
Reinterpreting Bossa Nova: Instances of Translation of Bossa Nova in the United States, 1962-1974

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Musicology

Written under the supervision of Dr. Barbara Titus

Research Institute for History and Culture (OGC)
Faculty of Humanities
Utrecht University

July 2010

Jeroen Gevers

Table of Contents

Introduction	2
<i>Cultural Translation and Traveling Music Cultures</i>	4
<i>The Case Studies: Instances of Translation of Bossa Nova in the U.S., 1962-1974</i>	7
1. Translated with Verve	10
Strategies of Domestication and Foreignization in the Production of Bossa Nova by a Record Company in the U.S. between 1962 and 1967	
<i>Production Strategies and the Function of Translation</i>	12
<i>Genre Categories and the Arrival of Bossa Nova in the U.S.</i>	13
<i>Bossa Nova and Social Dance Culture</i>	17
<i>Musical Collaborations and the Dynamic between the Domestic and the Foreign</i>	21
<i>Conclusion</i>	25
2. Jazz and Bossa	27
The Interaction between Jazz and Bossa Nova Musicians and a Dialogical Interpretation of Horace Silver’s “Song for My Father” (1965)	
<i>Latin Jazz in Jazz Literature</i>	29
<i>From Latin Jazz to Bossa Nova in U.S. Jazz Practice</i>	31
<i>Silver’s Trip to Brazil and his Encounter with Bossa Nova Jazzistas</i>	34
<i>Dialogism in “Song for My Father”</i>	37
<i>Conclusion</i>	41
3. Music for Export.....	43
Bossa Nova Songs in Translation and a Comparison of the Lyrics of Jobim’s “Águas de março” and the English-language Version, “Waters of March” (1972-1974)	
<i>The Translation of Bossa Nova Lyrics for the U.S. Market</i>	44
<i>An Analysis of “Águas de março” in Relation to Earlier Bossa Nova Compositions</i>	47
<i>MPB and Developments in Brazilian Popular Music Culture in the 1960s</i>	49
<i>External Dialogism in “Águas de março”</i>	52
<i>Jobim’s English-language Version of “Waters of March”</i>	54
<i>Conclusion</i>	56
Conclusion.....	58
Bibliography	64

Introduction

In this thesis, I will examine what motivated artists, music producers and translators of song lyrics in the United States to engage in bossa nova, and thus to contribute to the popularization and further development of the style outside Brazil, between 1962 and 1974. Since I believe that the work of these creative individuals should be seen as an integral part of the global transformations of bossa nova, my study is motivated by the central question of how they have understood and represented this style as they tried to make it available in contexts other than where it first originated. My aim is to contribute to the knowledge of all those creative activities that helped to make bossa nova suitable for understanding, appreciation and consumption in the U.S., and for that reason I attempt to take up an unbiased position with regard to disputes over what should be seen as ‘real,’ ‘authentic’ bossa nova and what not. My inquiry is inspired by the hypothesis that changes in both the sound and the social connotations of bossa nova occurred in the U.S. not so much because it was plainly ‘misunderstood,’ or merely taken advantage of for the purpose of financial benefit, but rather because those who engaged in bossa nova strove to adapt it to U.S. jazz and popular music culture. In this line of reasoning, bossa nova is best described as a ‘genre culture’ the way that notion has been defined by popular music theorists, which means that it should be seen as an instable discursive formation that denotes different series of performances and recordings as well as beliefs and values for different people. In other words, I treat bossa nova primarily not as a musical style, but rather as a cultural constellation that continuously depends on the environments in which it is fostered.

Before I demarcate the research subject, a brief overview of the history of bossa nova is in place. The foundations for bossa nova were laid around the mid-1950s in the prosperous South Zone of Rio de Janeiro, particularly in the coastal districts of Copacabana, Ipanema and Leblon. In these neighborhoods, a group of young musicians from the white middle class began organizing jam sessions and meetings of a fan club devoted to Frank Sinatra and Dick Farney (a Brazilian crooner) near the end of the 1940s. Although the movement that eventually arose from those meetings promoted a variety of sounds, the approach of its most prominent members resulted in a popular urban song style characterized by complex harmonies and melodies, a subdued vocal style and understated rhythmical accompaniment. The vocals and guitar playing of João Gilberto, the composition techniques of Antônio Carlos Jobim and the lyrics of Vinícius de Moraes have been recognized as constitutive of this style. In contrast to the more dramatic and easily singable songs based on samba rhythm that were common in Brazil at the time (such as the *samba-exaltação* and *samba-canção*), the singer’s personality was deemphasized and the predominance of any musical parameter was deliberately avoided. Like earlier kinds of samba songs, bossa nova lyrics dealt with situations and events from everyday life, though the life evoked by was of a more carefree nature and besides appeared more intellectual in orientation.¹ The rhythmic accompaniment largely depended on the refined guitar style introduced by João Gilberto, known as the *violão gago* or “stammering guitar,” which hinted at, but did not make explicit, complex samba polyrhythm. Gilberto’s recording *Chega de Saudade* (Odeon, 1959), which features songs by Jobim and De Moraes as well as by Carlos Lyra and Ronaldo Bôscoli, is generally considered the first bossa nova album. This recording also contains a performance of Jobim and Newton Mendonça’s “Desafinado” (1958), whose lyrics actually comment on the stylistic peculiarities of “bossa nova” (a phrase that loosely translates as “new knack” or “new shrewdness”).

Before the end of 1959, bossa nova won international acclaim thanks to the score of the successful French film production *Orfeu Negro* (*Black Orpheus*), which featured a soundtrack by Jobim and

¹ For a discussion of the most significant musical differences between bossa nova and earlier popular song forms in Brazil, see for instance Kariann Elaine Goldschmitt, “Bossa Mundo: Brazilian Popular Music’s Global Transformations (1938-2008),” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2009), pp. 77-9.

his fellow composer Luiz Bonfá. Several U.S. jazz musicians were exposed to the popularity of bossa nova in Brazil when they traveled southwards on diplomatic tours sponsored by the U.S. State Department. Shortly afterwards, the U.S. jazz community gave bossa nova a more sustained entry into U.S. music culture when individual musicians started to improvise on famous bossa nova songs and experiment with the rhythmic properties of the style. In 1962, a recording by guitarist Charlie Byrd and saxophonist Stan Getz titled *Jazz Samba* – which featured instrumental covers of Brazilian bossa nova songs and compositions inspired by the style – became an immense success. Record companies based in the U.S. profited from the engagement of jazz musicians with bossa nova, and tried to present their reinterpretations of bossa nova in ways that would appeal to the listeners who defined their market. U.S. popular artists recognized the widespread appeal of bossa nova and began to comment on it in songs such as Eydie Gormé’s “Blame it on the Bossa Nova” (1963), which otherwise did not demonstrate any clear connection with the style. The bossa nova craze reached its peak in the U.S. in 1963, when dance instructors devised a dance step to go with the bossa nova rhythm (which became more standardized in U.S. jazz and popular music practice). Finally, in 1964, Astrud Gilberto’s rendition of Jobim and De Moraes’s “Garota de Ipanema” in English as “The Girl from Ipanema” became a worldwide sensation and gained her an international career that lasted into the 1990s.² What’s more, “The Girl from Ipanema” eventually became one of the most-recorded songs in the history of popular music, placing it alongside other famous songs like The Beatles’s “Yesterday.” Ironically, by the time listeners around the world were introduced to bossa nova by the soothing voice of Astrud Gilberto, the style had already become less relevant to popular music fans in Brazil due to the changing socio-political conditions in that country: a right-wing coup d’état in 1964 was followed by a twenty-year military dictatorship, which would radically affect Brazilian popular music practice. However, bossa nova continued to exert a profound influence on jazz and popular music on the international stage. Well-known bossa nova songs were incorporated into the standard jazz repertory, and the bossa nova rhythm became an indispensable part of a drummer’s set of grooves. Songs like “The Girl from Ipanema” and “Waters of March” have remained popular into the twenty-first century. Recently, artists like Bebel Gilberto (João’s daughter) and the Rio de Janeiro-based trio Bossacucanova have achieved success internationally by blending bossa nova songs with electronic dance music.

Despite the international popularity and legacy of bossa nova, the further development of the style outside Brazil has only received scant attention from scholars. Those Brazilian music and literature specialists who did study bossa nova so far have rather exclusively focused on the style’s origins and significance in Brazil. Almost without exception, historical studies chronicle bossa nova’s early development in Rio de Janeiro, but are cut off when the music is discovered by and adapted to audiences outside Brazil in the early 1960s. A number of critical remarks by Claus Schreiner are telling in this regard. Although bossa nova had in fact already proved very lucrative in Brazil in the late 1950s, Schreiner argues that 1962, the year when the famous bossa nova album *Jazz Samba* hit the charts in the U.S., marks “the actual beginning” of the commercialization of bossa nova. For Schreiner, this meant that “a host of misconceptions, illusions and ignorance” would be created about bossa nova by the U.S. recording industry.³ Such a dismissive attitude does not help to understand how exactly bossa nova changed, nor how it became as popular as it did, outside Brazil. Kariann Goldschmitt, one of the few writers who have made a real effort to grasp the style’s international significance, suggests that those who dismiss U.S. reinterpretations of bossa nova as “corruptions” have partially been misled by the strong prejudices of

² The album in question featured U.S. jazz saxophonist Stan Getz and João Gilberto, to whom she was married at the time, and the English-language translation of the song was made by lyricist Norman Gimbel.

³ Claus Schreiner, *Música Brasileira: A History of Popular Music and the People of Brazil*, translated by Mark Weinstein (New York: Marion Boyars, 1993), pp. 146-7.

jazz critics.⁴ Focusing on bossa nova's critical reception in the U.S., Goldschmitt discerns how the jazz press considered the widespread popularity of the style as a threat to the status of jazz as an exclusive art form, and therefore regarded it as superficial in comparison to the jazz tradition. I propose that we need to adopt an unbiased perspective in this regard in order to better understand the relationship between bossa nova and U.S. jazz, a perspective that fits with my aim of taking all kinds of involvement in bossa nova seriously. The scholarly neglect for bossa nova's international impact is remarkable, since the majority of listeners outside Brazil seem to have learned about bossa nova thanks to the work of creative individuals who made the style more appealing to them. I believe that, as with different kinds of 'world music' today, bossa nova's international success did not only depend on the way it was originally devised, but also (and especially) on the twist that various cultural intermediaries gave to it outside Brazil. In other words, if we want to understand the worldwide legacy of the style, we need to understand such processes of adaptation. In this regard, bossa nova should be considered a case of world music *avant la lettre*.

In a way, bossa nova challenges distinctions between circumscribed categories like popular music and jazz, or 'Western' and 'non-Western' music. The style emerged at a time when the Brazilian elite felt that their country lagged behind in comparison with 'Western' nations like the U.S., and therefore has almost invariably been interpreted as a reflection of the developmentalist ideals propagated by the government of Juscelino Kubitchek (1956-1961). Bossa nova artists drew inspiration from music traditions hailing from different countries – including classic Brazilian samba songs, U.S. 'cool jazz,' and French and German art music – and the production and consumption of the style transcended national boundaries from the early 1960s onwards. As Kariann Goldschmitt has argued, the style traversed different social strata in the U.S. from 1962 onwards. Because of all this, different concepts and approaches might seem fit to study the style. A central aim in this thesis is to be critical of musical concepts that do not capture the complexities I perceive, in particular fraught stylistic categories like Latin jazz, hard bop, and indeed bossa nova itself. Such labels or classifications strongly affect our understanding of music but do not always adequately describe what is compelling about that music for artists or their audiences. My use of the metaphor of 'translation,' which serves as the thread that connects the individual chapters of this thesis, is also inspired by the awareness that sanctioned concepts are not always useful in the study of music. When it is not confined to the translation of linguistic expression, translation becomes a useful tool to understand reinterpretations of music cultures in foreign settings, as an alternative to more familiar concepts in music studies. I will elaborate on this idea in the following paragraphs, where I explain where the notion of the cultural translation comes from, and why it is useful in the study of adaptations of bossa nova outside Brazil.

Cultural Translation and Traveling Music Cultures

The notion of cultural translation can be traced back to the groundbreaking work of linguists Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, who in the mid-twentieth century proposed a thesis that has come to be known as linguistic relativism.⁵ Sapir and Whorf believed that people who share a language also share ways of seeing and interacting with the world that surrounds them, which means that different languages should be seen as representative of different social realities. Although a number of Sapir and Whorf's more specific expectations were later proved wrong, the underlying insight – that language cannot really be separated from culture – eventually led to awareness among scholars that an act of translation is actually a negotiation between cultures, rather than between two languages. As a consequence, theorists of literary

⁴ Kariann Elaine Goldschmitt, "Bossa Mundo: Brazilian Popular Music's Global Transformations (1938-2008)," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2009), in particular pp. 73 and 97-8.

⁵ Among others, see Nikos Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 127 ff.

translation began to draw more and more on insights in the fields of anthropology, as they tried to grasp how people interact across cultural boundaries. By analogy with the ‘thick description’ proposed by cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz, they began to consider the translation of foreign texts as requiring a ‘thick translation’ of the implicit worldviews and social practices.⁶ In 1990, influential translation scholar Susan Bassnett referred to this growing awareness as a ‘cultural turn’ in translation studies.⁷ Not much later, the notion of cultural translation was adopted to refer to the work of literary translators who consciously deal with cultural specificities in their translations. Due to its evocative force, cultural translation also became a fashionable notion outside the realm of language, where it was used to refer to various processes of change and adaptation. Since this expanded notion of translation challenges traditional distinctions between text and context, it indeed seemed suitable to describe the global flows of and changes in cultural objects, traditions and identities. This expanded use of the notion of cultural translation led to the fear among translation scholars like Harish Trivedi that it might turn translation into an empty buzzword, though I believe that it can actually be very useful in the study of culture.⁸

My metaphorical use of translation is largely inspired by its employment in postcolonial studies, a field that is deeply concerned with the implications of interaction across cultural differences. This is not very surprising, given the involvement of postcolonial theorists in problems that arise from the dominance of Anglophone scholarship and the translation of local languages into world languages (and vice versa).⁹ The most significant treatment of cultural translation in postcolonial theory has been provided by Homi K. Bhabha, who used it in a rather abstract sense but at the same time gave it more critical substance. In a discussion of Salman Rushdie’s well-known novel *The Satanic Verses* – which became controversial as it repeatedly alludes to the life of Muhammad, the divine prophet of Islam – Bhabha devotes specific attention to postcolonial migrant Chamcha, one of the main characters.¹⁰ He argues that the reality of the experiences of Chamcha should not merely be considered as transitional (since the migrant adjusts himself to his new homeland), but rather as ‘translational.’ Drawing on a famous treatise about translation by Walter Benjamin that introduces the idea that some aspects of language cannot really be translated, Bhabha explains that the migrant is not capable of adapting all of his cultural baggage to his new environment, and thus has an identity that is partially untranslatable.¹¹ In addition to this application to the ambiguous or hybrid position of postcolonial migrants, Bhabha also demonstrates how cultural translation works in the case of cultural objects and traditions: he puts forward the idea that *The Satanic Verses* might

⁶ See in particular Kwame Anthony Appiah, “Thick Translation,” in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge, 2000).

⁷ Harish Trivedi, “Translating Culture vs. Cultural Translation,” in *In Translation: Reflections, Refractions, Transformations*, eds. Paul St-Pierre and Prafulla C. Kar (Delhi: Pencraft International, 2007), p. 254.

⁸ Trivedi, “Translating Culture vs. Cultural Translation.” For more extensive treatments of the subject, see Susan Bassnet, “The Translation Turn in Cultural Studies,” in *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*, eds. Bassnett and André Lefevere (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998), Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural turns: Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften* (Reinbek: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2006), and Doris Bachmann-Medick, “Introduction: The Translational Turn.” *Translation Studies* 2, no. 1 (2009), as well as the other articles published in this and later issues of that journal.

⁹ Among others, see Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000). In the second edition of *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, the authors include “translation” in their list of concepts, claiming that “the ignoring of local literatures has led to the vigorous entry of translation into the post-colonial theoretical landscape.” Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, second edition (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 215.

¹⁰ Homi K. Bhabha, “How Newness Enters the World: Postmodern Space, Postcolonial Times and the Trials of Cultural Translation,” in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 223-6. The publication of the novel famously resulted in the issuing of a fatwa against the author in 1989, by Ayatollah Ruhollah Mousavi Khomeini.

¹¹ For a reprinted edition of Benjamin’s essay, I refer to “The Task of The Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire’s *Tableaux Parisiens*,” in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge, 2000).

have been interpreted as blasphemous not so much for its uninhibited interpretation of the Islamic tradition as such, but rather for the way it relocates and reframes it – which he considers to be a deliberate act of cultural translation.¹² After all, Rushdie set his narrative in a contemporary Western society, and presented it in the form of a novel, a literary genre that is foreign to traditional Islamic literature. In Bhabha's opinion, it is not surprising that this translation of a tradition that is under strict supervision by religious leaders was felt to be transgressive.

This more technical definition of cultural translation forms the inspiration for my approach to bossa nova in the U.S., where the style was made available for appreciation and consumption by creative individuals who consciously adapted it to U.S. jazz and popular music culture. In music studies, cultural translation has not really been used yet as a theoretical tool. In 1997, ethnomusicologist and popular music theorist Jocelyne Guilbault did propose to apply the Bhabhaian understanding of translation to the production of world music, since she believed that world music cultures are rooted in cultural displacement and adaptation, which is obvious from the way they are 'packaged' and marketed.¹³ However, Guilbault seems to have put aside this notion since then to concentrate more specifically on the musical performances of 'cultural brokers,' or artists who adapt their music to audiences abroad.¹⁴ In this thesis, I make a strong case for the use of cultural translation as a theoretical concept, since I believe that gives a better insight into the transformations of music cultures that travel abroad than some other concepts. A number of theorists have noted that cross-cultural interaction in contemporary societies takes place between cultural communities that are increasingly loosely defined and that become ever more mobile, as a consequence of various developments that have been subsumed under the catch-all of globalization. In this regard, Nikos Papastergiadis has pointed to what he calls "the deterritorialization of people and culture," following Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, by which he means that cultures can no longer easily be connected to any particular geographical location (despite the etymological relation between culture and the cultivation of land). Likewise, musical styles that travel across borders nowadays frequently seem to lack a clear 'home base.' This makes a concept like diaspora – which originally denoted the exile of coherent communities from their native land – less useful.¹⁵ In fact, it could be argued that this problem with the concept of diaspora is demonstrated by its semantic evolution, since in addition to actual geographic dispersion it has come to denote various kinds of diasporic 'consciousness,' or more abstract modes of belonging.

Apart from diaspora, other concepts in the study of intercultural contact in music have also become problematic. In 1981, ethnomusicologist Margaret Kartomi emphasized the merits of

¹² I quote the relevant passage in its entirety here: "It could be argued, I think, that far from simply misinterpreting the Koran, Rushdie's sin lies in opening up a space of discursive contestation that places the authority of the Koran within a perspective of historical and cultural relativism. It is not that the 'content' of the Koran is directly disputed; rather, by revealing other enunciatory positions and possibilities within the framework of Koranic reading, Rushdie performs the subversion of its authenticity through the act of cultural translation – he relocates the Koran's 'intentionality' by repeating and reinscribing it in the locale of the novel of postwar cultural migrations and diasporas." Bhabha, "The Trials of Cultural Translation," p. 226.

¹³ Guilbault argues that "world music cultures must be conceived as both transnational and translational, to use Homi Bhabha's terms [...] The reason for stressing that world cultures (in our case, world *music* cultures) are translational is to signal that they present a specific type of configuration which is different from other types of cultures. [World musics] are 'packaged' as being outside the mainstream, [and] marketed within specific categories." Jocelyne Guilbault, "Interpreting World Music: A Challenge in Theory and Practice," *Popular Music* 16, no. 1 (1997), in particular pp. 31-2 (Guilbault's italics).

¹⁴ For instance, see Jocelyne Guilbault, *Governing Sound: The Cultural Politics of Trinidad's Carnival Musics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 136 and 272. The term 'cultural brokers' was coined by anthropologist Chris Waterman.

¹⁵ Mark Slobin makes a similar claim with regard to klezmer music. See Mark Slobin, "The Destiny of "Diaspora" in Ethnomusicology," in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, eds. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton (London: Routledge, 2003), in particular p. 290.

'transculturation' in comparison to the more ethnocentric 'cultural assimilation' or 'acculturation,' arguing that it could help to overcome the outdated belief that musical communities exist in isolation before cultural exchange takes place.¹⁶ Kartomi and others went on to use this concept more or less interchangeably with 'syncretism' and 'synthesis,' which like transculturation seemed more neutral with regard to the meeting of Western and non-Western music cultures. Apart from their association with this questionable distinction, the concepts of transculturation, syncretism and synthesis are problematic as they imply that cultural change is normally the result of a long-term process of interaction between disparate cultural entities. Such a mechanistic understanding of cultural exchange does not seem very helpful to grasp stylistic changes and innovations in music cultures that have spread around the world. An important advantage of cultural translation is that it allows us to deal with cultural differences without necessarily assigning these to geographical locations, as opposed to the concept of diaspora. Moreover, in contrast to theoretical concepts like transculturation, cultural translation urges us to focus on the motives and interests of individual people, or 'translators,' who contribute to the flows in and transformations of culture. Finally, cultural translation might help to challenge the assumption that the commercial exploitation of music necessarily implies a process of degeneration, as opposed to the idea of an 'original' and its 'copies.' After all, translations are usually understood as complete, viable works in their own right.

In conclusion, cultural translation might help to understand the unpredictable flows of culture by way of concrete instances of adaptation and displacement. This perspective dovetails with anthropologist James Clifford's clues for how to study what he calls 'traveling cultures.'¹⁷ According to Clifford, what culture signifies depends on the 'routes' it travels, and the translation and displacement of possible meanings that take place meanwhile are central to our understanding of it. Clifford puts it thus: "Practices of displacement might appear as *constitutive* of cultural meanings rather than as their simple transfer or extension."¹⁸ In this thesis, I approach bossa nova as a traveling culture, and I set out to examine a number of specific contexts in which it has been reinterpreted.

The Case Studies: Instances of Translation of Bossa Nova in the U.S., 1962-1974

I will address the question of how bossa nova was altered by creative individuals in U.S. contexts by way of three separate case studies, which I expound in three separate chapters. These case studies are connected by the notion of cultural translation and concentrate on what I consider the most important factors that helped to popularize bossa nova in the U.S.: firstly, the way U.S.-based record companies chose to present bossa nova to audiences so as to cater to a demand envisaged by them; secondly, the engagement of jazz artists with the style as they grasped it, and the inspiration they drew from it in their music practice; and thirdly, the rendering in English of bossa nova lyrics as they were conceived by translators, who strove to make songs understandable and attractive for non-Brazilian popular music consumers.

The first case study focuses on the engagement of Verve Records with bossa nova under the artistic direction of Creed Taylor, who is known for his attempts to make jazz accessible to a wide audience and at the same time maintain a sense of exclusivity. Verve was one of the market leaders in the U.S.-based production of bossa nova recordings, and in fact some of the best-known bossa nova albums from the 1960s (including Charlie Byrd and Stan Getz's *Jazz Samba*) were released by Verve. My inquiry

¹⁶ Margaret J. Kartomi, "The Processes and Results of Musical Culture Contact: A Discussion of Terminology and Concepts," *Ethnomusicology* 25, no. 2 (1981), pp. 234 and passim.

