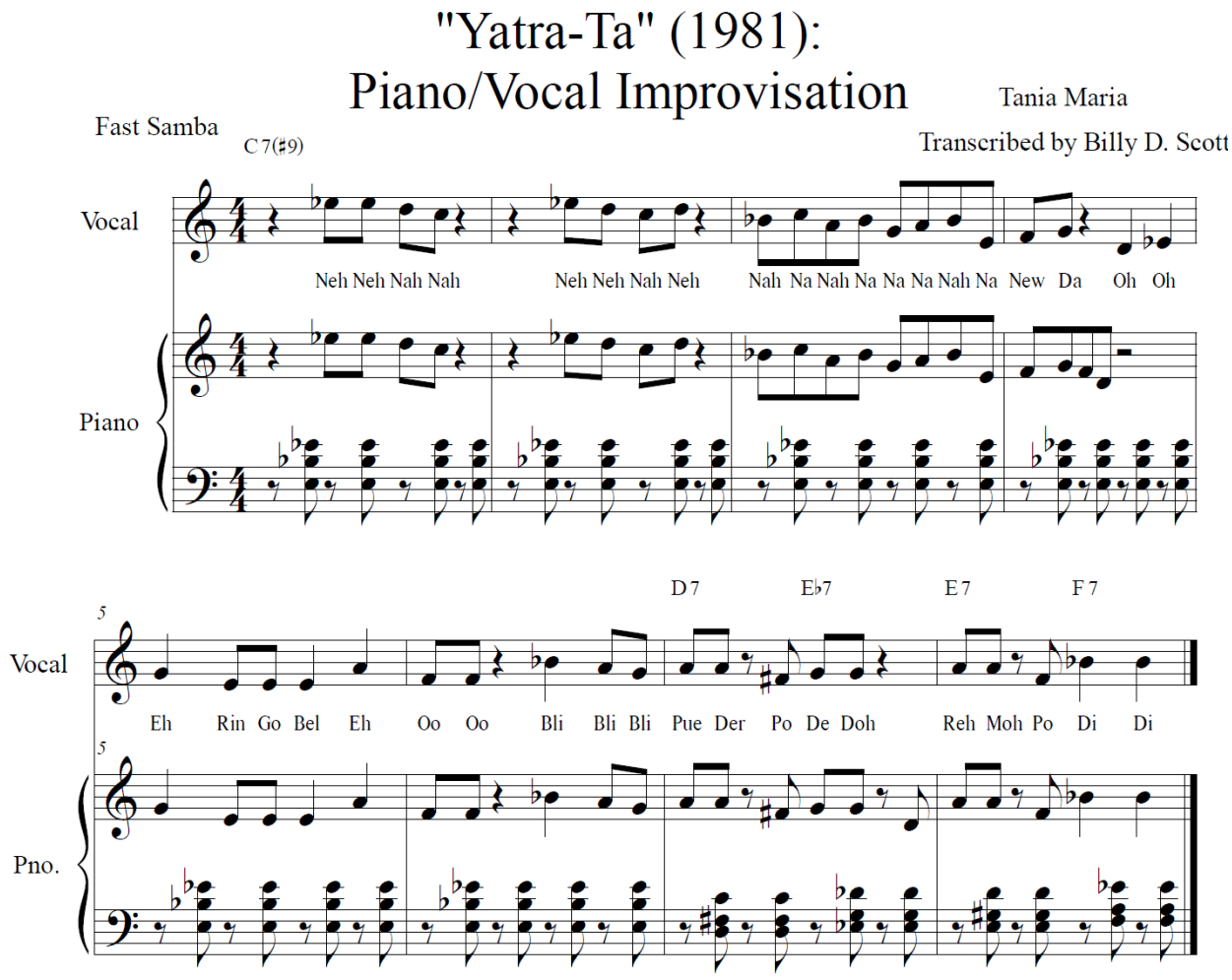

Figure 7. Tania Maria's Piano/Vocal Improvisations on "Yatra-Ta"

As illustrated in the 8-measure excerpt above, Maria employs a C7(#9) left-hand voicing that stresses the off beats and occurs over a span of six measures. In the final two measures, however, this semi-modal C7 (#9) progression gives way to a quick chromatic passage that begins on D7 in m. 7 and ascends to an F7 in m. 8. This chromatic sequence in mm. 7-8 works to generate tension before returning to the C7 (#9).

In the right hand, Maria plays a stepwise three-note passage (Eb, D, C) that begins with an Eb5 in m. 1 and culminates with a D5 in m. 2, beat 3+. This if followed by a bebop-like

phrase in mm. 3-4 that makes use of contrary motion and incorporates a few notes (E4 in m. 3, beat 4+; F4 in m. 4, beat 1) that operate outside the C7 (#9) structure. Measures 5-6 on the other hand, utilizes a short rhythmic and transpositional sequence (with a little variation) that commences with two eighth notes (E4) in m. 5, beat 2 ascending to a quarter note (A4) in m. 5, beat 4. The subsequent measure concludes the short sequence with two eighth notes (F4) on beat 1 that similarly ascend to a quarter note (Bb4) on beat 3. Another symmetrical rhythmic sequence occurs in mm. 7-8 beginning with two eighth notes (A4) in m. 7, beat 1, a descending eighth note (F#4) on beat 2+, two eighth notes (G4) in m. 7, beat 3, and another descending eighth note (D4; piano only) on beat 4+. This sequence carries across the bar line into m. 8 before culminating on Bb4, beats 3 and 4. Both sequences work to obscure the time and intensify the energy throughout the rhythm section. What separates Maria from other pianists—notwithstanding her vocal scats—is her ability to weave these right-hand improvisational phrases in between her syncopated left-hand comping figures.

Perhaps the most vibrant component of this improvisational passage is Maria's vocalizations, which are executed in unison with the piano. For the most part, these vocal lines contain the same pitches as her right-hand piano lines. At times, however, Maria appears to bend her pitches and in doing so creates an in-between space between her right-hand piano notes and the vocal lines. Such disparities (though subtle) between the vocal and piano lines effectively work to create tension. The employment of these vocal-piano line unisons creates an unusual effect rarely seen in straight-ahead jazz settings. For one, Maria utilizes vocalizations that mesh effectively with her highly rhythmic comping patterns in her left hand. Secondly, while her right hand is playing notes largely in unison with her vocalizations, the timbres of the two "voices" create an enhanced singing quality. In other words, a dialogue seems to take place between

Maria's piano "voice" and vocal "voice." Maria's use of vocalizations in unison with the piano, Palmieri-like left hand, and advanced rhythmic and transpositional sequences represent an innovative form of Latin jazz that concurrently traverses the worlds of Brazilian samba, Afro-Cuban music, straight-ahead jazz, and fusion.

2.2.5 Tania Maria: Brazilian Jazz and the Third Space

We have discussed the position Brazilian jazz has occupied as part of the Concord label and within the Pan-American jazz framework. But where does Maria's music operate within this continuum? First, it is important to note how Maria's music is not easily classifiable. She is at home in samba, bossa nova, Afro-Cuban music, jazz, and pop settings. In some contexts (for example, "Sangria"), each of these genres are concurrently present. In others, (like her 1983 hit "Come with Me") only a few are present. However, her ability to engage in some or all of these genres at one time—or to "flip the switch" so to speak—gives her the sometimes unfortunate, yet sometimes advantageous designation of "crossover artist." To provide a broader context for Maria on this front, one can refer to Charles D. Carson's discussion of crossover artistry in his analysis of important smooth jazz precursors:

> During the mid-1960s, record producer Creed Taylor began experimenting with mixing elements of post-bop jazz with contemporary popular musics. These early recordings with such established jazz musicians as Wes Montgomery, Johnny "Hammond" Smith, and George Benson would lay the groundwork for a style of jazz that would attempt to use the familiarity of popular songs to "crossover" to mainstream audiences, while at the same time relying on the credentials (and presumably, the musical talents) of these artists to retain a connection to "authentic" jazz. The implication was that these recordings would appeal to existing jazz fans, while simultaneously broadening that appeal to include fans of popular music through the use of familiar material. While these

> recordings were well received, the style became critically and economically viable as a result of Taylor's work with the then-obscure saxophonist Grover Washington Jr. in the mid-1970s. This, among other things, contributed to the development of would come to be called smooth jazz.[218]

Maria's artistry likewise has been in perpetual negotiation with a number of cultural and musical spheres and aesthetics. In particular, her music can be interpreted as striking a balance between perceptions of "authenticity"—especially in samba, bossa nova, and jazz performance contexts—and crossover appeal as evidenced in her engagements with popular song and pop-oriented textures. While Maria's music embodies the tension of this dichotomy, her virtuosity and innovations have been influential in cementing her credibility as a Latin jazz performer.

The notion of Maria as a crossover artist has profound implications for understanding her music in relation to the third space. As discussed earlier, Concord's incorporation of Brazilian jazz under the Latin jazz umbrella is conjoined with the Afro-Cuban, Caribbean, and the generic "Latin" music traditions. Each of these entities collectively forge identities (for example, Afro-Cuban, Pan-Caribbean, Pan-Latin) that are ambiguous and vary according to context within a third space. By extension, Maria as a crossover artist creates music that emits a multitude of identities varying across contexts. For example, "Sangria" musically speaking emits an Afro-Cuban and Brazilian identity with its co-presence of montunos and samba rhythms. However, Maria with her syllabic, scat technique creates a dialogue or "communication" with the audience that transcends an Afro-Cuban, Brazilian, or Pan-Latin identity.[219] In the end, I would argue that this element of her artistry works to express a globalized, neutral identity within the third space that operates both inside and outside the scope of Pérez's Pan-American jazz model.

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[218] Charles D. Carson, "'Bridging the Gap': Creed Taylor, Grover Washington Jr., and the Crossover Roots of Smooth Jazz," *Black Music Research Journal* 28, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 5.
[219] Small, *Musicking*, 6.

2.3 PABLO ZIEGLER, *NUEVO TANGO*, AND THE HYBRID OF HYBRIDS

I believe one of the gravest problems in Argentine music is that it lacks an identity.
—Astor Piazzolla (March, 1990)[220]

The tango is a significant marker of Argentine cultural and national identity. Throughout its history, the Argentine tango has evolved from a traditional singing and dance genre, to a classical art music with jazz elements called *nuevo tango*, and contemporarily to a kind of fusion involving jazz, rock, and experimental music. Among its most notable innovators and practitioners were vocalist and Argentine national icon Carlos Gardel, *nuevo tango* bandoneon performer and composer Astor Piazzolla, and presently Argentine jazz pianist and *nuevo tango* composer Pablo Ziegler (b. 1944). In this case study, I discuss how the music of Ziegler specifically represents a more jazz-inflected form of Argentine *nuevo tango*. While the jazz influence on tango has been documented in a few sources, I aim to explicate more comprehensively how jazz has become legitimized in both Argentina and abroad. In addition, this case study—via a reexamination of preceding Latin jazz literature—analyzes the *nuevo tango* tradition in relation to traditional Latin jazz discourses.[221] Through the conceptual lens of the third space, I also discuss how and to what extent the genre emits Pan-Latin, Argentine national, or globalized identities.

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[220] Natalio Gorin, *Astor Piazzolla: A Memoir*, translated by Fernando González (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 2001), 147.
[221] Ibid.

A native of Buenos Aires and two-time Grammy award winner, Ziegler has at times been referred to as a "mixed genre musician."[222] Having a solid foundation in classical piano, Ziegler became interested in jazz and pop at the age of fifteen.[223] He was highly proficient in both genres and became known (prior to his association with Piazzolla) as "one of the most promising young Argentine jazz pianists."[224] His professional engagement with tango, however, did not begin until his thirties when he became a full-time member of Piazzolla's "second Quintet" in 1978.[225] According to Piazzolla biographers María Susana Azzi and Simon Collier, the renowned bandoneon performer and composer found Ziegler's swing feel to be amenable to his *nuevo tango* sound:

> Ziegler had plenty of the "swing" Piazzolla always wanted and adapted his superb talent well to the Quintet…The second Quintet as a whole, however, sounded somewhat less *tanguero* than the first, closer to chamber music with inflections of cool jazz.[226]

As indicated in his memoir, Piazzolla held the pianist in high esteem and asserted that he—along with two of his other ensemble pianists—"improvised like [a] god."[227] Such declarations were echoed by *Boston Globe* critic Michael Ullman, who labeled Ziegler as a "Latin Bill Evans" following a performance with Piazzolla and jazz vibraphonist Gary Burton in May 1988.[228] Ziegler would remain in Piazzolla's second Quintet for over a decade, well into the late 1980s.

Since Piazzolla's death in 1992, Ziegler has become the heir apparent to the *nuevo tango* movement. Like his mentor, Ziegler still places emphasis on written arrangements and crafts

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[222] Barry Davis, "Nuevo Tango and All That Jazz," *The Jerusalem Post* (November 19, 2001): 15.
[223] Ibid.
[224] María Susana Azzi and Simon Collier, *Le Grand Tango: The Life and Music of Astor Piazzolla* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 205.
[225] Ibid.; Davis, "Nuevo Tango and All That Jazz," 15.
[226] Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 205.
[227] Gorin, *Astor Piazzolla*, 58.
[228] Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango*, 259.

melodic ideas that are idiomatically consistent with *nuevo tango*. At the same time, his application of jazz harmony, use of the drumkit, and extension of improvisational passages are more indicative of the U.S. jazz tradition.[229] His compositions often feature solos which concurrently exhibit U.S. jazz piano influences—such as Bill Evans and McCoy Tyner—and tango piano influences. It is this unique combination of tango and jazz that has led me to explore the impact of jazz in relation to *nuevo tango* and throughout Argentina. In the following sections, I explore the cultural implications of Ziegler's innovations within the context of the Pan-American jazz framework.

Before problematizing Ziegler's music, however, it is important to review the Afro-Argentine origins of the music, distinctions between "export" and "home" tango, and the genre's association with Argentine national and ethnic identity.[230] The following sections also will discuss the diffusion of jazz in Argentina during the 1920s and '30s and the racial discourses encompassing the music's emergence. I conclude with a reexamination of *nuevo tango* within Latin jazz literature and how the genre functions as part of the Pan-American jazz continuum.

2.3.1 Tango: Race and Origin

Discussions of race in Argentina are often complicated, ambivalent, and at times hotly contested. When compared to other South American countries, Argentina as a whole is considered (phenotypically speaking) to be inhabited by lighter-skinned populations. In addition,

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[229] "Pablo Ziegler @ All About Jazz," *All About Jazz*, accessed December 12, 2018, http://musicians.allaboutjazz.com/pabloziegler.
[230] Ana C. Cara, "Entangled Tangos: Passionate Displays, Intimate Dialogues," *The Journal of American Folklore* 122, no. 486 (Fall 2009): 438-65.

the country's residents (particularly *porteños*) are more likely to identify as Caucasian or having European heritage as opposed to "mestizo/a" or "mixed." According to one source, only *one percent* of Argentina's residents identify as having indigenous ancestry.[231] Such perceptions are usually attributed to "The Argentinean National Constitution of 1853," which encouraged European immigration and resulted in a large influx of Spanish and Italian immigrants in the subsequent decades.[232] Other studies refer to the decline of Afro-Argentine populations in the late 1800s as influencing a more "European" outlook of modern-day Argentines.[233]

While many indigenous and Afro-Argentine inhabitants were indeed eradicated in Argentina as a result of Spanish colonization (sixteenth to the early nineteenth century), genetic studies conducted within the last decade have revealed significant amounts of intermixture within Argentina's populations.[234] For example, a 2015 study using "biparentally inherited ancestry informative markers" (or AIMs) found that inhabitants of the Central Argentine provinces Córdoba and San Luis contain a significant percentage of indigenous ancestry.[235] The AIM study revealed approximately 55 and 58% European and roughly 44 and 40% Native

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[231] Sergio Avena, Marc Via, Elad Ziv, Eliseo J. Pérez-Stable, Christopher R. Gignoux, Cristina Dejean, Scott Huntsman, Gabriela Torres-Mejía, Julie Dutil, Jaime L. Matta, Kenneth Beckman, Esteban González Burchard, María Laura Parolin, Alicia Goicoechea, Noemí Acreche, Mariel Boquet, María Del Carmen Ríos Part, Vanesa Fernández, Jorge Rey, Mariana C. Stern, Raúl F. Carnese, Laura Fejerman, "Heterogeneity in Genetic Admixture across Different Regions of Argentina," *Plos One* 7, no. 4 (April 2012): 1-2.
[232] María Laura Catelli, Vanesa Álvarez-Iglesias, Alberto Gómez-Carballa, Ana Mosquera-Miguel, Carola Romanini, Alicia Borosky, Jorge Amigo, Ángel Carracedo, Carlos Vullo, and Antonio Salas, "The Impact of Modern Migrations on Present-Day Multi-Ethnic Argentina as Recorded on the Mitochondrial DNA Genome," *BMC Genetics* 12, no. 77 (2011): 2.
[233] George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800-1900* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980).
[234] Angelina García, Darío A. Dermarchi, Luciana Tovo-Rodrigues, Maia Pauro, Sidia M. Callegari-Jacques, Francisco M. Salzano, and Mara H. Hutz, "High Interpopulation Homogeneity in Central Argentina as Assessed by Ancestry Informative Markers (AIMs)," *Genetics and Molecular Biology* 38, no. 3 (2015): 325.
[235] Ibid., 328.

American "parental contribution" in the Córdoba and San Luis Province respectively.[236] At the same time, Argentines in these regions had a significantly lower (but not nonexistent) percentage of African ancestry, at 1.3 and 1.5% respectively.[237]

A previous study conducted by Sergio Avena and a team of scientists in 2012 yielded similar results.[238] However, unlike the 2015 project, Avena incorporated a more geographically comprehensive study of Argentina in his assessments:

> Despite the commonly held idea that the population of Argentina is of mostly European origin, multiple studies have shown that this process of admixture had an impact in the entire Argentine population. In the present study we characterized the distribution of Indigenous American, European and African ancestry among individuals from different regions of Argentina and evaluated the level of discrepancy between self-reported grandparental origin and genetic ancestry estimates. A set of 99 autosomal ancestry informative markers (AIMs) was genotyped in a sample of 441 Argentine individuals to estimate genetic ancestry. We used non-parametric tests to evaluate statistical significance.[239]

By focusing on various regions throughout Argentina—including the Buenos Aires Province and areas in the Northeast, Northwest, and South—the AIM study determined that Argentines often possessed substantial indigenous and some African ancestry.[240] In the Buenos Aires Province for example, the percentage of European heritage ranged from 78 to 90%, indigenous from 15 to 19%, and African from 2 to 4%.[241] Moreover, the average amount of European ancestry measured in the Buenos Aires Province was pinpointed at 76%.[242] The regions and participants that were surveyed—including 441 individuals from Buenos Aires, Northeast, Northwest, and South regions respectively—contained an average of 65% European, 31% indigenous, and 4%

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[236] Ibid., 327-28.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Avena, "Heterogeneity in Genetic Admixture across Different Regions of Argentina," 1.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Ibid., 2.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Ibid., 4.

African ancestry.[243] Therefore, Avena's project sheds light on a facet of Argentine national and cultural identity that is rarely discussed, its "tri-ethnic" heritage. The project demonstrates how many of Argentina's citizens throughout history have found it more politically advantageous to identify with their European ancestry rather than subscribe to a minority (indigenous or African) social status. I would argue ultimately that Argentina's tri-ethnic heritage should more extensively be accounted for when discussing the tango's development and evolution in Buenos Aires and beyond.

Despite modern Argentina's relatively low percentage of African ancestry, research has shown that Afro-Argentine populations in the late-nineteenth century played a profound role in shaping Argentina's artistic spheres, including the realm of tango. The emergence of Afro-Argentines can first be traced to the arrival of Spanish conquistadors in the early sixteenth century by way of the Río de la Plata region, Bolivia, and Peru.[244] The Río de la Plata region and capital city of Buenos Aires specifically would become the primary sites for African slave importation during the first half of the sixteenth century and throughout much of the Spanish colonial period, which culminated in the mid-nineteenth century.[245] Though significant abolitionist-oriented legislation and policies were adopted in Argentina and abroad throughout the nineteenth century—including the universal eradication of the African slave trade in 1813, the "1813 Ley de Libertad de vientres" (or "Law of Freedom by the Womb"), and the "Anglo-Argentine anti-slave-trade treaty of 1840"—slavery in Argentina and Buenos Aires in particular

[243] Ibid.
[244] María Laura Catelli, "The Impact of Modern Migrations on Present-Day Multi-Ethnic Argentina as Recorded on the Mitochondrial DNA Genome," 1.
[245] Ibid.

was not fully eliminated until 1861.[246] Following emancipation, the Afro-Argentine population in Buenos Aires mysteriously dwindled from 13,967 in 1838 (approximately 25% of the population) to 8,005 in 1887 (under 2%).[247] A number of historical factors have been attributed to this decline including the Paraguayan War in 1869, processes of *mestizaje*, poor medical care for people of color, and most conspicuously the eradication of the slave trade in 1813.[248] Whatever the reason, historical evidence points to a vital presence of an Afro-Argentine community in Buenos Aires during much of the nineteenth century.

Research has shown that the origins of the tango largely lie in traditional African song and dance. According to historian George Reid Andrews, the Afro-Argentine *candombe* (and the related *milonga*) represented a core component of tango.[249] In particular, Andrews argues that the choreographic elements of the *candombe* has a direct connection with the movements and steps found in tango:

> When the couple locks bodies tightly together and sways back and forth, we are seeing the lineal descendant of the first stage of the candombe, in which the swaying is interrupted by the bringing together of bodies for the ombligada. Or when the partners move rapidly across the floor, first the male leaning back at a sharp angle, then the female, it clearly derives from the third stage of the Afro-Argentine dance. The steps of the tango form a kinetic memory of the candombe, a dance that has died but in dying gave birth to the dance that identifies Buenos Aires, a dance exported around the world.[250]

Moreover, as Matthew Karush indicates, the term tango traditionally signified "dance styles of Afro-Argentines" and often was associated with late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century

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[246] George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800-1900* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 5, 48, 57-58.
[247] Ibid., 4.
[248] Ibid., 4-5.
[249] Ibid., 165.
[250] Ibid., 163; 166-67.

black practitioners of the genre.[251] Amongst the renowned Afro-Argentine *tangueros* were dancer Luis María Cantero, guitarist and Carlos Gardel accompanist José Ricardo, bassist Leopoldo Thompson, and composer Anselmo Rosendo Mendizábal.[252] Perhaps the clearest evidence stems from early-nineteenth century documents identifying (often derogatorily) the presence of "tangos de los negros," a "house and tango site," and neighborhoods such as the "Parish of Concepción tango of the Blacks."[253] In total, though *tangueros* often highlight their European ancestry, at the center of the music is an Afro-Argentine identity.

2.3.2 Tango's Musical and Cultural Evolution: A Brief History

Like jazz, the tango comes in numerous musical manifestations that vary across Argentina and abroad. One can point to the Carlos Gardel-sung tango or *tango-cancíon* that enraptured a nation and forged a distinctly Argentine national identity. Another can discuss the *nuevo tango* of Piazzolla, which was more instrumental-based and fused elements of jazz, classical music, and traditional tango. Yet another can talk about modern fusions of Argentine tango with jazz, rock, and other popular music that have informed artists and groups like singer Daniel Melingo, La Chicana, bassist Pablo Aslan, and I would argue for Pablo Ziegler.[254] Or one could simply return to the foundations of tango as dance, performed originally in the Buenos Aires slums and later in ballrooms across the globe. Many of these tango genres and subgenres

[251] Matthew B. Karush, "Blackness in Argentina: Jazz, Tango, and Race before Perón," *Past and Present* no. 216 (August 2012): 222.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800-1900*, 165.
[254] Morgan James Luker, "Tango Renovación: On the Uses of Music History in Post-Crisis Argentina," *Latin American Music Review* 28, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2007): 82-83.

have come to represent a distinct Argentine national identity that concurrently upholds and deviates from the foundational aspects of the music.

The birth of the genre is usually linked to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century slums of Buenos Aires and more specifically, the music and dance of *compadritos* (or "stylish thugs with knives"), *arrabales*, and the working class.[255] The tango dance later was transported from the *arrabales* to the café scene in 1910, and gradually over time became more readily accepted by Argentina's upper classes.[256] About the same time, the dance was exported to Paris where it garnered critical acclaim and helped propel the genre to international renown while concurrently legitimizing the art form back home in Argentina.[257] One could argue that this exportation into Europe led to an offshoot of Argentine dance tango called (to quote Ana C. Cara) "export tango."[258] Cara explicates the cultural dynamics of export tango against the backdrop of the concept "home tango":

> While dissimilar and even contradictory at times, what I here call export tango and home tango are not culturally incongruous; they feed and respond to each other, and both emerge from a common cultural source. Export tango capitalizes on the externalized "explicit, explosive, passionate, provocative" aspect of this tradition. The home tango internalizes these dimensions, producing over the decades since its mid-nineteenth-century inception a more intimate, playful, and secret but no less contestational or intense rendition of tango.[259]

A conspicuous example of export tango includes dancers Irene and Vernon Castle, who were influential in bringing the dance to the U.S. and—according to Chris Goertzen and María Susana Azzi—"emphasized the relatively young, elegant side of the tango, minimized its sensuality, and

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[255] Chris Goertzen and María Susana Azzi, "Globalization and the Tango," 67-68.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Ibid.
[258] Ana C. Cara, "Entangled Tangos: Passionate Displays, Intimate Dialogues," *The Journal of American Folklore* 122, no. 486 (Fall 2009): 439.
[259] Ibid.

seemed unacquainted with its sadness."[260] In short, other forms of tango have been commodified overseas and, in some ways, bear little resemblance to the original Argentine dance or music forms.

Following tango's transportation from the *arrabales* to the cafés and its export abroad in the early 1900s, the genre would later be adapted within the format of Argentine *orquestas típica* music. The rise of *orquestas* first and foremost coincided with Argentina's "golden age," which began approximately in 1925 and culminated around 1955.[261] The music was primarily instrumental and usually featured four bandoneons, four violins, piano, and bass.[262] In addition, they largely reflected Argentina's economic prosperity during much of the golden age and was perceived as having a "highly polished and refined" quality with a "sense of sophistication."[263] O*rquesta típica* later became synonymous with the music of tango traditionalists and the antithesis of Piazzolla's *nuevo tango*.[264]

Though historically both *tango-canción* (or sung tango) and *orquesta* music have informed each other, the former has arguably had a more enduring and iconic impact. Traditionally, sung tango—unlike *orquesta* music, which utilizes ten or more instruments—typically features four guitars that provide accompaniment for a lead singer (usually male).[265] A quality that is integral to performances of sung tango is *lunfardo*, which is deeply tied to the culture of Buenos Aires *arrabales* and *compadritos*.[266] According to numerous sources, *lunfardo*

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[260] Goertzen and María Susana Azzi, "Globalization and the Tango," 69.
[261] Morgan James Luker, "Tango Renovación: On the Uses of Music History in Post-Crisis Argentina," *Latin American Music Review* 28, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2007): 71.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Ibid., 72.
[264] Ibid., 74.
[265] Ibid., 77.
[266] Ibid.; Julie M. Taylor, "Tango: Theme of Class and Nation," *Ethnomusicology* 20, no. 2 (May 1976): 276.

reflects a "lower-class dialect" of Spanish (and to an extent Italian) that is unique to Buenos Aires and conveys a distinctly Argentine identity.[267] One of the more prominent musicians to employ *lunfardo* lyrics was singer Edmundo Rivero.[268] Undoubtedly the figure most often associated with sung tango, however, is Gardel. The singer and movie star was known for his "nuances of vocal delivery," his oscillations "between speaking and singing voices," and his exhibition of a broadly Argentine identity as part of his performances in Argentina and abroad.[269]

A critical juncture in tango's development occurred in the mid-1950s with the emergence of *nuevo tango*. Pioneered by Piazzolla, *nuevo tango* was perceived as a drastic departure from *orquesta* and sung tango. For one, the instrumentation was more chamber-oriented, often featuring piano, bass, violin, bandoneon, and even electric guitar. [270] Secondly, the idiomatic language of *nuevo tango* was characterized by an engagement with jazz harmony, highly contrapuntal melody and accompaniment, and at times (depending on the personnel) improvisational passages.[271] Piazzolla's incorporation of these new musical features served as a response (in his own words) to the "monotony" he found in the "melodic, rhythmic, and aesthetic" qualities of traditional tango and reflected an openness to other genres—such as rock, jazz, and even Baroque music—that he believed could propel the tango to new experimental heights.[272] Despite these developments, the music still reaffirmed the core aspects of traditional tango, integrated tango themes, and (as indicated by Piazzolla himself) extracted elements from

[267] Azzi and Goertzen, "Globalization and the Tango," 67; Taylor, "Tango: Theme of Class and Nation," 276.
[268] Luker, "Tango Renovación," 77.
[269] Ibid., 77, 79; Azzi and Goertzen, "Globalization and the Tango," 68.
[270] Martín Kutnowski, "Instrumental Rubato and Phrase Structure in Astor Piazzolla's Music," *Latin American Music Review* 23, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2002): 106.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Ibid., 106.

"traditionally sung tango."[273] Unfortunately, tango traditionalists performing in *orquesta* or sung tango formats often rejected the core facets of Piazzolla's *nuevo tango*. As a result, the music did not consistently attract audiences in Argentina and abroad. At the same time, it can be argued that *nuevo tango* served as a bridge that connected traditional tango music and dance genres with contemporary tango fusions. Moreover, it laid the groundwork for a contemporary tango-jazz movement, in which Ziegler became a major pioneer.

2.3.3 Jazz in Argentina: A Brief History

Argentine jazz musicians often have pointed to a long, rich tradition of jazz performance in Buenos Aires. In a 2001 interview, Ziegler indicated that "jazz has always been very popular in Buenos Aires" and that prior to his association with Piazzolla, he "did lots of gigs with jazz bands and pop music groups."[274] The relatively recent emergence of venues such as Thelonious Club and Notorious has in many respects rendered Buenos Aires a premier Latin American jazz metropolis. Thelonious Club in particular has hosted or produced a number of Argentine talents in the twenty-first century including most prominently bandleader and composer Guillermo Klein.[275] The jazz club has also featured numerous jazz musicians from outside Argentina. According to a February 2016 *Downbeat* issue, Thelonious regularly showcases "first-rate jazz"

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[273] David Butler Cannata, "Making it There: Piazzolla's New York Concerts," *Latin American Music Review* 26, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2005): 69.
[274] Barry Davis, "Nuevo Tango and all that Jazz," 15.
[275] Jairo Moreno, "Past Identity: Guillermo Klein, Miguel Zenón, and the Future of Jazz," in *Music and Youth Culture in Latin America: Identity Construction Processes from New York to Buenos Aires*, ed. by Pablo Vila (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 86.

bands—some based in Argentina, others abroad—up to five nights a week.[276] What led to jazz music's current popularity within Buenos Aires? When and by what means did jazz first infiltrate Buenos Aires and Argentina more broadly? How was the music articulated and framed by Argentine writers and critics during the early twentieth century and beyond?

The infiltration of jazz into Argentina stems primarily from two technological mediums: film and radio. As Matthew Karush indicates, Hollywood during the 1920s was "particularly aggressive in their pursuit of the Argentine market" and inundated the country's local film production.[277] In fact, this trend of Hollywood hegemony in Argentina would continue well into the 1940s.[278] Through these films, Argentine audiences were introduced to jazz (or derivations of jazz) and began to recognize the music as a symbol of modernity.[279] For staunch tango supporters, however, Hollywood was considered the main culprit behind jazz music's "corruption of tango."[280]

Like film, the emergence of commercial radio and records in Argentina during the 1920s and '30s was pivotal to the dissemination of jazz.[281] While tango music received the majority of the airplay, jazz—despite being a musical import—was prominently featured on Argentine radio.[282] Among the first U.S.-based recordings imported into Buenos Aires included the Victor recordings of Paul Whiteman in 1918.[283] This was followed by the arrival of Louis Armstrong

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[276] "193 Great Jazz Venues: The Best Places to Hear Live Jazz Worldwide," *Downbeat* (February 2016): 61.
[277] Karush, "Blackness in Argentina," 227.
[278] Ibid., 228.
[279] Ibid., 228-29.
[280] Jason Borge, "Dark Pursuits: Race and Early Argentine Jazz Criticism," *Afro-Hispanic Review* 30, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 70-71.
[281] Karush, "Blackness in Argentina," 228.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Ibid.

and Bix Beiderbecke recordings released by the "Argentine branch of Odeon" in the 1920s.[284] The instrumentation, stylistic features, and overall musical nuances of these recordings—in addition to performances of live guest artists from the U.S.—were adopted by tango ensembles and eventually helped establish a local jazz scene in Argentina during the 1930s.[285]

Historical perceptions of jazz in Buenos Aires and Argentina in general have often revolved around discourses of "tango versus jazz."[286] Some Argentine writers for example, viewed jazz as an imposition on tango and its place as Argentina's national music.[287] Since jazz had penetrated the country as early as 1918, a number of tango bandleaders and composers—including Juan Carlos Cobián and Osvaldo Fresedo—were adopting elements of jazz into their repertoire.[288] Moreover, writers feared that Argentine musicians were becoming excessively infatuated with jazz rhythm and "interpreting American songs" in English.[289] In short, Argentine newspapers and magazines often emphasized the notion that "'American Music Has Begun to Displace the Tango.'"[290]

Argentine perceptions of jazz also involved dueling discourses between jazz as a form of "modernity and cosmopolitanism" and jazz as a symbol of "black authenticity."[291] The notion of jazz modernity developed largely from the country's reception of Whiteman's music.[292] In particular, audiences were drawn to the bandleader's "refined, technically sophisticated 'concert-

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[284] Andrew Raffo Dewar, "Hot and Cool from Buenos Aires to Chicago: Guillermo Gregorio's Jazz Cosmopolitanism," *Jazz Research Journal* 6, no. 2 (2012): 157.
[285] Karush, "Blackness in Argentina," 228.
[286] Jason Borge, "Dark Pursuits: Race and Early Argentine Jazz Criticism," 70-71.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Ibid.; Karush, "Blackness in Argentina," 229.
[289] Borge, "Dark Pursuits," 70-71.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Matthew B. Karush, "Blackness in Argentina," 229.
[292] Ibid.

hall sound,'" which was subsequently assimilated by tango orchestras and composers of the tango "New Guard."[293] Moreover, elements of jazz "harmony and counterpoint" were adapted by New Guard tango composers seeking to develop an orchestral tango.[294] In short, jazz sophistication was viewed in Argentina as the measuring stick for modernity in tango settings and performances.