¹⁷ James Clifford, "Traveling Cultures," in *Cultural Studies*, eds. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson and Paula Treichler (New York: Routledge, 1992).

¹⁸ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 3 (Clifford's italics).

builds on the work of Kariann Goldschmitt, who studies the trajectory of bossa nova's impact on 1960s U.S. from the perspective of social prestige as she evaluates comments by the critical press.¹⁹ I take a slightly different approach, however, as I concentrate on the creative undertakings of a record company that adapted the style to the U.S. music market and was thus actively involved in shifts in the style's social prestige. By examining the recording output of Verve in the period between 1962 and 1967, I try to find out in what ways bossa nova was presented as a marketable commodity by the company, and how this approach was informed by production strategies. In addition, I consider how executive director and producer Creed Taylor acted in response to other U.S. reinterpretations of bossa nova and to the dismissive attitude of jazz critics. Drawing on Bourdieu's notion of social habitus, I reflect on Taylor's attempts to aim the bossa nova albums he produced at potential audiences in the U.S., while trying to protect both the name of his label and the category of bossa nova as indicators of refinement. I employ the metaphor of translation to understand Taylor's approaches to bossa nova in the recording and packaging of his albums, which I interpret with the help of a model of translational approaches ranging from 'domestication' to 'foreignization.' The questions that I set out to answer in the first case study are as follows:

- *How did the production strategies of Verve Records shape the ways bossa nova was presented on albums by Creed Taylor, the main producer and artistic director of that record company?*
- *To what extent was bossa nova domesticated by Verve, by connecting it to the interests and intelligibilities of U.S. audiences, and to what extent was it foreignized, by presenting it as a Brazilian music style?*

Of course, record company executives and music producers like Creed Taylor did not popularize bossa nova in the U.S. and elsewhere outside Brazil single-handedly. At least as important in this regard were the experiments with bossa nova by jazz artists. In order to grasp how the music of U.S. jazz artists was inspired by bossa nova, I believe that it is necessary to examine the mutual interaction between members of the jazz and bossa nova communities in Brazil and the U.S., especially since the oral transfer of knowledge has been recognized as constitutive of jazz. My central aim in the second case study is to understand how bossa nova dovetailed with the interests and ambitions of individual U.S. jazz musicians. In addition, I attempt to understand the outcome of the interaction between jazz and bossa nova artists in the case of a particular composition that makes use of bossa nova rhythm. The composition in question is pianist Horace Silver's "Song for My Father" (first released on a recording in 1965), a commercial hit that has become part of the standard jazz repertory. As I mentioned, the notion of cultural translation implies that a translation is not merely a negotiation between different languages, but rather between the connotations of those languages, which cannot really be understood separately from the cultural environments in which they circulate. By analogy, I argue that to understand the connection between jazz and bossa nova we should not focus exclusively on the respective musical idioms, but also on the beliefs and values attached to them by artists in Brazil and the U.S. The face-to-face encounters of jazz and bossa nova musicians seems to have entailed more than the exchange of purely musical knowledge. For that reason, I argue that stylistic categories like 'Latin jazz' and 'hard bop' are inadequate to understand the inspiration drawn from bossa nova in a composition like "Song for My Father." In order to understand the role of bossa nova in that piece, I rely on Mikhail Bakhtin's literary theory of dialogism, which has already been put to use in music by ethnomusicologist and jazz scholar Ingrid Monson. The questions I tackle in the second case study are:

- *How did members of the jazz and bossa nova communities in Brazil and the U.S. interact with each other, and in what ways did bossa nova resonate with the interests and motives of individual jazz musicians who drew inspiration from it?*

¹⁹ Goldschmitt, "Bossa Mundo," pp. 71-117.

- *How does the incorporation of bossa nova work in Horace Silver's jazz composition "Song for My Father"?*

In the third case study, I concentrate on the important work of translators who wrote English-language versions of the lyrics of bossa nova songs. Bossa nova lyrics typically deal with different topics and emotions than U.S. popular songs, and the way these themes were conveyed in translations must have been shaped by, and in turn contributed to, the conception of Brazilian popular music outside Brazil. In order to understand what is at stake in the translation process, I examine how two individual translators, Gene Lees and Susannah McCorkle, have dealt with the peculiarities of bossa nova lyrics. The translation of bossa nova lyrics into English should not simply be considered an act of rewriting the poetry with a dictionary in hand, but rather as the invention of an alternative version that makes sense within the cultural frame of reference of Anglophone audiences. This process of cultural translation implies that the precise connotations or subtexts songs would acquire on the international stage can turn out to be radically different from those in Brazil, where songs frequently had a particular cultural significance. This is the case, for example, with Jobim and De Moraes's "Desafinado," which self-consciously referred to the stylistic achievements of the bossa nova movement and functioned as the style's anthem in Brazil. For U.S. listeners, however, bossa nova was interesting not because of its novelty in regard to the Brazilian tradition of samba songs (which was largely unknown in the U.S.), but rather because it provided a foreign influx in U.S. jazz and popular music culture. For this reason, I propose that Brazilian bossa nova songs and their English-language translations should be treated as contrasting versions of the same compositions, which invite comparison but should also be studied in their own right. After having discussed the translations of a number of earlier bossa nova songs, I apply this insight to Jobim's "Águas de março" (1972), for which the composer himself wrote English lyrics that he published in the U.S. as "Waters of March" (1974). I will compare both versions in order to grasp how Jobim adapted his lyrics to non-Brazilian popular music fans. Drawing again on Bakhtin's literary theory of dialogism, I discern different kinds of evocative potential in "Águas de março" than in "Waters of March," which can be connected to the prior experiences of listeners with Brazilian popular music in Brazil and the U.S., respectively. In short, I try to answer the following questions in my third case study:

- *How have translators of lyrics negotiated the musico-poetic qualities and cultural connotations of bossa nova songs?*
- *In what ways do Jobim's English-language lyrics of "Waters of March" deviate from the Brazilian-Portuguese-language lyrics of his composition "Águas de março," and how are those differences related to the distinct trajectories of bossa nova in Brazil and the U.S.?*

Before I proceed to my case studies, it is necessary to point to the limitations of my inquiry. Due to the restrictions set for the scope of this thesis, I only discuss a select number of moments of the negotiation of the musical idiom and social meanings of bossa nova in the U.S. between 1962 and 1974. Although I believe that these moments were crucial for the understanding of bossa nova by U.S. audiences, they should not be seen as representative of the overall transformations of the style in the U.S. within the chosen time frame. Because of the limited amount of literature available on the subject, I have felt compelled to focus on some of the best-known artists, songs and recordings associated with bossa nova in the U.S., which is not to say that these are necessarily the most important. Nonetheless, I strongly believe that the case studies that make up this thesis will contribute to the understanding of bossa nova's success outside Brazil, as well as to the scholarly debate about internationalizing music cultures in a more general sense.

1. Translated with Verve: Strategies of Domestication and Foreignization in the Production of Bossa Nova by a Record Company in the U.S. between 1962 and 1967

The music business is frequently portrayed as a collective of unscrupulous money-grubbers, who take advantage of existing music styles or invent new sounds solely for their own financial benefit. In this depiction, genuine ‘originality’ and ‘innovation’ remain outside of the cultural industries, since they effectively resist commercialization. As Robert Walser has noted, such a view is shared by music critics and scholars who tend to “regard technologies and mediations as distortions of something more ‘authentic,’ rather than as parts of the conditions of cultural creativity,” and by listeners who demonstrate a desire “for authenticity as compensation for the feeling that nothing escapes commerce.”¹ I wish to point out, by contrast, that corporate practice in music production involves creative activities that significantly shape the meanings of styles and genres, and for this reason alone is worth studying, irrespective of its commercial interests.² However, I also believe that the idea of commercial imperatives being inimical to artistic considerations is problematic, since in reality both seem to depend on rather than exclude each other. Admittedly, the way the cultural industries organize and manage creative activities at times tends to reproduce the inequalities that exist between groups of people in capitalist societies at large,³ but that does not mean that commercial music production is not worth studying. In short, my argument in this chapter is based on the conviction that music scholars should also examine the commercial production of music recordings, if they wish to understand the historical contingency and significance of a particular style or genre.

In the case of bossa nova, the common accusation that the style was corrupted due to exploitation by the U.S. entertainment industry again appears to be based on the unrealistic opposition between art and commerce. Inspired by the experiments with bossa nova by traveling jazz artists at the beginning of the 1960s, U.S.-based recording companies soon discovered the commercial potential of the style. Music producers presented albums with covers of existing bossa nova songs and original compositions inspired by those songs in ways that they thought would meet the expectations of domestic audiences, thus contributing to the transformations of the stylistic idiom and its social connotations in the U.S.⁴ However, bossa nova had already proven very lucrative in Brazil before it became successful abroad.⁵ For that reason, the process of adaptation by the U.S. record industry cannot simply be dismissed as a commercial dilution of some ‘more authentic’ kind of bossa nova from the past, though such an attitude probably does explain – at least partially – why its development in the U.S. has only received scant attention from

¹ Robert Walser, “Popular Music Analysis: Ten Apothegms and Four Instances,” in *Analyzing Popular Music*, ed. Allan F. Moore (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 18.

² This claim has also been made, in different contexts, by popular music theorists Keith Negus and Fabian Holt. See Keith Negus, *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1999), in particular pp. 24-30, and Fabian Holt, *Genre in Popular Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007)

³ David Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries* (London: Sage, 2002), in particular pp. 4-6.

⁴ See Kariann Elaine Goldschmitt, “Bossa Mundo: Brazilian Popular Music’s Global Transformations (1938-2008),” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2009).

⁵ For example, on account of his fame as a bossa nova artist, João Gilberto was asked to record a jingle for a soap commercial in the late 1950s. Ruy Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music That Seduced the World*, translated by Lysa Salsbury (Chicago: A Cappella Books, 2000), pp. 189-90.

scholars.⁶ Instead, we should try to understand how bossa nova was adapted and popularized by the U.S. record industry so that it ‘made sense’ and became attractive from the perspective of U.S. listeners at that time. In other words, we should try to see how commercial and artistic considerations intertwined in the homegrown U.S. production of bossa nova.

This is what I strive to do in this chapter, in which I discuss the bossa nova output of Verve Records, a company whose catalog mainly includes jazz music. The period I discuss runs from 1962, the year that saw the release of the important album *Jazz Samba* on Verve, to 1967, when artistic director and producer Creed Taylor left Verve to establish his own record company, CTI Records. By way of textual analysis, I interpret the albums issued by Verve that are related to bossa nova as vehicles for the generation and transmission of the musical style and symbolic meanings associated with it. I conceive the collaboration between the artists, the record engineer, and the producer who created those albums as part of this process, and I examine the titles, the record sleeve art, and the liner notes of those albums, as well as the sounds they carry, to learn more about it. Under the artistic direction of Creed Taylor, Verve Records played a leading role in the production of bossa nova in the U.S. from 1962 onwards. More than simply that of a trendsetter, however, the contribution of Creed Taylor and his colleagues at Verve to bossa nova in the U.S. should be understood as that of cultural translators since the company strove to find “a connection and point of identification” between, on the one hand, the foreign musical style of bossa nova and the careers of the artists associated with it, and, on the other, the habitus of potential record buyers.⁷

The idea of habitus helps to understand how bossa nova was made suitable for consumption by audiences in the U.S. Pierre Bourdieu, the influential sociologist, used this notion to describe one’s social position not only in relation to constants such as race or class, but also on the basis of variable personality traits such as skills, habits, sensibilities and attitudes acquired through upbringing, education, and access to social networks.⁸ In the words of Bourdieu, habitus thus stands for “a system of durable, transposable dispositions,” of “internalised structures, common schemes of perception, conception, and action,” which exist as a result of learning and habituation.⁹ Musical taste is strongly connected to habitus, since this set of dispositions also determines a person’s prior knowledge of and access to a particular style or genre, as well as the symbolic value associated with it by that person and by his or her peers. Kariann Goldschmitt uses the notion of habitus to understand the transformations of bossa nova in the U.S., where the style “traversed many different sectors of society.”¹⁰ Goldschmitt demonstrates that, when bossa nova arrived in the U.S. in the early 1960s, the style soon became a fashionable trend in music and an indicator of luxury and exclusivity among jazz fans and connoisseurs. However, as it found popular acceptance in the mainstream marketplace and was reinvented as a social dance, it gradually lost its trendiness (or its potential as a signifier of cultural capital) an effect that according to Goldschmitt had more to do with a perceived lack of authenticity than with class or economic privilege. The question of how Verve Records tuned their bossa nova albums to the habitus of potential record buyers in the U.S. connects my discussion to Goldschmitt’s account of the social and critical reception of the style in that country in the 1960s. Since her focus lies on the critical reception of bossa nova in the print press, however, Goldschmitt does not consider how U.S.-based record companies actively tried to cope with the changing status of

⁶ Goldschmitt, “Bossa Mundo,” p. 73.

⁷ Negus, *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures*, p. 178. I have benefitted from the discussion of the music producer as a cultural intermediary in Antoine Hennion, “An Intermediary Between Production and Consumption: The Producer of Popular Music,” *Science, Technology, and Human Values* 14, no. 4 (1989). For a more general treatment of the notions of cultural mediation and intermediaries, see David Hesmondhalgh, “Bourdieu, the Media and Cultural Production,” *Media, Culture and Society* 28, no. 2 (2006).

⁸ See also Goldschmitt, “Bossa Mundo,” pp. 81-2.

⁹ As quoted in David Katan, “Mediating the Point of Refraction and Playing with the Perlocutionary Effect: A Translator’s Choice,” *Critical Studies* 20 (2002), p. 177.

¹⁰ Goldschmitt, “Bossa Mundo,” in particular pp. 71-86. The quoted passage can be found on p. 82.

bossa nova. This is what I set out to do, by examining the production strategies underlying the bossa nova albums issued by Verve Records.

Production Strategies and the Function of Translation

In his book titled *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures* (1999), music sociologist Keith Negus describes how music industry corporations rely on various strategies to “maintain control and deal with the uncertainties generated during processes of production and acts of consumption.”¹¹ The most important production strategies for my purposes here are those pertaining to musical categories and artist names.¹² A clever use of musical concepts and categories guarantees that potential consumers will come to know a recording through a genre or style which is already familiar to them, making it more likely that they will be interested in buying it. Likewise, recordings by artists who already boast a certain reputation, or are associated with known categories, are more likely to be appreciated than those of their lesser-known colleagues. These considerations gain extra weight in the production of crossover albums, which do not neatly fit into a single category, and in the production of collaborations between artists from different backgrounds. Another important strategy in music production, I argue, is that of product differentiation. Just like other cultural products, a music recording needs to be recognizable, at least to a certain degree, but at the same time it needs to stand out in comparison with recordings issued by rivaling companies in order to be attractive. In other words, it has to appear as ‘unique’ to potential buyers in one way or another. Before I discuss these production strategies in the case of the bossa nova albums produced by Verve, I will introduce a model derived from translation studies that will help me to make sense of the characteristics of those albums and the production strategies that underlie them.

As I have already mentioned, the reinterpretation of a foreign or unfamiliar music style for a specific audience can be compared to the work of a translator of literary texts. A literary translator also mediates between the source culture (the context in which a work is read in the original language) and the target culture (the context in which a translation of that work is to be read), and eventually will do his best to aim the translation at the habitus of the readership he has in mind. Translations of a literary work are normally read by people in a cultural context that differs significantly from that of the original, leading translation scholar David Katan to claim that translators are capable of controlling, at least to a certain extent, the ‘refraction’ of meanings that will occur.¹³ More specifically, Katan argues that translators need to decide to what degree they are prepared to ‘manipulate’ literary texts – instead of simply transposing the words – to make them more suitable for reading in the target culture. Building on the theorizing work of Lawrence Venuti, Katan explains the act of controlling the process of refraction in a literary translation schematically by way of three distinct strategies: ‘foreignization,’ ‘domestication,’ and ‘mediation.’¹⁴ A translator who foreignizes keeps the original choice of words intact as much as possible, and makes only the smallest effort required to present elements specific to the source culture in ways accessible in the target culture, thus allowing the readers to refract these elements for themselves. In contrast, a domesticating translator adapts a text to the source culture by refracting the original to the extent that it closely corresponds with the cognitive environment of the readers in said culture. Finally, a mediating

¹¹ Negus, *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures*, p. 31.

¹² In addition to specific approaches pertaining to musical categories and artist names, Keith Negus proposes a more inclusive (if somewhat abstruse) notion of “portfolio management,” which he claims “provides a way of viewing the [record] company’s labels, genres and artists by dividing them into discrete units (strategic business units). This makes visible the performance, profile and contribution of each. In many ways this is part of a strategy of diversification; the company spreading its risks across various musical genres and potential sources of income.” *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹³ Katan, “Mediating the Point of Refraction.”

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-193.

translation is a compromise between foreignization and domestication, since it transforms the original text so as to make it more easily comprehensible for domestic readers, but at the same time enables them to taste the unfamiliar in measured terms. It is important to realize, however, that a translator cannot give *unmediated* access to the foreign elements that he chooses to preserve (even not in a foreignizing translation) since the eventual interpretation of those elements depends precisely on their appearance as foreign, as a disruption of the cultural codes associated with the target language. Lawrence Venuti connects this insight to the agency of the translator by arguing that “[t]he “foreign” in foreignizing translation is not a transparent representation of an essence that resides in the foreign text and is valuable in itself, but a strategic construction [devised by the translator] whose value is contingent on the current situation in the receiving culture.”¹⁵ For that reason, Venuti concludes that, whereas traditional considerations in the profession of translation like ‘fluency’ and ‘faithfulness’ only seem to point to discursive properties of a text, foreignization and domestication actually point to implicit ethical attitudes.

By analogy with this model, I will try to find out to what extent bossa nova was presented by Verve as a music style derived from elsewhere, and to what extent it was familiarized by inscribing it with domestic interests and intelligibilities. I argue that Creed Taylor presentation of bossa nova on the albums he produced can also be understood on the basis of a continuum with foreignization and domestication as its extreme ends. This does not mean that I wish to compare the music on those albums to a language in any direct sense, but rather that I believe that the genre culture of bossa nova as a whole was reconfigured on them to match the habitus of potential listeners, through a conscious mediation of foreignness.¹⁶ Bossa nova was given shape by Verve, I argue, in ways that appealed to the prior knowledge and experiences of jazz and popular music listeners in the U.S., while a certain degree of foreignness was maintained and emphasized increasingly over the years. As I mentioned earlier, the balance between domestication and foreignization struck by Verve was gradually adapted in response to bossa nova’s commercial success and declining status in 1960s U.S. Ironically, attempts at foreignizing bossa nova were increasingly connected by Verve to a ‘Romantic’ ideology (conceiving commercial interests as antithetical to uniqueness or authenticity) that held other U.S.-based companies responsible for corrupt or unfaithful treatments of the style. A steady influx of ‘Brazilianness’ was presented as an antidote to this corruption. In Verve’s allegedly more authentic interpretations of bossa nova, originality and innovation thus increasingly came to be associated with foreignness.

Genre Categories and the Arrival of Bossa Nova in the U.S.

The first bossa nova LP that was produced by Creed Taylor for Verve, *Jazz Samba* (Verve V/V6-8432, 1962),¹⁷ was the result of jazz artists Stan Getz and Charlie Byrd’s admiration for the style. Although critics disagree as to whether this was the first bossa nova album made in the U.S., it was certainly the first that was commercially successful, and it would help to set the tone for fusions of jazz and bossa nova in

¹⁵ Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 15.

¹⁶ For the concept of ‘genre culture,’ I refer to Negus, *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures*, in particular pp. 28-30, and Holt, *Genre in Popular Music*, pp. 19-20. For Fabian Holt, genre culture stands for “the overall identity of the cultural formations in which a genre is constituted. It makes sense to view popular music genres as small cultures because they are defined in relation to many of the same aspects as general culture. Genres are identified not only with music, but also with certain cultural values, rituals, practices, territories, traditions, and groups of people. The music is embedded in all these things, and the culture concept can help us grasp the complex whole because of its capacity to represent a large entity of connections and sharing among people. Culture also stresses the social and historical dimensions that are ignored when categories are defined only in relation to the music itself.” *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁷ For catalog numbers and specifications of the albums discussed in this chapter, I have made use of Michel Ruppli and Bob Porter, *The Clef/Verve Labels: A Discography*, vol. 2, parts 5 and 6 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).

the years that followed.¹⁸ Guitarist Charlie Byrd had been experimenting with bossa nova and other kinds of Brazilian music since he had performed in various Latin-American countries on a U.S. State Department tour in 1961. A number of other jazz artists from the U.S. also took up interest in bossa nova around this time – flutist Herbie Mann, saxophonist Bud Shank, and trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie, to name a few. The general tendency among these musicians was to use famous bossa nova songs from Brazil as vehicles for their improvisations, simply stripping off the lyrics. As a result, many of the ‘charts’ of those songs would eventually become part of the standard jazz repertory. However, musicians in the U.S. soon also came up with new compositions inspired by the style. Sometimes the instrumentation was also adapted to this source of inspiration – in addition to Cuban percussion like the conga, which was already quite common in different kinds of ‘Latin jazz’ performed in the U.S., several jazz artists began to use instruments like the *cabaça* shaker, and a small cylindrical drum known in Brazilian-Portuguese as the *tamborim*.¹⁹

After Byrd had played some Brazilian bossa nova records to Creed Taylor over the phone, the producer agreed to have him make a recording with Getz, a well-known saxophonist, which was released as *Jazz Samba*.²⁰ The album contains both original compositions and instrumental versions of bossa nova songs that had become successful in Brazil, such as Antônio Carlos Jobim’s “Desafinado” and “Samba de uma nota só,” as well as a reinterpretation of the older popular song “Bahia” (known in Brazil as “Na baixa do sapateiro”), which was already familiar in the U.S. since a performance of it by Nestor Amal had accompanied depictions of Brazil in the animated Disney film *The Three Caballeros* (1945).²¹ *Jazz Samba* was a huge success – the two-minute single version of the mellow opening song, “Desafinado,” spent ten weeks in the *Billboard* Top 40, besides earning Getz a Grammy Award – and thus heralded the ‘arrival’ of bossa nova, which was soon to be found everywhere in U.S. popular culture.²² A collective concert staging both U.S. and Brazilian performers was held at Carnegie Hall, on November 21, 1962, after which many Brazilians signed contracts to perform and record in the U.S. The same year, influential jazz magazine *Down Beat* dedicated a special issue to bossa nova, providing “a forum for the magazine staff to officially comment on the music’s popularity,” though at times this happened in a rather condescending tone.²³ As Goldschmitt notes, the magazine’s editor, Don DeMichael, made experimentations by jazz artists with the style seem shallow and ephemeral in comparison to the jazz tradition as a whole. This approach soon prevailed in critical reviews by the jazz press, which seemed consider the widespread popularity of bossa nova as a threat to the recent recognition of jazz as art music.

As Fabian Holt reminds us, genre categories such as ‘jazz’ and ‘world music’ are an understudied phenomenon in popular music studies, while those categories function as “a fundamental structuring force in musical life.”²⁴ It is important to note that, in the early 1960s, U.S.-based record companies did not

¹⁸ Among others, see John Storm Roberts, “Everything’s Coming up Bossa: The 1960s, Part 1,” in *Latin Jazz: The First of the Fusions, 1880s to Today* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1999).

¹⁹ An example of the use of the percussion instruments mentioned is Herbie Mann’s album *Brazil, Bossa Nova and Blues* (United Artists Jazz, 1962).

²⁰ Marc Myers, *Interview: Creed Taylor (Part 11)*, *Jazz Wax* weblog (accessed April 6, 2010).

²¹ See Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music*, pp. 302 and 307, and Goldschmitt, “Bossa Mundo,” pp. 57-68. Another Disney film that introduced samba songs in the U.S. was *Saludos Amigos* (1942). In the final section of that movie, called “Aquarela do Brasil” (“Watercolor of Brazil”), Hollywood singer Carmen Miranda and character José Carioca introduce Donald Duck to “the land of the samba” with the help of the songs “Tico-tico no fubá” and Ary Barroso’s “Aquarela do Brasil” (which internationally became known simply as “Brazil”).

²² Roberts, “Everything’s Coming up Bossa,” p. 118.

²³ Goldschmitt, “Bossa Mundo,” pp. 97-8.

²⁴ Holt, *Genre in Popular Music*, p. 2. In his study of how the music business deals with genres, Keith Negus perceives a dynamic in which, on the one hand, the social formations of genre cultures shape the divisional organization as well as the production and marketing strategies of record companies, while, on the other hand, these

have a specific genre category at their disposal to market music styles that were imported from abroad such as bossa nova: only between about 1906 and 1952 did major labels boast a ‘foreign’ series – which then usually comprised the kinds of popular music that were played and listened to by first-generation immigrants – and it was not until 1987 that nowadays familiar categories like ‘world music’ or ‘international repertoire’ would be used on a large scale.²⁵ Interestingly, the record sleeves of the earliest bossa nova albums released by Verve featured the phrase “contemporary music” in small print next to the company’s logo. This category has fallen into disuse, but at the time probably connoted a kind of trendiness that suited Creed Taylor’s attempts to make jazz accessible to a wide audience.²⁶ More remarkable, however, was the choice of the title of *Jazz Samba*, which appears to have been conceived as a crossover category. After all, when the album was issued, the term bossa nova was not widespread enough in the U.S. to reach out to the public. In an interview published online, Creed Taylor recalls his discussion about this issue with Verve’s marketing department:

They said, “You can’t put the word ‘jazz’ on the [album] cover if you want to sell copies.” I said, “Look[,] it’s simple: It’s jazz and it’s samba. We don’t have any other way to describe the music. That’s the way it has to be.” There was no such term as “bossa nova” [in common usage] then, and this was the clearest way to describe the music for buyers. [...] They didn’t like it, but they didn’t have a better alternative. So we went with *Jazz Samba*.²⁷

In the liner notes that accompanied the album, jazz writer Dom Cerulli introduces “the Samba” to the listeners as “a Brazilian dance” that was “believed to be a relative of the Tango, but [...] acknowledged to be a much more energetic member of the family.” Cerulli then explains the “Jazz Samba” formula as follows: “A Jazz Samba can be characterized as a version of the music utilizing Samba rhythm but featuring jazz improvisation on the melody and the harmonic structure of the composition.” Both Taylor’s considerations about the album title and Cerulli’s interpretation of the music in the liner notes reveal how Verve appealed to the prior knowledge of a broad audience, by introducing bossa nova with the help of more or less established genre categories.²⁸ The album cleverly combined the widespread appeal of samba – which connoted foreignness but had already been familiarized as an exotic dance rhythm by the likes of Hollywood performer Carmen Miranda – with the symbolic capital of jazz, which in the course of the 1940s and 1950s had come to be defined as an art form based on tradition.²⁹

The unforeseen success of *Jazz Samba* helped to introduce U.S. listeners to bossa nova, and like several other record companies that recognized its commercial potential, Verve’s response was to capitalize on the style’s sudden popularity. However, instead of simply labeling the bossa nova albums

strategies in turn shape the meanings that are attributed to particular genres. Negus, *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures*, passim, in particular pp. 1-13.

²⁵ Holt, *Genre in Popular Music*, p. 156. See also Carole Pegg, “world music,” in *The Oxford Companion to Music*, retrieved from *Oxford Music Online* (accessed April 6, 2010).

²⁶ Gary W. Kennedy, “Taylor, Creed,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* (second edition), retrieved from *Oxford Music Online* (accessed May 30, 2010).

²⁷ Myers, *Interview: Creed Taylor*.

²⁸ Fabian Holt also draws attention to the codification and popularization of genres and styles by creating crossovers in the corporate music industry. Holt argues that, “[r]ather than being exclusively committed to genre cultures, the industry has oriented itself toward major market segments and adopted categories that are not genre categories in a strict sense. “Race records” and “world music” are but two examples of categories that have been used for targeting various musics to specific markets. [...] the industry uses whatever categories do the job, not just genre, although genre and style are central ones.” Holt, *Genre in Popular Music*, pp. 25-7. The quoted passages can be found on p. 26.

²⁹ Among others, see Scott DeVeaux, “Constructing the Jazz Tradition: Jazz Historiography,” *Black American Literature Forum* 25, no. 3 (1991) and John Gennari, “Jazz Criticism: Its Development and Ideologies,” in the same issue of that journal.

recorded in the period from 1962 to 1964 as such, Creed Taylor also tried to connect them to the ‘pioneering spirit’ of *Jazz Samba*. For example, an album by jazz trombonist Bob Brookmeyer featuring Gary McFarland was titled *Trombone Jazz Samba* (Verve V/V6-8498, 1962), although the cover also mentioned “bossa nova.” Furthermore, a number of bossa nova albums were presented as sequels to *Jazz Samba* since their covers again showed reproductions of abstract paintings by the Puerto Rico-born artist Olga Albizu (see Figure 1). The album covers that feature her work are those of *Jazz Samba*, *Big Band Bossa Nova*, *Jazz Samba Encore*, *Getz/Gilberto* and *Getz/Gilberto #2*. Abstract-expressionists like Albizu chose to avoid representational forms, an approach that probably still connoted a sense of vanguardism in comparison to figurative art, even though the style had already found acceptance in artistic circles in the U.S. and elsewhere since its inception in the 1940s.³⁰ Therefore, it is likely that Albizu’s work would have functioned as a marker of artistry and exclusivity for potential buyers.

While the “Jazz Samba” crossover category, explanations in the liner notes such as those of Cerulli, and the branding of subsequent bossa nova LPs as products in line with the famous *Jazz Samba* album should all be understood as kinds of domestication contained in the ‘packaging’ of Verve’s bossa nova, the musical reinterpretations of bossa nova songs also differed significantly from the early Brazilian recordings of those songs from the late 1950s. However, it is difficult to determine to what extent this was the result of a conscious adaptation to the taste of potential record buyers in the U.S. (brought about by Creed Taylor’s decisions), and to what extent it was merely a consequence of how jazz artists like Stan Getz conceived the style themselves. It is worth noting, in any case, that the practice of ‘jazzing up’ well-known bossa nova songs was not uncommon in Brazil around the time *Jazz Samba* was produced: in the early 1960s, musicians in Rio de Janeiro also relied on bossa nova compositions like “Só danço samba” to test their skills as improvisators in local jam sessions.³¹ At the risk of generalizing different trends, it is helpful to mention a number of stylistic changes that bossa nova underwent in the U.S. at this point very briefly. On *Jazz Samba*, Charlie Byrd’s guitar playing did not resemble the sound propagated by Brazilian bossa nova legend João Gilberto – known in Brazilian-Portuguese as the *violão gago*, or ‘stammering guitar’ – which suggested, rather than made explicit, samba polyrhythm. Instead, Byrd’s style merely marks the harmonic structure of the compositions, while the drums are used to outline the complex rhythm, leaving less to the imagination of the listeners “since all of the major rhythmic voices are present in one form or another.”³² Admittedly, the laid-back and tightly arranged sound of this and other jazz versions of bossa nova still resembled the subdued mood of the songs as performed by João Gilberto (a mood associated with ‘cool jazz’ in the U.S.), leading Kariann Goldschmitt to claim that “[w]hat did not change between the Brazilian recordings and this famous first entry into the U.S. market was the [style’s] overall sheen.”³³ However, the musico-poetic qualities typical of Brazilian bossa nova songs like “Desafinado” and “O pato” were not preserved in most fusions of jazz and bossa nova since the lyrics were omitted. For example, in the case of the version of “O pato” (“The Duck”) on the *Jazz Samba* album, the humorous effect of the onomatopoeic “quem, quem, quem” (meaning ‘who’ in Brazilian-Portuguese, but at the same time imitating the quacking of a duck) in the lyrics was replaced by the smooth tone of Getz’s saxophone. In other words, instrumental jazz covers did not urge U.S. popular music fans to understand bossa nova as a self-conscious and poetic song style, which explains that it allowed to be gradually redefined as a social dance by the U.S. entertainment business.

³⁰ For discussions of the style, I refer to Ellen G. Landau, *Reading Abstract Expressionism: Context and Critique* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

³¹ Bryan McCann, “Blues and Samba: Another Side of Bossa Nova History,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 44, no. 2 (2007). See also Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music*, in particular pp. 214-6. I will discuss this practice of improvising on bossa nova songs in Rio de Janeiro more extensively in the second chapter.

³² Goldschmitt, “Bossa Mundo,” p. 94.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Figure 1. Album covers featuring the work of Olga Albizu (1924-2005), in order of the release dates



Jazz Samba (1962)



Big Band Bossa Nova (1962)



Jazz Samba Encore! (1963)



Getz/Gilberto (1964)



Getz/Gilberto #2 (1965)

Bossa Nova and Social Dance Culture

U.S. fusions between jazz and bossa nova were increasingly adapted to the reinvention of bossa nova as a social dance culture by the entertainment industry following the success of albums like *Jazz Samba*, which placed it alongside popular dance steps like the Twist.³⁴ This kind of domestication of foreign music styles was not uncommon in the U.S. and other Western countries, where the rumba, mambo and cha-cha-cha had been turned into popular ballroom dances in the past. In the case of bossa nova, record companies anticipated this trend by shifting their focus from extended improvisations by small jazz combos to swinging arrangements for big bands. Verve took part of this trend with *Big Band Bossa Nova* (Verve V/V6-8494, 1962), an LP that again featured the by now well-known bossa nova interpreter Stan Getz as a soloist. In the same year, three other albums of exactly the same title were released by rivaling companies, featuring the artists Enoch Light (issued on Command), Oscar Castro-Neves (Audio Fidelity), and Quincy Jones (Mercury). All four albums contain danceable arrangements, either of existing bossa nova songs or of compositions by the bandleader or his musicians that were inspired by that repertoire.³⁵

³⁴ Ibid., in particular pp. 107 ff.

³⁵ Favorite songs were especially those composed by Antônio Carlos Jobim and Luiz Bonfá for the soundtrack of *Orfeu Negro* (*Black Orpheus*), the successful French film production by the French director Marcel Camus that presented bossa nova on the international stage in 1959. The film won several awards, including the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival of 1959. It was loosely based on well-known bossa nova lyricist Vinícius de Moraes's play

The sound of most of those arrangements is defined by cheerful melodies alternated with catchy riffs played by the brass section, which are set against simple blues progressions or ostinato lines in the rhythm section. Furthermore, the solid rhythm is frequently accompanied by the clave-like pattern associated with bossa nova – typically a succession of five ‘rim-clicks,’ or accents that are played on the rim of the snare drum – which had been used less consistently in Brazil (see Example 2 on p. 32). Thus the understated syncopation of the Brazilian song repertoire of bossa nova was turned into a stronger and more persistently thriving rhythm in these instrumental big band interpretations, which predicted the style’s reinvention as a social dance. The liner notes of Enoch Light’s *Big Band Bossa Nova* indeed compare “the bossa nova” to other Latin-American dance styles such as the cha-cha-cha, and Light’s follow-up album was unambiguously called *Let’s Dance the Bossa Nova* (Command, 1963). The U.S. entertainment industry as a whole soon took up this definite article (“bossa nova” became “*the* bossa nova”) that rendered bossa nova appreciable for consumers who were used to dance to styles from a variety of foreign music traditions. It was only a matter of time before famous dance instructors like Arthur Murray would advertize with bossa nova dance classes, which became so widespread in the U.S. that in 1964, bossa nova had largely lost its image of exclusiveness.³⁶

The reinvention of bossa nova as a social dance should be considered an instance of domestication, since this placed the style in line with earlier appropriations of Latin-American musical styles that were deemed attractive in the U.S. for their rhythmic qualities. Whereas in Brazil, bossa nova had initially been conceived as an intimate way of performing songs based on samba rhythm, in the U.S. it thus acquired a different function that was independent from popular song culture. Like the explanations of the style by jazz critics in the liner notes of Verve’s bossa nova albums, the reinvention of bossa nova as a social dance by the entertainment industry helped to connect the music to the prior experiences and interests of potential U.S. record buyers. However, as I have repeatedly pointed out, due to this widespread popularization bossa nova became associated with mass consumption and gradually lost its appeal as a signifier of sophistication. Verve would compensate for this loss of appeal by presenting what could be seen as a more ‘authentic,’ Brazilian kind of bossa nova. But in his attempt to retain a sense of exclusiveness, Creed Taylor in fact relied on a variety of approaches that eventually led up to this emphasis on ‘foreignness.’ One such approach was to have jazz writers Gene Lees and Dom Cerulli comment on the perceived corruption of bossa nova in album liner notes. In contrast, the artists featured on those albums – in particular Stan Getz – were presented by Lees and Cerulli as more faithful interpreters of the style. For example, in the liner notes of *Jazz Samba Encore!* (Verve V/V6-8523, 1963), the follow-up to *Jazz Samba*, Dom Cerulli remarks that “all the hullabaloo” of the “trend in jazz and American popular music called bossa nova” has, above all, “served to focus attention again on the remarkable talents of Stan Getz. [...] Now that the powers that be have declared that bossa nova is a rhythm or a dance or a number of other money-producing things [...], this album affirms that bossa nova is music with melody that seems to sing itself.” Likewise, in the album notes of *Getz/Gilberto* (Verve V/V6-8545, 1964), the famous collaboration between Stan Getz and Brazilian bossa nova artists João Gilberto and his wife Astrud, Gene Lees complains about “those denizens of the music business [...] whose very survival in fact depends on the theft of ideas from others,” and who, according to Lees, “began falling over each other in their haste to jump on the bandwagon.” In a more cynical tone than Cerulli, Lees concludes that, in the process, “the remarkable and significant Brazilian musical development that Stan had introduced to the North American public [...] was ravaged and ground into the turf.”

Orfeu da Conceição, for which Jobim also wrote the music. For more details on the music, racial politics, and international legacy of this film, see, among others, Charles A. Perrone, “Myth, Melopeia, and Mimesis: *Black Orpheus*, *Orfeu*, and Internationalization in Brazilian Popular Music,” in *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization*, eds. Perrone and Christopher Dunn (New York: Routledge, 2001); Jonathon Grasse, “Conflation and Conflict in Brazilian Popular Music: Forty Years between ‘Filming’ Bossa Nova in *Orfeu Negro* and Rap in *Orfeu*,” *Popular Music* 23, no. 3 (2004); and Goldschmitt, “Bossa Mundo,” pp. 87-91.

³⁶ Ibid., in particular pp. 94-7 and 107-13.

A passage from the liner notes of the clumsily titled album *Antonio Carlos Jobim - The Composer of "Desafinado," Plays* (Verve V/V6-8547, 1963), the debut of Jobim as a lead musician in the U.S., is worth quoting in its entirety. In this excerpt, Dom Cerulli demonstrates a line of thought that contrasts the 'corruption' of bossa nova and its reinvention as style suited for dancing by the U.S. entertainment business with the idea of a more authentic kind of bossa nova, which had to be retrieved from the country where it originated:

So profound was the impact of "Desafinado" that Bossa Nova became the *thing* in pop music [italics in original]. Standards were performed in the "new rhythm" and were deluged by such items as "Stardust Bossa Nova", "Fly Me to the Moon Bossa Nova", "Bossa Nova Cha Cha Cha", and even "Blame It on the Bossa Nova". Arthur Murray and other dance instructors exhorted us to "do" the Bossa Nova. And somehow, in all the shuffle, the lightness and delicacy and the depth of feeling of Bossa Nova got lost. The followers and the doers and the players-for-dancing either forgot or ignored the characteristically long structure of the authentic Brazilian bossa nova, its naturally accented rhythm, and the minor feel of the music. It had become the new thing because it was the new way to make a buck.

Cerulli goes on to introduce Jobim as the composer of "Desafinado," "the anthem of Bossa Nova in this country [the U.S.]," claiming that "the man's music doesn't begin and end there. Collected in this set are more of the remarkable works of this Brazilian composer, each, in its own way, as unique and startling as "Desafinado"." Having criticized the 'immoral' appropriation of bossa nova and its connection to commercial dance culture, the author thus points to an "authentic Brazilian bossa nova," which he then links to the uniqueness of Jobim's compositions. Put differently, he presents the uniqueness of Brazilian bossa nova as a style, and Jobim as a composer, as antithetical to the commercial practice of the music business as a whole, but nonetheless claims that this uniqueness is captured on the recording in question. As Jon Stratton has noted, such 'Romantic' promises are in fact a very common strategy of product differentiation in the corporate music industry.³⁷ Cerulli reinforces this perspective, however, by proposing a stronger commitment to bossa nova from Brazil.

From 1963 onwards, Verve indeed produced albums that appeared to be more serious attempts to capture the peculiarities of bossa nova as it had been conceived in Brazil, beginning with the two solo albums by Luiz Bonfá and Antônio Carlos Jobim – who together had achieved international fame as the composers of the soundtrack of *Orfeu Negro (Black Orpheus)* in 1959.³⁸ However, I believe that this shift of focus was as carefully measured as earlier attempts to familiarize U.S. audiences with bossa nova. Bonfá's LP is significant as it presents bossa nova as a kind of popular song – both Bonfá and his wife, Maria Toledo, can be heard singing in Brazilian-Portuguese on the recording – whereas earlier bossa nova albums produced for the U.S. market had mostly been instrumental. However, only the first side of the recording features Bonfá's vocals – the second side showcases his virtuosic guitar playing. Furthermore, the fact that Toledo's singing largely consists of vocalises (melodic successions of nonsensical syllables) creates the impression that the serene tone of her voice is more important than the actual words she sings. The performances of Bonfá's compositions are characterized by economical rhythm and an overall mood that is far more subdued than the previously issued *Jazz Samba*, *Big Band Bossa Nova*, and *Trombone Jazz Samba*. This mood is reinforced by the gentle orchestrations of four of the pieces by Argentine-born pianist and arranger Lalo Schifrin, who had already been experimenting with bossa nova along with U.S. jazz artists.³⁹ In Brazil, the arranging of samba songs was not uncommon, but on recordings it had been overshadowed by the more intimate style propagated by the likes of João Gilberto in the late 1950s. It is likely that Creed Taylor did opt for light string accompaniments since this was more commonly associated

³⁷ Among others, see Jon Stratton, "Capitalism and Romantic Ideology in the Record Business," *Popular Music* 3 (1983).

³⁸ For details on this film, see supra n. 35.

³⁹ For instance, Schifrin also contributed to Quincy Jones's album *Big Band Bossa Nova* (Mercury, 1962).

with popular music in the U.S. at that time, and helped to create a dreamlike atmosphere that suited the ‘exoticness’ of a kind of bossa nova that hailed from abroad.

Like Bonfá’s recording, Jobim’s debut for Verve, which was released about half a year later, also seemed to promise unmediated access to Brazilian bossa nova. On this recording, Jobim was allowed to play his favorite instrument, the piano, at a time when he hardly managed to make a living in the U.S. by playing guitar – which better fitted the image of the Latin lover that audiences expected from him.⁴⁰ The two- to three-minute instrumental performances of his compositions sound straightforward and unpretentious, at least on a first hearing. Jobim carefully picks out the melodies in an understated fashion (complemented with occasional embellishments by flutist Leo Wright), and at times improvises in single-note lines. Worth noting is that string arrangements are again provided, and in fact give the music a ‘faraway’ character, both literally and figuratively. At the same time, the poetic lyrics that had contributed significantly to the expressive force of Jobim’s songs in Brazil were simply omitted. Creed Taylor had assigned Claus Ogerman as the arranger of the album, which would turn out to be the right decision – the album was awarded the highest possible rating in a review in jazz magazine *Down Beat*,⁴¹ and Jobim and Ogerman kept working together closely during the years that followed.⁴² In spite of the prominent role of the colorful orchestrations by Ogerman, the liner notes only mention his work in passing. The author, Dom Cerulli, instead concentrates on the “deceptively simple” piano playing of the composer, concluding that his performances of the pieces are “as much Jobim as the melodies.” Creed Taylor thus came up with a recording suited for serious listening rather than dancing that seemed much closer to ‘real’ bossa nova, even though it did not feature the Brazilian-Portuguese lyrics and was provided, without notice, with lush string arrangements that would soon become the standard for U.S. adaptations of bossa nova to popular music (notably in the recordings for Verve by Astrud Gilberto).

As has become clear, the foreignness of the albums of the two Brazilian composers was to a certain extent strategically constructed, just as connections with U.S. jazz and popular music had been purposefully built or indicated by Verve and other record companies. However, this kind of foreignness made perfect sense in relation to the prior trajectory of bossa nova in the U.S. What mattered was that the association with commercial dance culture was being avoided, and that songs from Brazil were presented in the form of reinterpretations by the composers themselves. According to popular music theorists Allan Moore and Richard Middleton, authenticity has been and remains an important criterion of musical value within popular music culture.⁴³ Although a clear definition of what authenticity stands for does not seem to exist, Middleton argues that central to the notion is “the question of what a subject true to itself would be like and how such subjectivity would be represented musically.”⁴⁴ In comparison with earlier adaptations of the style in the U.S., the albums featuring the work of Bonfá and Jobim would undoubtedly have appeared as authentic musical representations of Brazilian bossa nova to U.S. audiences. However, despite favorable reviews by jazz trade magazines, both of the LPs were not very successful in terms of sales figures. In order to make his more exclusive brand of bossa nova accessible to a wide audience, Creed Taylor would take recourse to another strategy – that of uniting his artists of different backgrounds in collaborations.

⁴⁰ On one occasion, Jobim even saw compelled to play guitar as a sideman under the name “Tony Brazil” on a recording of Henri Mancini songs by jazz pianist Jack Wilson (Vault, 1965). Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music*, p. 279.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁴² For instance, Ogerman would also write the arrangements for Jobim’s successful collaboration with Frank Sinatra, *Francis Albert Sinatra & Antonio Carlos Jobim* (Reprise, 1967).

⁴³ For example, see Allan Moore, “Authenticity as Authentication,” *Popular Music* 21, no. 2 (2002), and Richard Middleton, “The Real Thing? The Specter of Authenticity,” in *Voicing the Popular: On the Subjects of Popular Music* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

In addition to the solo albums by Bonfá and Jobim, Verve produced two collaborations featuring the composers that are important for my discussion here: *Jazz Samba Encore!* (Verve V/V6-8523), the follow-up to *Jazz Samba* that features Stan Getz and Luiz Bonfá as lead musicians, and *Getz/Gilberto* (Verve V/V6-8545), which unites Getz and João Gilberto. Again, these albums demonstrate a balance between, on the one hand, a connection with interests and capabilities of popular music and jazz fans in the U.S., and, on the other, a degree of an ostensibly more direct access to Brazilian bossa nova. Following Timothy D. Taylor, I use the term collaboration here to describe a mode of production in which musicians from different cultures work together on stage or on the same album. Taylor points out that nowadays, “the trope of collaboration has become a central aspect of how world music is heard and discussed.”⁴⁵ I argue that, even though the ‘world music’ category was not yet in use in the music business in the 1960s, the fact that the albums in question were presented as musical collaborations would have made them attractive to an audience that condemned the strong domestication of bossa nova in the U.S., since such a presentation reemphasized the style’s foreign roots. With collaborations, the process of authentication that I referred to above works in two directions. In this case, the popularity of Stan Getz helped to acquaint U.S. listeners with the style of Bonfá and Gilberto, while their contributions in turn attest to Getz’s respect and genuine interest for the music from abroad, legitimizing his engagement with it.⁴⁶ The kind of mutual respect that seems to underlie such interaction creates the impression that the musical practices of both parties are different but have enough in common to make for a worthwhile fusion. In other words, collaborations might be considered as an instance of crossover, though they principally play off against each other the reputations of artists from different backgrounds rather than juxtapose different musical categories.