Jazz music's association with black authenticity in Argentina can be attributed to a number of factors, but two in particular. For one, the performances by American touring artists Sam Wooding in 1927 and Josephine Baker in 1929 helped connect audiences in Argentina with African American jazz artists.[295] This development was important since in previous years, Argentina had witnessed predominantly white jazz musicians on the live stage.[296] At the same time, critical reactions to Baker's performance and other black musicians were highly essentialized and depicted them through narratives of "exoticism," "black savagery," and (paradoxically) "black authenticity."[297] While many portrayals of black jazz musicians in Argentina were unfavorable, the recognition of jazz as a symbol of black authenticity did establish credibility for black jazz musicians touring the country.

Secondly, the presence of native Argentine jazz musicians such as singer Paloma Efron and guitarist Oscar Alemán worked to perpetuate notions of black authenticity.[298] Nicknamed "Blackie" and having Jewish ancestry, Efron was known for her interpretations of African

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[293] Ibid.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Ibid., 230-31.
[296] Ibid.
[297] Ibid., 231.
[298] Borge, "Dark Pursuits," 69-70.

American spirituals, blues, and jazz songs that "capitalized on the minstrel imaginary."[299] In addition, Efron—unlike many Argentine jazz musicians—actually visited the United States in 1937 and became a participant observer of African American jazz and blues scenes, which helped cement her musical legacy in Argentina.[300] In contrast to Efron, Alemán—an Afro-Argentine swing guitarist of mixed heritage—was perhaps one of the first jazz musicians from Buenos Aires to achieve international renown, a fact that was highly accentuated by Argentine journalists.[301] During his stay in Europe, Alemán became associated with a number of renowned artists (including Baker) and became highly revered in Argentina.[302] While his ethnicity (notwithstanding photos) was often omitted in newspapers and magazines, Borge suggests that the combination of Alemán's "racial makeup" and longevity overseas "implicitly lent him 'Afro' credibility."[303]

Both commercial radio and the emergence of new jazz clubs in Argentina played a prominent role in introducing audiences to modern jazz genres during the 1950s and '60s. According to ethnomusicologist Andrew Raffo Dewar and Argentine musician Guillermo Gregorio, recordings by jazz artists such as Lee Konitz, Lennie Tristano, Miles Davis, and Sonny Rollins received substantial airtime on Buenos Aires's Radio Excelsior in 1959.[304] In particular, Radio Excelsior—and one of its DJs named Basualdo—was known to feature a series of cool jazz specials that included Konitz and Tristano.[305] Arguably the most influential source of modern jazz performance and innovation in Argentina, however, was the "Argentine Bop Club"

[299] Ibid.
[300] Matthew B. Karush, "Blackness in Argentina," 232-33.
[301] Borge, "Dark Pursuits," 70.
[302] Ibid.
[303] Ibid.
[304] Dewar, "Hot and Cool from Buenos Aires to Chicago," 162-63.
[305] Ibid.

or "Bop Club Argentino." [306] Known for its "bi-weekly Monday night jam sessions," the Bop Club Argentino first surfaced in 1950 and featured a number of distinguished Argentine jazz musicians including Gregorio and saxophonist Leandro "Gato" Barbieri.[307] The club was dedicated primarily to modern jazz genres (bebop, cool, post-bop, etc.) and conceived in direct "opposition to the traditionalist Hot Club," which specialized in more traditional styles.[308] Despite the club's essential contributions to jazz production in Buenos Aires, Gregorio criticized the musicians for simply re-duplicating and reinforcing North American jazz styles: "There were very personal people, but most of them, if the wave was bebop, they played bebop. If the wave was cool, they played cool… If it was hard bop they played hard bop…"[309]

Another vital jazz club to emerge in Buenos Aires was the Tucumán 676. Unlike earlier jazz clubs like the Hot Club and Bop Club Argentino, Tucumán 676 was initiated specifically for Piazzolla and his *nuevo tango* compositions in 1962.[310] The decision to transfer Piazzolla from "the Jamaica"—which proved to have limited capacity—to Tucumán 676 was conceived and implemented by engineer Eduardo Matrajt and architect Corradino Tenaglia, who both worked to "soundproof" and arrange the "new nightspot" exclusively for the bandoneonist and his music.[311] The venue held approximately 150 people in one sitting and proved to be an important center for Piazzolla's tango experiments.[312] What was particularly striking about Piazzolla's engagement at 676, however, was how his *nuevo tango* music was featured primarily alongside jazz acts

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[306] Ibid., 163.
[307] Ibid., 163; Matthew B. Karush, "Reinventing the Latin in Latin Jazz: The Music and Career of Gato Barbieri," *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 25, no. 3 (2016): 379; Dewar, "Hot and Cool from Buenos Aires to Chicago," 163.
[308] Karush, "Reinventing the Latin in Latin Jazz," 379.
[309] Dewar, "Hot and Cool from Buenos Aires to Chicago," 163-64.
[310] Ibid., 382.
[311] Azzi and Collier, *Le Grand Tango: The Life and Music of Astor Piazzolla*, 83-84.
[312] Ibid.

including Barbieri, pianist and composer Sergio Mihanovich, and U.S. jazz musicians and bands like saxophonist Stan Getz, vibraphonist Gary Burton, and the Modern Jazz Quintet.[313] Piazzolla was especially complimentary of Burton, who would collaborate with the bandoneonist in later years.[314] Though Barbieri and Mihanovich at this point in time were known by Argentine audiences and critics as "jazz purists" and seemingly had no interest in tango or other Argentine folk music genres, the fact that Piazzolla's *nuevo tango* was featured in conjunction with these jazz acts ultimately points to a direct cultural connection and affinity between the two genres.[315]

The arrival of the Dirty War (1976-1983)—sparked by a violent military takeover in 1976—largely put a halt to jazz production and indeed, the arts in general.[316] Gregorio for example, ceased performing jazz in live settings during this timeframe: "You were fortunate if you could keep working and live untouched by suspicions and provocation."[317] During the 1990s and by the turn of the century, however, jazz once again became a vibrant component of Buenos Aires's cultural landscape. In total, these historical examinations of traditional tango, *nuevo tango*, and jazz validate the extent to which each genre is inextricably linked.

2.3.4 *Nuevo Tango* and Pan-American Jazz

When considering how *nuevo tango* (or tango-jazz) functions within the Pan-American jazz philosophy, it is necessary to reexamine how the Argentine music genre has been framed throughout history. First of all, is *nuevo tango* in actuality a subset of Latin jazz? If so, how is the

[313] Ibid.
[314] Ibid.
[315] Karush, "Reinventing the Latin in Latin Jazz," 382.
[316] Dewar, "Hot and Cool from Buenos Aires to Chicago," 165.
[317] Ibid.

music represented in Latin jazz literature, newspaper articles, and magazines? Secondly, how are Argentine jazz musicians represented within this literature? What identities do Argentine jazz musicians assume within the context of U.S.-based jazz scenes and musical production? Conversely, how do these identities differ from Argentine representation in Buenos Aires-based jazz scenes? Through an examination of Latin jazz sources and commentaries featuring *nuevo tango* and Argentine jazz musicians, I demonstrate below how Argentine jazz musicians often inhabit a hybrid third space or in-between space within the Pan-American jazz framework.

Perhaps one of the more intriguing treatments of *nuevo tango* in Latin jazz literature stems from John Storm Roberts who seems to conceptualize tango on two fronts.[318] First, he recognizes traditional tango as having significant rhythmic influence on early jazz styles such as the habanera.[319] In particular, he notes the flexibility the tango historically has provided for "small-group jazz styles."[320] Secondly, he uses the term "tango-jazz" to account for both experimental jazz fusions with tango—such as that of Paul Bley, Gary Burton, and David Murray—and the *nuevo tango* of Astor Piazzolla.[321] Unlike the former, however, Roberts provides adulating praise for the tango-jazz of Piazzolla and his 1986 live album *The New Tango: Piazzolla and Gary Burton*:

> These rare jazz-tango initiatives also produced one of 1986's most interesting Latin-jazz events. Gary Burton's Montreux appearance with Astor Piazzolla's quintet, recorded by Atlantic as *The New Tango*, comes nearer than anything I have heard to a true jazz tango, in part because it is a sextet recording without the strings that marred Gerry Mulligan's collaboration with Piazzolla a generation before. Given Piazzolla's predilections, it still has a very strong art-music cast, notably in the violin playing of Fernando Suarez Paz. Burton's vibraphone matches Piazzolla's usual music more closely than Mulligan's sax

[318] John Storm Roberts, *Latin Jazz*, 211-12.
[319] Ibid., 211.
[320] Ibid., 211.
[321] Ibid., 212.

> both in tone and style (which could be seen either as an advantage or not). But when the group develops the whiplash snap of the classic tango (as in "Vibraphonissimo"), the potential for a true tango-jazz starts to emerge.[322]

Roberts here makes a number of key (and bold) assertions. For one, he categorizes the jazz tango of Piazzolla and Burton (with Ziegler on piano) as a Latin-jazz performance or to put it another way a subset of the Latin jazz diagram. Moreover, he perceives Piazzolla's *nuevo tango*—unlike previous tango-jazz performances—as a "true jazz tango." In other words, Piazzolla's *nuevo tango* album for Roberts serves as an "authentic" marker of tango-jazz sophistication and Argentine identity. Lastly, he sees Piazzolla's *nuevo tango* as a potential departure point for future tango-jazz experimentations. Roberts identifies the music of Piazzolla as an "authentic" tango-jazz expression and moreover as an innovative addition to the Latin-jazz tradition.

Historical newspapers likewise have situated *nuevo tango* and tango-jazz as part of the Latin jazz diagram. These treatments of *nuevo tango* and Latin-jazz connections often have been multi-faceted and have varied according to perspective. As indicated earlier in the chapter, Agustin Gurza highlights the omission of "jazz tango" from a 2005 Latin jazz exhibit ("Latin Jazz: La Combinación Perfecta") showcased in Los Angeles (see pg. 52).[323] Gurza's recognition of Argentine jazz tango—in addition to Brazilian bossa nova—as a "school of Latin jazz" is significant since it points to a component of geographic/national identity within the framework of an evolving Pan-Latin music.[324] Though it is not entirely clear whether Gurza's reference to jazz tango is exclusively reserved for *nuevo tango* or more for experimental fusions involving

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[322] Ibid.; Astor Piazzolla Quintet, *El Nuevo Tango: Piazzolla and Gary Burton*, recorded in 1986, WEA 807209, 1986, LP.
[323] Gurza, "Finally, some due; The Smithsonian's 'La Combinación Perfecta' at the California African American Museum traces the evolution of Latin jazz," E.3.
[324] Ibid.

jazz and traditional tango, he nonetheless allows for each genre to operate within the Pan-American jazz panorama.

Another illuminating treatment of *nuevo tango* stems from a 2003 article published by Mark Holston within the magazine *JAZZIZ*. In "Latin: Learn by Doing…and Re-Doing," Holston discusses albums released by Latin jazz pianists from several Latin American countries including Michel Camilo (Dominican Republic), Danilo Pérez (Panama), "Chucho" Valdés (Cuba), Hilton Ruiz (New York), and Ziegler (Argentina).[325] Holston provides an overview of each pianist's respective approach to Latin jazz, many of which are steeped in the Afro-Cuban tradition or (in the case of Pérez), a Pan-American outlook. Holston discusses Ziegler's musicianship in relation to these Latin jazz pianists while encapsulating the ins and outs of his *nuevo tango* compositions:

> Like Camilo and Valdés, a strong classical background has been of immeasurable value to Argentine pianist Pablo Ziegler in his development as a composer and performer. Known for his work with nuevo tango architect Astor Piazzolla, Ziegler's refined technique and strong improvisational talents are put to excellent use on *Bajo Cero*…There is a chamber music approach to Ziegler's trio setting. All three instrumentalists solo, accompany and provide rhythmic foundation. As the roles change, so does the texture, intensity and complexity of the music. On such Ziegler creations as "Milonga del Adios," the melancholy air that's so much a part of tango culture is evoked, while his "La Rayuela" is a more up-tempo work that surges along with the festive intensity of a Brazilian baiao.[326]

By situating Ziegler's music alongside that of Camilo and Valdés (considered two Latin jazz piano "giants"), Holston provides a platform for *nuevo tango* to operate within the Latin jazz continuum. At the same time, his outlining of Ziegler's musical and compositional approach within the realm of *nuevo tango* signals a different kind of Latin jazz apart from the music of Camilo and Valdés.

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[325] Mark Holston, "Latin: Learn by Doing…and Re-Doing," *JAZZIZ* (November 2003): 30.
[326] Ibid.

Perhaps one of the more unlikely sources that demonstrates how *nuevo tango* functions within Latin jazz discourses are jazz concert posters. A prominent example includes a 1990 poster—depicted in Piazzolla's memoir by Natalio Gorin and Fernando González—that advertises upcoming performances by prominent jazz and Latin jazz musicians in Varese, Italy.[327] Piazzolla is slotted for the July 19 date under a "Latin Nights" heading and is situated between Camilo (July 18), *timbalero* Tito Puente (July 20), and Dizzy Gillespie's "United Nation All Star Orchestra."[328] Among the Latinx members listed in Gillespie's ensemble are Brazilian musicians Flora Purim, Airto Moreira, and Claudio Roditi, Cuban musicians Paquito D'Rivera and Arturo Sandoval, and Panamanian pianist Danilo Pérez.[329] The grouping of Piazzolla with other Latinx musicians specializing primarily in Afro-Cuban, Brazilian jazz, and Latin American "folkloric" music genres reveals a perception that *nuevo tango* can function as a Latin jazz genre. Moreover, the positioning of Piazzolla and Latinx musicians under the "Latin Nights" heading, is consistent with expressions of Pan-Latin and Pan-American jazz.

The tendency of historians and critics (particularly within the U.S.) to situate *nuevo tango* and tango-jazz alongside other Latin jazz genres has important ramifications for understanding representations of Argentine identity. In particular, despite having predominantly (though not exclusively) European heritage, the notion of "white, North American power and privilege" has not applied to Argentine jazz musicians within the context of U.S.-based jazz criticism and by

[327] Natalio Gorin, *Astor Piazzolla: A Memoir*, 187-88. Sadly, Piazzolla's health was declining during this timeframe and as a result, he was unable to perform the concert in Varese, Italy.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Ibid.

extension, U.S. identity politics.[330] Karush for example discusses how jazz critics often referred to Argentine saxophonist "Gato" Barbieri using the generic "Latin" label:

> By the time Barbieri arrived in the United States, North American jazz musicians and critics had a set of well-defined expectations about what Latin could signify. These expectations created opportunities for Barbieri, even as they imposed aesthetic limitations. Since he was neither Caribbean nor Brazilian, Barbieri did not quite fit existing models of Latin musical personae. His experience, therefore, lays bare the ideological dimensions of the over-generalized, ethnic category of Latin and the invented tradition of Latin jazz. At the same time, Barbieri proved adept at making creative use of the opportunities his new Latin identity afforded.[331]

Karush points to how U.S. critics' preconceived notions of "Latin" identity offered Barbieri some opportunities to articulate a musical and ethnic identity that might not have been otherwise possible in his home country. At the same time, as Karush later indicates, by relegating Barbieri to a "Latin American" or more generically Latin identity, "the fame that he eventually achieved by embodying a Latin persona reinscribed the stereotype of the passionate, hot-blooded Latin."[332]

Another informative treatment of Argentine jazz musicians (referenced earlier in this chapter) stems from Fernando González in his critique of Ken Burns's documentary *Jazz* (see pg. 53).[333] Similar to Karush's assertion that "jazz scholars… have often minimized the contributions of Latin Americans," González confronts the notable absence of Latinx musicians, including Argentine musicians Jorge Dalto, Barbieri, and Schifrin.[334] González's incorporation of these Argentine artists in conjunction with Cuban, Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Brazilian

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[330] Karush, "Reinventing the Latin in Latin Jazz," 379.
[331] Ibid., 380.
[332] Ibid., 392.
[333] Fernando González, "One-Note 'Jazz' Goes Flat Without a Latin Beat," *The Washington Post* (January 27, 2001): C.1.
[334] Karush, "Reinventing the Latin in Latin Jazz," 380; González, "One-Note 'Jazz' Goes Flat Without a Latin Beat," C.1.

musicians signals how Argentine jazz musicians—despite generally being perceived as "European" in Argentina—often have endured similar marginalization with other Latinx musicians, particularly within the context of jazz criticism. The perpetuation of the generic label "Latin" and (I would argue) the exoticization of the Spanish language in general have caused Latinx musicians as a whole to be relegated to certain jazz subgenres within U.S.-based perspectives. At the same time, this phenomenon does not mitigate the fact that European/white privilege in Argentina still operates in very real ways.

I would contend that portrayals of Argentine musicians in jazz criticism pinpoint two forms of Argentine identity that illuminate understandings of Pan-American jazz discourse and notions of a hybrid third space. In returning to Ana C. Cara's concept of "home" and "export tango," one could maintain that Argentine jazz, *nuevo tango*, and tango-jazz musicians—like Ziegler, Barbieri, Dalto, and Schifrin—have experienced both an Argentine "home" and "export" identity.[335] I would define "home" identity in this context as one that is less marginalized and reflects (much like the tango itself) perceptions of a more nationalized Argentine identity. Conversely, one could recognize Argentine "export" identity within U.S. jazz circles as inhibiting Argentines from occupying more prestigious spaces within the jazz narrative and social hierarchy. Likewise, Argentine jazz musicians performing in local markets (as Barbieri has indicated himself) do not adhere to or embody a Pan-Latin identity.[336] Hence, the notion of Pan-Latin identity for an Argentine jazz musician usually only comes to play in international contexts. I would reason that Argentine jazz musicians themselves occupy a third space situated

[335] Ana C. Cara, "Entangled Tangos: Passionate Displays, Intimate Dialogues," *The Journal of American Folklore* 122, no. 486 (Fall 2009): 439.
[336] Karush, "Reinventing the Latin in Latin Jazz," 380.

between their "home" and "export" identities that varies according to the perspectives of local and international music markets. Moreover, this third space concurrently works to reconcile, complicate, and uphold Argentine jazz musicians' place within the Latin jazz canon and the framework of the Pan-American jazz model.

2.3.5 Pablo Ziegler: Transcription and Musical Analysis

From its inception, Piazzolla's *nuevo tango* compositions were known for incorporating elements of jazz. When he recruited Ziegler for his quintet in 1978, however, the pianist's unique conception of swing and improvisation added a new dimension to Piazzolla's music. Ziegler explained his experimental role within the quintet during a 2001 interview:

> Piazzolla had always wanted a pianist who didn't come out of the tango. Everything was written out in Astor's music, but I started to improvise. And he would say: 'Yes, I like that. Improvise. But don't improvise in jazz, improvise in tango.' We made his quintet much jazzier. Tango and jazz approached each other. And we reached a point which I have taken as the starting point for my group.[337]

Ziegler's contributions worked to create a bridge where "tango and jazz approached each other." The pianist eventually would use this connection as a departure point for his own music, which engaged more directly with jazz textures. To demonstrate how *nuevo tango* operates within the Pan-American model, the following section features various transcription excerpts from Ziegler's improvisations on "Chin Chin."[338]

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[337] Sebastian Rotella, "A Musical Crossover on a Grand Scale: The Works of Astor Piazzolla, Whose Tangos Draw from Jazz, Classical and Latin genres, are Enjoying New Life," *Los Angeles Times* (March 5, 2001): F.6.
[338] Astor Piazzolla Quintet, "Chin Chin," track 2-6 on *Libertango*, recorded in 1984, Milan Sur 51138-2, 1997, compact disc.

Recorded on February 1984 in Mar del Plata, Argentina, Piazzolla's live performance of "Chin Chin" features Fernando Suárez Paz on violin, Oscar López Ruiz on guitar, Héctor Console on contrabass, and Ziegler on piano.[339] From the onset, Piazzolla's quintet performs the piece at a brisk tempo and with an intense rhythmic drive. The melody is in constant motion and evolves throughout with its foundation occurring as the following (see figure 8):

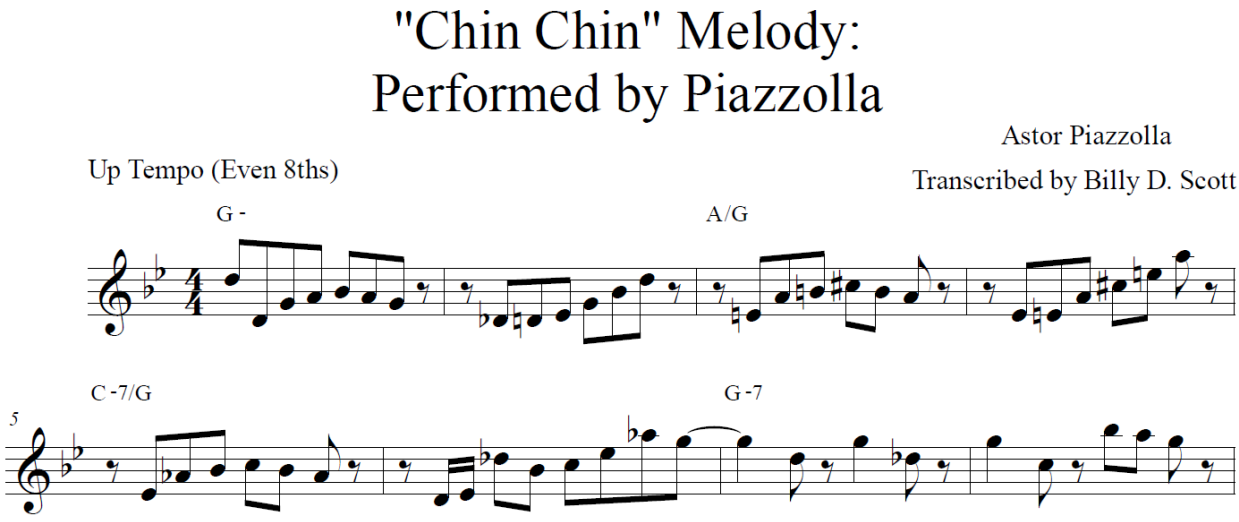

Figure 8. Astor Piazzolla's Melody on "Chin Chin"

The melody in this excerpt is highly angular and idiomatically reflects improvisational lines found in bebop and straight-ahead jazz. In addition, Piazzolla seems to utilize a sequential pattern in the first five measures. Specifically, the lines of the odd measures (mm. 1, 3, and 5) and the even measures (mm. 2 and 4) contain similar scalar motions that function as nearly identical transpositions of each other. The line in m. 6 on the other hand, utilizes a different type of motion from the previous measure. In particular, it is characterized by a more angular

[339] Gorin, *Astor Piazzolla: A Memoir*, 246-47.

counterpoint that is lyrical in nature and again idiomatically reflects lines found in jazz improvisation. The lines of the final two measures revolve largely around the G-7 chord and—with the interpolation of the Db (m. 7, beat 4+)—emit a blues-like quality.

It should especially be noted, however, that the harmonic progression of "Chin Chin" reflects the harmonic changes found in the famous jazz standard "On Green Dolphin Street." Piazzolla achieves this type of "Green-Dolphin" sound by utilizing a G pedal point and slash chording techniques that exemplify a semi-chromatic or stepwise descending motion. Unlike previous Piazzolla pianists, however, Ziegler is able to embellish upon Piazzolla's fully notated harmonies. Notice below how Ziegler uses voicings that operate outside the typical harmonic structure found throughout the piece (see figure 9):

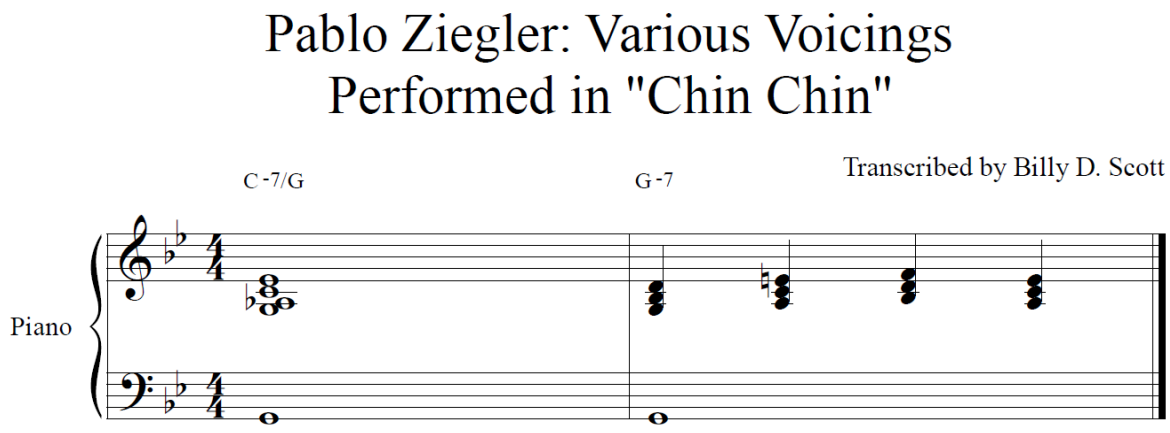

Figure 9. Various Pablo Ziegler Voicings

In particular, Ziegler in one passage plays a highly dissonant AbMaj 7 chord over a G pedal (m. 1 above) when the piece is calling for a C-7/G chord. Ziegler also throughout the recording consistently utilizes harmonic parallelism over a G-7 chord by building three-note voicings from the G Dorian mode (m. 2). In short, the combination of Piazzolla's slash chord compositional

technique and Ziegler's liberal interpretation of harmony creates a more jazz-oriented *nuevo tango* performance.

Following several variations of the melody and a slower middle section, a long and iconic piano solo is featured. The solo section begins with a driving vamp-like figure that is outlined by the bass (Console) and electric guitar (Ruiz) and occurs entirely over a G minor chord (see figure 10):

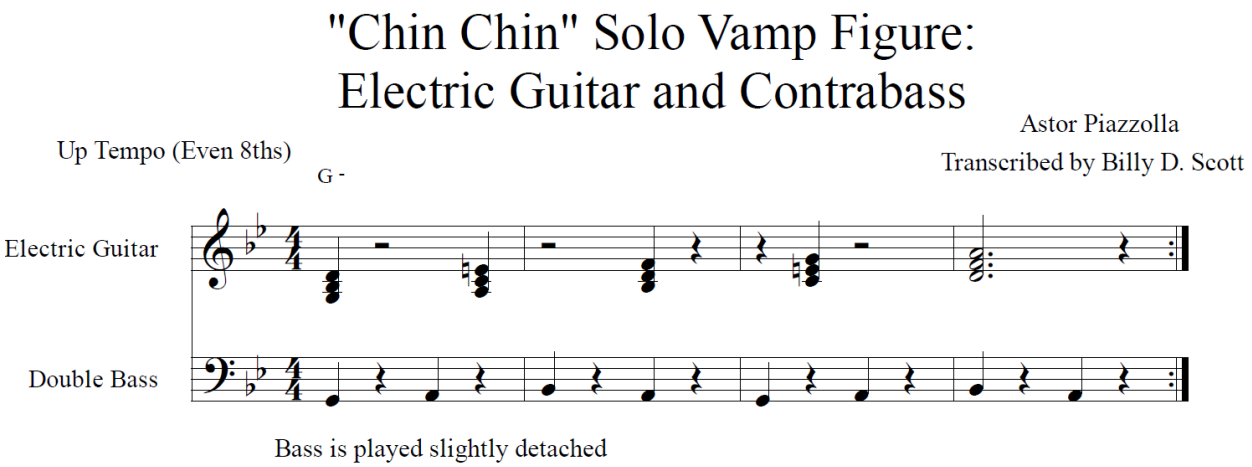

Figure 10. Solo Vamp Figures on "Chin Chin" (Guitar and Bass)

Console employs quarter bass notes that are semi-detached and insinuate the G minor chord. Ruiz on the other hand, plays a chordal passage that is almost identical to Ziegler's parallel voicings found in previous sections. Specifically, Ruiz utilizes successive three-note voicings over the G Dorian mode and within the structure of four-bar phrasing. Though the figure is performed in 4/4 meter, the beat configuration over the four-measure span is 3+3+3+3+2+2. Ziegler essentially solos over this beat configuration and in conjunction with the bass and guitar patterns.

Ziegler's solo strikes a balance between straight-ahead jazz and *nuevo tango* traditions. The pianist is especially adept at maintaining the nuances of *nuevo tango* rhythm and groove while interpolating left-hand jazz voicings that generate energy and tension throughout the solo (see figure 11 below):

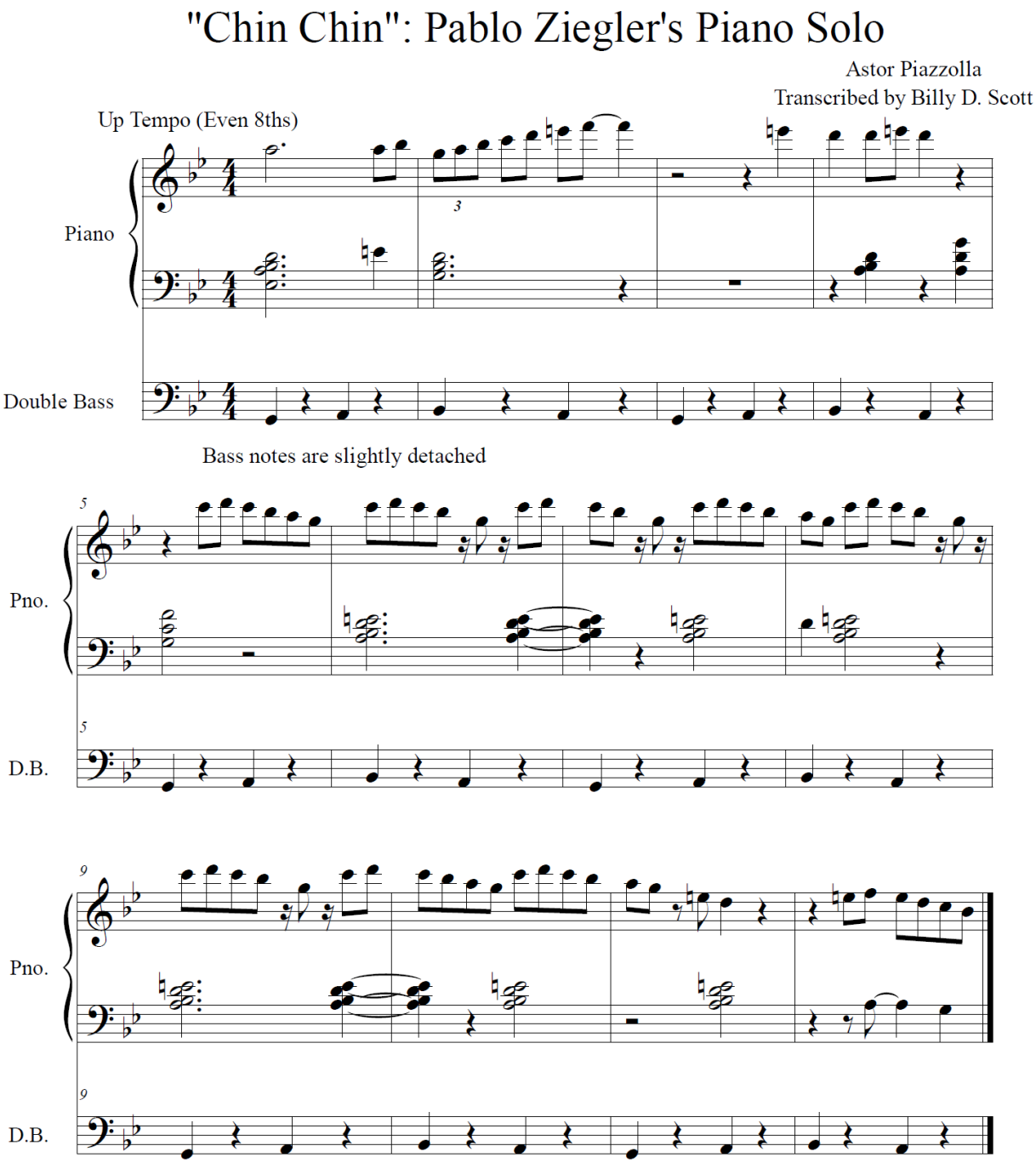

Figure 11. Piano Excerpt of Pablo Ziegler's Solo on “Chin Chin”

First of all, his right-hand lines seem to be more idiomatically consistent with *nuevo tango* rhythm. There is an element of swing or forward motion in his performance, but not in the jazz

sense. Rather, he executes more of an even eighth-note feel in conjunction with the driving and pulsating bass ostinato and guitar patterns. Moreover, Ziegler in the excerpt above predominantly improvises over the G Dorian mode and more within the key center. His right-hand improvisational lines are lyrical and flowing, but not in a bebop, post-bop, or blues/fusion style. In short, Piazzolla—as Ziegler indicates above—wanted the pianist to improvise more consistently in the tango vein rather than jazz.[340]

At the same time, Ziegler uses a variety of left-hand voicings that reflect the idiomatic language of modern jazz. One of these is the standard rootless voicing found in typical ii-V-I progressions (m. 1, beat 1). Another is the more traditional root-based G minor triad found in m. 2. However, Ziegler's most dynamic use of left-hand harmony in the excerpt above, occurs from m. 4, beat 4 to m. 11, beat 3. In this passage, the pianist first demonstrates an understanding of jazz pianist McCoy Tyner's left-hand quartal style as indicated in m. 4, beat 4 (A, D, G) and m. 5 (G, C, F). These chords are especially effective in creating tension, energy, and forward motion leading up to the cyclical and virtuosic improvisational figure spanning from m. 5, beat 2 to m. 11, beat 3.