Obviously, it was not the first time that a U.S. jazz artist recorded together with Brazilian bossa nova artists: since guitarist Charlie Byrd (Getz’s musical partner on *Jazz Samba*) and others had toured Latin America as part of U.S. State Department diplomatic efforts in 1961, many had performed and recorded with Brazilian soloists or percussionists. However, albums that resulted from such collaborations – such as flutist Herbie Mann’s all-star compilation titled *Do the Bossa Nova with Herbie Mann* (Atlantic, 1963), on which Mann plays with groups led by Sérgio Mendes, Baden Powell, and Jobim – were sold in the U.S. under the name of the jazz musician who had brought the music home. By contrast, on the first collaboration issued on Verve, *Jazz Samba Encore!*, Bonfá’s name appears as prominently as that of Getz. Therefore, despite the announcement in capitals on the back of the record sleeve that “the life and feeling of bossa nova is captured again by Stan Getz,” the music could be interpreted the result of a collaborative effort on equal terms.⁴⁷ The tightly arranged interpretations of the compositions (written by Jobim and by Bonfá himself) bear close resemblance to the overall sound of Bonfá’s solo album for Verve, although this time the guitarist’s punctuated melodies and improvisations are alternated with the smooth tone of Getz’s saxophone playing. Apart from the sparse Brazilian-Portuguese vocals and vocalises by Maria Toledo on six tracks, the performances on the album are instrumental. The extended improvisations by soloists Bonfá and Getz are set against the subtle rhythm played by the percussion section, which is

⁴⁵ Timothy D. Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 126-9. The quoted passage can be found on p. 129. For a discussion of the significance of a number of cross-cultural collaborations, see also Timothy D. Taylor, *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 173-96.

⁴⁶ Timothy D. Taylor also points out that more recently, “the term [collaboration] frequently appears in discourses about music as a sanitizing sign when western musicians work with nonwestern ones, making their music safe for mass consumption.” Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism*, p. 129.

⁴⁷ This is not to say that the production of this recording really was a collaborative process on equal terms. In fact, the financial inequalities between the contributors to the album *Getz/Gilberto* that was recorded less than a month later might have been the rule rather than the exception. See n. 48 below.

complemented by Jobim's syncopated style on the piano. The accompanying liner notes praise Getz's musical skills but also draw attention to the 'Brazilianness' of the other performers. For instance, we learn that "Getz joined forces with Luiz Bonfá, the brilliant singer/composer from Brazil," who is depicted as 'a true Carioca' (a native from Rio de Janeiro), and with Maria Toledo, "a handsome woman," who also "is Brazilian and steeped in the musical idiom of that country." Dom Cerulli, the author, concludes that "[t]he result is an album of bossa nova perhaps truer to the idiom of the Brazilian music, but in every sense as engaging and intriguing as the original "Jazz Samba" album." This somewhat curious remark connects *Jazz Samba Encore!* to the success of *Jazz Samba*, though at the same time dissociates it from the more radical domestication of bossa nova that was the consequence of this success.

Jazz Samba Encore! was not as successful as the next collaboration, between Stan Getz and João Gilberto, would become. This album, *Getz/Gilberto*, was recorded by Taylor within less than a month from *Encore!*, in March 1963, but the album was only brought on the market in 1964, since it initially "had trouble attracting major label interest; no one knew what to do with a collaboration of that nature. It was only released after producer Creed Taylor formulated how to market the album beyond jazz audiences and thus found a buyer in Verve Records."⁴⁸ The intimate, at times almost whispering interpretation of the Brazilian-Portuguese-language lyrics by Gilberto that had been celebrated in Brazil perhaps helped to make the album attractive to record buyers. But more significantly, in order to guarantee that the album would receive more widespread attention than *Encore!*, Taylor also allowed Astrud Gilberto, João's wife, to sing English-language translations of the lyrics of two of Jobim's compositions, even though she did not have professional experience as a vocalist. When asked about this decision in retrospect, Creed Taylor tells that he "heard her accent and thought it was great" – a statement that strengthens the impression that he judged Astrud's contribution a welcome exotic touch to the music.⁴⁹ Moreover, both songs – the famous "The Girl from Ipanema" (a translation of "Garota de Ipanema" by Norman Gimbel) and "Quiet Nights of Quiet Stars" (Gene Lees's translation of "Corcovado") – were radically cut down in length so as to make them appropriate for being aired on the radio. In these shorter versions of the songs, João's Portuguese-language vocals were edited out so as to highlight his wife's. Thanks to the emphasis on Gilberto's charming off-key voice, which addressed English-speaking audiences in their own language, the album soon became an international sensation. At a time when British rock acts 'invaded' the U.S. and the Beatles dominated hit parades around the world, it managed to remain on the *Billboard* pop charts for almost two years, besides receiving four Grammy Awards. Besides Astrud's contribution as an interpreter for U.S. audiences, another key ingredient to the album's commercial success undoubtedly was Getz's role as a 'commentator,' who helped introduce the Brazilian musicians to his fans with the familiar sound of his tenor saxophone.

The participation of João and Astrud Gilberto on the *Getz/Gilberto* album gave credibility to the bossa nova output of Stan Getz, and by extension to that of Verve. By allowing English-speaking listeners to take note of the subject matter of the lyrics with her foreign accent, Astrud made the songs comprehensible while rendering them exotic at the same time. Despite the fact that the album was an immense success and indeed marked the beginning of Astrud Gilberto's long-lasting career as a singer in the U.S., this introduction of bossa nova into the realm of Anglophone popular music (as opposed to instrumental jazz) implied that the exclusiveness of the style in the U.S. would be lost. Astrud would record a series of solo albums for Verve, beginning in 1965 with *The Astrud Gilberto Album* (Verve V/V6-

⁴⁸ Goldschmitt, "Bossa Mundo," pp. 113-4. Ruy Castro's journalistic account of the record date gives reason to assume that this collaboration was not as peaceful as Taylor might have wanted the outside world to believe. Apart from disagreements between Getz and João Gilberto during the actual recording of the album, the saxophonist's earnings contrasted sharply with that of Mr. and Mrs. Gilberto. Whereas Getz bought himself a stately mansion with the money he received, João only got \$23,000 (a share that he had unsuccessfully tried to sell to Verve earlier on, when he needed the money very badly), while Astrud did not earn more than a miserable \$120. Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music*, pp. 256-8 and 298-9.

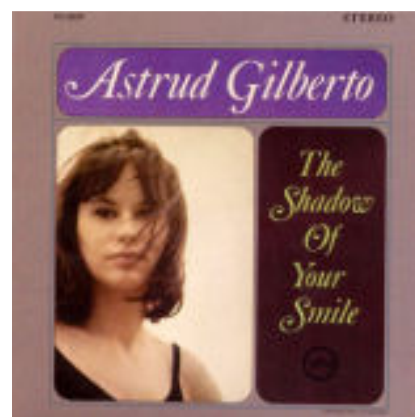
⁴⁹ Myers, *Interview: Creed Taylor*.

8608) that featured the orchestra of Marty Paich. The singer soon “carved out a niche for herself in the American market [by] singing in both English and Portuguese.”⁵⁰ Her recordings contain a varied song repertoire – including classic and new bossa nova songs imported from Brazil, but increasingly centered around the pop ballad – characterized by orchestrations that followed the standard set by Claus Ogerman. In contrast with the more artistic covers decorated with Olga Albizu’s visual art, the album covers of Astrud Gilberto for Verve simply featured photographed portraits of Astrud (see Figure 2), adding to the impression that her albums were sold on the basis of her reputation rather than on the appeal of bossa nova. The absorption of bossa nova in U.S. popular music culture around this time is also underlined by the liner notes for the albums of Astrud Gilberto, Gary McFarland and Walter Wanderley for Verve, which were increasingly provided by radio disc jockeys instead of jazz critics.

Figure 2. Covers of Astrud Gilberto’s solo albums for Verve between 1965 and 1967



The Astrud Gilberto Album (1965)



The Shadow of Your Smile (1965)



Look to the Rainbow (1966)



Beach Samba (1967)

U.S. jazz artists and record companies became more careful in their use of the term bossa nova from the mid-1960s onwards, following bossa nova’s decline in prestige. The lyrics of popular songs stopped directly mentioning the style, indicating that the bossa nova craze had largely passed.⁵¹ A closer look at Verve’s record production in these years also reveals that, although jazz artists continued to rely on

⁵⁰ Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music*, p. 298.

⁵¹ Goldschmitt, “Bossa Mundo,” pp. 113-4.

famous bossa nova songs as vehicles for their improvisations, explicit references to the style were being avoided.⁵² Nonetheless, jazz musicians continued to work together with Brazilian artists, and a new generation of Brazilians including Flora Purim, Airto Moreira and Eumir Deodato found their way into the U.S. jazz scene, though performances and recordings were no longer marketed as bossa nova. Furthermore, Antônio Carlos Jobim would continue to record albums for Creed Taylor's newly established company, CTI Records, featuring songs that were arranged either by Claus Ogerman or by the aforementioned Deodato. At the same time, popular musicians and producers in the U.S. picked up the subtly swaying and lushly orchestrated kind of bossa nova that had been initiated by Creed Taylor and his arrangers, which they developed into a soothing style inspired by the U.S. popular song tradition. A well-known example of this style, which became known as 'lounge' or 'easy listening,' is "The Look of Love" (1967), a song composed by music producer Burt Bacharach and made famous by Dusty Springfield.⁵³

In a clear attempt to connect to this latter development, Creed Taylor contracted Walter Wanderley, a jazz keyboardist from Brazil, and again tried to add a touch of foreign sophistication to his album output. However, like Astrud Gilberto's voice, this foreignness was more stereotypical than that of the albums that featured Luiz Bonfá, Antônio Carlos Jobim and João Gilberto, and ultimately exoticized bossa nova as well as the country where it originated. Wanderley's first album for Verve,⁵⁴ *Rain Forest* (Verve V/V6-8658, 1966), is a case in point. This album, which soon became a commercial success, features performances of classic bossa nova songs as well as new compositions by Wanderley's own jazz trio and U.S. studio musicians. The music is characterized by the lazy and understated tone of Wanderley's Hammond B-3 organ, which puts the overall sound of the recording in line with more popular forms of U.S. jazz in the 1960s (to which that instrument made a vital contribution).⁵⁵ According to Claudio Slon, Wanderley's drummer, Creed Taylor also tried to connect the recording to the easy listening format that was popular at that time, for instance by making the quite repetitious "Summer Samba" ("Samba de Verão") the opening track of the album and release it as a single.⁵⁶

Interestingly, in the uncredited liner notes Wanderley is introduced as the leading artist in the Brazilian bossa nova scene in those days, having become "a prime tourist attraction for traveling Americans." In reality, Wanderley's trio was one of the many strongly jazz-influenced ensembles that had emerged in São Paulo around the mid-1960s, whose style – like most purely instrumental music – never really attracted the public's interest in Brazil.⁵⁷ The trope of tourism is reinforced by the album title as well as by the front cover, which depicts a toucan in a rainforest in front of what seems like a sculpture made by some ancient civilization. The exotic appeal of *Rain Forest* recurs on the cover of an album recorded by Wanderley's trio for Verve later that year, which shows the band members amidst a load of coffee bags (see Figure 3). The story goes that U.S. popular vocalist Tony Bennett heard Wanderley play on one of his trips to the south and personally recommended him to Creed Taylor. Bennett's contribution to the *Rain Forest* album is a remarkable one – the backside of the record sleeve features a 'handwritten' blurb by him which appealed to potential record buyers in the U.S. by promising that "[i]f you like: Ella, Duke, Count, Sinatra... you'll love Walter Wanderley's music." All in all, however, this gesture of domestication was overshadowed by the album's emphasis on Wanderley's Brazilianness.

⁵² See Ruppli and Porter, *The Clef/Verve Labels*, in particular pp. 436 ff.

⁵³ Kariann Goldschmitt also uses this example. Goldschmitt, "Bossa Mundo," pp. 114-5.

⁵⁴ Wanderley would also team up with Astrud Gilberto, resulting in the collective album *A Certain Smile, A Certain Sadness* (Verve V/V6-8673) in 1966, but I will only consider his debut for Verve here.

⁵⁵ Reportedly, Wanderley's fabulous technique was also compared in the U.S. to that of jazz organist Jimmy Smith. Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music*, pp. 309-10.

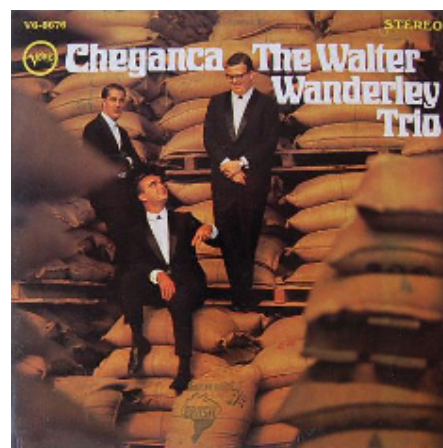
⁵⁶ According to Slon, the musicians initially disagreed with this decision, since they believed that "Summer Samba" was the least interesting piece of the album (in Slon's words, it keeps repeating "the same melody over and over again"). Interview with Irwin Chusig, author of the liner notes of the CD reissue *Walter Wanderley Samba Swing*.

⁵⁷ Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music*, in particular pp. 292-5 and 309-10.

Figure 3. Covers of Walter Wanderley's first two recordings for Verve



Rain Forest (1966)



Cheganca (1966)

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the engagement of Verve Records with bossa nova, in particular the ways the company presented records related to the style in order to appeal the prior experiences and interests of audiences in the U.S. Judging from the sounds and ‘packaging’ of the albums in question, this process of translation was defined by a continuous tension between domestication and foreignization on different levels, a tension that evolved in conversation with U.S. developments in the style. The earliest recordings were connected to the habitus of potential record buyers with the use of more or less established genre categories, an approach that is demonstrated by the crossover concept of “Jazz Samba.” The instrumental jazz and big band reinterpretations of bossa nova by artists like Stan Getz and Bob Brookmeyer did not incorporate the subtleties of the Brazilian song repertoire as they gave their own twist to it, drawing attention especially to its rhythmic qualities. In this way, jazz artists paved the way for the appropriation of the style as a dance that became known as “*the bossa nova*.” Creed Taylor counteracted this act of domestication (or ‘contamination,’ as it was deemed by skeptical critics) by attempting to preserve the association with jazz, and adding liner notes in which jazz saxophonist Stan Getz was presented as the faithful initiator of a more artistic fusion of jazz and bossa nova. At the same time, Taylor emphasized the foreignness of bossa nova by producing recordings featuring Luiz Bonfá and Antônio Carlos Jobim, the Brazilian composers whose names had been established in the U.S. thanks to their contribution to the successful film production *Orfeu Negro* (*Black Orpheus*) in 1959. Besides recording albums as lead musicians for Verve, Jobim and Bonfá also collaborated with Getz, which legitimized his engagement with the style and gradually helped to reintroduce bossa nova in the U.S. as a song style.

However, although the albums featuring Jobim, Bonfá and João Gilberto might have appeared as unmediated or ‘more authentic’ representations of the foreign roots of bossa nova, part of the foreignness they were imbued with was constructed by Verve.⁵⁸ The dreamlike string orchestrations Creed Taylor added were not very common in Brazil, while the eloquent lyrics that had been considered central to bossa nova in that country were deemphasized. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the focus on the

⁵⁸ I follow Michael Pickering’s suggestion here that authenticity should be seen as a relative concept, despite the fact that it “is generally used in absolutist terms.” As quoted in Moore, “Authenticity as Authentication,” p. 210.

'Brazilianness' of the performers also went against the ambitions underlying bossa nova in Brazil. In Brazil, the urban vocal style of João Gilberto and his followers had come to denote the optimistic spirit and longing for modernization that characterized the period of Juscelino Kubitchek's presidency (1956-1961), and it was considered a stylistic current that transcended national boundaries.⁵⁹ In the end, this ambition was denied, in a way, by *Getz/Gilberto*. Brazilian singer-songwriter and author Caetano Veloso expresses this contradiction as follows:

When *bossa nova* burst on the scene in the United States [...] we felt that Brazil had finally exported a highly refined quality product. But the fact that the style had been inaugurated by [...] "The Girl from Ipanema" sung beautifully in English by Astrud Gilberto [...] creates the impression of a cool-jazz Carmen Miranda. Not only does Astrud's voice spring like a luscious fruit from Tom Jobim's dense harmonies, the character praised in the song, the girl from Ipanema, seems to be wearing fruit on her head.⁶⁰

Finally, the English interpretations of bossa nova songs by Astrud Gilberto helped to make those songs accessible for a wide audience but at the same time resulted in the eventual development of the style into an exotic brand of popular music. Antônio Carlos Jobim's promise that Brazilian bossa nova artists leaving for the Carnegie Hall concert in November 1962 were "not going to sell [Brazil's] exotic side, of coffee and carnival"⁶¹ was clearly contradicted by the load of coffee bags depicted on the record sleeve of Walter Wanderley's *Cheganca*. In agreement with Lawrence Venuti's observation regarding foreignization in textual translation, I conclude that the foreign in bossa nova was to an extent a "strategic construction" of foreignness, "whose value [was] contingent on the current situation in the receiving culture."⁶² The value of bossa nova's foreignness increased, I believe, as the style seemed subject to an excessive degree of domestication in the U.S. entertainment industry.

As has become clear in this chapter, music producers would not have been able to create marketable bossa nova recordings without the help of U.S. jazz artists, who might have felt attracted to the commercial success of albums like *Jazz Samba*. However, I believe that this success was not the only reason for jazz musicians to engage in the style. In the following chapter, I will elaborate on this assertion as I examine the connection between jazz and bossa nova.

⁵⁹ Among others, see Albrecht Moreno, "Bossa Nova, Novo Brasil: The Significance of Bossa Nova as a Brazilian Popular Music," *Latin American Research Review* 17, no. 2 (1982), p. 135, and Goldschmitt, "Bossa Mundo," p. 79.

⁶⁰ Caetano Veloso, "Carmen Mirandadada," in *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization*, eds. Perrone and Christopher Dunn (New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 42 (Veloso's italics). John P. Murphy brought my attention to this passage. See John P. Murphy, *Music in Brazil: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 45.

⁶¹ As quoted in *ibid.*, p. 45.

⁶² Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 15.

2. Jazz and Bossa: The Interaction between Jazz and Bossa Nova Musicians and a Dialogical Interpretation of Horace Silver's "Song for My Father" (1965)

In the first chapter, I have pointed out that the divisional organization, production, and marketing techniques of the corporate music industry are inspired by the social formations of genre cultures. At the same time, however, the practices of the music industry shape the meanings of those genre cultures, thus affecting how people come to know, listen to, and think about music.¹ As arbiters of musical taste, critics also have an important role in the circulation of stylistic categories and their connotations, since they ascribe social and aesthetic value to music. In jazz historiography and popular music studies, concepts like 'cool jazz' and 'mainstream' have been adopted from the music business or the critical press, despite the fact that such concepts do not necessarily capture the peculiarities of the sounds they describe, and can even be controversial or ideologically charged. Not surprisingly, stylistic classifications are not always endorsed by artists, who may feel that their music does not fit within such a neatly circumscribed category. In other words, the problem with musical categories is not only that they do not always help to discern stylistic peculiarities, but also that they might conceal what is at stake for, or what motivates and inspires, the artists who make the music in question.

This insight forms the point of departure for this chapter, in which I examine how bossa nova functioned as a source of inspiration in U.S. jazz. Although the connection between bossa nova and jazz practice may initially seem rather superficial, I argue that this connection is more complex and perhaps also more profound than has hitherto been assumed. I will ground this argument by reflecting critically on the use of such classifications as 'hard bop' and 'Latin jazz,' and by investigating the activities of individual members of the jazz and bossa nova communities in the U.S. and in Brazil. My central aim is to understand, firstly, how bossa nova resonated with the intentions of U.S. jazz artists who composed and performed music inspired by that style, and, secondly, how the incorporation of bossa nova functions in the context of a specific composition. After having discussed some of the social settings in which bossa nova and jazz artists interacted with each other, I will focus on jazz pianist Horace Silver's composition "Song for My Father," which he wrote in 1964 and recorded with his quintet in the subsequent year. I have examined the composition process as an act of translation, in which distinct forms of musical knowledge were assembled. Thus the metaphor of translation in this case applies to how Horace Silver appropriated and reframed bossa nova in his own kind of musical expression. However, in order to understand the function of bossa nova in "Song for My Father," I primarily draw on the literary theory of *heteroglossia*. This theoretical concept will help to demonstrate that the way Silver drew on bossa nova in this particular composition dovetailed with his musical ideals.

I believe that it makes sense to focus on what I would call the 'interaction' between different musical influences or ideas in compositions that appear to blend jazz with bossa nova, since both styles have developed interactively, or 'dialogically,' to a considerable extent.² To begin with, bossa nova did not

¹ I have benefitted from the discussions of the music business and genre cultures in Keith Negus, *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1999), in particular pp. 1-30, and Fabian Holt, *Genre in Popular Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 1-29.

² George Lang has similar ideas about the 'birth' of bossa nova, but he does not apply the way of thinking he proposes to the further development of the style: "[r]ather than seek an an orginary point of genesis, let us think about this event dialogically." George Lang, "Cannibalizing Bossa Nova," in *Music, Popular Culture, Identities*, ed. Richard A. Young (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), p. 183.

emerge as a purely native product of Brazilian culture, as it drew not only from local music traditions, but also from U.S. popular music of the late 1940s and 1950s. In Rio de Janeiro, a fan club dedicated to Frank Sinatra and Dick Farney – a Brazilian crooner with an Americanized name – served as the breeding ground for the understated, subdued vocal style of bossa nova.³ This urban sound that was propagated by artists like João Gilberto should therefore be considered a ‘worldly’ continuation of Brazilian popular song forms, such as the *samba-canção*, that took inspiration from U.S. popular music as well as the ‘cool jazz’ of Gerry Mulligan, Stan Kenton, Chet Baker and others. According to George Lang, this diversity of influences and connotations was probably a key ingredient to bossa nova’s success in Brazil.⁴ In the 1960s, Brazilian jazz musicians contributed significantly to the further development of bossa nova, while the reinterpretations of the stylistic idiom by U.S. jazz artists like Stan Getz and Bob Brookmeyer also affected the way bossa nova was conceived in Brazil, in what should be seen as a feedback loop.⁵ Acácio T. de Camargo Piedade points out that, as a consequence, for example, “the North American drummer’s typical way of playing *samba* and *bossa*, heavily drawing on cymbals, [...] influenced the style of many Brazilian drummers, who in turn create[d] new ways of playing.”⁶ Like a large number of other musical styles from Latin America, bossa nova also had a considerable influence on jazz. The ‘charts’ of famous bossa nova songs, for instance, have become part of today’s standard jazz repertory, and instructions like “bossa feel” and “bossa rhythm” frequently appear in the collections of jazz lead sheets known as ‘fake books.’ Piedade interprets the kind of reflexivity he observes in the playing of jazz and bossa nova drummers as “an essential constituent of the cultural systems of reappropriation and rearticulation of globalized musicalities,” arguing that transnational styles like ‘Brazilian jazz’ are “composed mutually and dialogically.”⁷ I believe that to be able to participate in the ongoing dialogue between jazz and bossa nova may have been the most important reason for U.S. jazz artists to engage in bossa nova as they saw it. For this reason, I argue that compositions by them inspired by bossa nova should be read as manifestations of this dialogue, using the idea of dialogism.

The notion of dialogism was coined by literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, to articulate his belief that a work of literature is capable of entering into a conversation with other works.⁸ With his notion of dialogism, Bakhtin anticipated the postmodernist realm of thought of *intertextuality*, which posits that texts are almost always understood in relation to other texts. The awareness that literary works are not read as separate, self-contained units also inspired Bakhtin to come up with another, closely related concept, namely that of *heteroglossia*. This concept implies that a conversation between different ‘voices’ might as well take place *within* a work. In the literary genre of the novel, for instance, the author will intentionally contrast his own language style or ‘speech genre’ with that of his characters, for whom he draws on different linguistic idioms. In this case, Bakhtin argues, heteroglossia is another person’s voice, or “another’s speech in another’s language,” which is consciously incorporated into the novel by the writer and “dialogically interrelated” with his own, authorial, voice.⁹ By extension, heteroglossia means that what initially seems a singular language or speech act in fact always seems to contain different language styles or

³ Ruy Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music That Seduced the World*, translated by Lysa Salisbury (Chicago: A Cappella Books, 2000), pp. 4-29.

⁴ Lang, “Cannibalizing Bossa Nova,” p. 183.

⁵ Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music*, pp. 214-6.

⁶ Acácio Tadeu de C. Piedade, “Brazilian Jazz and Friction of Musicalities,” in *Jazz Planet*, ed. E. Taylor Atkins (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), p. 46-48. The quoted passages can be found on p. 48 (Piedade’s italics).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁸ See Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, translated by Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981). In his essay “Discourse in the Novel,” which is part of this collection, Bakhtin elaborates on the notion of heteroglossia most extensively.

⁹ As quoted in Dorothy Hale, “Bakhtin in African American Literary Theory,” *English Literary History* 61, no. 2 (1994), p. 457.

speech genres. The internal tension that is at play between those different styles shapes the meaning of an expression for its addressees.¹⁰ Ethnomusicologist Ingrid Monson draws on this expanded understanding of heteroglossia in music, to explain how jazz performances gain meaning as musicians and listeners rely on their prior knowledge of different music styles. Monson is right to point out that Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia inevitably implies "that [generic] categories are "contradiction-ridden, tension-filled," unstable unities caught between the general and the wholly specific."¹¹ Since this dovetails with my intention to question categories such as 'hard bop' and 'Latin jazz,' I have chosen to elaborate on heteroglossia to understand how bossa nova was incorporated into jazz. More specifically, I will employ the notion in my analysis of "Song for My Father," to grasp how Horace Silver – who engaged as an interlocutor in the conversation between bossa nova and jazz – appropriated bossa nova as a tool of translation to give shape to his own musical intentions.

Latin Jazz in Jazz Literature

A brief consideration of what has come to be subsumed under the catch-all of 'Latin jazz' in the U.S. is required to understand the connection between bossa nova and jazz from a U.S. perspective. Recently, jazz scholars have come to realize that influences from Latin music (that is, Caribbean as well as Central- and South-American music styles) in U.S. jazz have been much more profound than is generally assumed in jazz history textbooks.¹² Interpretations of the Cuban *habanera* or *danza* rhythm, for instance, could already be heard in the left-hand accompaniment of ragtime pieces as well as in performances of the New Orleans brass bands around the turn of the twentieth century, and it has been suggested that these syncopated rhythms are the precursor to what is understood as swing in jazz.¹³ Jelly Roll Morton, a prominent ragtime composer and self-appointed 'inventor' of jazz, also made extensive use of habanera-like ostinatos in his pieces. Morton boldly proclaimed that "[i]f you can't manage to put tinges of Spanish [music from Spanish-speaking regions] in your tunes, you will never be able to get the right seasoning, I call it, for jazz."¹⁴ This statement has led Lawrence Gushee to come up with the "Spanish tinge hypothesis," which implies that the origins of jazz should in fact be considered "Afro-Latin-American" rather than "Afro-American."¹⁵ In order to test Gushee's hypothesis, Christopher Washburne has surveyed a large number of jazz recordings from the first half of the twentieth century. Washburne concludes that the syncopations and accented notes in the melodies of compositions by influential jazz artists such as Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and Thelonious Monk frequently correspond to Afro-

¹⁰ Dorothy Hale identifies the 'voices' discerned by Bakhtin with social identities. She argues that "what has come to be regarded as one of [Bakhtin's] most important contributions to sociolinguistic theory [is] the notion [in general] that an apparently unitary language can actually contain diverse and even interpenetrating sociolinguistic points of view, and that a seemingly singular body of discourse, as restricted as an individual utterance, can contain multiple social identities." *Ibid.*, p. 455.

¹¹ Ingrid T. Monson, *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 99.

¹² Among others, see Christopher Washburne, "Latin Jazz: The Other Jazz," *Current Musicology*, nos. 71-73 (2001-2), John Storm Roberts *Latin Jazz: The First of the Fusions, 1880s to Today* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1999), and Raúl A. Fernández, *From Afro-Cuban Rhythms to Latin Jazz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

¹³ Barry Kernfeld argues that in groupings of rhythmic accents in Latin jazz, "[t]he habanera (or danza) rhythm is the most common [...], but musicological and pedagogical [*sic*] sources disagree on its exact identity, and it may therefore make more sense to speak of a family of interrelated habanera rhythms." Barry Kernfeld, "Latin jazz," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* (second edition), retrieved from *Oxford Music Online* (accessed April 30, 2010).

¹⁴ Washburne, "Latin Jazz: The Other Jazz," p. 414.

¹⁵ Christopher Washburne, "The Clave of Jazz: A Caribbean Contribution to the Rhythmic Foundation of an African-American Music," *Black Music Research Journal* 17, no. 1 (1997), p. 61.

Caribbean rhythmic patterns, in particular the *cinquillo*, *tresillo*, and the *son clave* used in Cuban musical styles like habanera and danza. In short, Washburne's findings seem to confirm the idea that the origins and early development of jazz are inextricably connected to music from the Caribbean.

In spite of this connection, the accepted narrative of jazz history only points to such Latin influences from the early 1940s onwards, when bandleader Machito formed the Afro-Cubans in New York – a jazz big band that made use of Cuban percussion and musical forms.¹⁶ Among others, Machito hired the nowadays well-known bandleader and timbalero Tito Puente, who was then still a teenager. Following Machito's example, jazz trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie established an Afro-Cuban jazz orchestra that featured the conga drummer Chano Pozo in 1947. The same year, well-known bandleader Stan Kenton on the West Coast hired the Italian-American bongocero Jack Costanzo as well as Brazilian-born guitarist Laurindo Almeida. Although he was despised by the critical establishment on the East Coast for his commercial success,¹⁷ Stan Kenton's tight 'cool jazz' arrangements and keen interest in different kinds of Latin music did not remain unnoticed by the white middle class of Rio de Janeiro, where his popularity among members of the nascent bossa nova scene was overwhelming.¹⁸ A series of albums called *Brazilliance*, which were recorded in the early 1950s by Laurindo Almeida and one of his colleagues in Stan Kenton's jazz orchestra, the saxophonist Bud Shank, might also have influenced Brazilian bossa nova musicians.¹⁹ U.S. jazz artists who later drew inspiration from bossa nova thus 'returned the gesture,' and continued a practice of experimenting with foreign music styles that formed a part of jazz since its beginnings. As jazz musicians increasingly turned towards other Latin music styles for inspiration – notably bossa nova and later salsa – the stylistic label that had been applied to Gillespie's mixes of bebop with Cuban rhythms, 'Cubop,' turned out to be too limiting, and it was replaced by the more geographically-inclusive 'Latin jazz' (which thus also denotes fusions of jazz and bossa nova).²⁰

Like Caribbean influences, the significance of bossa nova for U.S. jazz practice has been downplayed by critics and scholars. Christopher Washburne provides three possible explanations for the neglect of Latin influences on jazz generally. Firstly, he claims, Latin jazz performances do not easily fit into the traditional jazz canon since this canon is based on the problematic assumption that, whereas jazz harmony is derived from European music, jazz rhythm should be traced back to African traditions. Secondly, most jazz histories tend to focus on recordings, and therefore fail to notice the many unrecorded performances of Latin dances by jazz groups and swing compositions by Latin ensembles throughout the period when big bands were most popular in the U.S. (the 1930s and 1940s). Thirdly, and related to this latter observation, the strong association of a number of Latin styles with social dance culture has apparently been perceived as a threat to the definition of jazz as an art form, which in retrospect made the connection between those styles and jazz an undesirable element of jazz history.²¹ The last explanation also clarifies why bossa nova has received so little attention from jazz scholars. Kariann Goldschmitt describes how critics in the early 1960s dismissed jazz albums inspired by bossa nova as unworthy of the attention of 'serious' jazz listeners, like albums that made use of Afro-Cuban drumming. Those critics simply assumed "that dancing and listening cannot coexist for jazz audiences" (though they forgot to note that bossa nova was reinvented as a social dance only after it had arrived in

¹⁶ Kernfeld, "Latin jazz," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* (second edition).

¹⁷ I have benefitted from Ted Gioia's discussion of Stan Kenton's band. Ted Gioia, *West Coast Jazz: Modern Jazz in California, 1945-1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), in particular pp. 144-51.

¹⁸ Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music*, passim.

¹⁹ Among others, see Bryan Bryan McCann, "Blues and Samba: Another Side of Bossa Nova History," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 44, no. 2 (2007), p. 32.

²⁰ Washburne, "Latin Jazz: The Other Jazz," p. 412.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 415 ff.

the U.S.).²² As I mentioned in the first chapter, jazz critics considered the widespread popularity of bossa nova as a threat to the image of jazz as serious music, and therefore made experimentations by jazz artists with the style seem shallow and ephemeral in comparison to the jazz tradition as a whole. This stance definitely has a certain irony to it, since bossa nova in Brazil was “developed primarily by and for the white, middle-class intelligentsia.”²³

The dismissive stance of U.S. jazz critics towards bossa nova probably contributed to the tacit definition of the style in jazz literature as a rhythmic concept or sound that was kept separated – and could thus be dissociated – from the jazz tradition. In this regard, the metaphor of a ‘tinge,’ ‘seasoning,’ or ‘taste’ is somewhat unfortunate, since it has undoubtedly helped to diminish the significant role of Latin musical styles in the development of jazz.²⁴ The depiction of bossa nova as a *sound* that could be ‘added’ to jazz by musicians is somewhat different from the way the style was perceived in Brazil. There, it seemed to have been understood primarily as a ‘cool,’ light-hearted (albeit sophisticated) *approach* to earlier traditions of popular song based on samba rhythm, including forms like the *samba-exaltação* and *samba-canção*. Brazilian musicologists have “recognized the malleability” of the cultural manifestation of bossa nova.²⁵ Quite recently, Irna Priore and Santuza Cambraia Naves have, in different contexts, discussed the different lines of approach and large diversity of influences in early bossa nova.²⁶ According to Naves, for instance, bossa nova songwriters Roberto Menescal and Carlos Lyra used Mexican boleros as a source of inspiration for their compositions, besides the U.S. Tin Pan Alley tradition and the work of ‘Impressionist’ composers Ravel and Debussy.²⁷ In other words, bossa nova opened up a broad range of musical possibilities, which for the white middle-class youth of Rio de Janeiro was a way of gaining access to ‘modern,’ global trends in music. I argue that this cosmopolitanism was recognized by U.S. jazz artists, which inspired them to experiment with the stylistic achievements of their Brazilian colleagues. As is the case with early Latin influences in jazz, however, this connection is not understood properly through recordings. In addition to recordings, it is necessary to concentrate on the direct interaction that took place between U.S. and Brazilian musicians in the late 1950s and 1960s. This interaction, or dialogism, then becomes manifest in resulting jazz compositions like Silver’s “Song for My Father” as a musical instance of heteroglossia. But before I turn to the dialogue between jazz and bossa nova, I will briefly describe how bossa nova was perceived in relation to earlier kinds of Latin jazz in the U.S.

From Latin Jazz to Bossa Nova in U.S. Jazz Practice

²² Kariann Elaine Goldschmitt, “Bossa Mundo: Brazilian Popular Music’s Global Transformations (1938-2008),” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2009), pp. 98-9. Goldschmitt notes that critics thus indeed denied the origins of jazz as dance music.

²³ David Treece, “Guns and Roses: Bossa Nova and Brazil’s Music of Popular Protest, 1958-68,” *Popular Music* 16, no. 1 (1997), p. 1.

²⁴ Among others, Raúl A. Fernández notes the importance of the concept of *sabor* (‘taste’ or ‘flavor’) in Cuban popular music, from which this metaphor has probably descended. Raúl A. Fernández, “The Aesthetics of *Sabor*,” in *From Afro-Cuban Rhythms to Latin Jazz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

²⁵ I have borrowed this phrase from Maria J. Farinha, “The Eternal and the Poetic in Re-Creating Brazilian Music: The Mutual Enrichment of Popular and Classical Music in the Works of Heitor Villa-Lobos, Radames Gnattali, and Antonio Carlos Jobim” (MA Thesis, York University, Canada, 2009), p. 161.

²⁶ See Irna Priore, “Authenticity and Performance Practice: Bossa Nova and João Gilberto,” in *Lied und Populäre Kultur/Song and Popular Culture: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Volksliedarchivs Freiburg* (Münster: Waxmann, 2008), and Santuza Cambraia Naves, “From Bossa Nova to Tropicália: Restraint and Excess in Popular Music,” in *Imagining Brazil*, eds. Jessé Souza and Valter Sinder (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2005).

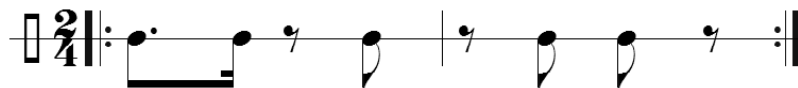
²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 251-3.

It is helpful to reflect on the possible motivations of the U.S. jazz community to engage in bossa nova. To begin with, the harmonic structure of bossa nova songs may have appealed to them, at a time when Tin Pan Alley songs had become worn out as compositions that could be used as vehicles for jazz arrangements and improvisations. In his concise introduction to bossa nova, John P. Murphy explains:

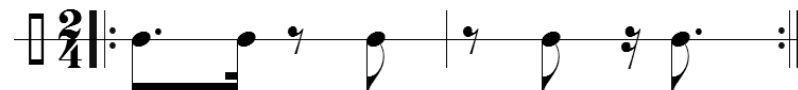
The harmony of *bossa nova* [...] sounded fresh to U.S. jazz musicians because of the key relationships and root motions. [...] U.S. popular songs typically modulate by means of short chord progressions, such as ii-V, that prepare the listener for the new key. In *bossa nova* compositions, the modulations are more typically direct, and the roots move by seconds and thirds rather than the fifths that are typical of U.S. popular songs.²⁸

Although the chord progressions of bossa nova songs definitely might have been a source of attraction for U.S. jazz artists, there was also another, far more practical reason to turn to bossa nova. Direct allusions to Cuban music became undesirable as a result of the Cuban Revolution, which had been followed by Fidel Castro's coup d'état in 1959. As the political relationship between Cuba and the U.S. grew ever more tense, jazz artists could no longer count on Cuba as a source of musical inspiration, a factor that probably contributed to their interest for bossa nova.²⁹ In this regard, it is worth noting that the rhythmic pattern associated with bossa nova bears a strong resemblance to the *son clave* mentioned above. The son clave consists of a two-bar pattern with a rhythmic cell of two accentuations in one bar and a cell of three in the other, but the rhythm may start with either bar.³⁰ The typical bossa nova pattern is only slightly more syncopated than the 3-2 son slave (see Examples 1 and 2), and thus might have struck a familiar chord in Latin jazz practice. This clave-like pattern associated with bossa nova indeed became standardized to a certain degree in U.S. jazz, as drummers began to play it with increased persistency (usually on the rim of the snare drum), whereas Brazilian artists had tended to use the pattern rather inconsistently.³¹

Example 1. Son clave (order of rhythmic cells 3-2)



Example 2. Typical rhythmic pattern in bossa nova



Apart from these reasons to engage in bossa nova, the evident success of albums like *Jazz Samba* indicated that bossa nova could make the recordings of U.S. jazz artists more commercially attractive,

²⁸ John P. Murphy, *Music in Brazil: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 40 (Murphy's italics).

²⁹ See also Priore, "Bossa Nova and João Gilberto," pp. 114-5.

³⁰ Rick Finlay, "Salsa," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* (second edition), retrieved from *Oxford Music Online* (accessed June 21, 2010).

³¹ Murphy, *Music in Brazil*, p. 43.

which also might have compelled them to explore the possibilities it offered. However, when the bossa nova craze in the U.S. had faded around the mid-1960s, the cosmopolitanism of bossa nova artists and the style's affinity with jazz and blues would continue to provide a good reason to draw inspiration from it, as I will demonstrate in my discussion of "Song for My Father" below.

That bossa nova seemed a logical successor to earlier forms of Latin jazz is best illustrated perhaps by a recording by jazz vibraphonist Cal Tjader that combines jazz arrangements of Mexican music and Brazilian bossa nova songs. This album, appropriately titled *Cal Tjader Plays The Contemporary Music Of Mexico And Brazil* (Verve V/V6-8470), was issued by Verve almost simultaneously with *Jazz Samba*, but unlike that album it has fallen into oblivion. Encouraged by the success of the *Jazz Samba* album, saxophonist Charlie Rouse also tapped new Latin sources of music. On *Bossa Nova Bacchanal* (Blue Note, 1962), Rouse combines instrumental jazz covers of bossa nova songs with an arrangement of "Merci Bon Dieu," which was originally written by the Haitian composer Frantz Casseus. Trumpeter Kenny Dorham was another Latin jazz enthusiast under contract to Blue Note Records who felt urged to direct his attention to Brazil after the Cuban Revolution. In the mid-1950s, Dorham had further pursued the experiments of Dizzy Gillespie with Cuban Music. His landmark recording *Afro-Cuban* (Blue Note, 1955) features performances of his own, Cuban-inspired jazz compositions, accompanied by the Cuban-born percussionist Carlos "Patato" Valdés.³² In 1961, Dorham took part in a diplomatic tour of South America together with Herbie Mann, which inspired him to record the albums *Matador* (Pacific, 1962) and *Una Mas* (Blue Note, 1963). The latter recording contained the trumpeter's "Una Mas" and "São Paulo," compositions that combine rhythms inspired by bossa nova with melodic themes that sound more similar to the riffs on *Afro-Cuban*.³³ In short, for Kenny Dorham and likeminded jazz artists, the engagement with bossa nova formed a logical continuation of earlier experiments with Latin-American musical styles, and it should therefore be seen as part of a larger domain of Latin jazz.

It is important to note, however, that many U.S. jazz musicians started to experiment with bossa nova more extensively only when they had become acquainted with Brazilian artists who taught them about the style in person. This is in keeping with the oral transmission of musical knowledge in jazz, which has long been ignored in jazz histories that focus on jazz music's stylistic evolution by way of recordings.³⁴ The companionship of U.S. flutist and saxophonist Herbie Mann and Brazilian multi-instrumentalist and composer João Donato is a particularly good example of the dialogue between jazz and bossa nova that I referred to at the beginning of this chapter. Mann had performed together with Kenny Dorham in Brazil, on the tour sponsored by the U.S. State Department in 1961, but before that he was already acquainted with João Donato, who had moved to the U.S. West Coast near the end of the 1950s. Donato began his career as an active member of the Sinatra-Farney fan club, at whose meetings he played the accordion, and from 1954 onwards, Donato tried his luck as a pianist and a trombonist (his main example being Frank Rosolino, the trombonist of Stan Kenton's jazz orchestra). However, as an aspiring bossa nova as well as 'cool jazz' and Latin jazz musician, Donato was not very successful in Rio, where the songs of the likes of João Gilberto overshadowed homegrown jazz. This made Donato decide to move to California, where he soon participated in the vivid Latin jazz scene – Donato wrote arrangements for the brass section of Tito Puente's group, and he recorded extensively with Cal Tjader.³⁵

³² The percussionist's last name is sometimes spelled "Valdez," and his nickname is frequently Americanized as "Potato."

³³ Most famously, Dorham also wrote a composition with a bluesy theme of which the chord progression and the rhythmic accompaniment were inspired by bossa nova, "Blue Bossa." This composition – which was first recorded by a quintet led by Joe Henderson in 1963 – lent itself so well for improvisation that it "quickly became a staple of both hard-bop circles in the United States and the international bossa nova scene," and in fact it is still a familiar jazz standard today. McCann, "Blues and Samba," p. 41.

³⁴ Among others, Paul Berliner draws attention to the role of oral transfer of knowledge in jazz. See Paul F. Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

³⁵ Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music*, pp. 226-8 and 241-2.

In the remaining time, Donato also taught Herbie Mann about samba and bossa nova songs, which gave the flutist a head start in comparison to other jazz artists. Mann began performing his own interpretations of well-known bossa nova compositions several months before Stan Getz and Charlie Byrd established the style in the U.S. with *Jazz Samba*, together with Carlos “Patato” Valdés and a number of Brazilian percussionists.

Horace Silver first learned about bossa nova through colleagues and Latin jazz enthusiasts like Kenny Dorham and Herbie Mann. The pianist became a Latin jazz devotee already at a young age, in the early 1950s. Silver contributed to Dorham’s *Afro-Cuban* album in 1955, and both musicians performed together on a regular basis as members of the Jazz Messengers, an ensemble Silver co-led with drummer Art Blakey. The Jazz Messengers expressed a clear preference for a strong rhythmic beat and increasingly also used Latin rhythms, which appears to have inspired Horace Silver in the compositions he subsequently wrote for his own quintet. Silver drew heavily on the blues but also incorporated Latin music styles in his work, notably in the form of rhythmic ostinato patterns. In “Nica’s Dream” (1956), for instance, a conventional swing accompaniment in four-four meter is already alternated with Latin rhythms.³⁶ In addition, Silver experimented with time signatures that were still quite unusual in jazz – an early example is “Señor Blues” (1956), which is set in six-eight meter.³⁷ “Swingin’ the Samba” (1959) also displays Silver’s broad taste and his eclectic compositional approach. This piece has the uncommon structure of ABA, in which the B section or bridge only consists of six measures (in comparison with the sixteen measures of the A section).³⁸ The title might well be intended as a reference to Tito Puente’s “Swingin’ the Mambo,” while the accompaniment appears to stand midway between samba and calypso (a musical style from the eastern Caribbean, whose rhythm bears a strong resemblance to that of samba).³⁹ The pointed phrases that constitute the melodic theme of “Swingin’ the Samba” do not as strongly evoke calypso as does “St. Thomas” (1956), the well-known jazz tune by Sonny Rollins, but similarities certainly exist. In the mid-1960s, Silver’s use of Latin music styles was followed by an exploration of bossa nova, which resulted in “Song for My Father.” Before he composed this piece, Silver had traveled to Rio de Janeiro at the invitation of Sérgio Mendes, a young Brazilian jazz pianist who was a great fan of his and who had been introduced to him in New York by Kenny Dorham. This vacation was important for Silver’s conception of bossa nova.