The latter figure displays Ziegler's ability to manipulate the beat, create across-the-barline phrasing, and establish a left-hand/right-hand dialogue. The pattern begins with a six-note pattern (C, D, C, Bb, A, G) in m. 5 that evolves into a predominantly 5-note pattern (C, D, C, Bb, G) through m. 9 before returning to a six-note figure in mm. 10-11 (see figure 11 above). The five and six-note figures occur in direct correlation with a slightly dissonant yet resonant four-note chord insinuating a G minor 6/9. In particular, the beginning of each five and six-note

[340] Sebastian Rotella, "A Musical Crossover on a Grand Scale: The Works of Astor Piazzolla, Whose Tangos Draw from Jazz, Classical and Latin genres, are Enjoying New Life," *Los Angeles Times* (March 5, 2001): F.6.

pattern lands in conjunction with a G minor 6/9 chord every three beats. This process causes the G minor 6/9 chord to land on beat 1, m. 6, beat 4, m. 6, beat 3, m. 7, and beat 2, mm .8 before returning to beat 1 of m. 9. In other words, Ziegler's five and six-note figures in conjunction with the G minor 6/9 chord works to obscure the beat and generate tension throughout the rhythm section. In total, I would argue that Ziegler's meshing of *nuevo tango* rhythm and groove in conjunction with jazz harmony and improvisation worked to signal the birth of tango-jazz, which ultimately was steeped in both *nuevo tango* and jazz traditions.

2.3.6 Pablo Ziegler: *Nuevo Tango*, Tango-Jazz, Pan-American Jazz

Ziegler's engagement with *nuevo tango* and his innovations in what I term tango-jazz have implications for understanding Pan-American jazz discourses. First of all, Ziegler's contributions to *nuevo tango* as a jazz pianist in a sense helped cement the music as a Latin American jazz genre. This is evidenced for example on Piazzolla's live 1986 Montreux album *El Nuevo Tango: Piazzolla and Gary Burton*, in which Ziegler played a prominent role. The album was perceived by Latin jazz historians like Storm Roberts as a legitimate hybrid of jazz and tango and by extension a vibrant component of the Latin jazz tree.[341] Though I would argue that Argentine jazz musicians like Ziegler traditionally have occupied a "third space" or "liminal" identity in U.S.-based jazz narratives, I would conversely contend that tango's iconic standing as one of Latin American's most enduring exports potentially places *nuevo tango* and tango-jazz on an equal plane with the Afro-Cuban and Brazilian music branches of the Latin jazz tree. Such a

[341] Roberts, *Latin Jazz*, 212.

perspective depends, of course, on which narrative is being propagated in Latin jazz discourse at a given time. At the same time, if we consider the Argentine tango's historical output throughout the globe, then one could argue for *nuevo tango*'s standing as a co-equal branch with Afro-Cuban and Brazilian music on the Latin jazz continuum. Such assertions may seem to contradict the Pan-American jazz philosophy, where *nuevo tango* would exist under or as a subset of the Latin American music branch opposite the Afro-Cuban tradition.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The concept of Pan-American jazz as defined by Pérez is an important contribution to Latin jazz discourse. In particular, the concept works to incorporate a number of Latin American musics that previously have been minimized in Latin jazz discourse. Moreover, the model still importantly recognizes the Afro-Cuban jazz tradition as a primary branch opposite the Latin American music faction of the Latin jazz continuum. I argue that the combination of these two branches from the Pérez perspective yields a third space where various Latinx identities are forged, contested, and negotiated. However, my isolation of individual case studies featuring Latinx musicians from diverse Latin American countries and musical traditions—including Tania Maria (Brazil) and Pablo Ziegler (Argentina)—illustrates how the notion of Pan-American jazz and the appending concept of third space is not always as clean cut as the theory implies. An isolated analysis of Maria and Ziegler respectively and a reexamination of Latin jazz discourse (historiography, articles, magazines, and record labels) works concurrently to challenge, uphold, and reconcile Pan-American jazz perspectives of the Latin jazz tradition.

3.0 EDDIE PALMIERI: PERFORMING "STRATEGIC HYBRIDITY" IN "MI CUMBIA"

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Musical hybrids often have social ramifications that vary across cultures and contexts. Some are deemed beneficial, particularly when two or more seemingly disparate musical traditions come together to generate meaningful cultural exchange. Other hybrids involve damaging processes of appropriation between dominant and subaltern or Western and non-Western cultures. Still others constitute forms of direct protest aimed strategically toward repressive, tyrannical forces that operate in local, global, and virtual spaces. In short, *musical hybrids* conceptualized on aesthetic grounds may be utilized in a strategic manner that entails processes of *cultural hybridity*.

Throughout this chapter, I argue that the boundary lines between musical hybridity and cultural hybridity in fusion music require clear delineation. I conceive cultural hybridity as resulting from convergences between cultural entities—whether in identity politics, nationalism, globalization, religious ideals, or other realms—that are articulated and expressed through modes of difference.[342] Musical hybridity, on the other hand, is conceptualized as a type of fusion that is

[342] Charles Stewart, "Creolization, Hybridity, Syncretism, Mixture," *Portuguese Studies* 27, no. 1 (2011): 53.

associated with creativity and innovation. As anthropologist Josep Martí indicates, "Hybridization is associated with innovation, something very important for any kind of music that seeks to be popular." [343] More importantly, musical hybrids serve as a foundation for identifying cultural processes. For example, a musical merging of tango with jazz sheds light on how multiple identities are formed and how they are negotiated through methods of collaboration and point of contact. In total, I contend that processes of cultural hybridity can be pinpointed through the lens of musical hybridity in fusion music.

In this chapter, I discuss how the musical hybrids of Nuyorican pianist Eddie Palmieri exemplify varying layers of cultural hybridity. My chapter contends that Palmieri's stylistic and philosophical approaches to fusion music reflect individualized notions of strategic hybridity, a recent concept emerging in post-colonial studies.[344] While this chapter acknowledges previous applications of strategic hybridity as a form of strategic essentialism (an earlier postcolonial theory introduced in the 1980s), it also considers the practice as a strategy that works to mobilize socio-political ideals of Pan-Latin identity on a transnational axis.[345] Through musical transcription, lyric analysis, and my interview with Palmieri himself, I demonstrate how the juxtaposition of salsa and Colombian cumbia in his 1973 composition "Mi Cumbia" represents a form of strategic hybridity that signifies a Pan-Latin identity with a transnational fluidity. Moreover, I argue that this juxtaposition simultaneously conveys Colombian nationalist and Pan-

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[343] Josep Martí, "Hybridization and Its Meanings in the Catalan Musical Tradition," in *Songs of the Minotaur-Hybridity and Popular Music in the Era of Globalization: A Comparative Analysis of Rebetika, Tango, Rai, Flamenco, Sardana, and English Urban Folk,* ed. Gerhard Steingress (Hamburg and London: LIT Verlag, 2002), 2, 6, 8.
[344] Joel Kuortti and Jopi Nyman. *Reconstructing Hybridity: Post-Colonial Studies in Transition* (Kenilworth: Rodopi, 2007), 13. See also in *Reconstructing Hybridity*, Paul Sharrad's chapter "Strategic Hybridity: Some Pacific Takes on Postcolonial Theory."
[345] Ibid.

African identities through its affinity for the contributions of Colombian musicians, its alignment with the internationally-oriented, subversive rhetoric of the socio-political salsa movement, and Palmieri's engagement with Mozambique.[346] Ultimately, my focus on Palmieri's "Mi Cumbia" aims to elucidate a deeper understanding of Colombia's space within Latin jazz discourse and its diverse influences on the Pan-American jazz palette.

3.2 PERFORMING STRATEGIC HYBRIDITY

The term "strategic hybridity" first became conspicuous in the early-to-mid 2000s. Two key sources to emerge during this timeframe were Laura Pirott-Quintero's "Strategic Hybridity in Carmen Boullosa's *Duerme*" (2002) and Tracy Marafiote and Emily Plec's "From Dualisms to Dialogism: Hybridity in Discourse About the Natural World" (2006). In the former, Pirott-Quintero discusses how *Duerme*'s main protagonist Claire utilizes a strategic implementation of diverse hybrid identities in order to survive within the hostile social environment of sixteenth-century Colonialist Mexico.[347] In particular, Pirott-Quintero illustrates how the hybridity of the main character's body "becomes a strategic trope to reconsider Mexican colonial history."[348] For example, through her use of cross-dressing and adoption of multiple identities—including a French buccaneer, a Spanish Count, and an "Indian peasant"—Claire influentially "crosses

[346] For more information on socio-political salsa see Brittmarie Janson Pérez's article "Political Facets of Salsa."
[347] Laura Pirott-Quintero, "Strategic Hybridity in Carmen Boullosa's *Duerme*," *Ciberletras* 5 (2001). For this source no page numbers are listed.
[348] Ibid.

gender, racial, temporal, and narrative boundaries with the unfolding of her story."[349] In doing so, the character employs a "strategy of transformative agency" that "challenges the reader to reconsider institutionalized classifications."[350] The strategic employment of her "body's hybridity" ultimately serves as an agent for exposing and critiquing the unequal power dynamics instilled by hegemonic power structures throughout colonialist society.[351]

Environmental communication scholars introduced their own understandings of the term in the 2006 collection *The Environmental Communication Yearbook* (Volume 3).[352] In their chapter, "From Dualisms to Dialogism: Hybridity in Discourse about the Natural World," Marafiote and Plec treat strategic hybridity as a "rhetorical and applied communication strategy" that ultimately works to "advance the goals of environmental movements."[353] Marafiote and Plec acknowledge the influence of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's "strategic essentialism"—including a brief description of its pitfalls and benefits—in their definition of strategic hybridity.[354] However, they deviate slightly from Spivak by correlating strategic hybridity with "Bahktin's notion of conscious or intentional hybridity," which in its original conception entails the juxtaposition of different idioms and discourses in the same semiotic space without an actual merging taking place.[355] For example, consider Bahktin's treatment of parody as an "intentional dialogized hybrid":

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[349] Ibid.
[350] Ibid.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Stephen P. Depoe, *The Environmental Communication Yearbook: Volume 3* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
[353] Tracy Marafiote and Emily Plec, "Hybridity in Discourse about the Natural World," in *The Environmental Communication Yearbook: Volume 3*, ed. Stephen P. Depoe (New York: Routledge, 2006), 53.
[354] Ibid., 60; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*, eds. Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), 203, 208, 239.
[355] Tracy Marafiote and Emily Plec, "Hybridity in Discourse about the Natural World," 70.

> Every type of intentional stylistic hybrid is more or less dialogized. This means that the languages that are crossed in it relate to each other as do rejoinders in a dialogue; there is an argument between languages, an argument between styles of language. But it is not a dialogue in the narrative sense, nor in the abstract sense; rather it is a dialogue between points of view, each with its own concrete language that cannot be translated into the other.[356]

Using Bahktin's terminology as a point of departure, Marafiote and Plec outline strategic hybridity as a "purposeful, calculated implementation of hybridity," a "rhetorical strategy," and a "deliberate joining of a variety of possible voices persuasive to a particular audience."[357] Moreover, they demonstrate how strategic hybridity as an environmental approach enables "listeners to hold multiple, even, ambivalent, beliefs about the natural world."[358] In short, the authors contend that a strategic hybrid has the capacity to "provoke the dialogic imagination and provide useful rhetorical spaces for the development of environmental consciousness."[359] More comprehensively, they illustrate how hybridity theory in general "potentially mitigates problems used by all-or-nothing perspectives on environmentalism."[360]

Arguably the most widely recognized treatment of strategic hybridity emanates from the theorizations of Paul Sharrad. In his 2007 chapter "Strategic Hybridity: Some Pacific Takes on Postcolonial Theory," Sharrad—drawing again from Spivak's strategic essentialism—describes how "the many and varied uses and misuses of the term hybridity may successfully be used in a strategic manner."[361] Analyzing literary excerpts from "Pacific interpretations of post-colonial theory," Sharrad specifically calls for a "*strategic hybridity* which answers to the needs of its

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[356] Mikhail M. Bakhtin and Michael Holquist, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 76.
[357] Ibid.
[358] Ibid.
[359] Ibid.
[360] Ibid., 70, 73.
[361] Joel Kuortti and Jopi Nyman, *Reconstructing Hybridity: Post-Colonial Studies in Transition* (Kenilworth: Rodopi, 2007), 13.

different users according to their socio-political contexts."[362] In particular, he illustrates how "indigenous voices" emanating from Oceania literature at times utilize "strategies…that allow the continuation of ethnic identity as a partly racial/ised phenomenon while also validating the cultural mixing, both in society and in literature, that contemporary postcolonial life entails."[363] Sharrad contends that the inconsistency between hybridity's "metaphoricity and reality" allow for "re-translation in new situations" that in the end yield some gains and some "losses in its application."[364]

Following Sharrad, postcolonial scholar Amar Acheraïou's *Questioning Hybridity, Postcolonialism and Globalization* (2011) offers a creative, practical, and extensive vision of strategic hybridity (and hybridity theory in general) that operates both in conjunction with and in opposition to other treatments of the term. In the early sections of the text, Acheraïou situates hybridity within the context of ancient Greek and Roman civilization.[365] Through his emphasis on the hybridizing cultural influences of Egypt and Persia, he challenges the predominance of Hellenistic discourses and "myths of purity" that permeate many traditional Greco-Macedonian sources.[366] In doing so, he also critiques the generalized notion that colonial powers *always* "are more likely to impact significantly on the less powerful and subjugated cultures."[367] While Acheraïou rightly acknowledges the harsh reality of colonial marginalization and decimation of indigenous or colonized populations throughout history, he also points to the co-presence of

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[362] Paul Sharrad, "Strategic Hybridity: Some Pacific Takes on Postcolonial Theory," in *Reconstructing Hybridity: Post-Colonial Studies in Transition*, eds. Joel Kuortti and Jopi Nyman (Kenilworth: Rodopi, 2007), 105-6.
[363] Ibid., 106.
[364] Kuortti and Nyman, *Reconstructing Hybridity*, 13.
[365] Amar Acheraïou, *Questioning Hybridity, Postcolonialism and Globalization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
[366] Ibid., 15-16.
[367] Ibid., 17.

"intense mutual cultural and linguistic exchanges" resulting from contact between "colonizers and colonized cultures."[368] One example stems from Alexander the Great's conquest of Persia, which ultimately resulted in Greece "absorbing and incorporating into its realm customs, traditions, practices, and ideas looted" from the colonized Persian culture.[369] Another example is the ancient Roman empire's eventual adoption of "Greek culture and literature… following the incorporation of Greece into the Roman empire in 146 BC."[370] Thus, in a sense, one can infer a certain "celebration of cultural hybridity" in Rome's appreciation for the former Grecian empire.[371]

Unlike other recent postcolonial treatments of strategic hybridity, Acheraïou does not adhere strictly to the strategic essentialism paradigm. Rather, he conceptualizes strategic hybridity as a multi-faceted and manipulative strategy employed by colonial powers against colonized populations. He defines the term as "a hybridization that is moved by concrete cultural, ideological, economic, and geopolitical considerations, all aiming at imperial domination and supremacy."[372] To put it another way, strategic hybridity for Acheraïou acts as "an actively thought-out design with hidden political, cultural, and ideological objectives."[373] It is a strategy that extracts core cultural and political elements from the colonized society in order to articulate and implement a hybridized identity that ultimately benefits the colonial power. For example, the Grecian-controlled Ptolemaic empire's merging of "Greek and Egyptian traditions into a complex, blurred system of governance," was instituted with the objective "to tighten the

[368] Ibid., 18.
[369] Ibid., 15.
[370] Ibid., 19.
[371] Ibid., 38.
[372] Ibid., 23.
[373] Ibid., 38.

Ptolemaic grip on Egyptian society."[374] Such policies were instituted in order to "maintain an elitist system" within the government that benefitted "colonizer and colonized alike" and managed to control the "lower rungs of Egyptian society."[375] While Acheraïou's treatment of hybridity theory is at times conflated with similar concepts such as "syncretism," "métissage," and "mestízaje," his use of the term importantly works to account for "the cultural, the aesthetic, the political, the ideological, and the biological" aspects of the concept.[376]

Another treatment of strategic hybridity emerged in 2012 through the concepts of Nilanjana Bardhan in the compendium *Identity Research and Communication*. In her chapter "Postcolonial Migrant Identities and the Case for Strategic Hybridity," Bardhan discusses the multifarious roles of the postcolonial migrant in "performing strategic hybridity" within intercultural (or more precisely, "inter"cultural) spaces.[377] Noting how postcolonial migrants often are hybrid and "doubly dislocated," the author illustrates a number of ways migrants "accomplish agentic bridgework in the space of the 'inter' in intercultural communication."[378] Bardhan discusses her own personal experience as a migrant within the space of the classroom, where students articulated an awareness of her lacking of an accent.[379] Specifically, Bardhan contends that as a result of her "border-crossing lived experience," she does not employ a "fixed accent" but rather "various modes of accent switching."[380] This strategy of oscillating between "'no accent' and 'accented' selves" has in her mind allowed for a "straddling of two cultural

[374] Ibid.
[375] Ibid., 39-40.
[376] Ibid., 17.
[377] Nilanjana Bardhan, "Postcolonial Migrant Identities and the Case for Strategic Hybridity: Toward 'Inter'cultural Bridgework," in *Identity Research and Communication: Intercultural Reflections and Future Directions*, eds. Nilanjana Bardhan and Mark P. Orbe (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2012), 155.
[378] Ibid.
[379] Ibid., 159.
[380] Ibid.

worlds."[381] What separates Bardhan's approach from previous scholars is her positioning of hybridity "as a strategic performance" rather than a "static cultural descriptor."[382] In particular, she argues that the process of strategic hybridity (much like Spivak's strategic essentialism) is performative, agentic, interventionist, and most importantly, "about accomplishing something in the present."[383] Ultimately, Bardhan's focus on strategic hybridity importantly bolsters the concept of hybridity theory itself through her emphasis on performativity rather than fixed entities.

As many of the writings indicate (some directly, others peripherally) the notion of strategic hybridity is predominantly grounded in Spivak's theory of strategic essentialism. This idea was first coined in "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography" (1985) and is often defined as a "political and temporary use of essentialism for the subversive ends of creating or understanding a group self-consciousness."[384] In this essay, Spivak begins by exploring the implications of historiography and cultural consciousness in shaping subaltern studies.[385] Specifically, she unpacks the notion of subaltern as a form of insurgency, operating as an "agency of change" and disrupting colonialist narratives.[386] Moreover, it is her introduction and elucidation of the term strategic essentialism that most extensively underpins her engagement with Subaltern Studies:

> Reading the work of Subaltern Studies from within but against the grain, I would suggest that elements in their text would warrant a reading of the project to retrieve the subaltern consciousness as the attempt to undo a massive historiographic metalepsis and 'situate'

[381] Ibid.
[382] Ibid., 155.
[383] Ibid., 155-56.
[384] Nancy Arden McHugh, *Feminist Philosophies A-Z* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 139.
[385] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*, eds. Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), 203, 208, 239.
[386] Ibid., 203, 205.

> the effect of the subject as subaltern. I would read it, then, as a strategic use of positivist essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest…The strategy becomes most useful when 'consciousness' is being used in the narrow sense, as self-consciousness.[387]

In other words, Spivak perceives deployments of "subaltern consciousness" via "strategic…positivist essentialism" as constructive and beneficial since the "group write as if aware of their complicity with subaltern insurgency."[388] In short, Spivak's emphasis on a strategy for establishing a collective "self-consciousness" illuminates the need for an entry point to acquire an "advantage within systems of knowledge production."[389]

Since Spivak's initial formulation of strategic essentialism, myriad scholars have unpacked the theoretical and cultural implications of the concept. While some have focused on the positive and necessary components of strategic essentialism, others have emphasized its negative and damaging effects on various ethnic groups. For some scholars, strategic essentialism—as indicated by Marafiote and Plec previously—can be problematic since it "represents a reductionist tendency."[390] For others, strategic essentialism is necessary since it forges "tactical identities through which we may secure power."[391] In this section, I will focus on two articles that explore the wide-ranging effects of strategic essentialism on understandings and articulations of ethnic identity: 1) "Collaborative Archaeology and Strategic Essentialism: Native Empowerment in Tidewater Virginia" (2011) by Martin Gallivan, Danielle Moretti-Langholtz,

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[387] Ibid., 214.
[388] Ibid., 204.
[389] Ibid.; Jijian Voronka, "The Politics of 'People with Lived Experience': Experiential Authority and the Risks of Strategic Essentialism," *Philosophy, Psychiatry, & Psychology* 23, no. 3-4 (September-December 2016): 196.
[390] Marafiote and Plec, "From Dualisms to Dialogism: Hybridity in Discourse About the Natural World," 60.
[391] Ibid.

and Buck Woodard and 2) "The Politics of 'People with Lived Experience': Experiential Authority and the Risks of Strategic Essentialism" (2016) by Jijian Voronka.[392]

In the former article, Gallivan, Moretti-Langholtz, and Woodard discuss how Native American tribal communities involved in archaeological undertakings at Wecowocomoco in Tidewater, Virginia used strategic essentialism to navigate the extensive prerequisites required for "federal recognition."[393] Out of necessity, the tribal groups have employed a strategic essentialism that directly engages and draws from colonialist accounts of indigenous populations stemming from 17th-century resource artifacts.[394] Specifically, a number of Native American archaeological scholars have adopted transhistorical strategies that connect "contemporary tribal identities [with] native communities referenced in the early colonial accounts."[395] While such approaches and sources have served as important mediums for asserting or maintaining a "group's identity or its claim to territory," the authors maintain that these strategies are detrimental to "'decolonizing' the accepted models of native social construction."[396] Though "colonialist notions of tribal boundaries" largely shape archeological engagements with Wecowocomoco, the authors contend that "social links across communities" can be influential in generating "ready access to the site and to its history."[397]

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[392] Martin Gallivan, Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, and Buck Woodard, "Collaborative Archaeology and Strategic Essentialism: Native Empowerment in Tidewater Virginia," *Historical Archaeology* 45, no. 1 (2011): 10-23; Voronka, "The Politics of 'People with Lived Experience,'" 196.
[393] Gallivan, Moretti-Langholtz, and Woodard, "Collaborative Archaeology and Strategic Essentialism," 18-19.
[394] Ibid., 18.
[395] Ibid., 14.
[396] Ibid., 19.
[397] Ibid.

Similarly, Voronka's essay explores the political and cultural ramifications (both positive and negative) of "enacting strategic essentialism." [398] First, she argues that implementing "notions of universally shared 'lived experience'" or strategic essentialism are not necessarily ideal, but in the end are vital since "it is often the only way [some groups] can get in."[399] At the same time, she illustrates how the implementation of such strategies is not without pitfalls. For example, one of the most disconcerting effects of strategic essentialism is a proclivity to create "fixed identities." [400] In this scenario, the ideas of normalcy and difference generated through strategic essentialism problematically become realized as "embodied truths."[401] Moreover, Voronka discusses how strategic essentialism and its often all-encompassing approach aiming to "unify diversity" can be detrimental since "we risk conflating distinct ideological and conceptual explanatory models under the apolitical, liberal, and user-friendly language of 'lived experience.'"[402] Therefore, despite its usefulness for mobilizing a group's core socio-political ideals based on cultural or racial lines, processes of strategic essentialism in the end have the capacity to inhibit a particular faction or group from acting out core "differences that many of us have worked so hard to elucidate."[403] In summary, both modern and classic usages of strategic hybridity align and deviate from previous conceptions of strategic essentialism.

The previous sections encapsulate several important strategic hybridity formulations, many of which are grounded in Spivak's concept of strategic essentialism. As illustrated above, most of these interpretations (notwithstanding Marafiote and Plec) are visualized predominantly

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[398] Jijian Voronka, "The Politics of 'People with Lived Experience,'" 196.
[399] Ibid.
[400] Ibid.
[401] Ibid.
[402] Ibid.
[403] Ibid.

on a colonizer-colonized or "regional elite-subaltern" axis.[404] One could argue, however, that Acheraïou's viewpoint of strategic hybridity importantly deviates from other postcolonial conceptualizations (including Pirott Quintero, Sharrad, and Bhardan) and presents an alternative theoretical stream. Acheraïou achieves this by arguing that colonial powers historically have integrated cultural, political, and philosophical elements from the colonized nation for the chief purpose of hegemonic "domination of the Other."[405] In other words, while most analyses of strategic hybridity apply to the actions of the oppressed, Acheraiou considers how it works in the hands of the oppressors. While I recognize these diverse treatments of strategic hybridity, my conception of the term is designed to operate on a fluid and malleable continuum that allows for numerous theoretical discourses to be evaluated within the framework of individual case studies.

This chapter first interrogates the concept of strategic hybridity through an analysis of the interrelationship between musical and cultural hybridity. In particular, it unpacks elements of cultural hybridity through the lens of musical hybridity and demonstrates how both forms embody and inform the political underpinnings of Palmieri's "Mi Cumbia." Moreover, through my emphasis of cultural and musical hybridity, I illustrate how the strategic impetus of Palmieri's musical hybrids (salsa, Mozambique, and cumbia respectively) and the lyrics of "Mi Cumbia" shed light on core Pan-Latin, nationalist, Pan-African, and transnational identities transmitted by the Latinx community on both a global and local scale. Ultimately, I contend that Palmieri's "Mi Cumbia" employs a unique and individualized method of strategic hybridity that profoundly shapes and transforms the socio-political dynamics encompassing "Pan-American jazz" discourses.

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[404] Spivak, *The Spivak Reader*, 204.
[405] Acheraïou, *Questioning Hybridity*, 39.

3.3 EDDIE PALMIERI AND "MI CUMBIA" (1974)

Since the early 1960s Nuyorican pianist Eddie Palmieri has been recognized for his innovations within multiple genres. Known for his experimental approach, Palmieri often has straddled the lines between salsa, jazz, R&B, rock, and the avant-garde while also showcasing unconventional instrumental configurations.[406] For example, he was one of the first bandleaders and arrangers to feature a combination of trombones and flute at the forefront of *charanga* ensembles, a configuration that would later figure prominently in salsa bands and condensed Latin jazz combos.[407] Palmieri also is credited for adapting the harmonic and improvisational styles of jazz pianists McCoy Tyner and Thelonious Monk into his improvisations. The pianist overall has been influential in striking a balance between the hard-grooving, danceable rhythms of salsa and more experimental elements stemming from modal jazz and the avant-garde.

Arguably one of Palmieri's most enduring contributions within the salsa and Latin jazz idioms is his 1974 album *The Sun of Latin Music*, which resulted in the pianist's first Grammy in 1975.[408] The album's success at the Grammy Awards was highly unexpected for several reasons. For one, it was released on the rather obscure Coco Records label. For another, Palmieri was competing against the immensely successful Fania All Stars, who were also nominated for four

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[406] Scott Yanow, *Afro-Cuban Jazz* (San Francisco: Miller Freeman Books, 2000). Since the 1940s and '50s, Latin jazz ensembles have deviated from traditional mambo or *son* formats and regularly featured smaller combinations of flute, saxophone, trumpet, and trombone. Examples include the music of trumpeters Bobby Shew and Jerry González, trombonists Conrad Herwig and Steve Turre, and bassist Andy González.
[407] John Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 164.
[408] Juan Flores, *Salsa Rising: New York Latin Music of the Sixties Generation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 206; Eddie Palmieri, "Mi Cumbia," in *The Sun of Latin Music*, Coco Records CLP 109, 1974, Vinyl Recording.

albums that year.[409] *The Sun of Latin Music* featured several high-profile musicians including vocalist Lalo Rodríguez (a teenager at the time), violinist Alfredo De La Fé, trombonist Barry Rogers, saxophonist Mario Rivera, percussionist Tommy López, and the renowned arranger René Hernández.[410] The album was highly experimental and multi-faceted, covering a wide spectrum of genres and styles including New York-style salsa, Afro-Cuban guaguancó, free jazz, electronic music, and Colombian cumbia. One conspicuous example is the three-movement suite of "Un Día Bonito," which incorporates elements of free jazz and electronic music in the first movement, Afro-Cuban guaguancó in the second, and a slightly altered salsa configuration in the final movement. Latin music scholar John Storm Roberts discusses the intricacies of this arrangement:

> About half of the ten-minute "Un Día Bonito" is a free-time prelude that combined tape sounds with the most complex version to date of the modal piano solo, which Palmieri had been developing over his last several albums. A back-to-earth percussion passage introduces the rest of the band in a jam shot through with occasional tone-clusters from Palmieri and other avant-garde trimmings as well as a memorable vocal melody.[411]

While many tracks on *The Sun of Latin Music* (including "Un Día Bonito") are conducive to socio-cultural analysis, I illustrate below how "Mi Cumbia" is most reflective of processes involving *strategic hybridity*.

In the following sections, I argue that "Mi Cumbia" through its merging of salsa and Colombian cumbia, operates as a *strategic hybrid* that forges an intercultural bridge between two seemingly disparate musical traditions. Specifically, I contend that "Mi Cumbia"—via its highly political orientation and merging of two distinct music traditions—accounts for and engages with

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[409] Ibid.
[410] Flores, *Salsa Rising*, 204.
[411] John Storm Roberts, *Latin Jazz: The First of the Fusions*, *1880s to Today* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 180.

notions of Pan-Latin, Colombian nationalist, and Afro-Colombian cultural identities. Moreover, I demonstrate how "Mi Cumbia" sheds light on and critiques the Colombian state's role in providing fundamental economic rights to its citizens throughout the early 1970s. Taking into consideration Palmieri's political proclivities expressed in previous salsa pieces, I begin this section by situating "Mi Cumbia" within the context of the "socio-political salsa" movement, which emerged throughout sections of Latin America and the U.S. during the 1960s and 1970s. Secondly, to provide a context for Palmieri's "Mi Cumbia," this case study presents a social reexamination of Colombia's political and economic landscape and its influence in shaping cumbia's development both nationally and across borders during the early 1970s. Thirdly, through musical analysis and lyric transcriptions, I illustrate how the juxtaposition of salsa and cumbia in the song works to mobilize socio-political ideals that exemplify diverse Latinx identities, including Pan-Latin, Colombian nationalist, and Afro-Colombian. Lastly, my case study demonstrates how the notion of "Mi Cumbia" as a *strategic hybrid* serves as a new and important contribution in studies encompassing the "socio-political salsa" movement.

3.4 EDDIE PALMIERI AND SOCIO-POLITICAL SALSA

The implications of considering "Mi Cumbia" as a strategic hybrid, can best be understood through its association with the socio-political salsa movement. As Brittmarie Janson Pérez indicates, practitioners of numerous Latin American genres—such as Mexican *corridos*, boleros, and most notably *nueva canción*—often have directed explicit social commentary

toward corrupt institutions prevalent within Latin American and U.S. politics.[412] While salsa has generated similar effects in the political realm, the genre historically has operated as a "large-scale capitalist commercial production" that appeals to Hispanics throughout the entire Latin American social milieu, including South and Central America, the Caribbean, and the United States.[413] The genre's lyrical messages historically have often functioned as a "protest embedded in everyday life," occurring in sociable dancing contexts or spaces involving radio.[414] In other words, the political aspects of the music are experienced by the audience in a "passive, recipient situation" rather than in the form of "active resistance."[415] Thus, while salsa (to quote Isabelle Leymarie) "dealt with socio-political problems," it did so "without bitter defiance and militancy."[416]

Though precursors exist, pivotal and germinal examples of political salsa can be found in the work of Panamanian *salsero* Rubén Blades and trombonist Willie Colón during the late 1970s. According to the documentary *Latin Music USA*, the socio-political messages expressed through Blades' lyrics "deeply penetrated South America."[417] Blades in collaboration with Colón was known to critique governmental bodies (including South American dictatorships) that were responsible for decimating thousands of lives throughout sections of Latin America.[418] This is notably evident in Colon's "El General," which in satirical fashion decries the role of military dictatorships in facilitating the disappearance of individuals ("los desaparecidos") who were

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[412] Brittmarie Janson Pérez, "Political Facets of Salsa," *Popular Music* 6, no. 2 (May 1987): 150.
[413] Ibid.
[414] Ibid.
[415] Ibid.
[416] Isabelle Leymarie, *Cuban Fire: The Story of Salsa and Latin Jazz* (London and New York: Continuum), 268-69.
[417] *Latin Music USA*, directed by Adriana Bosch (PBS, 2009), DVD (2009).
[418] Ibid.

deemed a threat to the state or status quo.[419] In other cases, Blades' lyrics expressed antipathy towards "consumerism" (as evidenced in *Plástico*) and empathy for financially marginalized populations throughout Latin America.[420] The latter figures prominently in Blades' *Pablo Pueblo*:

Pablo Pueblo	Pablo Pueblo or "Pablo People"
Hijo del grito y de la calle	Child of the cry and the street
De la miseria y del hambre	Of misery and hunger
Del callejón y la pena	Of the back alley and pain
Pablo Pueblo	Pablo Pueblo[421]

Through such works, Blades and Colón developed a transnational political project that pinpointed the political and human rights struggles of the Latinx community on a global scale. However, as a result of differences between personality, economic and social background, and aesthetic approach, Blades and Colón would not continue to collaborate in the long term and ultimately parted ways in 1979.[422]

While political salsa is primarily associated with the collaborations of Blades and Colón, Palmieri had also composed "songs with a social conscience" as early as the mid-1960s.[423] In *Latin Music USA*, Colón directly credits Palmieri for propelling political and social themes into the public sphere during this timeframe: "[Palmieri's] music was an act of civil disobedience to a certain extent…The music was a socio-political expression aside from merely cultural."[424] Historically, Palmieri's social commentary has dealt with issues ranging from economic inequality and class warfare, to racial politics (especially involving Puerto Rican and African

[419] Pérez, "Political Facets of Salsa," 149.
[420] Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 279.
[421] Lyrics transcribed and translated in Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 279.
[422] Ibid., 280.
[423] Flores, *Salsa Rising*, 154, 204.
[424] Ibid.

American communities), and Puerto Rican ethnic and nationalist identity. Juan Flores specifically describes Palmieri's themes as "bearing a straightforward though not always elaborated message of social criticism and utopian projection out of the miserable real circumstances of his working-class Puerto Rican and Black community."[425] Unfortunately, Palmieri's political inclinations as well as his association with record producer Morris Levy among others, were perceived in some circles (chiefly by the FBI) to be linked to Communist organizations.[426] When we spoke, Palmieri indicated to me that his regular engagement with Mozambique music, "created many problems in my career. I was declared a communist by many."[427] Even so, much like the socio-political salsa of Blades and Colón in the late 1970s, Palmieri's songs typically did not exhibit an overtly militant or directly hostile disposition and still worked to accommodate audiences in sociable, danceable contexts.

While much of Palmieri's music is not explicitly political, several politically-motivated songs were performed by his ensembles during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Among these were "Justicia" (1969), "Revolt: La Libertad/Lógico" (1971), and "Vámonos Pa'l Monte" (1971).[428] "Justicia" works (in rather straightforward fashion) to shed light on the marginalization of Puerto Rican and African American communities within New York City and elsewhere. This is particularly evident in the following lines: "Ay, cuando llegará la justicia / justicia pa' los boricuas y los niches" or "When justice will come / justice for Puerto Ricans and

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[425] Ibid., 163.
[426] Ibid., 170.
[427] Eddie Palmieri, interview by Billy D. Scott, November 6, 2017, email.
[428] Flores, *Salsa Rising*, 163; Eddie Palmieri, "Justicia," in *Justicia*, Tico Records SLP-1188, 1969, Vinyl recording; Eddie Palmieri, "Revolt: La Libertad/Lógico," in *Vámonos Pa'l Monte*, Tico Records SLP-1225, 1986, Vinyl recording; Eddie Palmieri, "Vámanos Pa'l Monte," in *Vámanos Pa'l Monte*, Tico Records SLP-1225, 1986, Vinyl recording.

blacks."[429] Palmieri's focus on Puerto Rican and African American marginalization is an important observation since historically speaking Latinx and African American populations often resided in proximity to one another in New York, and as a result experienced similar forms of discrimination embodied in gentrification and other discriminatory practices.[430] By underlining the two communities in "Justicia," Palmieri ultimately points to the presence of cross-cultural interchange experienced through music, dance, and other social activities.

Whereas "Justicia" deals predominantly with social injustice for ethnic and racial minorities, "Revolt: La Libertad/Lógico" focuses on economic inequality prevalent across the globe.[431] Once again the message is straightforward and embedded in the title: economic "freedom is logical," and it is a fundamental human right.[432] According to Flores, Palmieri's emphasis on "economic slavery" throughout the piece—as indicated by the utterings of "económicamente" (economically) and "esclavo" (slave)—functions as a social critique of the economic conditions "enforced by the state" and instituted by "prevailing economic… structures."[433] In particular, it serves as a manifestation of the Marxist proclivities Palmieri first developed through socioeconomic courses at the Henry George School during the mid-1960s.[434] Much like "Justicia," Palmieri's "Revolt: La Libertad/Lógico" illustrates the pianist's ability to offer social critiques covering a wide range of topics on the political spectrum.

Unlike Palmieri's other political songs, "Vámonos Pa'l Monte" serves as a vehicle for expressing and articulating Puerto Rican national and ethnic identity on a transnational basis.

[429] Transcription and translation in Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 270.
[430] See Frederick Douglass Opie's article "Eating, Dancing, and Courting in New York Black and Latino Relations, 1930-1970" for more information.
[431] Flores, *Salsa Rising*, 165-66.
[432] Ibid.
[433] Ibid., 166.
[434] Ibid., 162, 166.

Throughout this track, Palmieri deviates from the standard salsa format by incorporating organ, which up until 1971 was rarely employed in salsa.[435] The lyrics serve as a call for Puerto Ricans displaced from the island to abandon the unreasonable conditions of the city and return to the scenic, mountainous homeland or the "emotional *monte* of their forebears."[436] Flores, however, perceives the lyrics as more than just an incitement to return to the Puerto Rico homeland.[437] Specifically, he sees the phrase "vámonos pa'l monte / pa'l monte pa' guaracher" (or "let's go to the *monte* / to the *monte* to party") as "an exhortation to protest the suffocating, dehumanizing conditions of modern capitalist society."[438] Following Flores's argument, then Palmieri should be credited for generating meaningful discussions that engage several political, cultural, and racial issues with a limited amount of text. Overall, "Justicia," "Revolt: La Libertad/Lógico," and "Vámonos Pa'l Monte" illustrate Palmieri's objective to shed light on marginalization and inequality around the globe.

3.5 COLOMBIAN CUMBIA: A CULTURAL EXAMINATION

Emanating from Colombia's Caribbean coast, *cumbia* is known as a rural music and dance genre of primarily African and indigenous origins.[439] The genre was initially associated geographically with regions near the Magdalena River, but later become an integral component

[435] Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 271.
[436] Ibid.
[437] Flores, *Salsa Rising*, 167.
[438] Transcription and translation in Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 271; *Flores, Salsa Rising*, 167.
[439] Leonardo D'Amico, "Cumbia Music in Colombia: Origins, Transformations, and Evolution of a Coastal Music Genre," in *Cumbia!: Scenes of a Migrant Latin American Music Genre*, eds. Fernández L'Hoeste and Pablo Vila (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 29.

of carnival festivities within the coastal city of Barranquilla.[440] Since its inception in the late seventeenth century, the music has been recognized by writers and musicians for its "'tropical' polyrhythmic aesthetics," which are historically linked to "Colombia's Afrodescendents" located by the Caribbean coastline.[441] Like *porro*, *fandango*, and other musical styles and dances emanating from Colombia's Caribbean side, *cumbia* possesses musical elements that often are described as containing "Africanisms" such as strong syncopation, call-and-response, and cyclic structures.[442] At the same time, as Wade indicates, many musicians who were influential in popularizing cumbia (such as García Márquez and others) were often guilty of obscuring these African diasporic cultural and musical elements characteristic to the genre.[443] In other cases, the proliferation of primitivist narratives postulated by conservative Colombian writers and journalists during the 1930s and 40s (and beyond) pinpointed the African influences of cumbia, but did so in a degrading and unwarranted manner.[444] Yet unlike *bambuco* and other Colombian genres, the African cultural and musical origins of *cumbia* have traditionally been documented and acknowledged more consistently by journalists, scholars, and musicians alike throughout the twentieth century.[445]

Though cumbia is influenced heavily by African-derived musical elements, it also possesses significant ties to indigenous and (to a lesser extent) European sources. Specifically, as

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[440] Ibid. 31-32.
[441] Deborah Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!: Hybridity and Identity in Latino Popular Music* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), 108.
[442] D'Amico, "Cumbia Music in Colombia," 29-30.
[443] Peter Wade, "African Diaspora and Colombian Popular Music in the Twentieth Century," *Black Music Research Journal* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2008): 49.
[444] Ibid., 47-48.
[445] Ibid., 45.

detailed by Leonardo D'Amico, the genre's instrumentation is highly hybridized and reflects a tri-ethnic heritage (African, Indigenous, European):[446]

Table 2. Traditional Cumbia Instrumentation

ORIGIN	INSTRUMENTATION
African	Llamador, tambor alegre, tambura, caña de millo, marímbula, and marimba de napa
Indigenous	Gaita (flute) and maraca
European	Accordion and various wind instruments

Despite this tri-ethnic heritage, cumbia's foundation is predominantly African in origin. Specifically, the rhythmic foundation is typically outlined by the *llamador*, *tambor alegre*, and *tambora*. The *llamador* and *tambor alegre* are one-headed drums while the *tambora* is a two-headed drum.[447] Yet, the African influence on cumbia's instrumentation is not limited to percussion. In particular, the *marimba de napa* (described as a "musical bow"), *marímbula* (characterized as a "wooden-box lamellaphone"), and the *caña de millo* (a clarinet-like instrument) provide strong melodic elements as well as rhythmic.[448]

While traditional *cumbia* predominantly features African-influenced instruments, the presence of the *gaita* (or a "vertical cane flute of indigenous origin") and *maraca* have lead some sources to characterize the music as reflecting a "fusion of black and indigenous ancestry."[449] Such assertions are bolstered by a geographical and cultural reexamination of the interactions

[446] D'Amico, "Cumbia Music in Colombia," 29.
[447] Ibid., 34.
[448] Ibid., 29. There is some debate in modern cumbia scholarship, however, whether the *caña de millo* is partially of indigenous origin. See Pacini Hernandez's *Oye Como Va!* for more details.
[449] Peter Wade, "African Diaspora and Colombian Popular Music," 47.

between black and indigenous populations at Colombia's Pacific and Caribbean coastlines. Despite the near eradication of Colombia's indigenous populations stemming from Spanish colonialism, the country's coastlines remain home to significant indigenous populations that throughout history have converged and mixed (both culturally and racially) with inhabitants of African ancestry.[450] This is evident on the coastlines of the Pacific, which is home to both "black descendants of escaped slaves" and the "region's remaining indigenous communities."[451] However, because of the Pacific coastline's expansive rainforests, the region essentially has been "isolated by geography…from the rest of the country."[452] Thus, the convergences between these two populations are more evident on the Caribbean coastlines of northern Colombia. [453] These regions feature prominent black populations—whose ancestors were imported as slaves during the colonial era, particularly in Cartagena and the regions of the Magdalena River—as well as mixed ethnic groups.[454] In addition, it was at the intersections of the indigenous and mestizo-populated eastern regions and the more African-inhabited "western sabanas" of the Colombian Caribbean coastlines where cumbia emerged during the early stages of the twentieth century.[455]

It should also be noted that both indigenous and black populations on Colombia's coastlines historically have been relegated to an unfavorable social status situated below "racially mixed middle sectors" and "white and light-skinned ruling-class elites at the top."[456] Therefore, one could argue that through this underprivileged socio-economic and racially marginalized status, the two communities would come into more regular contact, consequently allowing for

[450] Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 108.
[451] Ibid.
[452] Debora Pacini Hernandez, "Tropicalisimo," *Ethnomusicology* 36, no. 2 (Spring-Summer 1992): 289.
[453] Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 108-109.
[454] Ibid., 108-109.
[455] Ibid., 111.
[456] Ibid., 109.

greater cross-cultural and musical exchange. This ultimately may explain how instruments such as the *massi* (a "transverse idioglottic clarinet" similar to the *caña de millo*) were likely derived from "Afro-Colombian musical culture" but later became associated with the Wayúu Indians located on the northern coastline of the country.[457] It may also explain how some mestizo-inhabited microregions around the coastlines feature a variant of cumbia that retains the African-derived *llamador* but places more emphasis on the indigenous-based *gaitas* and *maracas*.[458]

The road leading to cumbia's recognition in Colombia as a national music was tortuous and indirect. Many of the African influences inherent in the music were obscured by factions stemming from Colombia's interior regions, primarily the middle class.[459] In conjunction with Colombian radio stations and recording companies—initially situated near coastal cities, but later appearing in Medellín and the interior regions—these factions worked to reduce cumbia to a "more accessible (aesthetically) and acceptable (socially)" kind of music by adapting it to "stylized and orchestral form."[460] The "coastal polyrhythms and syncopation" that characterized traditional cumbia were regularized to cater to dancing audiences who were unaccustomed to the music.[461] It was through such stylized venues that cumbia was disseminated and commodified internationally, receiving recognition beyond the confines of Colombia.[462] As a result, the urban variant of cumbia came to be identified as a "flag of national identity" within Colombia.[463] This proliferation of commercialized or "made-for-export cumbias" led many *costeños* to refer to the music as "*cumbias del interior*" or more derisively as "*cumbias gallegas*," which Pacini

[457] D'Amico, "Cumbia Music in Colombia," 34.
[458] Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 112.
[459] D'Amico, "Cumbia Music in Colombia," 38-39.
[460] Ibid., 38-40; Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 115.
[461] Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 113.
[462] D'Amico, "Cumbia Music in Colombia," 38-40.
[463] Ibid.

Hernandez loosely translates as "honky cumbias."[464] Therefore, while the music gained international fame and recognition and became a symbol of Colombian national identity, the original African and indigenous influences of *costeño* cumbia were often lost in the shuffle or relegated to a marginal status.

However, with the arrival of the studio ensemble "Los Corraleros de Majagual" in Medellín during the 1960s, certain features of traditional *costeño* cumbia began to return to the forefront.[465] First, the ensemble importantly incorporated *costeño*-based musicians who were familiar with the polyrhythmic sensibilities of the music.[466] Second, in addition to integrating new instruments such as congas, drum set, and electric bass, "Los Corraleros" also featured traditional *costeño* instruments (including the caja drum and the accordion) that were typically absent from the cumbia orchestras of the 1940s and '50s.[467] At the same time, the group still engaged with cumbia's urban and orchestral variants by featuring wind instruments that were representative of the interior style.[468] As a result, the music took on a more hybrid form that concurrently enacted *costeño*, *típico* (or "folkloric"), and "urban orchestral" sounds.[469] Despite these innovations, the popularity of cumbia would steadily decline by the 1970s—particularly amongst *costeños* who contended that the music had become "rhythmically inept" in the Colombian interior—and ultimately give way to *vallenato* and *salsa*.[470]

The journey leading to cumbia's identification as a symbol of Colombian national identity can also be traced to its migration from Colombia to Mexico and other sections of

[464] Ibid., 42; Deborah Pacini Hernandez, "Tropicalisimo," *Ethnomusicology* 36, no. 2 (Spring-Summer, 1992): 292.
[465] Deborah Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 116-17.
[466] Ibid.
[467] Ibid.
[468] Ibid.
[469] Ibid.
[470] Ibid.

Central and South America. According to D'Amico, much of cumbia's dissemination into neighboring countries took place during the 1960s, largely through the recordings and performances of Los Corraleros de Majagual and La Sonora Dinamita.[471] In particular, the Cartagena-based La Sonora Dinamita was influential in producing "*cumbia de exportación*" or "export cumbia" for audiences based in Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Mexico.[472] As a result, many new and innovative cumbia subgenres—including Peruvian *chicha* and Argentine *cumbia villera*—emerged within these countries.[473] The Peruvian form of cumbia was largely derived from elements of Andean *huayno* and through its transformation became more closely tied with local cultures and mestizo/indigenous identities.[474] Moreover, the genre gradually became more hybridized through its incorporation of Afro-Cuban instrumentation (such as timbales, congas, and bongos) and electrified instruments (electric guitar and bass).[475] Argentine *cumbia villera* was described as a "lyrically aggressive variant" that served as a source of inspiration for "unemployed, displaced, and disgruntled urban working-class youths."[476] In short, the dissemination of commercialized forms of Colombian cumbia ultimately functioned as a vehicle of expression and identity on behalf of working class, mestizo, and indigenous populations in Peru, Ecuador, and Argentina respectively.

The international influence of cumbia, however, was arguably most prominent in Mexico. The cumbia in Mexico is often historically associated with the *bandas-orquestas* of the 1940s

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[471] D'Amico, "Cumbia Music in Colombia," 41.
[472] Ibid.
[473] Ibid., 41-42; Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 119.
[474] D'Amico, "Cumbia Music in Colombia," 41-42; Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 108, 119.
[475] Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 119.
[476] Ibid.

and 1950s, *norteños* of the 1960s, and rock and roll *gruperos* of the 1970s.[477] Cumbia first became conspicuous in the format of Mexican big band ensembles or *bandas-orquestas*, which were inspired by Colombian "música tropical" recordings and live performances from artists such as Lucho Bermúdez.[478] In the vein of Bermúdez and La Sonora Dinamita, musicians from Mexico City adapted elements of Colombian cumbia into these large ensembles and in doing so further regularized the rhythmic patterns to cater to local preferences.[479] Yet unlike in Colombia, where factions of the interior contributed to the "erasure of blackness or Africanness," these "rhythmically regular cumbias" were still perceived by Mexicans as signifying "tropical blackness."[480]

Following the steady decline of *bandas orquestas*, accordion-oriented cumbias emerged in the northeastern sections of Mexico during the 1960s.[481] Accordion music was already prominent in the Northeastern region in the form of *norteño* music and other local styles.[482] *Norteños* were small ensembles that featured accordion as the principal instrument, a combination of guitar and "*bajo sexto*," and double bass.[483] According to Storm Roberts, they were also known "to have originated on both sides of the [Mexican-U.S.] border."[484] Since the accordion had been central to several local traditions, *norteños* were amenable to the "more traditional sounds of accordion-based cumbia."[485] Specifically, similarities in meter and rhythm

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[477] Ibid., 119-120.
[478] Ibid., 120.
[479] Ibid.
[480] D'Amico, "Cumbia Music in Colombia," 45; Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 120.
[481] Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 120.
[482] Ibid., 120-21.
[483] John Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 21.
[484] Ibid.
[485] Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 120-21.

coexisted between *norteño* music and Colombian cumbia, both of which imply a two-beat feel.[486] The *norteño* form of cumbia was again heavily influenced by the group Los Corraleros de Majagual, who toured the region in the 1960s.[487] To this day, the group is more commonly recognized in the Northern sections of Mexico than in Colombia.[488] Eventually, the cumbia of *norteños* would influence the "Tejano" sound in the U.S. during the 1970s and 80s and become the "preeminent voice of working-class Mexicans" from both sides of the Mexico-U.S. border.[489]

Moreover, much like the Peruvian *chicha*, the Mexican form of cumbia also became heavily influenced by rock and roll.[490] Beginning in the 1960s, Mexican musicians started integrating instruments such as electric guitar and bass, drum set, keyboards, and traditional instruments like accordion and guacharaca within cumbia formats.[491] This stylistic innovation eventually led to the rise of *grouperos* ("musical groups") and singers/bandleaders such as Rigo Tovar, who specialized in "highly romantic, rock-inflected cumbias" during the 1970s.[492] While Tovar's rock cumbias appealed to prosperous urban youth culture in Central Mexico, it also influenced populations in Texas, which—prior to the mass immigrations of working class Mexicans during the 1970s and 80s—had previously been slow to embrace *norteño*-based cumbia.[493] Moreover, Chicanos in Texas during this timeframe were importantly constructing a Mexican-influenced "rock and country music," which became associated with Chicano cultural

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[486] Ibid.
[487] Ibid., 120.
[488] Ibid.
[489] Ibid., 121, 123.
[490] Ibid., 122.
[491] Ibid., 121.
[492] Ibid., 122.
[493] Ibid., 121, 123.

identity and often drew from Mexican folkloric musical elements.[494] As a result, the expansion of cumbia into Texas during the 1970s and 80s—both from the *norteño* stream and the rock and roll *grupero* stream—eventually had a profound effect on the "pop-and rock-inflected" Tejano sound.[495] As Pacini Hernandez indicates, Selena's success as a Tejano music star during the 1980s and 90s was inextricably linked to her incorporation of "rock-and pop-inflected cumbias characteristic of the grupero sound."[496] In short, the *grupero* sound of cumbia not only affected populations in Central and Northeastern Mexico, but also had a profound effect on the Mexican-inflected music of Texas and other states. Overall, this *cumbia* overview sheds light on the socio-political intricacies inherent in Palmieri's "Mi Cumbia."

3.6 SALSA IN COLOMBIA: CALI AND BEYOND

The penetration of salsa into Colombia during the 1970s stems predominantly from the idiom's evolution and expansion throughout New York City, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. A sometimes-contentious term that acted as a marketing label during the 1970s, salsa often has been negotiated and contested as a symbol of either Cuban or Puerto Rican ethnic and cultural identity. Many musicians such as Cuban trumpeter Mario Bauzá have argued for the former: "What they call salsa is nothing new. When Cuban music was really in demand the kids didn't go for it. Now they call it salsa and they think it belongs to them. It's good as a gimmick."[497]

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[494] Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge*, 195.
[495] Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 123.
[496] Ibid., 124.
[497] Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge*, 188.

Similarly, Puerto Rican *timbalero* Tito Puente—who was recognized as a performer of mambo, Latin jazz, and salsa—staunchly emphasized that he "plays Cuban music."[498] Other non-Latinx salsa musicians such as Jewish American pianist Larry Harlow also were known for expressing their "ardent espousal of Cubanism."[499] By extension, salsa discourses are often explicated through the lens of the "'Cubanization' of Puerto Rican culture and musical expression."[500] For example, ethnomusicologist Peter Manuel has articulated in great detail that salsa typified "the process by which Puerto Ricans have appropriated and resignified Cuban musical forms as symbols of their own cultural identity."[501] While such approaches are necessary for unpacking the relationship of Puerto Rican music to Cuba, one could argue the historical *overemphasis* on Puerto Rico's reinterpretation of Cuban music genres has fostered narratives that relegate the contributions of Puerto Rican musicians to an inferior level. Nonetheless, it is necessary to closely consider the influence of Afro-Cuban genres on Puerto Rican musical output.

Scholars typically cite the Cuban *contradanza* and *son* of the 1930s as musical foundations for future articulations of Puerto Rican cultural identity. Characterized as a music and dance genre with significant "Afro-Latin syncopation," the Cuban *contradanza* was adopted (beginning in the 1840s) by certain factions within Puerto Rico, including the rural elite, "*hacendado* proto-bourgeoisie," working class, and artisan populations.[502] Though the music did not initially take hold in San Juan, the *contradanza* would later blossom in the city of Ponce and

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[498] Steven Loza, *Tito Puente and the Making of Latin Music* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 232.
[499] Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge*, 188.
[500] Loza, *Tito Puente and the Making of Latin Music*, 220.
[501] Peter Manuel, "Puerto Rican Music and Cultural Identity: Creative Appropriation of Cuban Sources from Danza to Salsa," *Ethnomusicology* 38, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 1994): 250.
[502] Ibid., 252-53.

become a symbol of Puerto Rican national identity under the label *danza*.[503] And despite the music's adherence to core Cuban music and dance elements—such as isorhythms and choreography—the *danza* was recognized "as acquiring a distinctively Puerto Rican character."[504]

It was the Cuban *son*, however, that would have the most enduring effect on the salsa movement and Puerto Rican cultural identity. Emerging in Havana during the early 1920s, the *son* was categorized as an "Afro-Cuban rural form" exhibiting musical characteristics (such as *tumbao* and *clave*), instrumentation (claves, bass, trumpet, and bongos), and form (*canto-montuno*) that would influence numerous genres in the following decades.[505] For example, after achieving international recognition during the 1930s, the Cuban *son* served as the foundation for the late-1940s and 1950s mambo rage.[506] Together with mambo and other Cuban-derived forms, the *son* would subsequently become one of the foundational cornerstones of the 1960s and 70s salsa movement. Since salsa ensembles predominantly featured Puerto Rican musicians and bandleaders, the music became in many circles a symbol of Puerto Rican cultural identity. And despite salsa's success within the *barrio* and across numerous Latin American countries, the *son*'s influence on the music has led some musicians within the Puerto Rican community to question the "excessive reliance on borrowed or inherited Cuban styles."[507] Nonetheless, Puerto Rican musicians have found salsa regardless of its Cuban origins, as an affirming source for expressing Puerto Rican and Nuyorican urban and ethnic identity.

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[503] Ibid.
[504] Ibid., 253-254.
[505] Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge*, 7.
[506] Manuel, "Puerto Rican Music and Cultural Identity," 251.
[507] Ibid., 272.

Some notable scholars have challenged the premise that salsa is predominantly a symbol of Cuban musical and cultural identity. For example, ethnomusicologist Lise Waxer argues that "Significant stylistic and ideological characteristics differentiate salsa from its Cuban predecessors."[508] For one, Waxer indicates that the instrumentation in salsa—which includes "more percussion and larger horn sections"—deviates slightly from *son* and other traditional Cuban forms.[509] Moreover, she adds that the "arrangements are more aggressive," and the socio-political messages embedded in the lyrics are not necessarily of Cuban origin.[510] Most importantly, many of the practitioners within the salsa idiom were Puerto Ricans from New York (for example, trombonist and arranger Willie Colón) and from the island itself (such as pianist and arranger Papo Lucca).[511] Subsequently, the music became a symbol of "working-class Puerto Rican cultural identity" in both worlds.[512] Therefore, while Cuban origins are inherent to salsa, one could argue that the sounds characteristic of the genre echo the socio-political frustrations experienced by Puerto Rican communities both within the *barrio* and on the island.

As salsa was blossoming in New York during the late 1960s and the early 1970s, it began to gain substantial audiences in Colombia and other South and Central American countries like Venezuela and Panama. These nascent salsa scenes developed partially from "close geographic and economic ties to the Caribbean."[513] At the same time, there were other creative avenues through which salsa penetrated these countries. One of the first salsa waves in Colombia emanated from the aforementioned cumbia ensemble Los Corraleros de Majagual, who were

[508] Lise Waxer, *The City of Musical Memory: Salsa, Record Grooves and Popular Culture in Cali*, *Colombia* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2010), 23.
[509] Ibid.
[510] Ibid.
[511] Ibid.
[512] Ibid.
[513] Ibid., 24.

influential in carrying "burgeoning salsa concepts" to Colombia following a 1968 tour in New York City.[514] During this timeframe salsa records also began to accumulate in coastal Colombian cities such as Barranquilla.[515] Yet perhaps one of the more overlooked events that sparked the salsa explosion in Colombia was the exhilarating performances of Richie Ray and Bobby Cruz first in Cali and Barranquilla in 1968 and later in Medellín and Bogotá in 1969.[516] In short, the dissemination of salsa in Colombia resulted from geographic proximity to the Caribbean, adoption of the music by touring Colombian cumbia ensembles, the proliferation of salsa recordings in Barranquilla and Cali, and performances by non-Colombian *salseros* in prominent Colombian cities. As a result of salsa's expansion and the appending rise of Colombian salsa bands like Grupo Niche, Colombian genres such as cumbia were inundated by the new sounds.[517]

While salsa became popular in coastal cities such as Barranquilla and later in interior cities like Bogotá, it was Cali that became the foremost site of salsa distribution in Colombia and arguably throughout South America as a whole. Waxer writes the following about the city's role in espousing the music:

> Unlike salsa's adoption in other Latin American cities, however, such as Panama City, Caracas, or Guayaquil, the embrace of salsa in Cali has been so strong that by the late 1970s, Caleños (inhabitants of Cali) began asserting that their city was the 'world capital of salsa.' This is a bold claim, given salsa's primary performance and production nexus in New York City and Puerto Rico.[518]

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[514] Isabelle Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 336.
[515] Ibid.
[516] Ibid.
[517] Pacini Hernandez, "Tropicalisimo," 290-91.
[518] Waxer, *The City of Musical Memory*, 19.

The music was well-received by Cali's black citizens, many of whom were descendants of African slaves imported to the area for labor on sugar plantations.[519] Moreover, the music for Caleños according to Waxer began to be associated with notions of "alternative cosmopolitan identities [that were] increasingly tied to world markets" and engagements with modernity.[520] What separated salsa's output in Cali from other cities around the world, however, was the fact that the city's consumption of the music during the late 1960s and 1970s was not relegated to live performance, but rather often involved "dancing, collecting, listening to, and talking about salsa records."[521] Therefore, the records in some cases were "more important than musicians themselves," and as a result challenged the premise of live performance and authenticity discourses.[522]

This is not to say that the salsa scene in Cali was devoid of high-quality salsa musicians and bands. Several Cali-based salsa groups such as Fruko y sus Tesos and later Grupo Niche were known for implementing a distinct Colombian style of salsa that at times mixed rock with traditional Colombian music like cumbia and música tropical.[523] Featuring bandleader, *timbalero*, and singer Ernesto "Fruko" Estrada and later renowned vocalist Joe Arroyo, Fruko y sus Tesos in 1971 became the first salsa ensemble to attain widespread popularity in Colombia.[524] The band gained a significant following in Cali while also importantly featuring two Cali-born musicians, singers Piper Pimienta and Wilson "Saoco" Manyoma, both of whom

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[519] Pacini Hernandez, "Tropicalisimo," 291.
[520] Waxer, *The City of Musical Memory*, 20.
[521] Ibid., 21.
[522] Ibid.
[523] Lise Waxer, "'En Conga, Bonga, y Campana': The Rise of Colombian Salsa," *Latin American Music Review* (Autumn-Winter 2000): 127. For this section, I will focus primarily on Fruko y sus Tesos since Grupo Niche did not come into prominence until the late 1970s, approximately five years after Palmieri's performance of "Mi Cumbia."
[524] Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 336.

complimented Arroyo's unconventional tenor voice. [525] What separated Fruko y sus Tesos and Colombian salsa in general from other international salsa ensembles, was the presence of a "variety of 'sauces' with many local flavors."[526] This amalgamation was derived largely from both the "rhythms of the Pacific Coast" (or *currulao*) and the Atlantic Coast (specifically, *cumbia*).[527] One of Fruko's most enduring innovations and contributions to Colombian salsa was the ability to "juxtapose different styles and rhythms in different sections of a piece," especially between cumbia, rock, and salsa rhythms in parts of the verse and chorus sections.[528] One could argue that these innovations involving alternations, juxtapositions, and layerings of traditional Colombian music with salsa had a profound influence on Palmieri's arrangement of "Mi Cumbia." Overall, the intermingling of Cuban and Puerto Rican cultural identity in salsa performance and Colombia's role in salsa distribution is important for understanding Palmieri's music and Latinx identity on a more global scale. Palmieri's cultural ties to New York and Puerto Rico and his merging of salsa and cumbia brings the social milieu of Colombian music traditions into play and articulates a new Latinx identity that engages both Cuban/Puerto Rican and Colombian discourses.

[525] Waxer, "En Conga, Bonga, y Campana," 127.
[526] Leonardo D'Amico, "Cumbia Music in Colombia," 43.
[527] Ibid., 43.
[528] Waxer, "En Conga, Bonga, y Campana," 127.