Silver’s Trip to Brazil and his Encounter with Bossa Nova Jazzists

Whereas Horace Silver initially learned about bossa nova by way of imported recordings and members of the U.S. jazz community who – like he did – experimented with various forms of Latin music, the deepening of his knowledge of the style took place after he had met Sérgio Mendes. In his autobiography, Silver relates how the two-week vacation he spent in Rio de Janeiro in early 1964, at the invitation of Mendes, inspired him to write “Song for My Father.” Silver attended the famous carnival festivities in Rio de Janeiro, though his trip was not limited to sightseeing:

“Sergio [Sérgio Mendes] and his band were playing a gig in Rio that week [the first week Silver spent in Brazil], and I went with him every night to the gig and hung out with him and his musicians. [...] Right next door to the club where Sergio was working was another club where some very fine musicians and singers

³⁶ Kenny Mathieson, *Cookin’: Hard Bop and Soul Jazz, 1954-65* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2002), p. 47.

³⁷ David Rosenthal, *Hard Bop: Jazz and Black Music, 1955-1965* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 45-6.

³⁸ Rosenthal, *Hard Bop*, p. 46.

³⁹ Jan Fairley, “Calypso,” in *Grove Music Online*, retrieved from *Oxford Music Online* (accessed April 30, 2010).

were performing. It was there that I met drummer Dom Um Romão. I sat in and jammed on several occasions at that club.”⁴⁰

Although Silver does not describe these jam sessions in detail, improvisational skills and familiarity with the jazz repertoire enabled the musicians to play together on such occasions. Since Silver only knew a few words Portuguese, and the Brazilian musicians present did not speak English very well,⁴¹ such shared knowledge facilitated their musical encounters. In those days, the well-to-do neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro had a vibrant music scene profoundly influenced by bossa nova. The youngest generation of Brazilian jazz instrumentalists also came to be involved with bossa nova, which resulted in jam sessions and live performances of small ensembles that alternated jazz standards with bossa nova songs.⁴² In Irna Priore’s distinction between a ‘purist’ approach and a ‘universal’ approach to bossa nova, the way of playing that prevailed in this setting definitely tended towards the universal approach, which more strongly resembled U.S. jazz practice.⁴³ This means, for example, that a tune would be played once before each of a group of musicians got to improvise over its harmonic structure, eventually leading up to a final, unvaried repetition of the tune. In contrast, the purist approach – in which a song was repeated several times with minimal variation – was popularized by vocalists like João Gilberto and Nara Leão and eventually became representative of the style, though this practice remained more typical of studio recordings.⁴⁴

According to Acácio T. de Camargo Piedade, jazz was highly popular but also controversial in Brazil in those days: “To listen to and know jazz was a sign of status, culture, cosmopolitanism, and participation in North American culture – a cultural passport to belong to a global elite – and a sign of alienation and disregard in relation to Brazilian culture.”⁴⁵ In spite of growing accusations of disregard for ‘Brazilian’ culture, U.S. jazz standards were cherished as vehicles for improvisation in the jam sessions in Rio de Janeiro, and bossa nova songs – legitimized now, to a certain extent, by the style’s international success – were given much the same treatment. The most important area where this dialogue between jazz and bossa nova unfolded was an alley known as the *Beco das Garrafas* (Bottles Lane) in Copacabana. Around 1960, Sérgio Mendes began leading “impromptu jazz and bossa nova jams” in one of the nightclubs in this alley that “served as rites of initiation for hundreds of Rio teenagers and many amateur musicians.”⁴⁶ Ruy Castro argues that the style played by the more permanent ensembles that grew out of such meetings “wasn’t exactly the featherweight bossa nova played by Jobim, João Gilberto, Roberto Menescal, and Milton Banana, but a variation approaching bop that jazz columnist Robert Celerier of the

⁴⁰ Horace Silver and Philip Pastras, *Let's Get to the Nitty Gritty: The Autobiography of Horace Silver* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), p. 109.

⁴¹ Gene Lees, “Father and Son: Horace Silver,” in *Cats of Any Color: Jazz Black and White* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). Silver recounts that “Sergio’s band had a trombone player who played quite well. He didn’t speak any English, but every time I saw him, he said, “J.J. Johnson, J.J. Johnson [Johnson was a famous U.S. jazz trombonist].” He loved J.J., and that was evident in his playing.” Silver and Pastras, *The Autobiography of Horace Silver*, p. 109.

⁴² Acácio T. de Camargo Piedade lists the Milton Banana trio, the Tamba trio, the Jongo trio and J. T. Meireles and the Copa 5 as instrumental bossa nova ensembles inspired by jazz that played at bars and jazz clubs in Rio de Janeiro at the beginning of the 1960s Acácio Tadeu de Camargo Piedade, “Brazilian Jazz and Friction of Musicalities,” pp. 46-7.

⁴³ Priore, “Bossa Nova and João Gilberto,” pp. 111-2.

⁴⁴ Santuza Cambraia Naves argues that João Gilberto and other popular vocalists who “were said to have adopted as a norm in their work the rejection of the melodramatic *sambas-canções* [...] of the immediately preceding period” have become canonical figures. The initial period of bossa nova has thus been given “exaggerated emphasis,” which partly explains why later innovations and extended experiments with jazz improvisation outside of the Brazilian recording studio have received far less attention. Naves, “From Bossa Nova to Tropicália,” in particular pp. 251-4. The quoted passage can be found on p. 251.

⁴⁵ Piedade, “Brazilian Jazz and Friction of Musicalities,” p. 56.

⁴⁶ Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music*, pp. 214-6. The quoted passage can be found on p. 215.

newspaper *Correio da Manhã* termed “hard bossa nova,” which was a lot heavier.”⁴⁷ Interestingly, this characterization clearly hints at ‘hard bop,’ a label that has frequently been used to describe Horace Silver’s playing. I will return to this concept in my discussion of “Song for My Father” below.

Bryan McCann argues that enthusiasm for blues was a significant aspect of the improvisational practice that was brought about by bossa nova in Rio de Janeiro. According to McCann, Brazilian genres only rarely made use of the blues scale, or the flatted fifth more specifically, before the advent of bossa nova – even in *choro*, Brazil’s most improvisatory genre, the use of such ‘blue notes’ was quite exceptional. However, McCann argues, members of the bossa nova scene “started using the blues scale – by no means always, but often – as a basis for improvisation,” and bossa nova composers and arrangers “facilitated this by creating harmonic structures that lent themselves to use of the blues scale.”⁴⁸ In particular, McCann mentions pianist Johnny Alf (the Americanized stage name of Alfredo José da Silva) and a group of saxophonists including Moacir Santos, Booker Pittman, Paulo Moura and Romeu Silva as Brazilians who had an important role “in bringing the bluesier side of the jazz idiom into common parlance in Rio de Janeiro and demonstrating the ways in which it could be blended with Brazilian sounds.”⁴⁹ In addition to the blues scale, the twelve-bar blues form also became a prominent feature of sessions in the nightclubs of Rio de Janeiro, where it functioned as a ‘springboard for improvisation.’ The affinity for blues of Brazilian *jazzistas* clearly appealed to U.S. jazz artists who traveled to Brazil. This is demonstrated by two of the earliest bossa nova recordings released in the U.S., both of which feature Sérgio Mendes’s playing. The first is *Cannonball’s Bossa Nova* (Riverside, 1962), by saxophonist Julian “Cannonball” Adderley and the Bossa Rio Sextet, which included Mendes as well as abovementioned drummer Dom Um Romão and saxophonist Paulo Moura. On this instrumental album (which was recorded in New York around the time Mendes first met Silver) Adderley makes use of “a vocabulary of blues and bebop licks,” as he improvises on compositions provided by members of the Sextet that apply jazz-like phrasing to intricate bossa nova harmonies.⁵⁰ On the second album, *Do the Bossa Nova with Herbie Mann* (Atlantic, 1963), the same Bossa Rio Sextet gives an energetic rendition of “Blues Walk” (a catchy standard by U.S. jazz trumpeter Clifford Brown based on the twelve-bar blues form), in which bluesy solos are played off against a hard-driving bossa nova rhythm.⁵¹

As McCann concludes, U.S. jazz artists such as Herbie Mann and Cannonball Adderley “played bossa nova in the same vein many of their Brazilian counterparts had been playing already,” since their improvisational approach to the style resembled that of the Brazilian musicians who had Copacabana as their work area.⁵² Like Mann and Adderley, Silver learned about bossa nova through face-to-face encounters with those Brazilian *jazzistas* in clubs and jam sessions. The interpretation of bossa nova by Brazilian *jazzistas* has been discerned by musicologist André Luis Scarabelot as one of the three main pillars of the formation of bossa nova,⁵³ though until recently their contribution has remained largely invisible in treatises about the style. Interestingly, this academic blind spot is comparable to the neglect of bossa nova (and Latin jazz in general) in U.S. jazz studies. Much like jazz critics in the U.S. sought to ‘protect’ jazz as an art based on tradition against foreign influences that threatened to make the style seem overtly popular and commercially viable, the jazz influence in bossa nova was increasingly brushed aside in Brazil as U.S. culture became more controversial due to nationalist sentiments in the course of the 1960s. However, it has become clear that during the heyday of bossa nova, the improvisational character of style

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 216.

⁴⁸ McCann, “Blues and Samba,” p. 25. Composers who felt attracted to the blues scale include Carlos Lyra and Antônio Carlos Jobim, whose “O morro não tem vez” seems to be a case in point. McCann, “Blues and Samba,” pp. 38-40.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 35.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 36.

⁵¹ On the backside of the album cover, however, the ensemble is listed as the “Bossa Nova Rio Group.”

⁵² McCann, “Blues and Samba,” p. 41.

⁵³ The other two pillars mentioned by Scarabelot are the vocal delivery of João Gilberto and the sophisticated compositional techniques of Antônio Carlos Jobim. Ibid., p. 26.

was associated with, and informed by, jazz. The dialogue between jazz and bossa nova musicians that was built on this blurred association has gradually disappeared from sight, though I believe that it is manifest in the improvisational and compositional practice of individuals like Horace Silver. I will now discuss Horace Silver's "Song for My Father," which I believe purposefully represents this dialogue as it was experienced by Silver.

Dialogism in "Song for My Father"

Blues provided a vantage point from where Silver felt comfortable to explore unfamiliar musical styles and evoke foreign localities, as is evidenced by compositions like "Señor Blues," "Baghdad Blues," and "Tokyo Blues." In an analysis of Silver's musical techniques, Eddie S. Meadows claims that both his compositions and improvisations were shaped by a "world music philosophy." For Meadows, this implies a "liking and appreciation of African, African-American, Brazilian, Cuban, Latin and Mexican musical styles," which was coupled with the strong belief that "music is universal and should be appreciated by everyone."⁵⁴ Jazz writer Bob Blumenthal argues this philosophy should not be mistaken for a 'serious' immersion in the music of foreign countries. For although Silver was very much interested in a broader fusion of foreign elements, his actual use of those elements was "more impressionistic and less constrained by any notion of cultural correctness."⁵⁵ In comparison with a nowadays perhaps more common, 'studied' engagement with foreign music cultures among jazz musicians, Blumenthal believes that Silver's eclecticism was more practically-oriented, since it had developed out of a jazz musician's work ethos: "Silver's approach was more old school, born of an era when dues were paid by playing for the people not just in a musician's own community but in other local neighborhoods as well, when even aspiring jazz players gained passing acquaintance with rhumbas, sambas, polkas, calypsos, and other ethnic styles."⁵⁶ In fact, both "Tokyo Blues" and "Sayonara Blues" were written by Silver in anticipation of a tour of Japan with his quintet in late 1962. During the quintet's stay in Japan, which Silver himself describes as "one of the most memorable events in my career,"⁵⁷ the musicians engaged in a collective jam session with a jazz quintet led by Japanese drummer Hideo Shiraki, which featured the relatively well-known saxophonist Hidehiko "Sleepy" Matsumoto. The fact that he performed his compositions with fellow jazz musicians on the international stage strengthens the impression that Silver believed in the universal appeal of his music, and was not troubled by 'cultural correctness' in his allusions to foreign cultures. Moreover, it stresses the importance of face-to-face encounters of jazz musicians – and, by extension, the importance of the oral transfer of knowledge in improvised jazz – internationally.

For "Song for My Father" (see Example 3), which was first recorded for an album with the same name (Blue Note, 1965, subtitled "*Cantiga para meu pai*"), blues again served as an important source of inspiration. The melodic theme, which is stated by trumpeter Carmell Jones and saxophonist Joe

⁵⁴ Eddie S. Meadows, "Prolegomenon to the Music of Horace Silver," *Jazzforschung/Jazz Research* 18 (1986), pp. 127- 129 and passim.

⁵⁵ Bob Blumenthal, "A New Look at *The Tokyo Blues*," in the liner notes of the CD reissue of *The Tokyo Blues* (Blue Note, 1962). Blumenthal claims that "a contemporary American jazz artist wishing to pay tribute to a foreign country would take a far different approach than that found on *The Tokyo Blues*. Cover photos and song titles would be carefully chosen to avoid any possible offense and lack of respect. More importantly, and [depending on] whether the musician in question had cultural ties to the country in question, serious research into the land's indigenous music would precede any attempt at jazz interpretation." He willingly defends Silver's approach by pointing out that although compositions such as "Too Much Sake," "Sayonara Blues" and the eponymous "Tokyo Blues" at first hearing "convey rather simplistic connections to Japan, [...] they are suffused with the thematic richness and rhythmic élan that make them classic Silver, and like the rest of his music united listeners of every cultural persuasion in a groove of universal appeal."

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Silver and Pastras, *The Autobiography of Horace Silver*, pp. 105-7. The quoted passage can be found on p. 107.

Henderson mostly in unisons and thirds, is clearly inspired by the minor pentatonic scale, and the solos played by Silver and Henderson make frequent use of ‘blue notes.’ The composition again displays Silver’s eclectic approach. It has the form AAB (a structure not very common in classic jazz tunes), each separate section consisting of eight measures. The melody is made up of sequences, or repetitions of melodic motives at a different pitch: in the A section, a short, two-beat melodic gesture built around a triplet is played four times, while in the B section, a simple motive that extends over two measures is played three times (the third time again at the original pitch), followed by a melodic closure similar to that of the A section. The accompaniment to both sections consists of an ostinato pattern based on chords whose roots form a descending minor tetrachord, leading up to a perfect cadence: Fm9–Eb9–Db9–C7–Fm9 (i–VII–VI–V7–i).⁵⁸ This stepwise descending harmonic movement – also known as the Andalusian cadence – is frequently used in folk music from Andalucía and other regions of Spain, and it is closely related to the chord pattern that characterizes a large deal of flamenco music.⁵⁹ The predictable pull towards the tonic is strengthened by Silver’s quintet through rhythmic breaks on the dominant (which are also observed during the solos), and a slight acceleration in the chord progression in the B section. All in all, the harmonic structure contributes to the expressive force of the melodic sequences.⁶⁰ Interestingly, the only musical element of the recording that directly alludes to bossa nova is the pattern of rim-clicks played inconsistently by drummer Roger Humphries (most of the time, this pattern roughly corresponds to that in Example 2.2 above), which is incorporated into the steady groove Humphries provides by closing his hi-hat on the second and fourth beats. Arguably, Silver’s chord phrasing also evokes the gentle sway of bossa nova rhythm. The ostinato bass provided by bassist Teddy Smith oscillates between the roots and fifths of the chords played, which is a commonly used ostinato figure in Latin jazz.⁶¹

Due to its economic structure and strong ostinato rhythm, “Song for My Father” is usually interpreted by jazz writers as an obvious example of a subgenre of jazz known as ‘hard bop,’⁶² which combines influences from gospel and blues (or rhythm-and-blues) with more heavy rhythms than those customary in bebop. When it originated in the mid-1950s, hard bop was felt to be a strong reaction against the commercial success of ‘cool jazz’ among white audiences, due to “its re-emphasis on the African-American roots of bop and its reaffirmation of forthright musical and emotional qualities.”⁶³ In the liner notes that accompanied his later album *Serenade to a Soul Sister* (1968), Silver presented a number of ‘guidelines’ that he claimed were central to his compositional approach. The second guideline, “meaningful simplicity,” has come to be considered both Silver’s musical trademark and a shared device among hard bop exponents – jazz historian Alyn Shipton even uses Silver’s guidelines as an epigraph to his short chapter devoted to hard bop.⁶⁴ However, although the hard bop category might at first seem appropriate to capture the artistic merits of Silver’s compositional approach as a whole, the problem with such a categorization is obviously that it reduces the music to a singular model, whereas I believe that “Song for My Father” should be considered as an expression of exactly the opposite of such a reductive

⁵⁸ In spite of this full closure, harmonic tension is maintained due to the minor sevenths, ninths and an occasional eleventh that are added to the tonic chord by Silver on the piano and Carmell Jones on the trumpet.

⁵⁹ Lola Fernández, *Flamenco Music Theory: Rhythm, Harmony, Melody, Form*, translated by Nancy R. Rodemann (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay Publications, 2005), pp. 81-3. Fernández explains that the stepwise descend of the Andalusian cadence (I–VII–VI–V) coincides with the typical chord progression based on the first tetrachord of the flamenco mode (that corresponds to the Phrygian mode), in which case it would be written as IV–III–II–I.

⁶⁰ See also Meadows, “Prolegomenon,” pp. 127-30.

⁶¹ See Kernfeld, “Latin jazz,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* (second edition).

⁶² For instance, see Rosenthal, *Hard Bop*, and Mathieson, *Cookin’*.

⁶³ Barry Kernfeld, “Hard bop,” in *Grove Music Online*, retrieved from *Oxford Music Online* (accessed June 21, 2010).

⁶⁴ Alyn Shipton, *A New History of Jazz* (London: Continuum, 2001), p. 667. See also Rosenthal, *Hard Bop*, p. 36, Meadows, “Prolegomenon,” p. 129, and Bill Dobbins and Barry Kernfeld, “Silver, Horace,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* (second edition), retrieved from *Oxford Music Online* (accessed April 26, 2010).

way of thinking. That the labeling of particular performances as ‘hard bop’ can radically affect how those performances are interpreted, is demonstrated by the stance of influential essayist and music critic Amiri Baraka. Regretting the gradual loss of the ideological connotations of hard bop as a countercurrent to cool jazz in the early 1960s, Baraka argued that hard bop had degenerated into a style “behind which there is no serious commitment to expression or emotional profundity,” leading him to dismiss the work of musicians associated with this category in comparison to the more experimental jazz of John Coltrane, Ornette Coleman and Cecil Taylor.⁶⁵ “Song for My Father,” by contrast, clearly seems to convey a personal kind of emotional depth, already since Silver chose to dedicate it to his father. Thus, in order to make sense of this composition, it is necessary to focus on its specificities rather than to determine what traits it shares with ‘hard bop’ as a historical construct.

The liner notes to the *Song for My Father* album help to understand how Horace Silver processed his experience with bossa nova in Rio de Janeiro, which he then reworked in the composition in question.⁶⁶ Leonard Feather, the author of the liner notes, quotes an interview with Silver in which the pianist claims that, in addition to his trip to Brazil, the family meetings of his Cape Verdean father unexpectedly became an important source of inspiration. Silver notes that the melodic theme of the composition “makes me think of my childhood days. Some of my family, including my father and my uncle, used to have musical parties with three or four stringed instruments; my father played violin and guitar. Those were happy, informal sessions.”⁶⁷ In a more recently published interview, Silver sketches a fuller picture of those musical parties:

At home, in Norwalk [Connecticut], my Dad and his brothers would have kitchen parties, and they’d play the Cape Verde folk music [*siz*]. Violin, Spanish guitar, sometimes mandolin. I was a little boy. The women would make fried chicken and potato salad, and they’d have drinks. People would come on a Friday or Saturday night, and they’d pull the furniture back, and they’d dance in the kitchen. Some were family, some were neighbors.⁶⁸

At the same time, Silver insisted that he had tried to invest “Song for My Father” with a feeling he had found in bossa nova. He believed that this entailed more than the clearly recognizable rhythmic pattern that had become central to U.S. jazz reinterpretations of the style: “last February I was in Brazil and I was very much impressed by the authentic bossa nova beat. Not just the monotonous *tick-tick-tick, tick-tick*, the way it’s usually done, but the real bossa nova feeling, which I’ve tried to incorporate into this number.”⁶⁹ Although Silver nowhere describes this ‘feeling’ in more detail, it is clear that it resonated with his childhood memories of Cape Verdean music. Elsewhere, Silver explains that his father’s idea of playing jazz interpretations of Cape Verdean songs did not appeal to him: “To me [Cape Verdean songs] always seemed corny – because I was born here into American music, whether it be jazz or whatever. But there is a feeling there: there’s something there that’s valid. I didn’t really get in tune with that feeling until I was invited by Sergio Mendes to his house in Rio de Janeiro.”⁷⁰ In other words, Silver’s experiments with bossa nova eventually resulted in a reassessment of his Cape Verdean heritage, which he dedicated to his father.

“Song for My Father” might thus be interpreted as a personal response by Silver to the U.S. bossa nova craze that is in line with his earlier unrestricted and practically-oriented use of foreign music cultures.

⁶⁵ LeRoi Jones [Imamu Amiri Baraka], *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1963), in particular p. 216-36. The quoted passage can be found on p. 218.

⁶⁶ Silver describes the composition process in more detail in his autobiography. See Silver and Pastras, *The Autobiography of Horace Silver*, pp. 111-12.

⁶⁷ As quoted in Mathieson, *Cookin’*, p. 48.

⁶⁸ As quoted in Lees, “Father and Son,” p. 79.

⁶⁹ As quoted in Mathieson, *Cookin’*, p. 48 (Mathieson’s italics).

⁷⁰ Rosenthal, *Hard Bop*, p. 48. See also Silver and Pastras, *The Autobiography of Horace Silver*, pp. 111-12.

More importantly, however, the composition should be seen as an outcome of a personal take on the conversation between members of the jazz and bossa nova communities at large. Silver's exploration of bossa nova and the incorporation of the style's rhythmic concept in this particular composition were probably based on the possibilities of some kind of universal form of musical expression he foresaw with the style, since it enabled him to play together with Brazilian musicians in jam sessions. The function of bossa nova rhythm in "Song for My Father" should be compared, I argue, to the working of heteroglossia in literature, as it enters into a dynamic unity with an ostinato pattern reminiscent of Latin jazz, a harmonic progression that evokes music from the Iberian Peninsula, a melody that for Silver pointed to his Cape Verdean ancestry, and the blues scale as a interpretive tool to improvise on this versatile composite. Jazz scholar Ingrid Monson discusses a similar dynamic in different jazz performances, though she is mainly concerned with the kinds of communication that take place during those performances, rather than in the composition process beforehand. Monson argues that the improvisational interplay between jazz musicians should be seen as "a fundamentally social, conversational, and dialogic way to organize musical performance."⁷¹ She draws heavily on insights grasped as intertextuality in literary circles – in fact, she even proposes to grasp "aurally perceptible musical relationships that are heard in the context of particular musical traditions" as instances of 'intermusicality.'⁷² As is pointed out by Monson, jazz artists often start their improvisations by repeating musical passages played by their band members, and sometimes also quote from famous jazz tunes or solos. Literary theorist Henry Louis Gates, Jr., has famously argued that this kind of transformative reutilization of existing material, a practice that he described as *signifyin'*, is crucial to African-American cultural aesthetics.⁷³ Monson connects the ideas of intermusicality and signification as a mode of expression typical in jazz to Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia. She does not elaborate on this notion with regard to compositional practice in jazz, though she does claim that it is helpful to describe the tension that arises between the performance as a whole and the particularities of the musical material that is incorporated into it.