3.7 1970S COLOMBIA: ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL TENSION

Palmieri's historical critiques of economic disparity and commitment to Marxist philosophy paralleled the tension of Colombia's socio-economic climate during the late 1960s and 1970s. Many of Colombia's policies during this timeframe were profoundly affected by foreign entities and philosophies. Perhaps the most conspicuous influence on these policies was the looming presence of the Cold War. For the United States, the Cold War in the Western hemisphere embodied a perpetual fear that Latin American governments could be overrun by Soviet-influenced Communist agencies. Much of this anxiety stemmed from the Fidel Castro and "Che" Guevara-led Cuban Revolution (1953-1959), which proved to be influential in mobilizing mass populations (particularly peasants) and disrupting democratic processes. Taking these factors into consideration, the U.S. sought at all costs to ensure that Colombia did not become undermined by socio-economic ties with the Soviet Union and Cuba.[529] As Lesley Gill argues, however, the Cold War for Colombia—rather than a direct confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union—played out as a clash between Colombian elites who supported U.S.-backed counterinsurgency policies implemented by the National Front (1958-1974) and leftist revolutionary groups that appealed to more marginalized communities.[530] Through the National Front's adoption of these counterinsurgency policies and adherence to U.S. military strategies,

[529] Lesley Gill, *A Century of Violence in a Red City: Popular Struggle, Counterinsurgency, and Human Rights in Colombia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 76.
[530] Ibid.

the "illusion of nation-state sovereignty was preserved," but economically marginalized groups still continued to be suppressed.[531]

Colombia's economy also experienced drastic and unpredictable changes throughout the 1970s. For one, in response to pressures from the U.S. and the United Kingdom, the Colombian government began to adopt economic strategies that deviated from "welfare state and Keynesian policies." [532] Led by president Alfonso López Michelsen, the state (beginning in 1974) implemented policies that aimed to reduce or eradicate inflation and deficits, which steadily accumulated prior to and during the early 1970s.[533] At the center of these policies were strategies geared toward "lesser state intervention," "market efficiency," and "macroeconomic stability and trade openness."[534] While the notion of initiating these policies appealed to certain sectors—particularly those in favor of inflation reduction and advanced competition within the global market—it was not received well by some members of the working class, peasant factions who wanted "land reform," and other leftist groups.[535] Moreover, despite the inception of these new economic strategies, inflation still continued to rise, though not as drastically as other Latin American countries.[536] And though the economic policies of the 1970s occurred within a "period of management innovations," they ultimately were "truncated by the coffee boom" and as a result were considered in some circles to be rendered ineffective.[537]

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[531] Ibid.
[532] Angela M. Rojas Rivera, "Economic Reforms in 1970s Colombia: Assessing the Strategic Role of López Michelsen's Government and the Coffee Boom," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 33, no. 3 (2015): 488.
[533] Ibid.
[534] Ibid.
[535] Ibid., 488, 495, 515.
[536] Ibid., 488.
[537] Ibid., 490, 495.

To fully comprehend the dynamics of Colombia's economy, however, requires an analysis of the interrelationship between the aforementioned policies, the presence of revolutionary groups, and the drug economy. In slight contrast to the sources above, some scholars have contended that the National Front and post-Front administrations made "technically sound, macroeconomic decisions" throughout the 1960s and 1970s that led to "long-term positive growth" in Colombia's overall economy.[538] At the same time, they concurrently argue the state's longstanding failure to curtail the flow of drugs and violence ultimately inhibited Colombia from reaching its full economic capacities.[539] In particular, scholars point to the government's perpetual fight against two volatile sources: insurgencies and paramilitary factions that emerged in the 1960s and appending illegal-drug manufacturing that became established in the 1970s.[540]

Among the most prominent insurgency groups to emerge in the 1960s were the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN). Since their inception, the volatile presence of these revolutionary groups has been felt by Colombian citizens well into the twenty-first century. Though the FARC revolutionaries were active in the 1960s and adept at mobilizing rural peasant populations to fight against the state, it was the ELN that arguably had the most impact during this timeframe.[541] Founded in 1964 and situated in the Middle Magdalena region of Colombia, the ELN guerrillas were heavily influenced by the events of the Cuban Revolution and the emergence of social reform within the

[538] Jennifer Holmes, Sheila Amin Gutiérrez de Piñero, and Kevin M. Curtis, *Guns, Drugs, and Development in Colombia* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 39; Bruce Michael Bagley, "Colombia: National Front and Economic Development," in *Politics, Policies and Economic Development in Latin America*, ed. Robert Wesson (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1984), 136.
[539] Holmes, Amin Gutiérrez de Piñero, and Curtis, *Guns, Drugs, and Development in Colombia*, 27.
[540] Ibid., 3.
[541] Gill, *A Century of Violence in a Red City*, 78.

Catholic Church.[542] With these core motivations in mind, the ELN's overarching goals included "overthrowing the state" and establishing a socialist-oriented government.[543] While the group was able to garner moderate support from oil laborers, middle-class college students, and peasants, the ELN was relegated to the interiors of the country and was almost eradicated completely in 1973.[544] However, like FARC, ELN would eventually regroup and gain traction throughout the Middle Magdalena regions and beyond, often by resorting to extremely violent acts that included theft, kidnappings, and murder.[545] Such actions beginning in the 1960s and beyond, were responsible for temporarily paralyzing the Colombian economy.

Like revolutionary violence, drug-related activities—though more volatile in the 1980s—began to affect Colombia's social and economic cohesion throughout the 1970s. For one, the trade was responsible for generating "expansive networks within Colombian politics and society."[546] Through these networks, a web of corruption eventually evolved that interconnected politicians, leaders of guerrilla armies, and even factions of the music industry (for example, the Colombian genre vallenato). Furthermore, as Thoumi indicates, some side effects included "fostering violence and corruption," "undermining legal activity," and "frightening off foreign investment."[547] Other consequences of the drug trade included a relatively low "average life expectancy" and high "health expenditures," most likely stemming from extensive medical treatment required for the wounded.[548] Therefore, the proliferation of drugs in Colombia gave

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[542] Ibid., 76-78.
[543] Ibid., 77.
[544] Ibid., 77-78.
[545] Ibid., 78.
[546] Holmes, Gutiérrez de Piñero, and Curtis, *Guns, Drugs, and Development in Colombia*, 3-4.
[547] Ibid., 10; Francisco E. Thoumi, *Political Economy and Illegal Drugs in Colombia*, Vol. 2 (Boulder, Colorado: Rienner, 1995).
[548] Holmes, Gutiérrez de Piñero, and Curtis, *Guns, Drugs, and Development in Colombia*, 36-38.

the country at best an illusion of economic success through misrepresentation.[549] Ultimately, it is the violence stemming from paramilitary forces and drug propagation that has (to quote one source) "made Colombia a less attractive destination for both domestic and foreign investment."[550]

3.8 "MI CUMBIA": TRANSCRIPTION AND MUSICAL ANALYSIS

Fusions involving cumbia and Latin jazz or salsa have been relatively common in the twenty-first century, both in Colombia and abroad. Prior to the twenty-first century, however, only a handful of cumbia/Latin jazz fusions (especially outside Colombia) were arranged or performed by Latin jazz or straight-ahead jazz musicians. [551] Palmieri became one of the first Latin jazz/salsa musicians outside of Colombia to do so with his composition "Mi Cumbia" in 1974. Palmieri was followed by conguero Mongo Santamaría in 1976 with "Cumbia Típica" on *Ubane* and Charles Mingus in 1977 with *Cumbia and Jazz Fusion*.[552] Despite having performed "Mi Cumbia" on a Grammy award-winning album, very little analysis has been done on the composition.

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[549] Ibid.
[550] Ibid.
[551] John Storm Roberts indicates that prior to the twenty-first century, jazz and cumbia combinations were rare in jazz settings but a little more common in New York salsa. Such assertions in my mind are slightly problematic since the lines between New York salsa and jazz are not always clearly delineated; John Storm Roberts, *Latin Jazz*, 190.
[552] Mongo Santamaría, "Cumbia Típica," in *Ubane*, Vaya Records SP 2136, 1976, Vinyl Recording; Charles Mingus, *Cumbia and Jazz Fusion*, Atlantic SD 8801, 1978, Vinyl Recording.

In my email interview with Palmieri, the pianist informed me that "Mi Cumbia" was first and foremost composed as a "dedication to the wonderful country" of Colombia. [553] He indicated that his main intention was to "introduce…the folkloric [music] of their country."[554] One of the musical devices that captures these "folkloric" elements, is the traditional cumbia rhythmic cell (see figure 12):

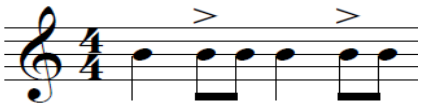

Figure 12. Traditional Cumbia Rhythm

From the outset of the piece, this rhythm is outlined on cowbell and maracas in simple quadruple or 4/4 meter. In particular, the cowbell and maracas accentuate the off beats on 2 and 4 during the opening vamp figure and in other sections. Palmieri's incorporation of maracas to outline the rhythmic cell reflects traditional cumbia performance practice, in which the maracas (of indigenous origin) function as one of the primary instruments. Palmieri's use of 4/4 meter should be noted, however, given that the cumbia rhythm was traditionally played in simple duple meter or 2/4 meter (cut time).[555] As the center of cumbia production and performance shifted from the Colombian coast to the interior, the music began to be performed more regularly in quadruple meter.[556] One could also argue that the lack of rhythmic diversity in the cumbia sections (aside

[553] Eddie Palmieri, interview by Billy D. Scott, November 6, 2017, email.
[554] Ibid.
[555] Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!*, 111.
[556] Ibid., 116.

from the cell figure outlined on cowbell and maracas), reflects the more commercialized version of cumbia from Colombia's interior. The bass in particular, is performing regularized, non-syncopated figures in the cumbia sections of the song. Nonetheless, the clear delineation of the cumbia rhythm and incorporation of maracas in outlining the pattern are manifestations of Palmieri's engagement with traditional cumbia throughout various sections of the piece.

Moreover, Palmieri's engagement with cumbia and salsa can be characterized in some cases as a direct juxtaposition or concurrence of these two styles. For example, in the opening vamp, the cumbia rhythm is outlined by timbales and maracas in conjunction with a call-and-response pattern performed by the trombones and trumpets respectively (see figure 13):

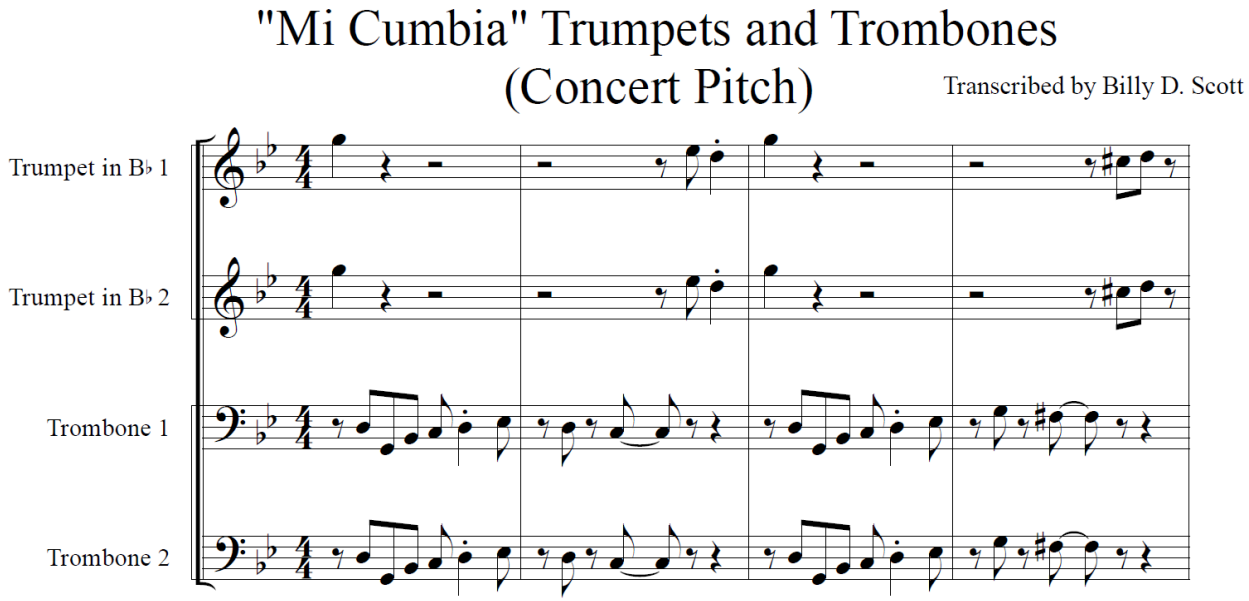

Figure 13. Trumpet and Trombone Figures on "Mi Cumbia"

Notice how the trombone parts feature angular and syncopated lines, both of which are core characteristics of salsa writing. In addition, the trumpets—in a gesture of call-and-response—emphatically conclude the phrases initiated by the trombones with high G's in mm. 1 and 3 (beat

1). One can deduce from this excerpt that the co-presence of the cumbia rhythmic cell and the syncopated lines in the trombones (mm. 1-4) and trumpet (mm. 2 and 4, beat 3+) concurrently point to both cumbia and salsa elements.

At other moments, Palmieri creates more of an alternation or transition between the two styles rather than a direct concurrence. This is particularly evident in the transition from the cumbia-derived rhythms of mm. 25-32 to the subsequent salsa-oriented section in mm. 33-39 (see figure 14):

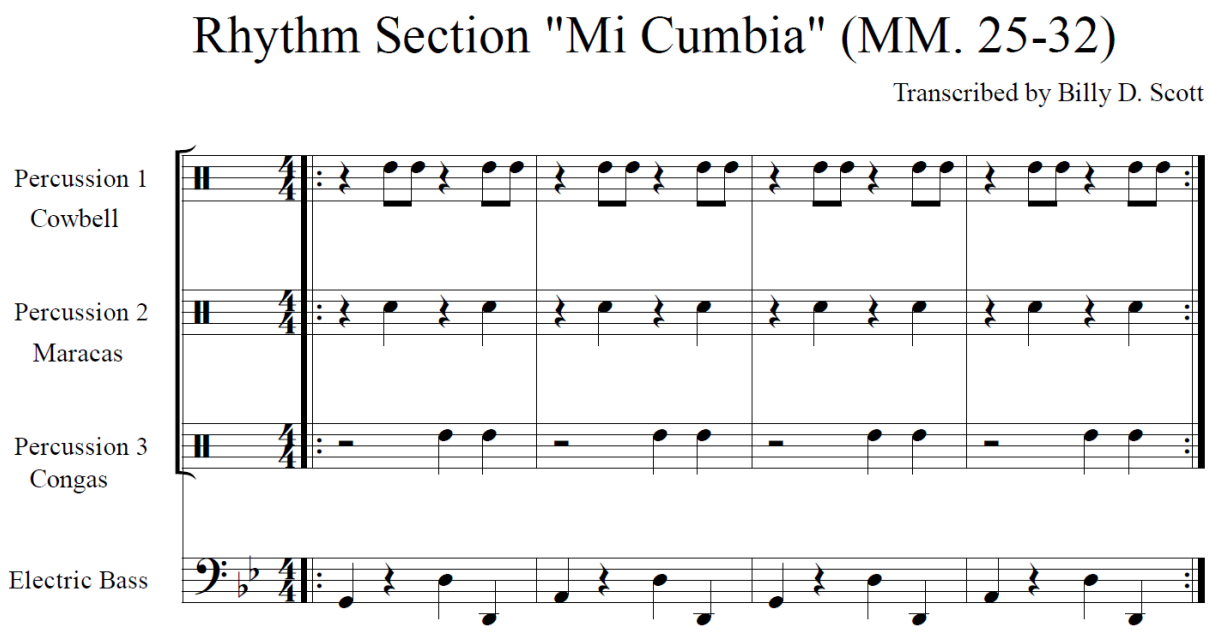

Figure 14. Rhythm Section Figures on "Mi Cumbia"

Certain elements of this passage are reminiscent of the intro vamp, especially the cowbell and maracas emphasis on beats 2 and 4. The congas on the other hand, accentuate beats three and four with open tone figures, a technique somewhat evocative of Afro-Cuban and salsa percussion. At the same time, the figure played by the congas in mm. 25-32—while slightly alluding to Afro-Caribbean patterns—is not as highly syncopated as traditional salsa conga

patterns. It is also important to note that the bass notes in this passage do not contain syncopation or off-the-beat phrasing. Rather, they consist of quarter notes that oscillate predominantly between the 1 and 5 tones of the scale. In short, most of the syncopation in this passage emanates from the bell patterns and maracas, which emphasize the off beats on 2 and 4, while the bass and congas fill in the empty spaces.

Following the cumbia-inflected passage in mm. 25-32 is the rhythm section's engagement with traditional salsa patterns found in mm. 33-39 (see figure 15):

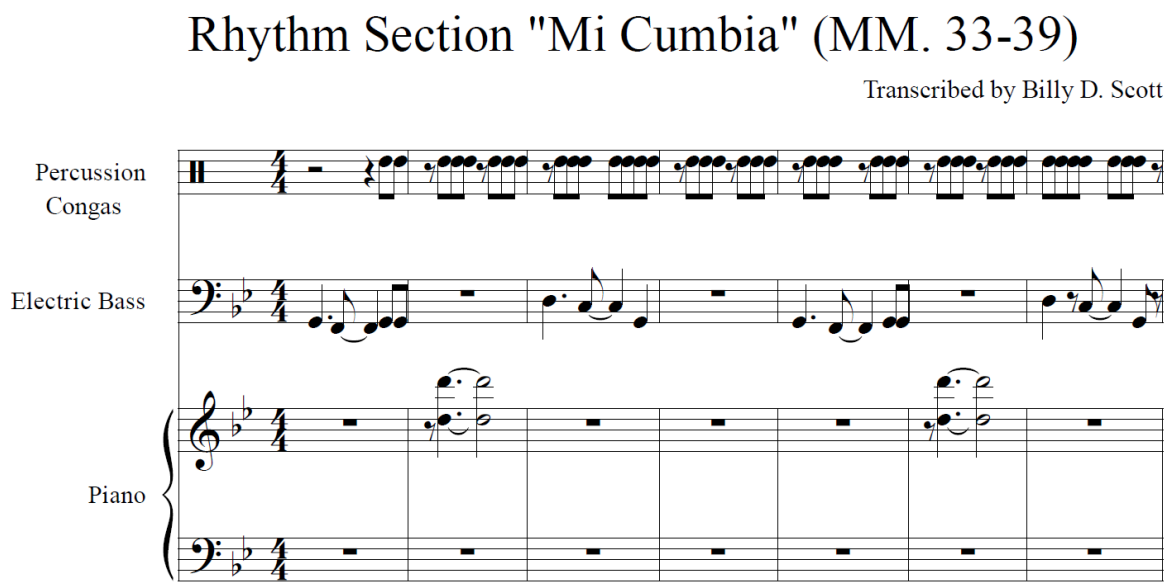

Figure 15. Rhythm Section Figures on "Mi Cumbia" [557]

First, by stressing beats 2+ and 4 (mm. 33, 35, 37, and 39), the bass figure implies the traditional *tumbao* pattern found in Afro-Cuban music and salsa (see figure 16):

[557] Rebeca Mauleón, *Salsa Guidebook: For Piano & Ensemble* (Petaluma, CA: Sher Music, 1993), 66. The conga notation in the transcription above is influenced by Rebeca Mauleón's terminology in the *Salsa Guidebook*.

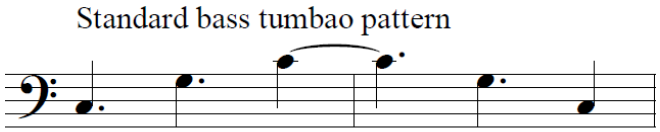

Figure 16. Standard Tumbao Pattern[558]

The bass plays this figure in emphatic unison with the brass section, both of which perform in conjunction with the vocal melody. Secondly, the conga in mm. 33-39 generates patterns that are highly syncopated, usually beginning on beat 1+ and emphasizing open tones on beats 4 and 4+. Though beat 1 is omitted at times throughout this passage, the use of open tones on beats 4 and 4+ insinuate the standard conguero *tumbao* pattern—not to be confused with the aforementioned bass *tumbao*—which typically is performed as the following (see figure 17):

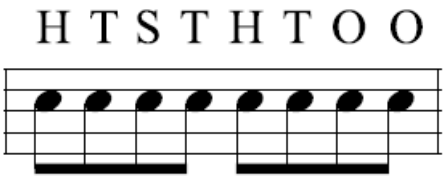

Figure 17. Standard Conga Tumbao Pattern[559]

Rather than playing a chordal or montuno pattern typical of salsa piano performance, Palmieri interpolates a D octave dyad in the upper register (mm. 33 and 37) that functions as a response to the resounding figures played by the brass section in unison with the bass. Overall, these

[558] Ibid., 259.
[559] Ibid., 66. The *tumbao* figure notated here is derived from Rebeca Mauleón's notation in the *Salsa Guidebook*.

transcriptions of mm. 25-32 and mm. 33-39 ultimately suggest an alternating or oscillating strategy that presents clear delineations of cumbia and salsa rhythm respectively.

Perhaps the most conspicuous combination of salsa and cumbia, however, occurs in mm. 57-60 (see figure 18):

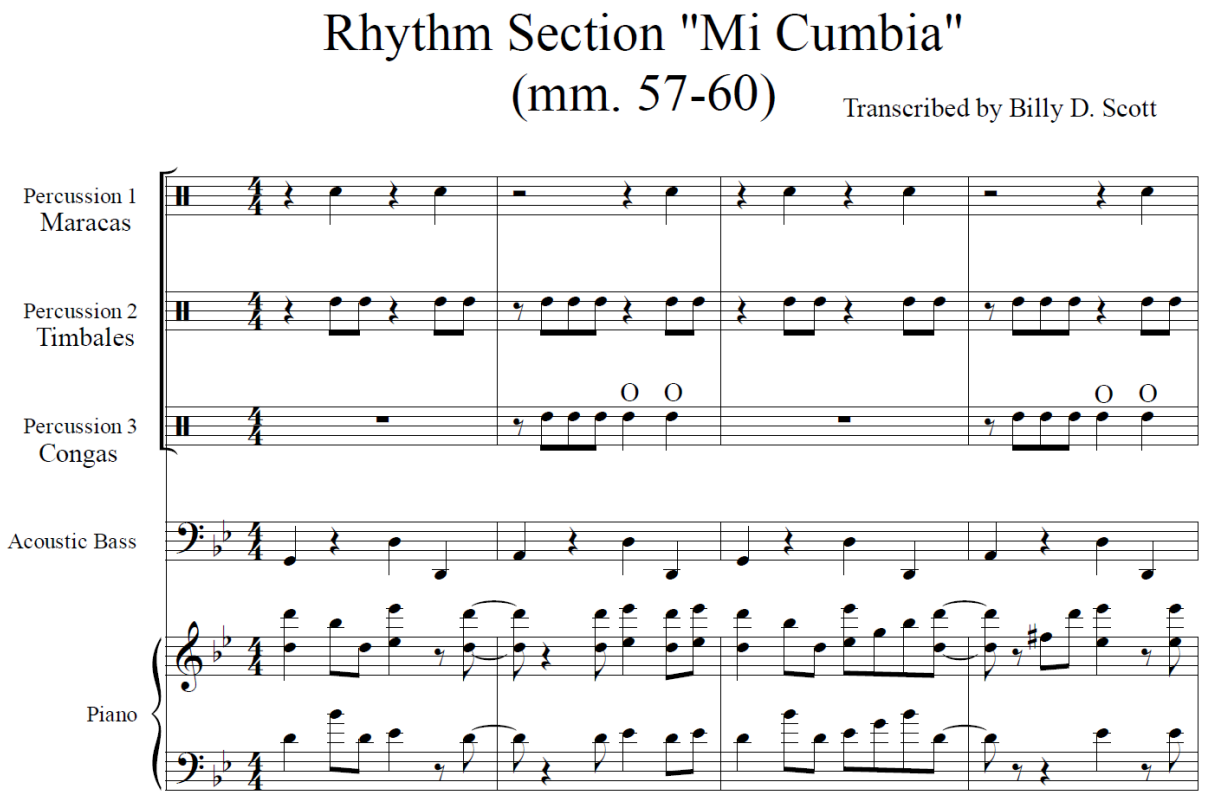

Figure 18. Rhythm Section Figures on "Mi Cumbia"

This passage points to a direct conflation of cumbia and salsa rhythm. On the cumbia side, the maracas continue to emphasize beats 2 and 4, which as indicated earlier is a staple of traditional cumbia rhythm. In addition, the timbales maintain a similar rhythm, accounting for the two eighth notes on beats 2 and 4. Unlike previous sections, the timbales—beginning on beat 1+ in mm. 58 and 60—play "hits" in conjunction with the congas, thus reflecting rhythms found in

salsa orchestration. By extension, the congas in this passage do not seem to adhere strictly to cumbia rhythm. For example, after "laying out" in mm. 57 and 59, the congas play a figure in mm. 58 and 60 that is reminiscent of a *tumbao* pattern. Yet unlike typical *tumbao* patterns, the open tones played by the congas on beats 3 and 4 are quarter notes rather than eighth notes, possibly more in correlation to the cumbia rhythms outlined by timbales and maracas than salsa patterns. Like the maracas and timbales, the bass seems to adhere to traditional cumbia patterns by playing quarter notes that oscillate primarily between the 1 and 5 (sometimes 2 and 5) tones.

In addition to the congas (and to a smaller extent timbales), the clearest engagement with salsa rhythms evident in mm. 57-60 stems from Palmieri's piano montunos (see Figure 19):

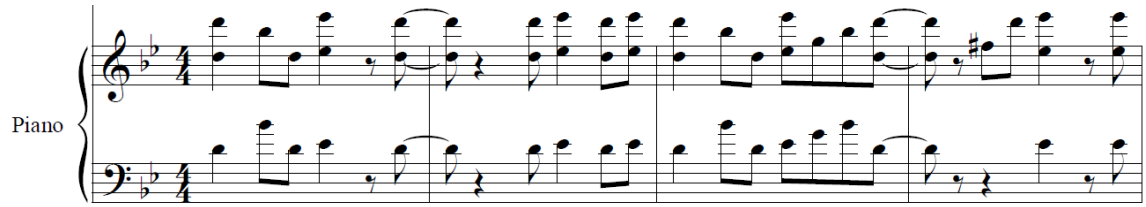

Figure 19. Eddie Palmieri's Montuno Patterns on "Mi Cumbia"

Here Palmieri plays a montuno that oscillates between a G minor chord in the beginning of mm. 57 and 59 and a prominent Eb octave executed in the middle of each measure. In particular, Palmieri's emphasis on the Eb seems to provide the passage with a sense of forward motion that is characteristic of salsa and Afro-Cuban music. Though the montunos are syncopated and anticipate the downbeat of the even measures (D octaves leading into 58 and 60) and begin on the off beats in mm. 58 and 60, the phrases in the beginning of mm. 57 and 59 seem to be more regular. Specifically, the montunos here function as a form of on-the-beat phrasing. Thus, one can deduce from this combination of syncopation and regularity that Palmieri is performing the

montuno in conjunction with the cumbia patterns outlined by maracas and timbales. At the same time, his interpolation of syncopated montunos (particularly mm. 58, 60) within the context of a cumbia format provide an important example of how the two genres can effectively be meshed.

It should be noted, Palmieri's most politically active segment of "Mi Cumbia" occurs in the jazz-inflected Mozambique interlude. Known specifically as a rhythmic style derived from "Cuban *carnaval* music," the Mozambique emanates originally from a southeastern African country of the same name.[560] It has also been referred to in Cuba as the "Pello el Afrokán." [561] The rhythmic genre was "popularized" within Palmieri's salsa ensembles during the 1960s and was used extensively on his 1965 album *Mozambique*.[562] Though Palmieri was commercially successful in adapting the Mozambique to salsa settings, the pianist—as I detail more extensively in the next section—often paid the price for engaging with the Cuban genre.

As indicated in my interview with Palmieri, the pianist's approach to "Mi Cumbia" was "to introduce in my presentation the folkloric [music] of their country with a Mozambique rhythmical pattern."[563] The Mozambique rhythm he is referring to is most clearly delineated by the timbale bell pattern of the interlude section (see figure 20):

[560] Ibid., 256.
[561] Ibid.
[562] Ibid.
[563] Eddie Palmieri, interview by Billy D. Scott, November 6, 2017, email.

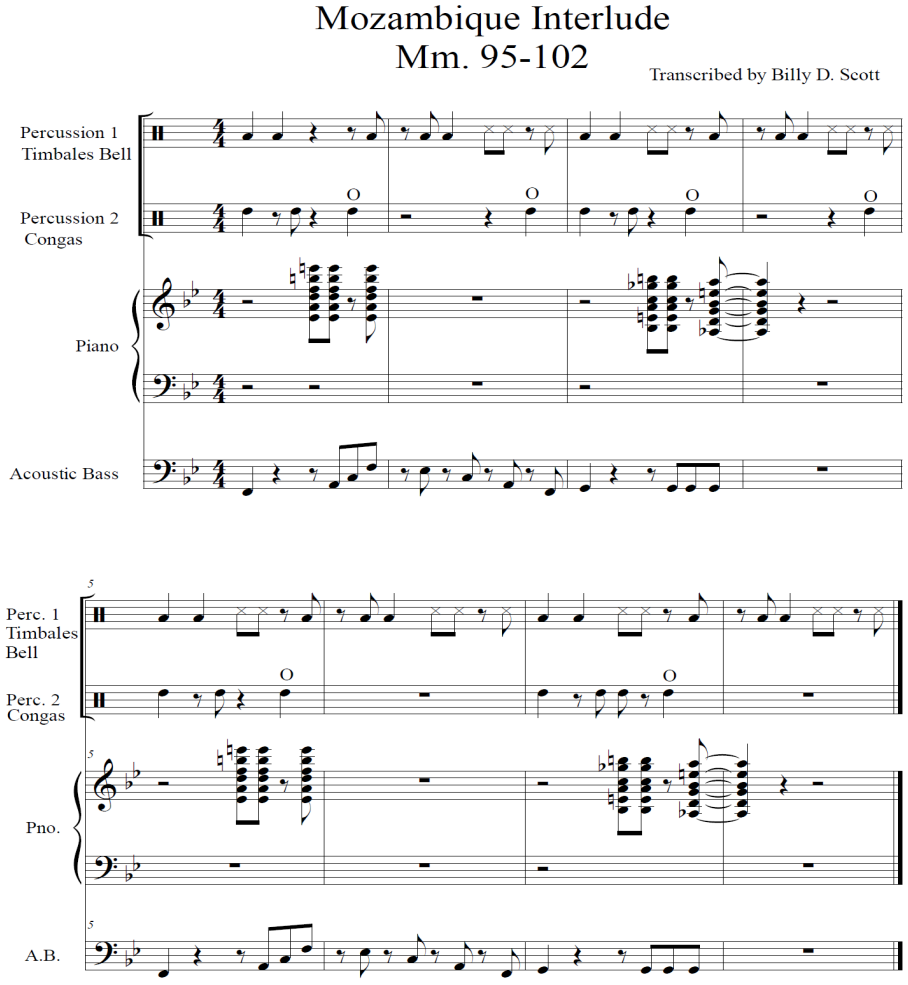

Figure 20. Mozambique Rhythms and Eddie Palmieri Piano Figures on "Mi Cumbia" [564]

Much like traditional Mozambique bell patterns, the timbales here begin with on-the-beat phrasing emphasizing two quarter notes in the odd measures (mm. 95, 97, 99, 101) and syncopated phrasing in the even measures (mm. 96, 98, 100, and 102). In addition, the bell pattern highlights a two-quarter note phrase on the two-side of the *clave* in contrast to the more

[564] Mauleón, *Salsa Guidebook*, 92. My notation here is influenced by Mauleón's overview of the Mozambique in the *Salsa Guidebook*.

syncopated phrasing of the three-side. This alternation between on-the-beat and off-the-beat phrasing adheres to the 2-3 *clave* model and is characterized by a "relationship of tension-relaxation."[565] The timbale bell patterns deviate slightly, however, from traditional "Cuban" Mozambique rhythms, mainly in the even measures and on the three side of the *clave* (see figure 21):[566]

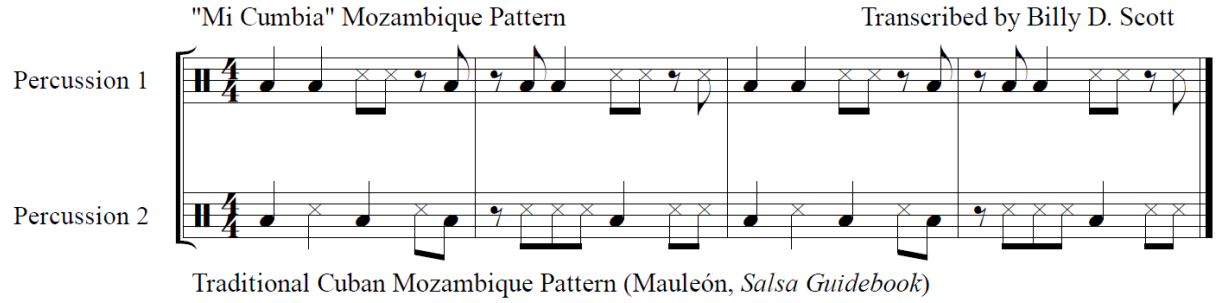

Figure 21. Traditional Cuban Mozambique Pattern vs "Mi Cumbia" Mozambique Pattern

Specifically, the bell patterns in "Mi Cumbia" are more sparse—only five strokes (four eighth notes and one quarter note)—and unpredictable when compared to traditional Mozambique patterns. Nonetheless, the inclusion of two quarter notes on the two side and the syncopated rhythms (beginning on beat 1+) of the three side reflect nuanced but conclusively Mozambique phrasing.

It is also necessary to unpack the roles of the congas, piano, and bass in relationship to the timbales. Though relatively sparse, the congas adhere to a tresillo pattern (3+3+2) in the odd measures and a single open tone on beat four of the even measures (see figure 22):

[565] Ibid., 47.
[566] Ibid., 92.

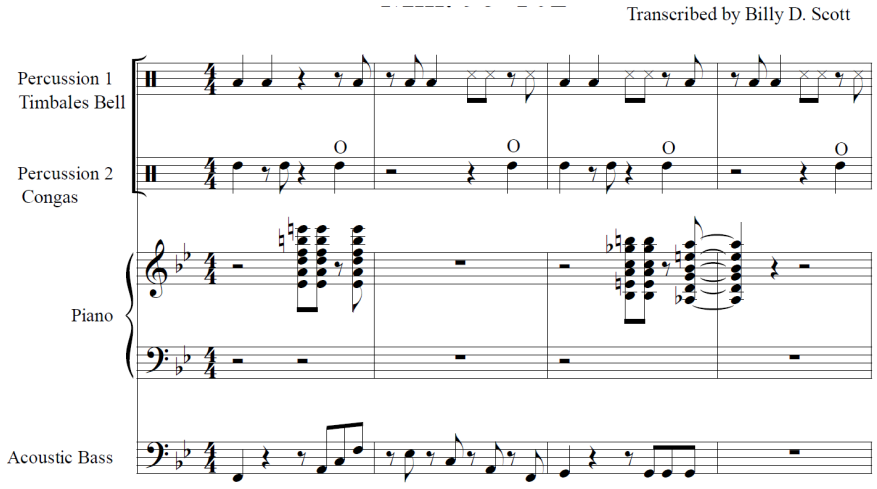

Figure 22. Interrelation of Bass, Piano, and Percussion on "Mi Cumbia"

It would thus seem that the conga's delineation of the tresillo signifies 3-2 *clave*. However, the timbales' emphasis of the two quarter notes in the odd measures suggests otherwise, insinuating a strong 2-3 *clave* feel. Therefore, the congas essentially are alternating between two different *clave* textures.

Secondly, it should be noted that while piano and bass historically have not been incorporated in traditional Cuban Mozambique music, the instruments operate in conjunction with the timbales bell pattern of this excerpt.[567] Specifically, the bass executes a phrase—beginning with a low F and eventually spelling a F7chord—that aligns with the two-quarter note phrase of the bell patterns in the odd measures. Furthermore, the bass begins the phrase in the even measures much like the timbales bell patterns, on beat 1+ and in a highly syncopated manner. On the other hand, Palmieri performs a sparse but highly effective polychordal device on beats 3, 3+, and 4+ of the odd measures. In particular, he plays a chord that is heavily tritone-

[567] Ibid., 214.

based with a F-B-E in the right hand and an Eb-A-D in the left hand. This jazz-inflected chordal device essentially implies a G13 in the right hand (without the root) and an F13 in the left hand (also without the root). The polychord is subsequently transposed in the third measure above into a C-Gb-B in the right hand and a Bb-E-A in the left hand, followed by a Bb-E-A in the right hand and Ab-D-G in the left hand. By performing this chromatic sequence, Palmieri creates a sense of parallelism that decorates the timbale bells pattern. Overall, the Mozambique interlude functions as a nexus or bridge that connects and reconciles the more salsa and cumbia-inflected sections of the song.

3.9 "MI CUMBIA": LYRICS

As indicated in the previous section, the notion of strategic hybridity is first demonstrated through Palmieri's merging of cumbia, salsa, and Mozambique-inflected rhythms and instrumentation. At the center of this hybridity are lyrics that express diverse Latinx identities through references to Colombian culture.[568] While many of Palmieri's earlier songs focused on a wide-range of political subject matters—such as racial inequality, economic liberty, and identity politics—the lyrics in "Mi Cumbia" reflect a more subtle political undercurrent. Palmieri achieves this in his lyrical and musical engagement with Mozambique. The overall message, however, can best be understood as a paean to Colombian music and culture. It is from this perspective that various Latinx identities are pinpointed and negotiated.

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[568] I would like to thank Dr. Joseph Rivard (PhD, psychology) and Dr. Juan Velásquez Ospina for their input in translating and unpacking the lyrics.

"Mi Cumbia" pays homage to Colombian culture most conspicuously through its chorus chant, "Ay Mi Cumbia, Colombiana" ("Oh My Colombian Cumbia"). The chorus—which is sung over a cumbia groove and alternates with salsa-oriented passages—from the outset signals a clear-cut expression of Colombian national and musical identity (See Figure 23 below):

"Mi Cumbia" Lyrics-Translated by Billy D. Scott and Juan Velásquez Ospina

Coro:

Ay Mi Cumbia, Colombiana-Oh My Colombian cumbia

Ay Mi Cumbia-Oh my cumbia

Ay Mi Cumbia, Colombiana-Oh my Colombian cumbia

Ay Mi Cumbia-Oh my cumbia

Figure 23. "Mi Cumbia" Lyrics Excerpt[569]

The chorus lyric (and other sections) largely depict cumbia and the country of Colombia itself through modes of feminization. This is evidenced by the narrator's tendency to link and personify Colombia's topography with aspects of femininity. Take for example, the following lines in the embellished chorus: "Tu cumbia sabrosa" ("your cool or really nice cumbia"), "Porque sos tan linda y tan santa" ("because you are so beautiful and holy"), and more generally "A tu tu eres hermosa" ("you are beautiful").[570] Though one may interpret these excerpts as potentially exoticizing Colombian women and culture, the lyric depiction of cumbia and

[569] Coco Records, "Mi Cumbia v2 - Eddie Palmieri / Official Audio," *YouTube*, YouTube, 6 Feb. 2019, www.youtube.com/watch?v=LVbJvekN_6E. The Spanish lyrics to "Mi Cumbia"— though not translated—became available on YouTube February 6, 2019.
[570] Ibid; translated by Billy D. Scott and Juan Velásquez Ospina.

Colombia through feminizing discourses becomes a vehicle for recognizing cumbia as a symbol of Colombian national identity.

Verse 1 on the other hand, is characterized by a more geographically specific and adventurous tone (see figure 24):

"Mi Cumbia" Lyrics-Translated by Billy D. Scott and Juan Velásquez Ospina

Verse 1:

Pienso pasar por Ibague-I am thinking of passing through Ibague

Vacilar por Barranquilla-to have some fun in Barranquilla

A hierba santa voy a buscar-I will look for the weed

La que me cura y me vacila-That cures me and makes me happy

Figure 24. "Mi Cumbia" Lyrics Excerpt[571]

The lyric protagonist first alludes to traveling through the Colombian interior city of Ibague before reveling in coastal Barranquilla. This is followed by the main character's frivolous search for "hierba santa." Literally meaning "holy grass," hierba santa is a term that emanates originally from Peru and is known as an "herbal medicine" used to eliminate lingering ailments such as fever or hemorrhoids as opposed to recreational use.[572] Thus, from this perspective one could argue that the narrator is seeking a healing herb for a lingering physical ailment or potentially even a metaphorical spiritual transformation. On the other hand, if we look at the broader context

[571] Coco Records, "Mi Cumbia v2 - Eddie Palmieri / Official Audio," *YouTube*, YouTube, 6 Feb. 2019, www.youtube.com/watch?v=LVbJvekN_6E. The Spanish lyrics to "Mi Cumbia"—though not translated—became available on YouTube February 6, 2019.

[572] Marii Kawano, Mayumi Otsuka, Kazuhiro Umeyama, Mikio Yamazaki, Tetsuo Shiota, Motoyoshi Satake, and Emi Okuyama, "Anti-inflammatory and Analgesic Components from 'Hierba Santa,' a Traditional Medicine in Peru," *Journal of Natural Medicines* 63, no. 2 (2009): 147.

in which hierba santa occurs, we learn that the protagonist in the previous line refers to "having fun or enjoying oneself throughout Barranquilla" or "vacilar por Barranquilla." Holy grass in this context most likely refers to drugs used for recreational enjoyment (particularly marijuana) as part of the Barranquilla experience.

The lyric reference to Barranquilla also sheds light on cumbia's cultural heritage. In particular, this focus affirms the city as the original center of cumbia production prior to the genre's migration to the Colombian interior. By recognizing Barranquilla as a cultural marker of traditional cumbia performance, the lyrics work to pinpoint the Afro-Colombian and Colombian indigenous contributions to the music, which derive from the Caribbean coast. It is also significant since historically speaking, supporters of cumbia from the Colombian interior often have neglected the Afro-Colombian and indigenous influences of coastal cumbia music. Thus, Palmieri's allusion to Barranquilla accounts for expressions of Pan-African and Colombian indigenous identity in cumbia performance.

While "Mi Cumbia" is not as overtly political as previous Palmieri songs, his engagement with the Mozambique rhythm serves as an important socio-political expression. The lyrics in the interlude section reference two music genres respectively, Mozambique and cumbia (see figure 25):

"Mi Cumbia" Lyrics-Translated by Billy D. Scott and Juan Velásquez Ospina

Interlude Section:

Cumbia Mozambique en cumbia-Mozambique in Cumbia
Ay que cumbia que que Mozambique en cumbia-Hey Cumbia,
Oh what Cumbia; Mozambique in Cumbia
Mira que cumbia-Look to the Cumbia
Cumbia Mozambique en cumbia-Mozambique in Cumbia
Ay que cumbia que que Mozambique en cumbia-Hey Cumbia,
Oh what Cumbia; Mozambique in Cumbia
Mira que cumbia-Look to the Cumbia

Figure 25. "Mi Cumbia" Lyrics Excerpt[573]

The juxtaposition of Mozambique and cumbia is significant for two reasons. For one, it points to a Pan-African identity involving three geographic and cultural spheres: Mozambique in southeastern Africa, Cuban *carnaval* music, and—if we consider the reference earlier in the text—Barranquilla-based cumbia. To put it another way, the Mozambique/cumbia reference serves as a nexus or bridge that connects the three musical cultures while placing Colombian cumbia in the forefront. In doing so, the text here works to account for cultural flows immersed in African diasporic discourses and operating on a transnational axis.

Secondly, Palmieri's political engagement with Mozambique in the interlude section denotes the pianist's long and often turbulent history with the music. Palmieri described his relationship with the genre as follows: "In 1965 I had a few compositions and an album entitled

[573] Coco Records, "Mi Cumbia v2 - Eddie Palmieri / Official Audio," *YouTube*, YouTube, 6 Feb. 2019, www.youtube.com/watch?v=LVbJvekN_6E. The Spanish lyrics to "Mi Cumbia"—though not translated—became available on YouTube February 6, 2019.

Mozambique which created many problems in my career. I was declared a communist by many."[574] Similarly, a 2005 Chicago Tribune article discusses how the pianist's employment of Mozambique "caused some Cuban exiles to mistake Palmieri for a Communist."[575] One reason for this backlash was the Mozambique's association with a "Soviet-friendly African country" of the same name.[576] In another interview, Palmieri revealed how the Mozambique also "reminded you of the Cubans fighting in Angola, so that's what got us labeled as Communists."[577] Therefore, because of the genre's association with Soviet-influenced communism, Palmieri's employment of the Mozambique was met with hostility by descendants of Cuban exiles and indirectly led to an FBI investigation of Tico record owner Morris Levy, with whom the pianist was closely associated.[578]

Lastly, "Mi Cumbia" can be interpreted as an expression of Pan-Latin identity. First, when examining "Mi Cumbia" we must take into consideration Palmieri's preceding political commentary directed towards the Puerto Rican community in New York City and abroad. For example, in "Justicia" (1969) Palmieri critiques the marginalization of Puerto Rican and African American communities as indicated in the following lines: "Ay, cuando llegará la justicia / justicia pa' los boricuas y los niches" or "When justice will come / justice for Puerto Ricans and blacks" (translation, Leymarie).[579] Similarly, "Vámonos Pa'l Mone" (1971) serves as a medium for expressing Puerto Rican national and ethnic identity by calling on Puerto Ricans displaced

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[574] Eddie Palmieri, interview by Billy D. Scott, November 6, 2017, email.
[575] Aaron Cohen, "Perfection Key to Palmieri's Success: 2 Concerts Here this Week Highlight Jazz, Dance Tunes," *Chicago Tribune* (August 30, 2005): 5.3.
[576] Ibid.
[577] Alan Leeds, "Pianist Eddie Palmieri is a true Latin-Music Visionary," *Wax Poetics* 49 (November 2011), accessed September 16, 2018, http://www.waxpoetics.com/blog/features/articles/pianist-eddie-palmieri-true-latin-music-visionary/.
[578] Flores, *Salsa Rising*, 171.
[579] Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 270.

from the island to return to the scenic, mountainous homeland or the "emotional *monte* of their forebears."[580] Therefore, I would argue that Palmieri's previous commentary depicting Puerto Rican national and ethnic identity inevitably intersects with Colombian nationalist identity discourses inherent in "Mi Cumbia."

Secondly, it should be noted that members of Palmieri's band in 1974 hailed from several sectors of Latin America including Puerto Rico (percussionist Tommy López, bassist Eddie "Gua-Gua" Rivera, and vocalist Lalo Rodríguez), Cuba (arranger René Hernández and violinist Alfredo de la Fé), the Dominican Republic (saxophonist Mario Rivera), Brazil (trombonist José Rodríguez), and Panama (trumpeter Nicolás Paz Solanilla). By incorporating such diversity on *The Sun of Latin Music*, Palmieri's stylistic approach to Colombian cumbia is Pan-Latin and transnational in nature and generates a platform for cross-fertilization between numerous Latin American music genres. Third, the album's title *The Sun of Latin Music*—an honorary title conferred to Palmieri—suggests that "Mi Cumbia" and other tracks on the album are part of a Latin music panorama spanning multiple countries across borders.

3.10 "MI CUMBIA": IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Palmieri's "Mi Cumbia" demonstrates how the *strategic hybridity* of cumbia, salsa, and Mozambique pinpoints diverse Latinx identities that intersect and come into communication with each another. The lyrics of "Mi Cumbia" in particular, reflect a form of *cultural hybridity* that

[580] Ibid.

involves manifestations, juxtapositions, and negotiations of numerous identities including Pan-Latin, Pan-African, Afro-Colombian, Colombian indigenous, Colombian national, and transnational identity. In other words, this comprehensive analysis of "Mi Cumbia" demonstrates how *musical hybridity* serves as a reflection of cultural hybridity in both local and global spaces. Moreover, evidence suggests that Palmieri's musical adoption of cumbia within the format of salsa and Latin jazz ensembles changed the landscape of Latin jazz as an idiom. For one, cumbia and other Colombian musical traditions became more regularly incorporated within Latin jazz and salsa settings in years to come. More importantly, Latin jazz was no longer just a fusion of jazz and Afro-Cuban music but was evolving into a strategic hybrid of Pan-Latin or Pan-American musical collaborations.

4.0 JORGE DALTO'S BERET AND THE "CHE" GUEVARA/THELONIOUS MONK CONNECTION: HYBRIDITY, IDENTITY, AND MEMORY IN SEMIOTIC JAZZ PHOTOGRAPHY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Argentine pianist Jorge Dalto is a name that often gets lost in the shuffle when discussing the Latin jazz piano tradition. Hailing from Roque Pérez, Argentina, Dalto during his lifetime was recognized for his versatile piano "chops," as demonstrated by his diverse engagements with tango, Afro-Cuban music, Brazilian music, fusion, and straight-ahead jazz.[581] He is most recognized perhaps for his accompanying role with guitarist George Benson in the mid-1970s, which resulted in the hit "This Masquerade."[582] Despite these accomplishments, his contributions historically have remained in relative obscurity. One could point to several reasons for this lack of acknowledgement, but two stand out. First is his premature death from cancer in 1987 at only thirty-nine years of age.[583] Second is his tendency to perform predominantly as a sideperson throughout his career, which included stints with musicians such as Tito Puente,

[581] Scott Yanow, *Afro-Cuban Jazz* (San Francisco: Miller Freeman Books, 2000), 36-7.
[582] Ibid.
[583] Ibid.

Grant Green, and Grover Washington Jr.[584] It was not until the 1980s that he became an established bandleader with his "Inter-American Band" and released his most successful album, *Urban Oasis* (1985).[585] Featuring an eclectic mix of Afro-Cuban, Brazilian, and jazz fusion pieces, the album showcases the pianist's arranging skills and qualifies as a defining landmark in his career.[586] More importantly, Dalto's album was influential in stretching the boundaries of the Latin jazz idiom, echoing the transnational orientation of the Pan-American jazz tradition.

Dalto's contributions—after years of omission in historical texts—have begun to be documented in Latin jazz literature since the late 1990s. Isabelle Leymarie writes, for example, that Dalto's performances often "expressed the passion of the tango" and that his "Inter-American Band…gave freer rein to his imagination, indulging his taste for extended introductions and rubato preludes."[587] Similarly, music critic Scott Yanow in *Afro-Cuban Jazz* provides extensive biographical information on Dalto and includes a detailed chronology of the pianist's work both as sideperson and bandleader.[588] It is John Storm Roberts, however, who best captures the pianist's enduring impact: "Dalto's untimely death…deprived the Latin-jazz world of a man who looked like he was becoming one of the new generation of significant bandleaders."[589]

While Dalto was known by his contemporaries and peers for his versatility and multi-faceted contributions to the Latin jazz idiom, accounts of the pianist also commented on his

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[584] Ibid.
[585] Leymarie, *Cuban Fire: The Story of Salsa and Latin Jazz* (London: Continuum, 2002), 317. Dalto's "Inter-American Band" originated in the 1970s but became prominent in the early and mid-1980s.
[586] John Storm Roberts, *Latin Jazz: The First of the Fusions, 1880s to Today* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1999), 204.
[587] Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 317.
[588] Yanow, *Afro-Cuban Jazz*, 36-7.
[589] Roberts, *Latin Jazz*, 205.

iconic appearance. Take for instance Enrique Fernández's report of Dalto during an early 1980s salsa performance at New York's Village Gate:

> It was here I first saw and heard pianist Jorge Dalto; he had come onstage to sit in with…? I forget. What impressed me at first was his appearance; tall, lean, long black straight hair under a black beret, goatee, black clothes—a hipster out of his age. And how he played![590]

In the same article, Fernández expands upon this first account with a portrayal of the pianist during an early 1980s street concert:

> With his black clothes and lupine features, he looked like the perfect werewolf except there was no full moon but a full sun; this wasn't Transylvania but the South Bronx, and it was musical sauce, salsa, not blood that was running red on the improvised stage.[591]

Fernández thus associates Dalto's physical demeanor with notions of "hipness," "musical sauce," and a "werewolf"-like quality. Furthermore, he recognizes Dalto as one of the primary sources of the "musical sauce"—a salsa pun and primary ingredient of Latin jazz performance—that was "running red on the improvised stage."

In this chapter, I ask from whom did Dalto receive the inspiration for his iconic appearance? More importantly, in what ways did this inspiration come to shape his identity?

My primary focus concerns Dalto's visual representation within album and staged photography. I contend that an emphasis on the pianist within this framework has the potential to shed light on the political economies encompassing the photos as well as the social milieu in which the musician operated. First, I work to extract various meanings from these photos via the lens of semiotic anthropological theory. Specifically, I utilize elements of semiotic anthropology to illuminate the functions of "qualisigns" in material objects and their appended relationships

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[590] Enrique Fernández, "Jorge Dalto: Salsa Werewolf," *Gloucester* 64 (Feb 1, 1984): 37.
[591] Ibid.

with the main photo subject.[592] A term first coined by Charles Peirce, qualisigns—meaning a "quality which is a sign" or "quality that *could possibly* be paired with an object"—are inextricably linked to ideas of potentiality and embodiment.[593] Moreover, they are capable of possessing multiple meanings depending on a given context and are characterized by a fluidity that allows for analyses of "different interpretive orders."[594] My analysis of Dalto's photos demonstrates how these qualisigns work to "enter in different interpretive orders" and contribute to certain narrative persona-identities in connection to the pianist.[595]

I contextualize these qualisigns within two discourses: socio-political identity formation and exoticism in marketing. First, I discuss how the representation of Dalto's appearance—often characterized by a beret, vibrantly colored suits, and long hair—in staged photography is consistent with the visage of Argentina-born revolutionary figure "Che" Guevara. In particular, I discuss the socio-political implications of Dalto's semblance to Guevara with a special emphasis on his beret. In my recent interview with Adela Dalto—a critically acclaimed vocalist and widow of Jorge—she informed me about a stylistic correlation that existed between her husband and Guevara:

> The beret did have a liberal identity which "Che" Guevara was famous for. So when Jorge went to Paris for the first time with George Benson around 1976, Jorge came home wearing the beret and people immediately identified him as an Argentine with his long hair and always wearing leather boots. Mario Bauzá, Jerry González, Mario Rivera began referring to Jorge as "Che" as a novelty because he was the only Argentine to be part of

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[592] Charles Peirce, "Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs," in *Philosophical Writings of Peirce*, ed. by Justus Buchler (New York: Dover, 1995), 101.
[593] Ibid; Paul Kockelman, "Semiotics: Interpretants, Interface, and Intersubjectivity," *Sage Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 157 (2005): 241.
[594] Paul Manning, "Materiality and Cosmology: Old Georgian Churches as Sacred, Sublime, and Secular Objects," *Ethnos* 73, no. 3 (September 2008): 328-29.
[595] Ibid.

> the new young bloods of the New York Latin jazz scene that was catching on in the mid-70s.[596]

Adela Dalto's comment insinuates how Guevara's iconic appearance (beret, long hair, leather boots) became inextricably linked to Argentine identity following his death in 1968. One could argue that Guevara's donning of the beret was potentially steeped in traditional Argentine pop culture, particularly in the gaucho vein.[597] More importantly, Adela highlights how Dalto's appropriation of Guevara (whether intentional or inadvertent) became a symbol of both Guevarian and Argentine identity. Since he was one of few Argentines active in the New York-based Latin jazz community during the 1970s, references to Dalto as "Che" allowed the pianist to craft a stylized identity that was concurrently Argentine and Guevarian. In addition to the Guevara connection, this chapter also argues that Dalto's beret reflects a type of intellectualism and alternative identity that can be better understood against the backdrop of the 1940s bebop tradition and the musical legacy of pianist Thelonious Monk.

Secondly, I discuss how Dalto's portrayal in these photos illuminates the various ways Latin jazz labels and the Latin music industry in general have used exoticized marketing strategies to broaden its appeal. My chapter analyzes specifically how record labels and photographers have benefitted by portraying Dalto through narratives of psychedelic culture, exotic Latin American paradises, and humor. In total, I consider how each photo works to forge distinct and sometimes conflicting notions of hybridity, identity, and memory on behalf of the Pan-American jazz community.

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[596] Adela Dalto, interview by Billy D. Scott, phone interview, January 26, 2019.
[597] Adela raised this possibility in my interview.

4.2 JORGE DALTO AND THE "CHE" GUEVARA CONNECTION

During the late 1950s and '60s, a string of social movements, uprisings, and military coups characterized political climates around the globe. Behind many of these developments were the Soviet Union and the United States, both of which spread significant nets of political influence over parts of Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. The ripples of the Cold War spilled outward as the U.S. and U.S.S.R. worked to expand their influence worldwide. Latin America was no exception, as major political shifts rocked the hemisphere throughout this period. Historian Hal Brands discusses the Cold War forces that disproportionately affected Latin American politics:

> Latin America's Cold War consisted not of a single conflict, but of several convergent conflicts in the region's internal and external affairs. At the deepest level was the continuing struggle over political and social arrangements in Latin America, a theme that dated to the colonial period but played out with escalating intensity in the mid-twentieth century and after. The long-running tension between U.S. power and Latin American anti-imperialism, also growing stronger during the postwar period, constituted a second layer of conflict… Decolonization and the rise of the Third World heightened tensions both domestically and externally in Latin America, while the changing nature of the Cold War tightly linked superpower competition to the contested internal politics of the developing countries.[598]

In short, the combination of "superpower competition" effected by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. in these regions and the fallout from decades of colonialism and imperialism inundated the Latin American geopolitical landscape during the 1950s and '60s. While previous decades had seen military coups and uprisings in countries such as Bolivia and Guatemala, it was Fidel Castro's guerilla-led Cuban Revolution (1953-59) that had the greatest impact on the future direction of Latin American politics and instilled apprehension within anti-Communist circles. Numerous

[598] Hal Brands, *Latin America's Cold War* (Cumberland: Harvard University Press, 2010), 9.

socialist movements in Latin American countries would follow Castro's revolutionary model in the years that followed. In addition, the U.S.S.R. exerted significant political and militaristic pressure on the U.S. via a strategic alliance with Cuba.

The Cuban Revolution also sparked the ascendency of another important political icon, the Argentina-born Ernesto "Che" Guevara (1928-1967). Emanating from a middle-class family, Guevara attended medical school in Buenos Aires and later graduated at nearly record pace in 1953.[599] Having suffered from chronic asthma throughout his childhood, Guevara's passion for medicine was "motivated by his own illness and by his desire to help fellow human beings."[600] Guevara's motivation would later take on a more social and politically-conscious orientation after finding extensive "inequality," "injustice," and poverty throughout his travels across Latin America.[601] Eventually, this newfound awareness coupled with his political and military acuity—which was a result of his "training for guerrilla combat" in Mexico City in 1956 and his unremitting persistence and determination—landed him a position of leadership as a commander in Castro's guerrilla army.[602] By the revolution's end, Guevara was placed in charge of several military tribunals, which led to numerous executions of members of Batista's regime.[603] In the years to come, Guevara would play a more expansive role in Castro's cabinet as "chairman of Cuba's National Bank" and also the "Minister of Industries."[604] Around the same time, Guevara

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[599] Olivier Besancenot and Michael Löwy, *Che Guevara: His Revolutionary Legacy*, translated by James Membrez (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2009), 12-14.
[600] Ibid., 12.
[601] Ibid., 12-13.
[602] Nick Caistor, *Che Guevara: A Life* (Northampton, Massachussetts: Interlude Books, 2010), 38; Jeff A. Larson and Omar Lizardo, "Generations, Identities, and the Collective Memory of Che Guevara," *Sociological Forum* 22, no. 4 (December 2007): 428.
[603] Ibid, 427.
[604] Caistor, "Che Guevara: A Life," 72; Larson and Larzado, "Generations, Identities, and the Collective Memory of Che Guevara," 428.

showcased his writing skills through his 1959 release of *Guerilla Warfare* and later *Reminiscences of the Guerrilla War*.[605]

After holding various high-profile positions within Castro's government, Guevara "disappear[ed] from public life" in 1965.[606] One Guevara biographer Nick Caistor, insinuates that Guevara may have caused tension with members of Castro's regime resulting from his overt criticisms of the U.S.S.R.[607] Regardless of the reason, Guevara would later engineer revolutionary movements predominantly outside of Cuba and behind-the-scenes. One of these was an attempted overthrow of a "Pro-Western" Congo government in 1965.[608] Boasting a diverse coalition of Congolese, Rwandan, and Cuban guerillas, the movement showed signs of promise on several political and social fronts.[609] Because of several strategic blunders (both militarily and ideologically), cultural differences, language barriers, and other extenuating circumstances, however, the insurrection ultimately produced a largely "unremarkable performance."[610]

The failure in the Congo, however, did not prevent Guevara from attempting another insurrection two years later in Bolivia. And unlike the attempted coup in the Congo, Guevara did achieve some victories during his Bolivian excursion. For example, the guerrillas—this time consisting of a band of Cubans, Bolivians, and Peruvians—were able against all odds to uproot a significant military garrison in Samaipata, Bolivia.[611] However, Guevara's inability to capture

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[605] Caistor, *Che Guevara*, 71.
[606] Larson and Larzado, "Generations, Identities, and the Collective Memory of Che Guevara," 428.
[607] Caistor, *Che Guevara*, 94.
[608] Ibid., 99.
[609] Ibid., 102-3.
[610] Besancenot and Löwy, *Che Guevara: His Revolutionary Legacy*, 18; Larson and Larzado, "Generations, Identities, and the Collective Memory of Che Guevara," 428.
[611] Caistor, *Che Guevara*, 124.

the heart and imagination of the peasant populations in Bolivia severely limited his strategic effectiveness. In the end, the Bolivian military, "with assistance from the United States," captured and executed the Argentine revolutionary in 1965 and placed his lacerated corpse on display for the world to see.[612] Nevertheless, as Larson and Larzado indicate, Guevara's "popularity soared" immediately after his death in Bolivia.[613] Guevara was particularly popular among youth cultures since—as Olivier Besancenot and Michael Löwy argue—"he had a rare quality among political actors: a consistency between his words and acts, his ideas and practice, his thought and action."[614]

Since his death in 1967 at the age of thirty-nine, Guevara's revolutionary ideals have inspired many political, military, and social movements. The impact of "Guevarism" on Latin American politics and culture—sometimes direct, other times peripheral—has been particularly potent.[615] For example, the "Frente Sandino De Liberación Nacional (FSLN)" in Nicaragua, closely adhered to the Guevarian strategy of operating "from the countryside and from exile in neighboring nations."[616] Similarly, during the 1980s, the Mexican Zapatista Army of National Liberation or EZLN "claimed to have Guevarist roots":

> Guevarism is the essential ingredient of this seething and unforeseen revolutionary culture, be it through the formation of an 'army of liberation,' the choice of the rifle as the material expression of the defiance of the oppressed towards the state and the dominant classes, the emphasis on forging a direct link between the combatants and the peasant masses (the indigenous population), or the radical prospect of anticapitalist struggle.[617]

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[612] Larson and Larzado, "Generations, Identities, and the Collective Memory of Che Guevara," 428.
[613] Ibid.
[614] Besancenot and Löwy, *Che Guevara*, 7.
[615] Ibid., 79-84.
[616] Caistor, *Che Guevara*, 135-36.
[617] Besancenot and Löwy, *Che Guevara*, 80.

Conversely, for Latin American social movements—often composed of students who have "discovered Guevara's writings"—the Argentine revolutionary does not literally "symbolize a method of rural guerilla warfare, but a certain *spirit*, both ethical and political."[618] Thus, in some circles the Guevarist philosophy does not always adhere to a military strategy but rather serves as an almost spiritual model for political and cultural change.

The spirit of Che Guevara has also taken on more stylized forms, particularly within the realm of popular culture. Hannah Charlton describes this phenomenon in *Che Guevara: Revolutionary & Icon*:

> Walk through any major metropolis around the globe and it is likely that you will come across an image of Che Guevara—the Korda image of Che, that is, the face of '*Guerrillero Heroico*' tilted up towards some vision of the future, with his beret, tangle of locks and intense, soulful gaze that crosses cultures and time. The image may be stenciled on a wall, integrated into graffiti, reproduced on a mug or hat, or most likely screen-printed on a T-shirt and worn by anyone aged from eight to eighty.[619]

As Charlton indicates above, the Alberto Korda photograph of Guevara—which was taken just shortly after the Cuban revolution—is considered his most quintessential, iconic image and the one that has been most widely adopted by individuals across the globe (see figure 26).[620]

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[618] Ibid., 82.
[619] Trisha Ziff, *Che Guevara: Revolutionary & Icon* (New York: Abrams Image, 2006), 7.
[620] Ibid., 9.

Figure 26. Korda Image of Ernesto "Che" Guevara

In some cases, the image has been deployed explicitly for political messaging and propaganda, as evidenced by Castro's unveiling of a "five-story high painting" following Guevara's death in Bolivia.[621] In other instances, it has served as an *individual* stylized identity or a symbol of a certain revolutionary hipness. A conspicuous example can be seen in the wardrobe choices of guitarist Carlos Santana at the 2005 Academy Awards (see figure 27): [622]

Figure 27. Carlos Santana at the 2005 Academy Awards with his Wife Deborah King

[621] Caistor, *Che Guevara*, 132.
[622] Ziff, *Che Guevara: Revlutionary and Icon*, 93.

Santana is seen wearing a t-shirt featuring a large Korda image of Guevara while also sporting a black beret with a red star embedded in the center.[623] Santana's references to Guevara are then further accessorized with sunglasses, a crucifix, and a sport coat. In short, his appropriation of Guevara's beret and Korda image demonstrates how a revolutionary expression can seep into the realm of pop culture.