A similar tension is found between the different musical styles evoked by "Song for My Father." Horace Silver likewise adhered to a 'communicative' ethos as he sat down to compose this piece, and embedded his knowledge of bossa nova rhythm as well as the outward-looking approach associated with it in the music. He was not concerned about stylistic integrity, but rather recognized bossa nova as a foreign 'voice' that would authorize him to explore a variety of styles and continue his search for a cosmopolitan form of musical expression – an ambition that he probably shared with the musicians he met in Copacabana. Such an interpretation corresponds to Silver's "world music philosophy," and it also dovetails with Christopher Washburne's interpretation of various other forms of Latin jazz. Building on the idea of an internal dynamic in heteroglossia, Washburne understands Latin jazz as an exploration by U.S. jazz artists of their African roots by way of the African heritage in Latin-American countries. At the same time, he considers Latin jazz performances as more or less conscious attempts to create a heterogeneous musical texture, which "[allowed] individual musicians to explore a wide variety of styles that resist the singular aesthetics of the canon and promote globalization and internationalization."⁷⁴ As I have demonstrated by examining Horace Silver's acquaintance with bossa nova and the inspiration he gained from it in the case of "Song for My Father," his transformative reuse of bossa nova served exactly this purpose. In "Song for My Father," bossa nova was evoked by Silver as a means – rather than an end in itself – to broaden his own musical horizon, and by extension also that of his listeners.

⁷¹ Monson, *Saying Something*, p. 89.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 127-9. The quoted passage can be found on p. 128 (my italics). In contrast to those *intermusical*, or aurally perceptible, relations, Monson argues, "[a]ssociations carried primarily through song lyrics would be primarily intertextual; musical relationships observable only with the aid of a score might best be called intertextual musical relationships." *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁷³ Gates himself defined *signifyin'* as "repetition with a signal difference." *Ibid.*, pp. 86-9 and *passim*. The quoted passage can be found on p. 89.

⁷⁴ Washburne, "Latin Jazz: The Other Jazz," p. 420.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have drawn attention to the significant contribution of bossa nova to U.S. jazz practice, both as a stylistic concept and as a set of musical ambitions and ideals. The notion of cultural translation has helped me realize that what Brazilian musicians communicated as bossa nova to U.S. musicians who visited their country was not confined to a musical style or rhythmic concept, but rather involved an eclectic and adventurous approach to music. Since jazz musicians were used to performing with musicians from different music cultures at home and abroad, I believe that they would have been able to recognize this approach as a shared worldview. My approach to the connection between jazz and bossa nova in a general sense was built on the belief that both styles have developed through continuous processes of interaction between improvising musicians in Brazil and the U.S. I have chosen to characterize this cultural exchange as a 'dialogue,' firstly to make it clear that influences were not unidirectional, and secondly to stress the fact that they were largely based on the oral transfer of knowledge. To begin with, João Donato and other artists associated with the emergence of bossa nova in Brazil borrowed from U.S. popular music and 'cool jazz,' among others sources of inspiration. Furthermore, *jazzistas* like Sérgio Mendes, who were involved in the further development of that style in the nightclubs of Rio de Janeiro into a more hard-swinging sound, had a clear predilection for blues-based improvisation. U.S. jazz players, for their part, probably felt attracted by this affinity for jazz and blues, as well as by the open-mindedness of bossa nova musicians in general with regard to a variety of music traditions. This encouraged them to explore the possibilities with the style, especially after Stan Getz and Charlie Byrd's *Jazz Samba* achieved widespread success in 1962. Although the influence exerted on jazz by bossa nova can still be felt today, the condescending attitude of jazz critics has contributed to the strong neglect for the engagement with the style by U.S. jazz artists. Ironically, the jazz connection in Brazilian popular music has likewise been ignored by Brazilian writers, probably as a result of the controversy over foreign influences caused by nationalist sentiments in the 1960s. Nonetheless, it has become clear that jazz, blues and bossa nova were associated with each other in a rather blurred way in the well-to-do districts of Rio de Janeiro, providing a fertile soil for meetings of Brazilian and U.S. musicians.

My overall point of departure for this chapter was the idea that musical categories can be confusing when trying to understand the motivations of and actual chains of connections between artists, which is certainly the case with both 'Latin jazz' and 'hard bop.' Although music styles from the Caribbean as well as from Central- and South America seem to have thoroughly influenced jazz since the beginning of the twentieth century, the strong association of such styles with commercial dance culture in the U.S. has reduced attention for this connection in jazz textbooks. This conclusion also applies to bossa nova, which was the latest trend in Latin jazz in the early 1960s. The term Latin jazz explains against what background bossa nova was initially conceived by U.S. jazz artists like Cal Tjader, Herbie Mann and Kenny Dorham, though artists also had more specific reasons to engage in the style (such as the affinity of Brazilian artists for jazz and blues). In fact, Latin jazz is a problematic category since it creates the impression that bossa nova, like other Latin music styles, was merely a flavor that could be added to jazz performances but would not significantly affect jazz practice. I have opposed this view by investigating the inspiration drawn from bossa nova by jazz pianist Horace Silver, who learned about the style both through Latin jazz enthusiasts like Kenny Dorham and in clubs and impromptu jam sessions in Rio de Janeiro in early 1964. Although jazz writers usually define Silver's compositions and performances (including "Song for My Father") as hard bop, I have argued that this classification is problematic since it is ideologically charged and reduces the music to a singular model. My analysis of "Song for My Father," by contrast, was based on the notion of heteroglossia, which denotes an internal dialogism or tension between contrasting idioms that are incorporated in a single work. Silver's engagement with bossa nova might be seen as a personal take on the dialogue between jazz and bossa nova that enabled him to

reconnect with his Cape Verdean ancestry, resulting in a musical tribute to his father. I have characterized Silver's incorporation of bossa nova rhythm in "Song for My Father" as a manifestation of this dialogue since I believe that he deliberately juxtaposed it with other musical influence to demonstrate his interest in the interaction between musicians around the world. In other words, bossa nova was appropriated by Horace Silver as part of his quest for a more universal kind of musical expression, which mirrored the cosmopolitan ideals of Brazilian bossa nova artists.

While in the first chapter I focused on the considerations of a music producer concerning the cultural translation of bossa nova for audiences in the U.S., in this chapter I examined the motivations of a number of U.S. jazz artists to engage in bossa nova and adapt it to their own purposes. In the following chapter, I will add to this by concentrating on the role of the translators of bossa nova lyrics.

3. Music for Export: Bossa Nova Songs in Translation and a Comparison of the Lyrics of Jobim's "Águas de março" and the English-language Version, "Waters of March" (1972-1974)

Although the translation of song lyrics into English must have significantly shaped the understanding of bossa nova by listeners outside Brazil, this process of adaptation has largely been ignored in discussions of bossa nova as a song style. In this chapter, I direct attention to the important role of the translators in the adaptation of bossa nova to audiences in the U.S., as I examine the changes some well-known bossa nova songs underwent as they were rewritten in English. I briefly consider how two individual translators, Gene Lees and Susannah McCorkle, have sought to preserve the peculiarities of the Brazilian-Portuguese-language lyrics of bossa nova songs. The translation of the lyrics of bossa nova songs is obviously a difficult task. The newly chosen words should go together with the music, of course, but in addition a translator needs to decide to what extent he is interested in musico-poetic intricacies and more specific connotations a song might have had in Brazil, and whether it is possible to retain those aspects. A translation of bossa nova lyrics should thus be considered a compromise that is very much dependent on what is prioritized by the translator. After having discussed a number of translations of Antônio Carlos Jobim's earlier songs, I will turn to a famous song that he wrote in 1972, after he had already established successful careers in both Brazil and the U.S. For this song, "Águas de março," Jobim also provided English lyrics, which he published in the U.S. in 1974 as "Waters of March." Although the composition has retrospectively been understood in connection with the early bossa nova song repertoire, I argue that the music and especially the lyrics of "Águas de março" might as well be seen as a response to developments that took place in Brazilian popular music in the 1960s. In other words, I challenge the classification of "Águas de março" as representative of the bossa nova repertoire, since the song probably appealed to listeners in Brazil precisely because it seemed to participate in later Brazilian cultural trends. This approach is inspired by my central aim of questioning the labeling of recordings or performances with musical categories, since such labeling often leads to one-sided interpretations.

In comparison, the English-language version of the lyrics, "Waters of March," is more accessible to listeners outside Brazil not only because of the language, but also because numerous references to Brazilian culture were left out and replaced by more universal images. I believe that Jobim tried to ensure that his song made sense to English-speaking listeners, and therefore came up with an English-language version that could be interpreted as a complete, self-contained work in its own right. In other words, "Waters of March" should not be seen merely as a poetic rendition of "Águas de março" in the English language, but rather as a cultural translation directed at Anglophone listeners. Put differently, the notion of cultural translation helps to emphasize that the "Waters of March" should not be seen as a 'copy' that is less worthwhile than the 'original,' but rather as a viable new version specifically aimed at non-Brazilian audiences. In order to grasp how "Águas de março" and "Waters of March" appealed to distinct kinds of prior knowledge among popular music fans in Brazil and the U.S., I examine the lyrics in relation to the separate trajectories of bossa nova those countries. In my comparison of the lyrics of the alternative versions of the song, I distinguish between internal and external dialogism, building again on Mikhail Bakhtin's interpretation of the 'conversational' qualities of literary works. By doing so, I attempt to answer the question of how "Waters of March" matched with U.S. conceptions of bossa nova, which has led theorists outside Brazil to take the song as a clear-cut bossa nova composition.

The subdued, sometimes almost whispering vocals of singers like João Gilberto (known for his nasal timbre) were considered an important feature of bossa nova when it emerged, since they provided a strong contrast with the full-throated and dramatic vocal style common in Brazilian popular music until the mid-1950s. However, the actual words sung were just as important. With their attentiveness to detail, Newton Mendonça and Vinícius de Moraes (both of whom wrote lyrics for several of Jobim's compositions), probably exerted the greatest influence on the innovative style practiced by bossa nova lyricists.¹ Like earlier strands of popular song based on samba rhythm, such as the more dramatic *samba-exaltação* and *samba-canção*, the lyrics of their bossa nova songs dealt with situations and events from everyday life, though the life evoked by bossa nova generally seemed of a more carefree nature.² Furthermore, in comparison with the report-like character of older popular songs by composers such as Ary Barroso, bossa nova lyrics were "more intellectual in orientation, more playful, poetic and even surrealistic."³ The lyrics frequently sketch a particular mood, which is sometimes melancholic, sometimes humorous or sarcastic, but almost without exception creates a sense of intimacy. Some bossa nova lyricists also experimented with strains of words reminiscent of the isomorphism in the native tradition of *poesia concreta*, or concrete poetry. A well-known example is Ronaldo Boscoli's "Rio," which features the isomorphism "Rio, só Rio, sorrio" (the effect of reverberation is lost in translation: "Rio, only Rio, I am laughing").

Although most lyrics allow to be read as complete poems in their own right, the strength of a number of bossa nova songs was precisely their ingenious relation between the words and the music. In Jobim's "Desafinado" and "Samba de uma nota só," for example, the contents of the lyrics are illustrated by the melody, and in "Corcovado," the rhyme scheme of the lyrics is related to the harmonic structure and thus enhances the overall mood of the music.⁴ The tight connection between the words and the melody is probably most obvious in "Samba de uma nota só." The opening lines of the lyrics, which were originally written by Newton Mendonça and translated by Jobim into English under the title "One Note Samba," are set to a single pitch: "this is just a little samba / built upon a single note / other notes are bound to follow / but the root is still that note." In order to comply with this announcement, the melody then briefly shifts to another, higher pitch: "now this new one is the consequence / of the one we've just been through" (the Brazilian-Portuguese-language lyrics read "[...] *consequência / do que acabo de dizer*," "the consequence / of what I just said"), before the singer returns to the original pitch.⁵ I will discuss the lyrics of "Desafinado" and "Corcovado" in more detail below. For now, it is important to bear in mind that the interdependence of lyrics and music in bossa nova might be grasped as an instance of dialogism, drawing again on Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of the conversational nature of literary works that I introduced in the

¹ For instance, see Ruy Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music That Seduced the World*, translated by Lysa Salsbury (Chicago: A Cappella Books, 2000), pp. 126-9, 151-3 and passim.

² For a discussion of the most significant stylistic differences between bossa nova and earlier popular song forms in Brazil, see for instance Kariann Elaine Goldschmitt, "Bossa Mundo: Brazilian Popular Music's Global Transformations (1938-2008)," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2009), pp. 77-9.

³ Claus Schreiner, *Música Brasileira: A History of Popular Music and the People of Brazil*, translated by Mark Weinstein (New York: Marion Boyars, 1993), pp. 139-41. The quoted passage can be found on p. 139.

⁴ Among others, see Gerard Béhague, "Bossa & Bossas: Recent Changes in Brazilian Urban Popular Music," *Ethnomusicology* 17, no. 2 (1973), Charles A. Perrone, "Lyric and Lyrics: The Poetry of Song in Brazil" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 1985), and Schreiner, *Música Brasileira*.

⁵ Among others, see *ibid.*, p. 139. The opening lines of Mendonça's Portuguese lyrics for "Samba de uma nota só" are as follows: "Eis aqui este sambinha / feito numa nota só / outras notas vão entrar / mas a base é uma só / extra outra é consequência / do que acabo de dizer." See Béhague, "Bossa & Bossas," pp. 225-6.

second chapter. As opposed to external dialogism, which describes the ties of a literary or musical work to other works, the dialogism in songs like “Desafinado” and “Samba de uma nota só” should be understood as internal, since the dialogue appears to take place between the singer of the lyrics and the musical accompaniment – that is, within the confines of a single performance. I argue that such internal dialogism is typical of bossa nova, in comparison to later trends in Brazilian popular music.

As I mentioned at the outset of this chapter, the translation of bossa nova songs is a complicated task, particularly because of their poetic appeal and the strong interrelation of words and music, but also because the lyrics demonstrate the awareness of Brazilian bossa nova artists of their self-appointed role as innovators in Brazilian popular music. In the case of “Samba de uma nota só,” for instance, Jobim and Mendonça intentionally undervalued their approach to samba by calling their own composition a “*sambinha*” (“little samba”) in the lyrics. According to Castro, this word was interpreted in Brazil as a clever response to critics of bossa nova who preferred older samba songs. Such an interpretation would inevitably get lost in translation, since non-Brazilians would normally not be familiar with the Brazilian tradition of songs based on samba rhythm.⁶ I would like to consider for a moment how two translators of Jobim’s songs, Gene Lees and Susannah McCorkle, chose to deal with such peculiarities at different moments, since both have commented on their reinterpretations of the Brazilian-Portuguese-language lyrics. Gene Lees was a Canadian-born jazz writer, editor and lyricist, who wrote many of the album liner notes that I discussed in the first chapter. Lees had the advantage of an extensive education in music, though he did not really speak Brazilian-Portuguese when he set about translating bossa nova lyrics (according to Lees himself, his conversations with Jobim initially took place in “a bizarre mixture of French and Spanish”).⁷ Lees met Jobim when he traveled to Rio de Janeiro in the early 1960s, as the manager of a jazz ensemble led by Paul Winter. At first he tried his hand at the translation of the lyrics of Jobim’s compositions on his own, though later he began collaborating closely with the composer to write English versions of songs ranging from “Vivo sonhando” (translated as “Dreamer”) to “Chovendo na roseira” (“Double Rainbow”). Susannah McCorkle studied Italian literature and was a self-taught polyglot who at a later age began performing as a jazz singer. In the 1990s, McCorkle – who was “highly regarded [...] for her direct and sincere interpretation of lyrics”⁸ – recorded two albums for which she made her own translations of a number of Brazilian songs that she particularly liked, including Ary Barroso’s “P’ra machucar meu coração,” Luiz Bonfá’s “Manhã de carnaval,” and Jobim’s “Águas de março.”

Gene Lees and Susannah McCorkle in different contexts relate how they tried to retain the overall mood or subtext and the strong interrelation of lyrics and music of bossa nova songs. Both condemned the work of translators who, in their opinion, did not make an effort to preserve this rich musico-poetic potential in their English adaptations. According to Linda Dahl, Susannah McCorkle’s biographer, McCorkle “greatly disliked most of the English translations extant, especially of Antonio [*sic*] Carlos Jobim’s melodies, complaining that the English versions were banal, Tin Pan Alley lyrics.”⁹ In contrast to Dahl, who does not specify which English lyrics were disliked by McCorkle, Gene Lees discusses a number of “banal” translations of bossa nova songs in detail. Lees complains, for example, about “Slightly out of Tune,” a translation made by Jon Hendricks and Jessie Cavanaugh of Jobim’s “Desafinado.” He claims that the duo failed to capture the mood of the original and instead “came up with an idiomatically American, rather than Brazilian lyric.”¹⁰ In “Slightly out of Tune,” the first-person narrator of the lyrics compares his feelings for his beloved to a musical performance, as in the original lyrics of “Desafinado,”

⁶ Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music*, p. 196.

⁷ Gene Lees, “Um Abraço No Tom: Antonio Carlos Jobim,” in *Singers and the Song II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 220.

⁸ Scott Fredrickson and Gary W. Kennedy, “McCorkle, Susannah,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* (second edition), retrieved from *Oxford Music Online* (accessed May 12, 2010).

⁹ Linda Dahl, *Haunted Heart: A Biography of Susannah McCorkle* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), p. 186.

¹⁰ Lees, “Um Abraço No Tom: Antonio Carlos Jobim,” p. 235.

but this time the comparison is far less subtle (see Appendix 1). Hendricks and Cavanaugh's lyrics read more as a reflection on the relationship of two unidentified lovers, who used to "harmonize" but now have to "get in tune" with each other once again, making the declaration of love of the singer more predictable and less personal.¹¹ In Gene Lees's translation, by contrast, the more shrewd comparison of the first-person narrator's romance with a musical performance was preserved, though the final couplet does end on a note that is more clichéd than in the original ("all that matters is the message that I bring / which is: my dear one, I love you").

In his memoirs, Lees explains that he did not successfully reproduce all instances of humor in his translation of "Desafinado," claiming that "[t]he first thing that is lost in any translation is humor. Humor, particularly plays on words, cannot be translated at all. And so wherever touches of humor were lost in *Desafinado*, I had to find little byplays in English to replace them."¹² In spite of this self-critical remark, Lees did manage to maintain the humorous effect in the original lyrics of the word painting on "*desafino*," Brazilian-Portuguese for "off key," which concurred with an unexpected diminished fifth in the melody. When "Desafinado" was first recorded by João Gilberto in Brazil for the album *O amor, o sorriso e a flor* (Odeon, 1958), it was conceived as an allegorical protestation of love that became the anthem of bossa nova in Brazil – not in the last place because the lyrics actually spoke of "bossa nova." With the Brazilian-Portuguese words, lyricist Newton Mendonça cleverly responded to the frequently heard criticism in Brazil at that time that bossa nova artists (though at this time their style did not have a name yet) were not really able to sing. The enamored first-person narrator defends himself and his colleagues against this charge by explaining that whereas his style might at first seem "unmusical," his musical behavior is "the latest knack" (the original meaning of "bossa nova") and in fact "very natural." He admits that he sings off key, but at the same time points out that "*os desafinados*" ("the out-of-tune") nonetheless "have a heart."¹³ The melody consists of many unexpected leaps that are set against altered chords, with a diminished fifth coinciding with the accentuated syllable of "*desafino*." As I mentioned, Gene Lees preserved this humorous effect of tone painting, in contrast to Jon Hendricks and Jessie Cavanaugh. However, U.S. listeners would not have been able to appreciate the wit of a sentimental love song that really functioned as "a smokescreen for the discussion of an aesthetic issue,"¹⁴ even though Lees chose to refer to the "rigid rules" of Brazilian popular music practice (as it was seen by the emerging bossa nova scene).

In addition to the tight interrelation between lyrics and music, Gene Lees and Susannah McCorkle both also tried very hard to convey the overall mood or subtext of bossa nova lyrics in their translations. For instance, McCorkle's translation of Luiz Bonfá's "Manhã de carnaval" was based on her interpretation of the song as "an impressionist picture of sadness." Furthermore, she made an English translation of Vinícius de Moraes's lyrics for Jobim's "A felicidade" ("Happiness"), with which she wanted to make listeners "understand that [the song] was really, ironically, about sadness."¹⁵ McCorkle's translation of "Águas de março," an edited version of Jobim's English version of the lyrics, was based on her interpretation of the song's rich "literary subtext" as an affirmation of life's downside, but at the same time as a celebration of freedom.¹⁶ I will discuss this reading of "Águas de março" by McCorkle near the end of this chapter, when I discuss the differences between the original lyrics and Jobim's own translation of those lyrics into English. Gene Lees, for his part, recounts that he tried to stay "as close as possible to

¹¹ It is also worth noting that Jon Hendricks and Jessie Cavanaugh wrote their English version of "Desafinado" in hindsight, when bossa nova had already become popularized as a dance in the U.S. In the lyrics, Hendricks and Cavanaugh characterize "the bossa nova" as a style that "swings" ("like the bossa nova / love should swing").

¹² Lees, "Um Abraço No Tom: Antonio Carlos Jobim," p. 222.

¹³ "*Os desafinados*" allows to be interpreted as the bossa nova artists who were accused of singing off key, but literally also means "the songs."

¹⁴ Santuza Cambraia Naves, "From Bossa Nova to Tropicália: Restraint and Excess in Popular Music," in *Imagining Brazil*, ed. Jessé Souza and Valter Sinder (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2005), p. 252.

¹⁵ Dahl, *Haunted Heart*, p. 186.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-6.

the spirit of the Portuguese originals” in his translations of songs like “Desafinado” and “Corcovado” – a ‘spirit’ that he characterizes as some kind of wistfulness or fatalism – though he admits that he did not always succeed in doing so.¹⁷ In the case of “Corcovado,” Lees was perhaps most successful in representing the mood of the original words, despite the fact that his lyrics did not make mention of the Corcovado, the hill with the famous statue of Christ the Redeemer on top that has come to symbolize Rio de Janeiro. Lees explains that he omitted the reference in the original lyrics to the Corcovado (whose name literally means “hunchback”) since he believed that “an American audience would hardly know the name of that mountain, and the great panorama of the sea that the statue surveys.”¹⁸ However, he did attempt to capture the impressionist mood evoked by the reference to the Corcovado – the title of his translation, “Quiet Nights of Quiet Stars,” was apparently intended as an allusion to a Van Gogh painting.¹⁹ Lees also claims that he deliberately adopted the unusual rhyme scheme used by Jobim, since he recognized the circular shape of the musical accompaniment, which is in C but starts and ends on the secondary dominant D9/A.²⁰ He concluded from this that Jobim broke rhyme at the end of his couplets to strengthen this lack of resolution, an effect that he decided to retain in English.