Santana's emulation of Guevara can be analyzed on a number of conceptual fronts, but particularly as a political statement and a marker of Latinx identity. First, his connection to Guevara can be viewed as a political statement via his attendance at the Academy Awards and more specifically his presence on the red carpet, a social space where some past celebrities—for example, Jane Fonda's black dress symbolizing her opposition to the Vietnam War in 1972—have expressed their political proclivities.[624] Moreover, Santana's association with Guevara here can be analyzed as promoting a form of Pan-Latin identity. Guevara himself promoted such Pan-Latin philosophies on several occasions including a March 1958 interview with journalist Jorge Ricardo Masetti:

> Whatever his own political persuasion, he said, the revolution they were attempting to create was 'revolutionary nationalist' in character. He also told Masetti that he considered his 'fatherland' to be not merely Argentina but the whole of the Americas, and contrasted his presence in Cuba with the constant interference of the United States in the country's affairs, which went unchallenged.[625]

Thus, for Santana, a guitarist hailing from Mexico, his alignment with Guevara as a member of the Latinx community creates an affiliation with the revolutionary's core philosophy to liberate

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[623] Ibid., 93.
[624] Rachel Lubitz, "A History of Political Statements on the Oscars Red Carpet," *Strut* (March 2, 2018), accessed February 28, 2019, https://mic.com/articles/188228/a-history-of-political-statements-on-the-oscars-red-carpet#.NA3mzJqJw.
[625] Caistor, *Che Guevara*, 57.

working class populations across Latin America. Ultimately, Santana's stylistic emulation of Guevara illustrates how the revolutionary can serve as a potent vehicle for mobilizing socio-political ideals and identities that incorporate all members of the Latinx community. So how does this extensive overview of Guevara relate to Dalto and how does it help us to conduct a semiotic analysis of the pianist's photos?

With his black beret, long, darkish hair, and goatee, Jorge Dalto directly adopted Guevara's iconic appearance (see figure 28). Like Santana, Dalto's emulation of Guevara is

Figure 28. Iconic Photo of "Che" Guevara (left) and Jorge Dalto (right)

highly stylized. For example, in many of the pianist's photographs one can see Dalto flamboyantly arrayed in brightly colored suits (see figure 29):

Figure 29. Dalto Performing in Colorful Attire

One could argue that Dalto's featuring of these suits merely served to enhance elements of his showmanship. To put it another way, his highly energetic performances and vibrant personality often reflected this colorful apparel and worked to produce a more memorable and iconic image

of the artist. At the same time, one could maintain that Dalto's suits reflect fashion trends of the period, as well as the often-vibrant nature of the Latin jazz tradition itself. Either way, it becomes clear from both these pictures and the statements of his widow Adela, that Dalto emulates Guevara in a stylized form.

Dalto's stylized visage is characterized by a number of features but is accentuated most conspicuously by his beret. Historically, the beret has played a prominent symbolic role within popular culture and the jazz community in general. It has been influential for example in representing core revolutionary ideals within these realms. Throughout the next section, I discuss the socio-political implications of Dalto's beret and stylized visage. Specifically, I consider how various qualisigns of the beret extract social meaning through its capacity to "enter in different interpretive orders."[626] Ultimately, I argue that these orders bring about better understandings of Argentine and Pan-Latinx identity in both political and popular culture contexts.

4.3 HISTORICAL TREATMENTS OF QUALISIGNS AND SEMIOTICS

Emanating from Peircean semiotics, the scope of the term qualisign has greatly expanded since its inception and currently is utilized across several disciplines. Since the early 2000s, the concept has become particularly prominent within cultural anthropology and materiality studies. Philosopher Charles S. Peirce originally defined the qualisign as a "quality which is a sign. It cannot actually act as a sign until it is embodied; but the embodiment has nothing to do with its

[626] Paul Manning, "Materiality and Cosmology: Old Georgian Churches as Sacred, Sublime, and Secular Objects," *Ethnos* 73, no. 3 (September 2008): 328-29.

character as a sign."[627] Similarly, in his detailed reinterpretations of Peircean semiotics, anthropologist Paul Kockleman describes the qualisign as a "quality that *could possibly* be paired with an object."[628] From these two perspectives, the term becomes linked to notions of potentiality and embodiment. The concept, however, serves as only the "first part of Peirce's first trichotomy of signs" and is theorized with two other sign types, *sinsigns* and *legisigns*.[629] Peirce describes the former as an "actual existent thing or event which is a sign," which "involves a qualisign, or rather, several qualisigns." [630] He defines the latter as a "law that is a Sign" while contending that "every conventional sign is a legisign [but not conversely]" and that any legisign "requires sinsigns."[631] Kockelman simplifies this tripartite relationship of signs as follows: "sinsigns presuppose qualisigns, and legisigns presuppose sinsigns. Indeed, sinsigns embody qualisigns; and legisigns are embodied in sinsigns."[632] He also provides a concrete example of this tripartite model:

> For example, in the case of utterances, a qualisign is a potential cry (say, what is conceivably utterable by a human voice); a sinsign is an actual cry (say, a particular scream); and a legisign is a type of cry (say, screaming per se).[633]

Theoretically speaking, meaning in Peircean semiotics is extracted through the interconnectivity of these three sign types.

While Peirce stressed a tripartite model of signs in his semiotic writings, most scholars have focused predominantly on the qualisign as a point of emphasis. Two scholars have been

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[627] Charles Peirce, "Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs," in *Philosophical writings of Peirce*, ed. by Justus Buchler (New York: Dover, 1995), 101.
[628] Paul Kockelman, "Semiotics: Interpretants, Interface, and Intersubjectivity," *Sage Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 157 (2005): 241.
[629] Lily Hope Chumley and Nicholas Harkness, "Introduction: Qualia," *Anthropological Theory* 13, no. 1/2 (2013): 6.
[630] Peirce, "Logic as Semiotic," 101.
[631] Ibid., 102.
[632] Kockelman, "Semiotics," 241.
[633] Ibid.

particularly influential since the 1980s in advancing the term's application and evolution within cultural anthropology and material studies: Nancy D. Munn and Webb Keane respectively. In her landmark ethnography *The Fame of Gawa*, Munn applies qualisigns to notions of "value transformation" in Gawan culture:

> In the present study, I am referring to certain embodied qualities that are components of a given intersubjective spacetime (the "more comprehensive whole") whose positive or negative value they signify. I call these qualities *qualisigns*, adopting the label (as I have also adopted that of "icon") from the philosopher C. S. Peirce. [634]

Her main focus concerns the role of certain media within Gawan culture that "exhibit qualisigns of the positive or negative value generated by acts."[635] Specifically, she discusses how Gawan-defined qualities such as lightweightness, heaviness, slowness, and "light vs. darkness" embody certain types of value and generate meaning within this social milieu.[636] Moreover, as Munn indicates in a footnote, her use of qualisign differs slightly from Peirce, who conceived "embodied qualities" as types of sinsigns rather than qualisigns.[637] Thus, she is more concerned with adapting Peirce's terminology to a "specific set of problems" rather than adhering exclusively to his initial definitions.[638]

Nearly twenty years later, Keane's application of qualisigns (like Munn's) would become a cornerstone for subsequent research in anthropological and materiality studies. In his 2003 article "Semiotics and the Social Analysis of Material Things," Keane identifies two concepts as

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[634] Nancy D. Munn, *The Fame of Gawa: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 16-18.
[635] Ibid., 17.
[636] Ibid.
[637] Ibid., 276.
[638] Ibid.

important components of materiality, qualisign embodiment and qualisign bundling.[639] His notion of embodiment in qualisigns is conceived through an imaginative interpretation of an excerpt from Charlotte Zolotow's *Mr. Rabbit and the Lovely Present*:

> 'She likes red,' said the little girl.
> 'Red,' said Mr. Rabbit. 'You can't give her red.'
> 'Something red, maybe,' said the little girl.
> 'Oh, something red,' said Mr. Rabbit. [640]

Keane first argues that Mr. Rabbit's response to the little girl's initial statement illustrates how "'redness' must be embodied in something 'red'" and by extension how "qualisigns must be embodied in something in particular."[641] Through his interpretation of this excerpt, Keane demonstrates how the embodiment of redness is inevitably tied to the process of bundling. Specifically, once a qualisign of redness is "embodied in something in particular," it is subsequently "bound up with other qualities" or governed by a "factor of co-presence."[642] In other words, "redness in an apple comes along with spherical shape, light weight, and so forth."[643] Thus, for Keane, qualisigns produce better understandings of the "effects of materiality" by illustrating how the embodiment of one quality "inescapably binds it to some other qualities as well."[644] In the end, it is Keane's views of materiality, embodiment, and bundling that set the stage for further explorations of the term in anthropological and interdisciplinary research.

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[639] Webb Keane, "Semiotics and the Social Analysis of Material Things," *Language & Communication* 23 (2003): 414.
[640] Ibid., 409, 414; Charlotte Zolotow, *Mr. Rabbit and the Lovely Present* (New York: Harper Collins, 1977).
[641] Keane, "Semiotics and the Social Analysis of Material Things," 414.
[642] Ibid.
[643] Ibid.
[644] Ibid.

Since Keane's theoretical contribution of bundling, a number of scholars have developed further uses for qualisigns, particularly in anthropological research. In 2008, two scholars contributed research on this front, Paul Manning and Anne Meneley. In his article "Materiality and Cosmology," Manning integrates key elements of Keane's concepts (particularly *bundling*) while also interjecting some of his own terminology within an analysis of traditional Georgian Churches.[645] He first parses out some core elements of Peirce's original definition:

> I argue that the semiotic properties of Georgian churches and the many fields of cosmological significance in which they figure, are mediated in part by this contingent conflation of potentially significant sensuous qualities, Peircean 'qualisigns', that is, sensuous qualities (quali-) that are potentially significant (-signs).[646]

His emphasis on "sensuous qualities" (quali-) and "potentially significant" (-signs), functions both as an embellishment of Peirce's definition as well as a semi-reinterpretation of the original term. However, what separates Manning from other interpretations is his conception of *qualisigns* and *bundling* as occurring within specific interpretive orders:

> By being ordered with or grouped with other kinds of material objects…the different bundled qualisigns of the old church will change significance, enter in different interpretive orders: like a theater, a sign of civilization; like a new church, sacred; like a mountain landscape, sublime.[647]

Therefore, qualisigns in material objects—through the process of bundling—will carry meanings that vary according to what interpretive order is being analyzed at a given time. In the end, Manning's article illustrates how qualisigns are capable of extracting meaning out of "material objects" by transcending spatio-temporal boundaries through these "interpretive orders."

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[645] Paul Manning, "Materiality and Cosmology: Old Georgian Churches as Sacred, Sublime, and Secular Objects," *Ethnos* 73, no. 3 (September 2008): 328.
[646] Ibid., 328.
[647] Ibid., 329.

Similarly, Anne Meneley in "Oleo-Signs and Quali-Signs," expounds upon Keane's bundling concept through her analysis of how qualisigns function in relation to olive oil.[648] Meneley begins the article with a critique of historical scholarly tendencies that accentuate the "*differences* between objects" rather than the materiality of the "object itself" or the "material substrate, the objects, through which a ritual is accomplished."[649] She then introduces her notion of "synaesthetic bundling," which she argues occurs when qualisigns "are bundled together necessarily rather than accidentally, because of the nature of olive oil."[650] However, Meneley's most enduring contributions is her analysis of qualisigns in olive oil (immiscibility, liquidity, luminosity, illumination, etc.) as individual headings/subsections and her encapsulation of how these qualisigns "allow olive oil to operate in several discrete religious contexts."[651] Thus, what separates Meneley from previous scholars is her emphasis on the qualisign's individual and collective bundled agency in material objects. Meneley's more detailed and intricate focus on the qualisigns *themselves* and their role within material objects serves, I would argue, as an embellishment upon previous theoretical treatments.

While several sources drawing from qualisign theory have emerged since Manning and Meneley, this section concludes with the 2013 article "Introduction: QUALIA" by Lily Hope Chumley and Nicholas Harkness.[652] In the article, Chumley and Harkness revisit some of the core elements of qualisign research contributed originally by Peirce and Munn. Unlike previous

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[648] Anne Meneley, "Oleo-Signs and Quali-signs: The Qualities of Olive Oil," *Ethnos* 73, no. 3 (December 2008): 303-326.
[649] Ibid., 306-7.
[650] Ibid., 309.
[651] Ibid., 303.
[652] Lily Hope Chumley and Nicholas Harkness, "Introduction: Qualia," *Anthropological Theory* 13, no. 1/2 (2013): 3-11; Nicholas Harkness, "The Pragmatics of Qualia in Practice," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 44 (2015): 573-89.

scholars, Chumley and Harkness focus on the inner workings of qualisigns and in particular, their *perceptions* by "social actors."[653] For example, take their enhanced explanation concerning Peirce's original conceptions of the term:

> Properties like greenness and hotness only appear to us in the form of things like leaves and fire, and yet we get the sense that these properties can be abstracted 'hypostatically' from any particular object… In the qualisign, it is this abstracted property itself– greenness, hotness–that signifies, not just the leaf or the fire. As Harkness (this issue) argues, such qualisigns are frequently conventionalized, and it is their conventionality that makes it possible for social actors to recognize particular people (and particular things) as having particular 'qualities'.[654]

One could argue that the authors insinuate how qualisigns such as "greenness" and "hotness" can take on or convey metaphorical or abstract meaning and hence have the capacity to "be abstracted…from any particular object." Moreover, the authors' reexamination of Munn and her belief that "value is constructed through qualitative experience" serves as the foundation for what they call "qualia."[655] In the end, they argue that "qualitative experiences" or 'qualia' inform and are inextricably linked to notions of materiality, embodiment, aesthetics, and affect.[656]

My application of qualisigns throughout this chapter functions much like the descriptions above but does so with more focus on what I perceive as metaphorical and abstract qualities of material objects in addition to sensuous characteristics. In other words, while anthropologists such as Munn describe qualisigns as "sensuous qualities of objects," I use the term to account for both sensuous and metaphorical/abstract qualities.[657] My conception of qualisigns is influenced first by Manning who recognizes Georgian churches as exhibiting qualisigns of "oldness" and

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[653] Chumley and Harkness, "Introduction: QUALIA," 6.
[654] Ibid.
[655] Ibid.
[656] Ibid., 9.
[657] Keane, "Semiotics and the Social Analysis of Material Things," 414.

"newness."[658] One could argue from this perspective that such qualisigns of the church traverse both the metaphorical and the sensuous realm since oldness and newness potentially encompass both physical, sensuous qualities and abstract, metaphorical qualities. Similarly, my approach to qualisigns functions along the lines of Chumley and Harkness who link qualia "methodologically to the experience of qualities as a fact of sociocultural life, rather than to qualities as purported properties of things in the world."[659] Though Chumley and Harkness recognize qualisigns for their sensuous qualities, I would contend that their emphasis on the qualitative realm demonstrates how *individual experiences* and *perceptions* of qualities—or perceptions of what constitutes a quality—influence the socio-cultural realities of materiality.

Moreover, I would argue that when individuals observe a material object, they do so NOT only with the sensuous qualities of objects in mind but also with a picture of abstract or metaphorical qualities. For example, throughout this chapter, I discuss how metaphorical qualities of material objects (e.g., Dalto's beret) such as nostalgia, tyranny, exoticization, hipness, intellectualism, and againstness can be bundled with sensuous qualities such as darkness, redness, and softness to extract meaning. I attempt to demonstrate how the role of these bundled sensuous and metaphorical qualisigns—as Munn argues—is characterized by a highly "complex symbolic process."[660] I also contend that through bundling, both sensuous and metaphorical qualisigns of material objects are capable of pinpointing multifarious identities related to the main subject at hand. In the case of Jorge Dalto, I argue that several qualisigns—via the process of bundling and the "entering in different interpretive orders"—inform and

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[658] Manning, 331.
[659] Chumley and Harkness, "Introduction: QUALIA," 4.
[660] Munn, *The Fame of Gawa*, 3; Chumley and Harkness, "Introduction: QUALIA," 4.

extract identities related directly to the pianist. In the following sections, I unpack several disparate, yet bundled qualisigns of Dalto's beret and how they inform the pianist's identity, both in relationship to himself and to others.

4.4 THE SEMIOTICS OF DALTO'S BERET: QUALISIGN OF NOSTALGIA

When examining the material object of Dalto's beret, one qualisign that possesses significant socio-political implications is nostalgia. In this context, the qualisign of nostalgia can potentially be analyzed on several theoretical fronts. One area to consider is the Argentine homeland connection between Guevara and Dalto. Interestingly, both figures were born on the outskirts of Buenos Aires, both had stints in the army, and both died relatively young at thirty-nine years of age. However, to better understand this connection, I argue that nostalgia needs to be placed within a broader framework that engages notions of Argentine collective memory and hope. What are the deeper implications of this qualisign within this Dalto/Guevara connection and how does Argentine collective memory figure into this framework?

As Larson and Lizardo indicate, when Guevara was executed on October 9, 1967, "his popularity soared" in Argentina and around the world.[661] Guevara's Korda image was mass produced and circulated around the globe via posters as early as the late 1960s and more extensively in t-shirt format after 1997.[662] While Guevara had campaigned largely outside of Argentina during his lifetime, his impact on Argentina (his native country) still was particularly

[661] Jeff A. Larson and Omar Lizardo, "Generations, Identities, and the Collective Memory of Che Guevara," *Sociological Forum* 22, no. 4 (December 2007): 428.
[662] Ibid., 428.

felt both directly and indirectly. For example, through his "Message to Argentines" speech given in 1961, Guevara spoke directly to Argentines in commemoration of (among other things) the anniversary of "anti-colonial rebellion" in Argentina in 1910.[663] In addition, his revolutionary ideals were renowned within Argentine social circles and implemented by both Peronist groups and the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) throughout the 1970s.[664] Dalto, meanwhile, was nearly twenty years old by the time Guevara passed, and had spent his entire life in Argentina. While he left for the U.S. in 1971 following a brief stint in the Argentine Army, Dalto was undoubtedly aware of the Guevarist-inspired revolutions launched against the brutal military regimes of Argentina during the 1970s.[665] Yet, regardless of when or how he became familiar with Guevara, the pianist's direct emulation of his appearance—as evidenced by his facial hair and goatee, long hair, and most conspicuously, the black beret—indicates that he was familiar with the Argentine revolutionary's iconic image and cultural legacy.[666]

If we consider the interpretive order of this homeland connection, the qualisign of nostalgia manifested through Dalto's beret—from a post-dictatorial perspective—illustrates how cultural and collective memories inform Argentine ethnic and national identity. As Larson and Lizardo indicate, "Collective memories are traces of the past remembered and reenacted in the present, periodically reinvigorated in commemorations, celebrations, poetry, images, and other symbolic displays."[667] One could argue that Dalto's evocation of Guevara is consistent with this definition for a number of reasons. For one, the beret serves as a vehicle by which Dalto, other

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[663] Basancenot and Löwy, *Che Guevara*, 94.
[664] Caistor, *Che Guevara*, 135.
[665] Yanow, *Afro-Cuban Jazz*, 37; Caistor, *Che Guevara*, 135.
[666] My interview with Adela Dalto, which I conducted on January 26, 2019, also serves as an important piece of evidence pointing Jorge to Che. See pg. 177 for more information.
[667] Larson and Lizardo, "Generations, Identities, and the Collective Memory of Che Guevara," 431.

Argentines, and youth cultures around the world can remember Guevara as a "trace of the past."[668] Moreover, in the case of Dalto specifically, the pianist via his beret and hairstyle reenacts these traces of the past through his "symbolic display" of Guevara within the arena of jazz performance.[669] In other words, Dalto as a pianist was *performing* Guevara in stylized form and as a marker of Argentine national and ethnic identity.

To further unpack how nostalgia operates as a qualisign, one may consider how it was embodied by Argentines from Dalto's era. During this timeframe, nostalgic memories for Argentines were often bundled with collective memories of the brutal military dictatorships that governed Argentina during the Dirty War from 1976 to 1983. Termed "the Dirty War" by the military regime itself, the military fought specifically against "urban guerrillas," which encompassed various affiliates of the ERP and the "Peronist Montoneros."[670] In addition, the regime targeted all groups deemed subversive to the military establishment, including members of the press, lawyers, and social activists who challenged (no matter how passively) authoritarian rule.[671] Argentine cultural anthropologist Rosana Guber discusses Argentine collective memory from this perspective:

> Nostalgia and the disappearance of one's past and of one's ancestors and descendants speak of Argentines' Argentina, as if the wounds of an unrequited love could never heal. Tango, the effects of the Dirty War [1976-1983] and of the abolition of state social policies…depict the longing for lost pasts and lineages that…seem to remain irretrievable.[672]

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[668] Ibid.
[669] Ibid.
[670] Jerry W. Knudson, "Veil of Silence: The Argentine Press and the Dirty War, 1976-1983," *Latin American Perspectives* 24, no. 6 (Nov. 1997): 93, 97.
[671] Ibid.
[672] Rosana Guber, "Anthropología Social: An Argentine Diaspora between Revolution and Nostalgia," *Anthropology Today* 18, no. 4 (Aug. 2002): 13.

In other words, Argentine nostalgic longing for the past—in some ways concrete manifestations, in other ways mythical constructs—was conflated with the adverse effects of the military regimes.[673] Though the stronghold of Argentina's military regimes had largely dissolved by 1983, many Argentines from this generation ultimately witnessed the atrocities committed by these organizations go unpunished by the new government after the fall of the dictatorship.[674]

At the same time, for Argentines and other populations throughout Latin America, the 1970s Nueva Canción movement was influential in both shedding light on injustices stemming from brutal dictatorships and mobilizing positive aspects of collective memory. In particular, it was influential in promoting "left-wing political agendas" that "overlapped with a discursive project of cultural recovery and memory."[675] Moreover, according to Robert Neustadt, Nueva Canción demonstrated the "pervasiveness of music as a mnemonic symbol, ranging from nostalgia of the hope associated with socialism to memories of the coup."[676] The revolutionary ideals and iconicity of Guevara were consistent with the core message underlying the Nueva Canción movement. Specifically, his image and philosophies embodied the concept of "cultural recovery and memory" on behalf of Argentines and took on a nostalgic—once again, sometimes concrete, other times mythical—and by extension revolutionary overtone.[677] By emulating Guevara's appearance, Dalto inevitably tapped into an alternative history that recognized the revolutionary's core ideals as representing a more harmonious and egalitarian vision of society than the one the pianist and other Argentines experienced during its military dictatorships. More

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[673] Robert Neustadt, "Music as Memory and Torture: Sounds of Repression and Protest in Chile and Argentina," *Chasqui* 33, no. 1 (May 2004): 136-7.
[674] Ibid., 135.
[675] Ibid., 128.
[676] Ibid., 136-7.
[677] Ibid.

importantly, Dalto by *performing* Guevara, brought out the nostalgic intricacies of Argentine "cultural recovery and memory."[678]

When considering the overarching cultural and affective influence of Guevara, the qualisign of nostalgia also can be bundled with conceptions and experiences of hope. Maria-Carolina Cambre in *The Semiotics of Che Guevara: Affective Gateways*, discusses the orientation of hope her interviewees experienced when viewing Guevara's image:

> In both places, Chennai and Ramallah, the image of Che Guevara's face had more than informational value. It also had agency in the sense that it was not merely the communication of a thing that can be known, the portrait of an Argentine-Cuban revolutionary (Che-*studium*), it is a thing that makes things happen or at least somehow anchors a hope that something, a change, will happen (or "Che"- *punctum)*.[679]

From the perspective of the viewer, the image of Che often implicates a "hopeful expectation of good" and through its agency, implements positive change.[680] Moreover, as Cambre indicates, Che's image in relationship to the viewer is characterized by a certain "rhythm" that is dependent on "converging contexts."[681] Through Dalto's appropriation of Guevara, the qualisign of nostalgia is "anchored to hope" within the interpretive order of Argentine national identity and collective memory.[682] Specifically, the brutal Argentine military dictatorships that arose during Dalto's era served as the context and became a source of rhythm through which Che's image was transformed into a "place of hope."[683] Dalto's beret emits the qualisign of nostalgia that embodies notions of hope and change within the framework of Argentina's collective memory of Guevara and through the "rhythm" of jazz piano performance.

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[678] Ibid., 128.
[679] Maria-Carolina Cambre, *The Semiotics of Che Guevara: Affective Gateways* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 42.
[680] The phrase "hopeful expectation of good" is a pseudo-Biblical reference.
[681] Ibid., 53.
[682] Ibid., 42.
[683] Ibid., 53.

4.5 THE SEMIOTICS OF DALTO'S BERET: QUALISIGN OF TYRANNY

While for Argentines, Dalto's beret exhibits qualisigns of nostalgia and hope in connection to Guevara, it conversely takes on new meaning within the interpretive order of the Cuban musical community. For many Cuban citizens—with whom the Argentine revolutionary was closely associated both before and after the Cuban Revolution—the collective memory of Guevara is complicated and ambivalent. This was especially true for Cuban musicians, whose careers were impacted for better or worse by their relationship to Guevara and the Castro regime. In some cases, the influence of Guevara and Castro provided musicians with more opportunities to perform and market their music. As renowned Cuban saxophonist Paquito D'Rivera indicates in his memoir *My Sax Life*, the Cuban musicians with whom he collaborated, were often members of the Cuban Communist Party and supported the policies of Guevara and Castro.[684] For example, the renowned bolero interpreter Carlos Puebla was one notable proponent of Guevara (and by extension, Castro). According to Isabelle Leymarie, Puebla composed "*Hasta Siempre* as a tribute" to him in 1963.[685] His songs were often nationalistic in nature and adhered to the core principles of the Cuban Communist Party. As a result, Puebla was able—unlike many other Cuban musicians—to carve out a distinct role as a professional musician within Castro's regime. Similarly, D'Rivera also notes that the residence of Cuban composer Gilberto Valdés was personally "given to him by…Guevara," an indicator of friendship and support for the

[684] Paquito D'Rivera, *My Sax Life* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2005), 236.
[685] Isabelle Leymarie, *Cuban Fire: The Story of Salsa and Latin Jazz* (London: Continuum, 2002), 213.

artist.[686] Therefore, Cuban artists' relationship to Guevara and Castro could often determine to what extent they could succeed in communist Cuba.

The collective memory of Che Guevara within the Cuban jazz community likewise has been complicated and polarized. D'Rivera has been one of the most outspoken critics of Guevara within this community. In his biography, the saxophonist provides extensive commentary on Guevara and tackles the revolutionary's influence on state politics in Cuba and around the world:

> When talking about Argentineans, I can only sing their praises, maybe with the sole exception of that character who wore a beret and went to my country to mess everything up, and who later tried unsuccessfully to repeat the same joke in Bolivia with an unfortunate outcome for him but a good one for Bolivians…if the Commies had taken over that country and had appointed Che Guevara as minister of hydraulic works, they would have run out of water, even in Lake Titicaca.[687]

In addition to his criticism of Guevara's military and political legacy, the saxophonist's reference to the revolutionary's beret is worth noting. Whereas in the case of the Dalto/Guevara connection, the beret emits qualisigns of nostalgia and hope, the beret from D'Rivera's perspective and specifically within the interpretive order of the Cuban jazz community, points to qualisigns of incompetence and instability.

Another example of D'Rivera's criticism is expressed in a letter addressed to Carlos Santana, following his stylistic appropriation of Guevara's appearance at the Academy Awards. The saxophonist encapsulates his critique as follows:

> I have been informed by our friend Raul Artiles that you will soon be presenting yourself in Miami, something I believe is not recommendable. I bring this forth to you because not long ago you clumsily appeared at the Oscar awards wearing a crucifix over a T-shirt with the stereotyped image of the "Carnicerito de la Cabaña" (Little Butcher of the Fortress). This is how Che Guevara is known to the Cubans that had to agonize with this character in that prison. One of these Cubans was my cousin Bebo, precisely a convict in

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[686] D'Rivera, *My Sax Life*, 155.
[687] Ibid., 12-13.

> this jail for merely being a Christian. He always retells with sourness about the times at dawn when Christian prisoners were killed without mercy screaming 'Hail Jesus King!'…Furthermore, it is an insult and a slap in the face to those young Cubans from the sixties who had to hide away in order to listen to your 'imperialist music.'[688]

D'Rivera's letter is replete with meaning on a few levels. For one, the saxophonist alludes to the notion that anti-Castro-leaning Cuban populations in Miami would be offended by Santana's stylistic appropriation of Che Guevara, in this context a symbol of tyranny. Secondly, D'Rivera criticizes Santana for not recognizing how his music (rock and roll) was perceived as imperialist music in Cuba, where citizens often were imprisoned for listening to music from the United States. To put it another way, the very image of Guevara that Santana is upholding, paradoxically (from D'Rivera's perspective) represents the antithesis of freedom and creative expression that is conveyed in his music.

In order to better contextualize this latter point, it is important to reexamine how jazz has been received historically within the Soviet bloc, of which Cuba was a key member. The reception of jazz in the Soviet Union—both before and after Stalin—was at times polarized and characterized by the Soviet struggle to extricate the music from its American origins. However, as Gertrud Pickhan and Rüdiger Ritter indicate in *Meanings of Jazz in State Socialism*, one of the Soviet Union's chief concerns with jazz revolved around the music's aesthetic qualities. [689] Specifically, the U.S.S.R. had difficulty coming to terms with the music's tendency to transcend the "theoretical framework of socialist realism":

> Any idea postulating that music should be used for affirmative purposes, with specific content and effect on the masses, was alien to jazz, which, in essence, was predominantly instrumental and thus abstract in character. It therefore did not lend itself to

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[688] Ziff, *Che Guevara: Revolutionary and Icon*, 93.
[689] Gertrud Pickhan and Rüdiger Ritter, *Meanings of Jazz in State Socialism* (New York: Frankfurt am Main, 2016), 9.

> communicating specific messages with an individualistic character. As a consequence, jazz was widely regarded a thorn in the flesh, especially so among the most ardent supporters of the Soviet system. How could it be that a music so uncommitted to the Marxist-Leninist cause and so far removed from one's own artistic traditions and ideas could attract such interest, even among the proletariat?[690]

Because of the Soviet Union's widespread political influence, jazz would be similarly marginalized in other Communist states across the globe.

Through its direct association with the Soviet Union, post-Revolution Cuba often exhibited a similar disposition toward jazz and other American musics. Jazz first became a vibrant component of early 1900s Cuban music via cultural and musical interchange between musicians from New Orleans and Havana.[691] Despite this interchange, Cuba's government began to eschew U.S. jazz influences as early as the 1920s. It was during this time that the Cuban state championed *danzón* and *son* to "represent Cubanness" and safeguard against outside influences including U.S. jazz and "Europeanized tango."[692] However, jazz began to be more marginalized after a series of events in the late 1950s and early 1960s. This included the culmination of the Castro/Guevara-led Cuban Revolution in 1959, the Bay of Pigs Invasion in 1961 and Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 respectively, and the U.S.-imposed Cuban Embargo, which remained in place for decades to follow. The latter greatly restricted musical interchange between jazz musicians from the U.S. and Cuba. And though President Jimmy Carter was influential in allowing U.S. jazz musicians to perform in Havana during the 1970s, jazz in Cuba was

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[690] Ibid.
[691] For more information concerning the musical and cultural interchange between early 1900s Cuba and New Orleans, see Fernández's *Latin Jazz: The Perfect Combination*.
[692] Umi Vaughan, *Rebel Dance, Renegade Stance: Timba Music and Black Identity in Cuba* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2012), 17.

predominantly perceived—as Arturo Sandoval indicates below—as the "music of imperialism."[693]

In addition to D'Rivera, Cuban trumpeter Arturo Sandoval has provided detailed accounts of his experiences as a jazz musician in Cuba. Sandoval—who performed with D'Rivera in the renowned Cuban-based fusion group Irakere during the 1970s—recounted his overall experience in a 1993 interview with journalist Owen McNally: "For the regular human being, Cuba is horrible. For a musician, it's terrible. For a jazz musician, it's impossible. There are no places where you can play jazz at all. Jazz is called 'the music of imperialism.'"[694] Moreover, in a 2016 interview with *Downbeat*, Sandoval discussed the consequences for his engagement with 'imperialist music' in Cuba:

> I was in jail for three-and-a-half months because a sergeant caught me listening to a little short-wave radio. The Voice of America. Willis Conover's jazz program, they called it *The Jazz Hour*. I listened to that for years. That was the only way we had to learn and listen to jazz music because we had no radio programs, nothing.[695]

D'Rivera presents a similar account of his experience with a Cuban Lieutenant in a jam session during the mid-1960s:

> Particularly after one evening when Lieutenant Forneiro showed up unexpectedly while we were in the middle of a jam session and ordered: 'Stop that immediately! I don't want to hear another note. *Compañeros*, jazz music represents the enemy!' With those words, he turned off the Russian hi-fi that played albums by Bird, Dizzy, Kenton, and Miles. Thereafter, we had to listen secretly to Willis Conover's shortwave jazz program on the Voice of America.[696]

Because of Cuba's often tenuous relationship with jazz, both D'Rivera and Sandoval eventually would defect to the United States, the former in 1980 and the latter—with help from his mentor

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[693] Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 258; Owen McNally, "Sandoval's long road from Irakere to Miami He's out of Cuba, into American jazz," *Hartford Courant*, April 28, 1993.
[694] Ibid.
[695] Frank Alkyer, "Arturo Sandoval: A Life of Gratitude," *Downbeat*, April 2016.
[696] D'Rivera, *My Sax Life*, 133.

trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie—in 1995.[697] Ultimately, the experiences of D'Rivera and Sandoval demonstrate how Carlos Santana's tribute to Guevara imbues qualisigns of tyranny and oppression within certain interpretive orders of the Cuban musical social milieu, both inside and beyond the island.

D'Rivera in his book also interestingly describes two encounters he experienced with Guevara personally (one direct, one indirect): the first in the kitchen of the Cabaret Caribe and the second in the "exclusive neighborhood of Miramar."[698] These accounts interestingly shed light on communism's far-reaching influence both domestically in Cuba and abroad while also detailing the role of capitalism in marketing Guevara's image across the globe. His first encounter with Guevara was peripheral:

> I remember a certain night when through the door of the Cabaret Caribe's kitchen, where musicians got together between shows to have a cup of coffee, there appeared none other than Che Guevara, accompanied by Anastas Mikoyan, an Armenian who was the minister of industry of the USSR…In our country Guevara held the same position as the Armenian in Nikita Krushchev's administration…This man [Guevara] was so irresponsible that, although he'd never set foot in Cuba before, he had the balls to impose a revolution upon the natives of a country that he didn't know. He also even ordered the execution of many Cubans during his tenure as military chief at La Cabaña fortress in Havana. But thank God (and the CIA, I guess), all that is left of that twisted character are several thousand T-shirts with his face on them, available mainly at Cuban tourist stores for purchase with American dollars only![699]

First of all, D'Rivera through this anecdote—particularly via his description of Guevara's relationship with the "minister of industry"—illustrates how intimately the U.S.S.R. was involved with Cuban domestic affairs after Castro's takeover. Indeed, while Latin American politics as a whole worked to extricate itself from the web of Soviet influence, in the end it

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[697] Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 245, 261.
[698] D'Rivera, *My Sax Life*, 136, 155-56.
[699] Ibid., 136, 155.

adhered to a "Stalinist paradigm."[700] Cuba was no exception on this front. And though D'Rivera does not provide an exact date for this event, it appears from his account to take place during the mid-1960s, shortly before Guevara would distance himself from the policies of the U.S.S.R. and disappear from Cuban public life entirely in search of new revolutionary pursuits around the globe.

Moreover, D'Rivera in the quote above alludes to what some scholars voice as the "trivialization" of Guevara's political legacy through processes of commodification.[701] Larson and Lizardo discuss this process extensively in their ethnographic analysis of Guevara's cultural and political legacy:

> In the eyes of many analysts, the image of Che Guevara plastered on T-shirts, coffee mugs, and posters throughout the world has become the latest example of the commodification and trivialization of an initially radical, revolutionary figure. As the image of Che has come to be incorporated into the market logic of the culture industry, it has lost most of its power as a political symbol.[702]

Some scholars perceive this commodification as problematic and borderline insulting since Guevara's revolutionary ideals historically have sought to undermine the "hegemony of American-style consumer capitalism."[703] At the same time, one could argue that the commodification of Guevara's Korda image in the global market is what has kept the spirit of Guevara's revolutionary legacy alive. Some scholars would contend, however, that viewpoints like Larson and Lizardo's that declare Che's image as having the potential to lose "power as a political symbol" through commodification, are not entirely accurate. As Cambre demonstrates, a

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[700] Besancenot and Löwy, *Che Guevara: His Revolutionary Legacy*, 65.
[701] Larson and Lizardo, "Generations, Identities, and the Collective Memory of Che Guevara," 426.
[702] Ibid., 426.
[703] Ibid., 426.

semiotic analysis of Guevara's image from particular viewers reveals a type of revolutionary agency that ultimately transcends capitalism and processes of commodification.

D'Rivera's second encounter with Guevara was more personalized than the first and serves as an example of how Dalto's stylistic appropriation can become problematic within the interpretive orders of certain musical communities. This time, the saxophonist's personal encounter with Guevara was located in the "Santa Clara, Las Villas Province" and occurred near the estate of his future father-in-law, who happened to be a friend of the Argentine revolutionary:

> 'The pleasure is mine, young comrade," the long-haired adventurer with a star on his beret responded to my greeting, without much enthusiasm. Then he added, without the least interest, 'And what do you do?'
>
> 'I'm a musician, Commander," I replied respectfully.
>
> 'No, no, no—you don't understand,' he said, this time with an ironic smile and in a louder tone of voice, as if he wanted to be heard by everyone in the living room. 'Not music—what I meant was the type of work you do, my dear boy.' [704]

After Guevara's remarks, D'Rivera notes that everybody in the room "laughed spontaneously," partially out of fear of the revolutionary's prestigious position within the Castro administration.[705] D'Rivera's excerpt here is important since it exposes Guevara's narrow-minded viewpoint of the role of music within his revolutionary movement. Therefore, we must ask ourselves whether Dalto's stylistic appropriation of Guevara within the arena of jazz piano performance is paradoxical to the core philosophies that the revolutionary embodied.

Such diverse viewpoints of Guevara are important for understanding how musicians in the Pan-American jazz community implement socio-political messages either in conjunction with or in opposition to the revolutionary figure. For musicians on the island, a "successful" career—

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[704] D'Rivera, *My Sax Life*, 155-56.
[705] Ibid.

as evidenced by bolero interpreter and political song writer Carlos Puebla and Cuban composer Gilberto Valdés—was predicated on maintaining personal standing with the Castro regime, in which Guevara held a central role. On the other hand, the musical output of Cuban jazz musicians throughout the 1960s and even into the 1990s was greatly restricted throughout the island, as the music was framed as imperialist. Therefore, the interpretive order of the Cuban jazz community in many respects disrupts and contradicts the overarching conceptions of Pan-Latin identity that artists such as Carlos Santana and Jorge Dalto seem to embody in their appropriation of Che Guevara. In the end, this case study illustrates how Dalto's beret emits the qualisign of tyranny and repression within the realm of the Cuban faction of the Pan-American jazz community.

4.6 THE SEMIOTICS OF JORGE DALTO'S BERET: QUALISIGN OF 'AGAINSTNESS'

Arguably the most conspicuous qualisign of Dalto's beret, however, is one of againstness or anti-authority, a common trait associated with the material object. In this section, I focus on two specific interpretive orders that embody againstness from this perspective. One is—to build upon previous sections—the qualisign of againstness within the interpretive order of Che Guevara and "his revolutionary legacy." Second is againstness within the order of bebop culture and the revolutionary legacy of jazz pianist Thelonious Monk. Both orders demonstrate how Dalto's beret emits multifarious meanings that vary according to the main subject and its corresponding interpretants. Ultimately, I illustrate how notions of memory are forged through Dalto's semiotic connection to figures such as Guevara and Thelonious Monk.

4.7 AGAINSTNESS, PART 1: "CHE" GUEVARA

The beret in Dalto's case first demonstrates how an appropriation of Guevara engenders a qualisign of againstness that is not relegated to the Argentine revolutionary's core ideologies and that transcends politically socialist boundaries. As evidenced earlier, the Peronist movement in 1970s Argentina was not necessarily socialist in nature, but rather channeled Guevara's antipathy towards Western imperialism while concurrently implementing a Guevarian-like spirit of opposition to Argentina's military regime. Another example is the philosophical approach of five Dutch composers—Louis Andriessen, Peter Schat, Reinbert de Leeuw, Jan van Vlijmen, and Misha Mengelberg—who collectively crafted *Reconstructie*, an opera that premiered in 1969 and featured Guevara as its main protagonist. As Robert Adlington indicates in "Che at the Opera," Peter Schat served as the main proponent of the Guevara plot during the project and was in close contact with two librettists who witnessed the "Cultural Congress in Havana," an event that took place four months after the Argentine revolutionary's death.[706] The choice of plot was not initially accepted, however, by all of the collaborators. Mengelberg and Van Vlijmen originally "rejected the Guevara theme" and Andriessen and De Leeuw were by no means advocates for Marxism.[707] Yet what eventually united these composers in pursuing the project was the goal of functioning collectively as an "artistic guerrilla group," a metaphorical derivation of a core Guevarian strategy. To put it another way, these composers collectively *performed* Guevara as a

[706] Robert Adlington, "'A Sort of Guerilla': Che at the Opera," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 19, no. 2 (July 2007): 170-71.
[707] Ibid., 171-72.

metaphorical militaristic unit, and much like Dalto individually, did so in the general spirit of Guevara while not adhering to any one particular socialistic vision.

One could also argue that qualisigns of againstness via the material object of Dalto's beret and in correspondence to Guevara discourses, often operate *between individualist* and *collective* perspectives. In his ethics study of Guevara, Miguel Martinez-Saenz defines *communitarian* and *individualism* as follows:

> Communitarians, for example, might suggest that a self cannot be grounded without recourse to a social network or a community-centered perspective and that social and political practice depend, to a large extent, on the community's understanding of what constitutes a good life. A person arguing for individualism might maintain, in contrast, that the individual alone can and should be allowed to determine what constitutes the "good life"-in other words, that questions about "the good" are best answered not by the community but by the individual. I argue that Guevara recognizes the problem inherent in both perspectives and advocates a shame-based morality that attempts to incorporate the notion of a unique individual.[708]

Martinez-Saenz further differentiates between individualist and communitarian beliefs by connecting the former with temporalist conceptions and the latter with spatialist perspectives.[709] He argues that the temporalist point of view "attempts to establish a foundation for morality without providing an account of social relations, and therefore it cannot succeed."[710] Conversely, he articulates that the core ideals of the spatialist conception—which traditionally call for a "focus on role, station, status, and communal unity" and argue that an "individual's identity is a product of his relations to a social unit"—problematically are compromised by "overlapping institutional commitments."[711]

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[708] Miguel Martinez-Saenz, "Che Guevara's New Man: Embodying a Communitarian Attitude," *Latin American Perspectives* 31, no. 6 (November 2004): 16.
[709] Ibid., 18.
[710] Ibid.
[711] Ibid.

Moreover, Martinez-Saenz draws contrasts between "guilt" and "shame-based moralities," contending that the latter "clearly depends on a sense of community" while concurrently entailing a loss of personal identity.[712] In other words, "shame-based moralities" are clearly associated with the communitarian perspective, but at the same time *do* exhibit elements of individualism. The author also argues that since spatialist perspectives "do not allow for individual identity outside a social unit," there must be some kind of allowance for individual agency or what he calls a "critical standpoint" for the individual.[713] Therefore, the author splits the difference and asks, "Can I, then, be a unique being and a member of a community?"[714] One could thus argue, that the author's application of this terminology forms a *hybrid* or "cross fertilization" of communitarian and individualist points of view, that concomitantly filters out the flaws emanating from each perspective. Ultimately, the author contends that Guevara's philosophies reconcile these differences through a "shame-based morality."[715]

While Martinez-Saenz encapsulates these concepts within the context of "moral and material incentives," one could argue that emulations and appropriations of Guevara's appearance within the Pan-American jazz community often embody forms of againstness that fall in between communitarian and individual perspectives.[716] However, rather than asking how one can both "be a unique being and a member of a community?" I would add, how can an individual "be a unique being" and implement Guevara's ideals on behalf of a larger community? For example, one could argue that Dalto's individual stylistic appropriation of

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[712] Ibid., 19.
[713] Ibid.
[714] Ibid.
[715] Ibid., 16.
[716] Ibid., 20.

Guevara, can embody a form of againstness that carries over Guevarian revolutionary ideas into the realm of Latin jazz piano performance and by extension, into the diverse cultural milieu of the Pan-American jazz community. That is why some Cuban jazz musicians like Paquito D'Rivera react so negatively to Guevarian exhibitions, while others like Dalto and Santana seem to take the stylized emulation of Guevara to another level altogether.[717] In other words, each respective musician within the Pan-American jazz community will enter a dialogue that either upholds, reconciles, or interrogates the revolutionary legacy of Guevara, when his appearance is appropriated either directly or contingently. Therefore, such appropriations of Guevara that fall between *individualist* and *communitarian* perspectives are effective for creating a social dialogue within the Latinx community that not only illuminate the revolutionary's core principles, but illustrate how musicians implement their identity in conjunction with his image in musical performance.

4.8 AGAINSTNESS, PART II: THELONIOUS MONK AND BEBOP

One could also argue that Dalto's beret exhibits the qualisign of againstness within the interpretive order of mid-1940s bebop culture. Here, againstness is bundled with other qualisigns including intellectualism, hipness, freedom, and militancy. David Ake provides a description that aptly identifies many of these qualities:

> Instead, mid-1940s bebop musicians and their audiences (the majority of whom were black in the early stages of that style) articulated a newly assertive stance through dress,

[717] Yanow, *Afro-Cuban Jazz*, 37.

> language, posture, and music. Early boppers developed their own "mystery" language as a means of distancing themselves from "unhip" outsiders. Stage demeanor was "cool," less "entertainer"-like than many of their jazz predecessors. Meanwhile, jazz performances became increasingly virtuosic: tempos were faster, chord changes more complex, melodies longer, more intricate, and more angular than in the Swing era.[718]

Ake first points to the impact of 1940s bebop as a marker of black cultural and musical identity. As demonstrated above, beboppers intended to extricate themselves from the confining cultural norms of the preceding swing era—which often placed more of a demand on showmanship and entertainment and less on musicianship—and sought to create their own stylistic approach in terms of attire and musical demeanor. As saxophonist and jazz scholar Nathan Davis indicates in *Writings in Jazz*, "intellectualism was the fashion" during the bebop era.[719] Bebop musicians, for example, would often showcase "Bebop Glasses" since they "thought eyeglasses made them look more intelligent."[720]

One of the most pervasive stylistic features of the era, however, was the "Bebop tam" or what Davis calls the "brimless French beret," which was adopted by musicians who spent extensive time performing throughout Europe, particularly in France during the mid-1940s and '50s.[721] It was in these countries that African American bebop musicians often experienced more social and economic stability than in the U.S. since several European cities (chiefly Paris) demonstrated less racial hostility in their interactions with black communities. Hence saxophonist Dexter Gordon's famous statement in the 1986 film *Round Midnight*, "No Cold Eyes in Paris."[722] As a result, the beret became a symbol of freedom for many African American

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[718] David Ake, "Re-Masculating Jazz: Ornette Coleman, 'Lonely Woman,' and the New York Jazz Scene in the Late 1950s," *American Music* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 28.
[719] Nathan T. Davis, *Writings in Jazz* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 2002), 168.
[720] Ibid.
[721] Ibid.
[722] *Round Midnight*, DVD, directed by Bertrand Tavernier (USA/France: Warner Brothers, 1986).

bebop musicians.[723] At the same time, bebop—as Eric Lott encapsulates—most clearly represented an assertive, revolutionary, and militant music:

> Listen to the fury as Parker roars into "Bird Gets the Worm," or to the way he and Fats Navarro suddenly transpose the head of "Move" to minor on One Night in Birdland, or even to Monk's derangement of "April in Paris," and it's clear why white music writers trying to preserve a sense of professional balance resorted to the plum tones of "this is the sort of bad taste and ill-advised fanaticism that has thrown innumerable impressionable young musicians out of stride." Brilliantly outside, bebop was intimately if indirectly related to the militancy of its moment. Militancy and music were undergirded by the same social facts; the music attempted to resolve at the level of style what the militancy combatted in the streets.[724]

The "bebop tam" traditionally has shown the capacity to symbolize each of these characteristics at any given time. Though much of Dalto's musical output began in the early 1970s—about twenty-five years after bebop's inception—the hipness and anti-authoritarian elements of bebop culture (and more specifically the beret) were still in effect in the jazz world.

In addition, the bundled qualisigns of againstness, hipness, and intellectualism transport Dalto's beret (and musicianship) to the interpretive order of "revolutionary" jazz pianist Thelonious Monk. Labeled the "George Washington of Bebop" by *Down Beat* writer Bill Gottlieb, Monk has often been regarded as one of the most iconic and influential pianists in jazz.[725] Featuring an idiosyncratic improvisational style, Monk was marginalized as a jazz musician for much of his life. In fact, he did not find stable financial success essentially until the 1960s when he was over forty years old. It was during this period, however, that Monk's portrait was featured on a 1964 cover of *Time* magazine, a milestone for any aspiring jazz musician. While Monk was known for donning an assortment of hats up until the 1960s and the early parts

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[723] Davis, *Writings in Jazz*, 168.
[724] Eric Lott, "Double V Double-Time: Bebop's Politics of Style," *Callaloo* No. 36 (Summer 1988): 599.
[725] Robin D. G. Kelley, *The Life and Times of an American Original* (New York: Free Press, 2009), 122.

of the 1970s, he was famously photographed wearing the beret during the early stages of the bebop movement in the 1940s (See figure 30):

Figure 30. Various Pictures of Thelonious Monk

Far Left Photo-Monk at piano in Minton's Playhouse (1947); Middle Photo-Monk on the far left with fellow bebop innovators outside Minton's Playhouse (1947); Far Right Photo-Monk on the left with trumpeter Howard McGhee (1947)

His proclivity for the beret was consistent with that of other famous beboppers (including trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie) who often utilized their apparel as a "cultural weapon."[726] So what is the connection between Monk and Dalto and how does it affect one's perception of their persona?

The semiotic connection between Monk and Dalto can be deduced through an exploration of the musical link between the two artists. For example, a 1983 *New York Times* article incorporates a brief interview with Dalto that details his appreciation for Monk's overarching influence on his improvisational style:

> "Discovering the music of Thelonious Monk is like discovering Stravinsky, Bartok and the other great classical composers," the keyboardist Jorge Dalto said the other day. "In a way, he used the piano as Ravel used the orchestra, in terms of color, space, percussion

[726] Christopher Washburne, *Sounding Salsa: Performing Latin Music in New York City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 195.

> and harmonies. When I was younger, I didn't like Monk, but lately I started to listen again, and I'm getting a lot of nutrition from his music."[727]

Dalto acknowledges Monk as a "genius" by placing him within the realm of Western European classical music. By juxtaposing Monk alongside the likes of Stravinsky, Bartok, and Ravel, Dalto recognizes the pianist as one of the most influential geniuses of the twentieth century. Moreover, by paying tribute to Monk, Dalto concurrently legitimizes the bebop movement as a musical era worthy to be mentioned in the same vein as Western European classical music. Thus, in this context one could argue that Dalto's beret emits the qualisign of intellectualism within the interpretive order of bebop culture and genius narratives of Monk.

In addition, since Dalto was also a jazz pianist known for his distinctive appearance, there is an underlying narrative persona of hipness accompanied by notions of countercultural prestige that emerge in connection with the two pianists. This narrative persona of Dalto is embedded in Enrique Fernández's two separate accounts of the pianist, already quoted above, but worth revisiting here:

> It was here [New York's Village Gate] I first saw and heard pianist Jorge Dalto; he had come onstage to sit in with…? I forget. What impressed me at first was his appearance; tall, lean, long black straight hair under a black beret, goatee, black clothes—a hipster out of his age. And how he played![728]

> With his black clothes and lupine features, he looked like the perfect werewolf except there was no full moon but a full sun; this wasn't Transylvania but the South Bronx, and it was musical sauce, salsa, not blood that was running red on the improvised stage.[729]

By emphasizing "tall, lean, long black straight hair under a black beret, goatee, black clothes," the writer places Dalto more within the realm of hipness. In other words, there is an admiration for Dalto's overall demeanor that enhances his musicianship. However, by highlighting "black

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[727] Jon Pareles, "3 Pianists and Their Debt to Thelonious Monk," *New York Times* (Sep 30, 1983), C4.
[728] Enrique Fernández, "Jorge Dalto: Salsa Werewolf," *Gloucester* 64 (Feb 1, 1984): 37.
[729] Ibid.

clothes and lupine features" and "perfect werewolf" in his second account, Fernández alludes to a type of mysteriousness that Dalto embodies in addition to this hipness. Moreover, several photos and album covers of Dalto historically have placed the pianist within these bundled narratives (see figure 31):

Figure 31. Various Depictions of Dalto in Staged and Album Photography[730]

While such photos provide Dalto with a visual iconicity that other jazz artists did not possess, they also problematically foster narratives of the pianist that focus more on his appearance than musical contributions. One could also argue, however, that such images were meant to connect Dalto to the social milieu of rock and pop artists of the time (Zappa, ELP, psychedelic rock) and were not intended to undermine his musicianship. At the same time, the manner through which Dalto *performed* his Guevarian appearance—vibrantly colored suits enhanced by energetic performances—arguably worked to perpetuate bundled notions of hipness, countercultural prestige, and psychedelia.

During his lifetime, Monk was portrayed by jazz writers, critics, and musicians through conflicting narratives of hipness and countercultural prestige. For example, early Monk

[730] Mauleón, *Salsa Guidebook: For Piano and Ensemble*, 139.

biographer Leslie Gourse argues that Monk deliberately acted in a manner that implemented such personas:

> Monk at the Five Spot wore wonderful clothes: fur or silk hats, sunglasses with bamboo rims; he had learned to look and act the part of a celebrity, as he had acquired the ability to take charge of his destiny as a masterful musician onstage with the canniness to communicate, in his own labyrinthian way, with audiences.[731]

But perhaps the most conspicuous example that perpetuates 'bundled' Monk narratives of hipness, countercultural prestige, and againstness is the cover to the pianist's 1968 album *Underground* for Columbia Records (see figure 32):

Figure 32. Cover to Monk's 1968 Album *Underground*

According to most recent Monk biographer Robin D. G. Kelly, much of the inspiration for this album cover stemmed from an urgent need to generate sales for Monk—who in the late 1960s

[731] Leslie Gourse, *Straight, No Chaser: The Life and Genius of Thelonious Monk* (New York: Prentice Hall International, 1997), 135.

was struggling to make ends meet—and on behalf of Columbia Records.[732] With the growing influence of psychedelic rock, Columbia was looking to promote Monk's music to a much broader audience by using the album cover as a marketing tool.[733] Kelley sums up the process as follows:

> The marketing department…hired John Berg and Dick Mantel to create a bizarre cover shot of Monk playing an old upright piano with a machine gun strapped to his back inside what is supposed to be a secluded haunt of the French underground. The elaborate set included a couple of chickens, a cow, the accoutrements of war, bottles of vintage wine, a slim young model dressed in the uniform of the French Resistance…, and a Nazi prisoner of war tied up in the corner. This spectacular photo punned on Monk's role in the jazz underground—though by then it was ancient history. It also tapped into contemporary images of revolutionary movements—the Black Panthers, the Revolutionary Youth Movement, etc.—but renders them benign by drawing on narratives of the "Good War" against fascism.[734]

Kelley's excerpt points to a form of againstness, revolution, and anti-authority that Monk's music represents via his metaphorical representation as an underground soldier, complete with a machine gun, grenades, and other World War II items. Furthermore, Monk seems to embody a form of hipness as evidenced by the depiction of the pianist with a cigarette in his mouth as he plays the piano. One could even argue that Monk signifies a type of sophistication through his taste for vintage wine. However, I would argue that the incorporation of the cow, World War II paraphernalia, and excessive weaponry is another example of how record companies traditionally capitalized on viewpoints pertaining to Monk's persona.

The correlation between Monk and Dalto demonstrates how the beret, the pianists' appearance, and the manipulation of these appearances from outside sources, exhibit bundled qualisigns of intellectualism, countercultural prestige, againstness, and anti-authority.

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[732] Robin D. G. Kelley, *Thelonious Monk: The Life and Times of an American Original* (New York: Free Press, 2009), 394-95.
[733] Ibid.
[734] Ibid., 394.

Collectively these qualisigns generate complicated and conflicting persona narratives that shift from perspective to perspective. In particular, the collective memory of these pianists often becomes ambivalent when the opinions of musicians who knew and performed with Dalto and Monk are juxtaposed with that of writers, critics, record labels, and photographers. For better or for worse, pictorial representations of each artists' beret and overall appearance arguably illuminate more about the iconography of jazz than about the actual musical accomplishments of these two pianists.

4.9 QUALISIGN OF EXOTICISM: DALTO AND LATIN JAZZ PHOTOS

In this final section, I focus on the qualisign of exoticism exhibited through Dalto's beret and its function within the interpretive order of Latin jazz album photography. For U.S. jazz musicians, the beret—with its origins in France and Spain—often has been recognized as possessing foreign or exotic features. This is especially true for musicians from the bebop era where the music culture was portrayed by writers and fans alike as embodying a vast aesthetic and cultural departure from the preceding traditional swing era. Along the same lines, one could argue that when the beret is incorporated in album photography featuring Latin jazz musicians, the material object takes on enhanced cultural meaning and often does so in an exoticized manner. Specifically, through album photography, Latin jazz record labels have often perpetuated exoticized narrative personas of its artists. While such images importantly work to create a performance space for Latin jazz artists, they also represent the music through narratives of otherness, authenticity, and images of tropical paradises.

One example of a record label that at times has implemented such narratives is Concord Picante. While the Picante label was highly influential in crafting a Pan-Latin jazz product and recognized key Latin jazz artists for their lifetime contributions, the label's marketing strategy was characterized on occasion by exoticist undertones. Take for instance, the Caribbean Jazz Project's following album photos (see figure 33):

Figure 33. Various Caribbean Jazz Project Album Covers

Notice in these covers how members of the band are placed against the backdrop of dense jungle with exotic wildlife, flowers, and vegetation. While one could argue that such album covers serve as effective marketing strategies, in actuality they place the musicians within the realm of an authenticity narrative. As a result, the artists and the music become part of a collective memory that *confines* them to a specific geographic region, natural landscapes, and notions of otherness and pre-modernity. Such bundling of concepts about Latin America create a type of cultural homogenization of Latinx culture in general. Dalto's 1985 album cover for *Urban Oasis* exhibits a comparable form of exoticist undertones (see figure 34):

Figure 34. Cover to Dalto's 1985 Album *Urban Oasis*

Dalto's album—also released under the Concord Picante label—takes on new meaning compared to other albums since the pianist and his beret are also exoticized.

Background objects and settings are key aspects of how such an image is signified to an audience. In her article "Posing in Prison: Family Photographs, Emotional Labor, and Carceral Intimacy," Nicole Fleetwood discusses how prison photos have the capacity to emit a variety of feelings including "intimacy, kinship, and futurity."[735] One of her main themes encompassing these characteristics is the interrelationship between prison photo subjects and background paintings. In particular, she illustrates how background paintings situated behind the subjects in prison photos are essentially inseparable from one another and are influential in blurring the boundaries between "magic and reality":

> One of the fascinating aspects of photographing with a painted background is the transforming blend of magic and reality that makes the subject indistinguishable from the painting, an illusion that is confirmed by the photograph itself. Neal cites examples of how backdrops alter people's memories of events and locations; these examples point to

[735] Nicole R. Fleetwood, "Posing in Prison: Family Photographs, Emotional Labor, and Carceral Intimacy," *Public Culture* 27, 3 (2015): 491.

> how the backdrop indexes the photograph as a document of an event with symbolic, material, and historical registers (e.g., a family poses in front of a backdrop of the Grand Canyon at a local fair and later remembers the photograph as a document of a trip to the landmark).[736]

When applied to Dalto, one could argue that Fleetwood's notion of "background paintings" or "backdrop" can serve as a metaphorical device that *informs* the main subject of a Latin jazz photo. To put it another way, the notion of backdrop is also applicable to Dalto's album cover in the form of a jungle-like background setting which informs the main subject. With the inclusion of Dalto's beret, the qualisigns of againstness, hipness, countercultural prestige, and so forth are bundled with this jungle-like background setting, placing Dalto in a somewhat exoticized light (at least for U.S. consumers). As a result, the background works to "alter people's memories of event and locations" and "index the photograph…with symbolic, material, and historical registers."[737]

In turn, Dalto with his appended beret becomes juxtaposed within an authenticity narrative and part of a cultural memory that confines the pianist to a specific geographical region. This memory also generates a persona that is characterized by bundled forms of otherness, hipness, againstness, pre-modernity, and exoticism. Thus, in the context of jazz photography, it is the relationship between this jungle-like background setting and the main subject (Dalto) that generates culturally homogenized "memories of events and locations." In total, this relationship affects the manner in which the Latin jazz community is conceptualized by audiences globally.

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[736] Ibid., 496. See also Avon Neal's article "Folk Art Fantasies: Photographers' Backdrops" for more information.
[737] Ibid.

4.10 CONCLUSION

The semiotic connection between Jorge Dalto and Che Guevara goes beyond the pianist's emulation of the Argentine revolutionary. I have argued, for instance, that metaphorical qualities or qualisigns of material objects have the capacity to illuminate and pinpoint an individual's persona-identity. Specifically, I have contended that metaphorical or abstract qualisigns—nostalgia, hope, tyranny, hipness, and exoticism—are bundled together in the material object of Dalto's beret and through "enter[ing] into interpretive orders," shed light on multifarious identities. While one may insist that qualisigns can only encompass the physical, sensuous qualities of material objects, I would contend that individual perceptions of metaphorical or abstract qualities in material objects adds an extra layer of cultural analysis that is often overlooked in materiality studies. What this case study of Jorge Dalto ultimately demonstrates is how an appropriation of an iconic appearance shapes the cultural memory and identities of both individuals and collectives within the Pan-American jazz community.

5.0 CONCLUSION: PAN-AMERICAN JAZZ, HYBRIDITY, AND FUTURE EXPLORATIONS

Throughout my dissertation, I have employed hybridity theory as a conceptual lens for pinpointing processes of Latinx identity. This text utilizes two hybridity concepts (the third space and strategic hybridity) to shed light on how Latinx identities are forged, contested, and complicated within the Pan-American jazz framework. My thesis also has demonstrated how case studies featuring Maria and Ziegler both challenge and bolster Pérez's model. In particular, the orientation of the third space—which I argue is created from a theoretical merging of Cuban and non-Cuban Latin music branches within the Pérez model—is not entirely clear when we isolate the music of these individual artists against the backdrop of Pan-American jazz concepts. The notion of the third space, however, is highly effective for elucidating the fluidity of Latinx musical and social identity, which largely transcends simple binaries and involves interconnected discussions of language, race, and geography.

The notion of strategic hybridity is highly amenable to an analysis of Palmeiri's "Mi Cumbia." Specifically, Palmieri's strategic hybridity—which involves combinations of salsa and cumbia—generates a cultural dialogue between two Latinx cultures that is highly politicized, critiques hegemonic power structures, and allows for transmissions of Colombian national, Pan-Latin, transnational, and Pan-African identities to coexist. I also lay the groundwork in this chapter for *musical* and *cultural hybridity*, which function as two disparate yet related forms of

hybridity. For example, I recognize *cultural hybridity* in "Mi Cumbia" as exemplifying "bundled" (to quote Webb Keane) and hybrid Latinx identities that are emitted through the *musical hybrids* of salsa, Afro-Cuban music, and cumbia.[738] My future research aims to expound upon these theorizations of *cultural* and *musical hybridity* within the realm of contemporary Latin jazz fusions.

Hybridity theory has the capacity to add a new theoretical dimension absent from contemporary Latin jazz studies. One could argue for example, that the intricacies and complexities of Latinx identity politics itself—which revolves around multi-faceted conceptions of race, language, and geography—allow for numerous treatments of hybridity theory within modern Latin jazz scholarship. In addition, the tendency in recent Latin jazz literature to analyze Latin American traditions beyond the scope of Cuba points to a number of hybrid cultural and musical formations that have emerged since the genre's inception. As this dissertation demonstrates, however, hybridity theory's most enduring quality is its ability to shed light on how space is crafted, negotiated, contested, shared, and (in some cases) weaponized in Latin jazz performance practice. In other words, the numerous Latinx identities inhabiting these Latin jazz scenes often encounter one another, producing a type of "bundled" hybridity. It is through this bundling, that hybrid Pan-Latin, Afro-Latin, Afro-Cuban, indigenous, and Latinx transnational identities are articulated and reconciled, producing in the end what Pérez would call a Pan-American expression.

Pérez's concept of Pan-American jazz is an apt label to describe musical and cultural collaborations taking place across borders. While the term at times can be perceived as overly

[738] Webb Keane, "Semiotics and the Social Analysis of Material Things," *Language & Communication*, 23 (2003): 414.

utopian in orientation, its substance comes from an implementation of core transnational ideals. Unlike Latin jazz and similar labels, Pan-American jazz has the capacity to mobilize Latinx communities on a broader scale while at the same time accounting for the cultural origins of Latin jazz, which includes Afro-Cuban music traditions. I would thus argue that hybridity theory is highly amenable to Pan-American jazz discourse and particularly to the more comprehensive intersectionality of Latinx identity. Thus, one could argue that an engagement with hybridity theory and Pan-American jazz discourse will allow for more nuanced discussions about how Latinx identity is transmitted and how these idioms add to an already rich and innovative Latin American jazz legacy.

I intend to explore the implications of hybridity theory more extensively, particularly within the realm of South American musical traditions. Few sources in Latin jazz historiography have been dedicated to South American music genres such as Argentine tango, Colombian cumbia, Andean music from the Peruvian and Bolivian regions, and even Brazilian music genres. A deeper commitment to hybridity theory could more effectively explain the inner workings of migration patterns and cultural diffusion experienced within these musical traditions. In total, I would argue that hybridity theory is the most effective conceptual lens for analyzing Latinx identity and liminality within the Pan-American jazz piano tradition.

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