Ironically, Jobim’s Brazilian publisher subcontracted Lees’s translation of “Corcovado” to a publishing company in the U.S., where his “mistake” of failing to rhyme was “corrected” by lyricist Buddy Kay. Kay also changed the opening line to “quiet nights *and* quiet stars,” which in Lees’s opinion makes it less singable, and he came up with a closing sentence that Lees considers a “banal and a truly dumb rhyme.”²¹ Obviously, Lees was not uninterested when it came to the evaluation of the translations of others, since a lot of money was made by publishers who took advantage of the work of lyricists and translators. U.S. publisher Ray Gilbert, for instance, has repeatedly been accused of cashing in on several of Jobim’s songs simply by changing a number of words of existing translations and naming himself as their author or co-author.²² More importantly, however, the examples discussed here make it clear that the translation of bossa nova lyrics was not a straightforward task, and that it could significantly affect how listeners outside Brazil would understand the bossa nova song repertoire. Musico-poetic qualities typical of bossa nova that seem to have posed most problems for translators are the overall mood or subtext of songs, the internal dialogism between words and music, and references to Brazilian culture. In my discussion of the differences between the Brazilian-Portuguese-language and English-language lyrics of Jobim’s “Águas de março,” I will focus on these three distinct elements.

An Analysis of “Águas de março” in Relation to Earlier Bossa Nova Compositions

The Brazilian-Portuguese-language lyrics of “Águas de março” (1972),²³ which Jobim wrote over a decade after the compositions discussed above, evoke a series of disparate images whose connection is not

¹⁷ In the case of a song by Jobim that he translated as “Someone to Light Up My Life,” for instance, Lees acknowledges that he could not really “make it work” in English. He also recalls that he clashed with Jobim over a song lyric which Lees thought was impossible to translate in a way that would do justice to the original. Lees, “Um Abraço No Tom: Antonio Carlos Jobim,” pp. 221-2, 223, 239 and 243. The quoted passage can be found on p. 221.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 223-4

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 234-5. The quoted passage can be found on p. 235.

²⁰ This chord is usually written as Am6, its enharmonic equivalent, but I agree with Lees’s hearing of it as a secondary dominant in the key of C. Ibid., pp. 223-4.

²¹ Ibid., p. 235.

²² Among others, see *ibid.*, p. 242, Schreiner, *Música Brasileira*, pp. 144-6, and Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music*, pp. 306-9.

²³ The title is usually rendered as “March Rains” in English language studies. Among others, see David Treece, “Guns and Roses: Bossa Nova and Brazil’s Music of Popular Protest, 1958-68,” *Popular Music* 16, no. 1 (1997), and Treece, “Suspended Animation: Movement and Time in Bossa Nova,” *Journal of Romance Studies* 7, no. 2 (2007).

immediately clear (see Appendix 2). Charles A. Perrone considers this technique of endless listing an example of a poetic device he calls “chaotic enumeration.”²⁴ The statements are made up of nouns that, in combination with the third-person singular inflection of the verb “to be” (“*é*”), merely assert the existence of particular objects or situations, instead of telling a story from beginning to end. In agreement with the title, the images evoked by the lyrics collectively suggest a flood of rainwater that carries along everything it encounters on its path. This impression is reinforced by a four-note descending chromatic line which recurs in the harmonization of all the four-measure chord sequences that are heard in alternation.²⁵ This descending chromatic line is highlighted in the final section of the song (see Example 3, measures 111-124), where it is extended up to twelve notes (thus spanning an interval of a minor seventh, from a Bb to the C below). In addition to a flood of rainwater, the lyrics also create the impression of human life taking place not in an urban setting, but rather in a quiet rural landscape which seems to transform along with the seasons.²⁶ The natural cycles of the seasons are implied by the rains of March that are mentioned on several occasions, which mark the end of the summer in Brazil (since the country is located in the Southern Hemisphere). This seasonal continuity is reflected in the music too, since the song structure does not follow the conventional model of verse-chorus-verse, but instead is built on a repetition of short musical phrases. Whereas the harmonic scheme is made up by the alternating chord sequences, the melody consists of an alternation of a small number of similar modal motifs, which are organized quite independently from the harmonic accompaniment.²⁷ Thus the seemingly endless motion suggested by the lyrics is reflected in the music, both harmonically and melodically.²⁸

The similarities between the musico-poetic qualities of “Águas de março” and those of earlier bossa nova songs are not hard to find. As in “Corcovado,” the repetitive melodic theme set against a circular, unresolved harmonic progression creates a mood of contemplation or eternal longing. In “Corcovado” the progression starts and ends with the unresolved D9/A chord, an effect that is echoed by the unstable C/Bb opening chord of “Águas de março,” with the seventh in the bass.²⁹ As in “Corcovado,” this gives the impression “that the song has not exactly ‘started’ but has rather just stepped onto or into an already endlessly moving *roda* or circle.”³⁰ Due to this harmonic circularity and the seemingly endless, almost hypnotizing flow of the words and the melody, the song also seems to contain the internal dialogue between the words and music that characterizes Jobim’s compositions of “Desafinado” and “Samba de uma nota só.” Lyrics and musical accompaniment again work together, though this time this does not create an amusing effect – like the tone painting in “Desafinado” does – but rather works to enhance the overall contemplative mood. This mood might be understood as the subtext or “spirit” that both Gene Lees and Susannah McCorkle have sought to incorporate in their English-language interpretations of bossa nova songs. One possible reading of the subtext of “Águas de março” is that of Perrone, who speaks of ‘a trip without a destination,’ and in general considers the lyrics to be an “a projection of personal emotivity on multiple constituents of the natural world that surrounds [the narrator].”³¹ Although this sounds like a compelling interpretation at first, Perrone fails to note that the narrator is strikingly absent from the lyrics – nowhere does the singer refer to himself. Moreover,

²⁴ Perrone, “Lyric and Lyrics,” p. 59.

²⁵ Peter Freeman distinguishes five different sequences of four-measure, structural harmonic blocks that are used irregularly throughout the entire song. Peter Freeman, “Complexity, Simplicity and Poetic Invention in Antônio Carlos Jobim’s “Águas De Março” (Waters of March),” in *Popular Music: Commemoration, Commodification and Communication*, ed. Denis Crowley (Melbourne: IASPM Australia New Zealand, 2004), pp. 60-3.

²⁶ Treece, “Bossa Nova and Brazil’s Music of Popular Protest,” p. 7.

²⁷ Freeman, “Complexity, Simplicity and Poetic Invention in Jobim’s “Águas De Março,” pp. 55-61.

²⁸ Treece, “Movement and Time in Bossa Nova,” pp. 91-2.

²⁹ In formal music theory, the C/Bb opening chord of “Águas de março” would be described as the third inversion of a C7 tetrad.

³⁰ Treece, “Movement and Time in Bossa Nova,” p. 91.

³¹ Perrone, “Lyric and Lyrics,” p. 60.

unlike in songs like “Garota de Ipanema” or “Corcovado,” he does not address his beloved or tell about his feelings for her. While “Águas de março” might be interpreted as a reflection by the narrator on his inner life, this interpretation is thus certainly not as self-evident as in the case of the early bossa nova repertoire.

Probably on account of its musical qualities, or the reputation of its composer as one of the leading figures of bossa nova, “Águas de março” is usually considered a typical example of bossa nova, even though it was written much later than the songs which have become representative of that style.³² As I have already suggested, this labeling seems especially problematic with regard to the lyrics, since those clearly lack the intimacy of early bossa nova songs. I wish to challenge the inclusion of “Águas de março” with discussions of the early bossa nova movement by arguing that the song should really be understood in line with later developments in the Brazilian practice of songwriting. On closer examination, the Brazilian-Portuguese-language lyrics clearly allow for an intertextual interpretation in relation with both the cultural nationalism and the literary and musical sources that inspired Brazilian popular music in the late 1960s. Before I provide such an interpretation, however, it is necessary to explore the developments and trends I am referring to here in more detail.

MPB and Developments in Brazilian Popular Music Culture in the 1960s

Brazilian popular music culture was strongly affected by the right-wing military coup following João Goulart’s administration (1961-1964), which resulted in a twenty-year military dictatorship. The early bossa nova movement had emerged during “the years of confidence” of Juscelino Kubitchek’s presidency, in the late 1950s, and was strongly associated with the developmentalist ideals propagated by his government. However, in the course of the 1960s, popular musicians increasingly dismissed the “introspective sentimentalism” of bossa nova.³³ The romantic themes of many early bossa nova lyrics suddenly seemed shallow and illusory, at a time when social inequalities appeared larger than ever and political opposition was repressed. The new socio-political conditions gave rise to a more critical song culture in the urban centers of Brazil, which was facilitated by the relative degree of artistic freedom during the early years of the military rule (until the Fifth Institutional Act, or AI-5, was enforced in 1968 to facilitate censorship by the government).³⁴ As a result, Brazilian popular songs gradually became more dependent on explicit references to the outside world, which I believe is manifested in “Águas de março.” The strong demand for active *participação*, or social and political commitment, in Brazilian popular music went hand in hand with the vehement criticism directed against bossa nova by writers like José Ramos Tinhorão, who argued that bossa nova artists had become alienated from their own country as they searched for sources of inspiration abroad, like jazz and popular songs from the U.S.³⁵ Ironically, although bossa nova was initially conceived by the cultural elite as an expression of Brazilian modernity precisely for this reason, the style thus increasingly came to be looked down upon as a symptom of U.S. cultural imperialism, at least by nationalists who followed Tinhorão’s line of thought. Music historians seem

³² Charles A. Perrone discusses “Águas de março” in connection to Jobim’s “Desafinado” and “Samba de uma nota só,” since he believes that it does not really contain any socio-political overtones, in contrast to other kinds of popular song that gained prominence in Brazil in the course of the 1960s. What Perrone does not say, however, is that the more socially articulate Brazilian popular songs performed near the end of that decade were also not explicitly socio-political in orientation, since artists anticipated censorship by the Brazilian government by using allegory and metaphor to deal with touchy themes. Among others, see Christopher Dunn, *Brutality Garden: Tropicália and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), in particular pp. 143-7 and 157-63.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, in particular pp. 33-5.

uncertain about what happened to bossa nova in these years of socio-political upheaval: some discern a more socially articulate ‘second generation’ of bossa nova – including artists like Nara Leão, Carlos Lyra and the relatively young Edu Lobo – while others assume that the musical style completely merged in a very diverse, mostly acoustically instrumented popular song style known as MPB (*Música Popular Brasileira*).³⁶

Apart from the changing political climate in Brazil, some other important factors also contributed to the development of MPB. Around the mid-1960s, television broadcasters based in São Paulo (notably the TV Globo network) began sponsoring popular song contests, such as the annual International Festival of Song in Rio de Janeiro.³⁷ Well-known singer-songwriters such as Gilberto Gil, Milton Nascimento, Chico Buarque and Caetano Veloso gained a larger following due to their appearance at such festivals, a following that mainly consisted of the upper-class audiences, liberal college students in particular. The performances of the finalists were aired on television, in programs that competed with Elis Regina’s *O Fino da Bossa* (The Best of Bossa), which featured more progressive exponents of bossa nova. It was in this context that sophisticated kinds of popular music – which combined the self-conscious lyrics and refined musical arrangements of bossa nova with references to Brazilian folk music – came to be indicated with the acronym MPB. However, rather than a coherent movement or style, this category denoted a heterogeneous and constantly evolving current, which became even more diversified in the work of artists like Gil and Veloso. As Martha de Ulhôa Carvalho and Lorraine Leu point out, class distinctions were central to the consumption of MPB and other popular styles in 1960s Brazil.³⁸ While the intellectual prestige of bossa nova and MPB strongly appealed to the urban higher classes, the majority preferred to listen to *iê-iê-iê*, a homegrown kind of rock music performed by a movement known as the Jovem Guarda (Young Guard).³⁹ The cultural elite associated the electric instruments of *iê-iê-iê* and its consumer-oriented youth culture with the U.S. entertainment business (like jazz-inspired bossa nova), and instead considered MPB a more appropriate musical genre for a modern Brazil. Since the following of MPB artists consisted of a relatively small urban social milieu, the regime chose to tolerate the incorporation of social critique in their lyrics until 1968. Apart from this *participação*, the references to Brazilian folklore that were valued in MPB can also be found in “Águas de março.”

The end of the 1960s witnessed the emergence of a movement in Brazilian popular song that eventually reached a much larger audience than MPB. The name of this movement, “Tropicália” (connoting the Brazilian tropical forest but simultaneously suggesting the use of tropes, or rhetorical devices) was borrowed from an installation of visual artist Hélio Oiticica by singer-songwriter Caetano Veloso, who used it as the title of one of his songs. Shortly afterwards, the name was adopted by a group of like-minded artists who collectively recorded a concept album that was heralded as the Brazilian response to The Beatles’s famous *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band*.⁴⁰ In comparison with MPB artists, *tropicalismo* artists appropriated a much larger variety of music, including international popular music and rock (of the Jovem Guarda and the Beatles), song traditions based on samba rhythm (including bossa

³⁶Gerard Béhague conceives of the stylistic trends that followed bossa nova around the mid-1960s as newer “bossas” which in his opinion expanded rather than denounced the ideals of the early bossa nova movement. Gerard Béhague, “Bossa & Bossas,” especially p. 210.

³⁷ Among others, see Charles A. Perrone, *Masters of Contemporary Brazilian Song: MPB, 1965-1985* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), in particular pp. 201-3, and Lorraine Leu, *Brazilian Popular Music: Caetano Veloso and the Regeneration of Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 2.

³⁸ Martha de Ulhôa Carvalho, “Tupi or not Tupi MPB: Popular Music and Identity in Brazil,” in *The Brazilian Puzzle: Culture on the Borderlands of the Western World*, eds. David J. Hess and Roberto da Matta (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), in particular pp. 162-5, and Leu, *Caetano Veloso and the Regeneration of Tradition*, p. 114.

³⁹ The term *iê-iê-iê* was the Brazilian-Portuguese ‘transliteration’ of the famous exclamation in the refrain of the Beatles song “She loves you.”

⁴⁰ Among others, see Leu, *Caetano Veloso and the Regeneration of Tradition*, p. 4, and Dunn, *Tropicália and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture*, pp. 73-121.

nova),⁴¹ Brazilian folk music, and sometimes even contemporary art music. In addition, the tropicalists did not eschew the use of electric guitars, which gained a prominent role in their musical *bricolage*. According to Béhague, the deliberate eclecticism of the tropicalists should be seen as a reaction “against unproductive nationalist bourgeois cultural values,” and by extension as an attempt to undermine social distinctions.⁴² In short, the tropicalists attempted to liberate Brazilian popular music from nationalist prejudices with regard to rock and commercial music, and promoted self-investigation and stylistic experimentation. Their lyrics openly criticized contemporary Brazilian society. Caetano Veloso’s “Alegria, alegria,” for example, comments on “a chaotic world of guerillas, dictatorship, spaceships, ubiquitous sex, and so on,” while his and Gilberto Gil’s “Panis et circensis” (“of bread and games,” a reference to the famous words of the Latin poet Juvenal) might clearly be read as a political provocation inspired by the social inequalities that were exacerbated by the military regime.⁴³

Although “Águas de março” does not really incorporate a broad range of musical influences, and besides lacks the strong political commitment of *tropicalismo*, it does seem to allude to a number of sources of inspiration that were important for Caetano Veloso and his followers, notably in poetry. Particularly important for the tropicalists was the work of Carlos Drummond de Andrade, who has been widely recognized as Brazil’s greatest modern-day lyric poet. As Perrone notes, Milton Nascimento’s song lyrics already frequently allude to Carlos Drummond de Andrade’s famous experimental poem “No meio do caminho” (“In the Middle of the Road,” 1930).⁴⁴ Veloso, for his part, collaborated with and borrowed techniques from members of a literary vanguard based in São Paulo that took part of the Brazilian tradition of *poesia concreta*, or concrete poetry, which also experimented with the visual qualities of words in print by way of repetition and reversal (and for poets associated with this tradition, “No meio do caminho” was a prime reference).⁴⁵ The tropicalists also adopted the ideological convictions underlying the radical approach to language of *poesia concreta*. The most important influences in this regard were those from a Brazilian modernist milieu that emerged in the 1920s, including cultural thinkers and writers like Oswald de Andrade and Mário de Andrade.⁴⁶ Their ideas combined a futurist imperative to keep pace with ‘modern’ Western nations with a primitivist imperative to search for kinds of expression that were rooted in Brazilian traditions.

Most important for *tropicalismo* was the rearticulation of ideas expressed by Oswald de Andrade, who in a relatively short period published two famous essays: the “Manifesto da poesia pau-brasil” (“Manifesto of Brazilwood Poetry,” 1924) and the “Manifesto antropófago” (“Cannibalist Manifesto,” 1928).⁴⁷ In the first manifesto, the author proposed a specifically Brazilian kind of ‘poetry for export’ (some kind of cultural expression that foreigners would understand and admire for its uniqueness) that he compared to Brazilwood, an ironic reversal of the history of Portuguese colonial exploitation of valuable Brazilian resources. Oswald de Andrade’s Brazilwood was not only a provocative metaphor to describe a ‘native’ form of expression that kept up with the international avant-garde, it also symbolized the regional

⁴¹ The importance of bossa nova for the Tropicália movement is illustrated by the album cover of the collective album, *Tropicália: ou panis et circensis* (1968), which is a parody of a bourgeois family photo. In this photo, Caetano Veloso is depicted amidst the other contributors to the recording as he holds a large portrait of Nara Leão, who was widely known as the ‘muse’ of bossa nova. Dunn, *Tropicália and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture*, in particular pp. 92-101.

⁴² Béhague, “Bossa & Bossas,” p. 219.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 215-19. The quoted passage can be found on p. 216.

⁴⁴ Perrone, *Masters of Contemporary Brazilian Song: MPB*, p. 142.

⁴⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 48-9, Leu, *Caetano Veloso and the Regeneration of Tradition*, in particular pp. 92-3, and George Lang, “Cannibalizing Bossa Nova,” in *Music, Popular Culture, Identities*, ed. Richard A. Young (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 190-1.

⁴⁶ There was no kinship between Oswald de Andrade and Mário de Andrade, or between either of them and the abovementioned poet Carlos Drummond de Andrade.

⁴⁷ The title of the latter is sometimes also rendered as “Manifesto Antropofágico.”

culture that he believed had been marginalized or even excluded from the metropolitan centers of power and prestige.⁴⁸ The key text for the tropicalists was the perhaps even more humorous second essay, the “Cannibalist Manifesto,” which again cleverly subverted Brazil’s colonial legacy. This time, the native Indian of Brazil who was thought to ritually devour his enemy in order to absorb his strengths – and who thus formed a striking antithesis to the ‘noble savage’ romanticized in European primitivism in those days – was staged as the guiding metaphor. In Oswald de Andrade’s manifesto, the cannibal served as model for the struggle for cultural independence from Europe, which implied a critical and selective ‘devouring’ of cultural products from abroad in order to paradoxically rework those into a ‘native,’ autonomous form of expression.⁴⁹

The notion of cultural cannibalism shaped the agenda of the tropicalists, who ‘digested’ both local and international musical styles in a way that suited the socio-political conditions of their time. Whereas MPB artists had already grown concerned with the national value of their performances during the turbulent early years of the military dictatorship, the tropicalists felt the need to openly confront social problems by mixing up influences associated with different classes, rather than adhering to any particular music tradition. This agenda dovetailed with the ideals expressed by cultural modernists like Oswald de Andrade, who called for a reconciliation between educated forms of expression and folkloric culture. In the 1960s, intertextuality with different kinds of poetry, literature and music thus became a more defining feature of Brazilian popular music. This development again allows to be grasped with Mikhail Bakhtin’s notion of dialogism. Whereas the self-controlled, introspective approach of bossa nova songwriters like Jobim was manifested in their songs in the internal dialogism between words and music, in MPB and *tropicalismo* this approach gradually gave way to an emphasis on external dialogism, as explicit references to musical styles and works of poetry and literature were combined to react against Brazil’s changing social reality.⁵⁰ I argue that Jobim did not remain unaffected by this tendency, which becomes clear in the case of “Águas de março.” In fact, this song appears not only inspired by the external dialogism of MPB and *tropicalismo*, but even alludes to several of the sources of inspiration discussed above.

External Dialogism in “Águas de março”

Many of the ostensibly randomly chosen elements of the lyrics of “Águas de março” turn out to allow for a closer reading that gives them much greater significance. To begin with, Jobim’s references to wood (*pau, madeira*), various trees native to Brazil (the *peroba do campo, caingá, and candeia*, all of which are mentioned in the third quatrain), and his incorporation of the more suggestive line “*é um resto de mato / na luz da manhã*” (“it’s a remnant of forest / in the morning light”) together create an environmental atmosphere. This is particularly interesting because of Jobim’s public role as an ecological activist. According to David Treece, the tropical forest “became an increasingly active political concern up to the end of [Jobim’s] life, when he was a prominent supporter of the movement to defend the last areas of

⁴⁸ Christopher Dunn describes this interpretation of Brazilwood as a metaphor for cultural resources neglected by the educated elite as “a binary tension between ‘the forest and the school,’” which he believes is constitutive of Brazilian culture as a whole. Dunn, *Tropicália and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture*, p. 15.

⁴⁹ Christopher Dunn summarizes an insightful multilayered reading of the “Manifesto Antropófago” by Benedito Nunes, who argues that “cultural cannibalism functions simultaneously [...] as an organic metaphor that links ritual cannibalism of Brazilian natives with the modernist quest for intellectual autonomy from Europe; as a diagnostic of a society traumatized by colonialism; and as a therapy for counteracting the legacy of this trauma through satire and humor.” As quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 18-9.

⁵⁰ Correspondingly, Santuza Cambraia Naves discerns a shift from “restraint” to “excess” as qualities that were valued most in Brazilian popular music in the course of the 1960s. Naves, “From Bossa Nova to Tropicália.”

original forest on Brazil's Atlantic coast."⁵¹ In other words, the lyrics convey a subtext of an increased political commitment. For insiders, the song also allows for an intertextual interpretation in which meaning is generated through its relation Brazilian culture. George Lang recognizes the intertextual potential of the lyrics as he claims that the opening lines (“*é pau, é pedra / é o fim do caminho*”) allude to Carlos Drummond de Andrade’s “No meio do caminho” (“In the Middle of the Road”) – the poem that also served as an example for MPB artist Milton Nascimento – as well as to the Oswald de Andrade’s metaphor of Brazilwood. This latter conclusion is made even more plausible, of course, by Jobim’s references to timber trees native to Brazil. In a way, the lyrics also fulfill the ideals set forth by Oswald de Andrade as they repeatedly borrow from and allude to Brazilian folklore. Charles A. Perrone points out that both the *quadra*, or quatrain structure, and the opening words of the lyrics (“*é pau, é pedra*”) were derived from *samba de matuto*, a kind of folkloric poetry popular in the inlands of the northeastern states of Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia.⁵² Furthermore, the lyrics mention the *matita-pereira* (or *matita-perê*), an indigenous bird species that is important in Brazilian folklore, where it has become synonym with a well-known mythological character known as the Saci.

Jobim has pointed out that the recurring melody was derived from the *ponto* (literally meaning “point”), a melodic figure used in the liturgical verses of a marginalized Afro-Brazilian religion practiced in the south of Brazil.⁵³ The lyrics contain a passage where Jobim plays with subtle changes in the sounds of words (in a way reminiscent of *poesia concreta*) that might be read as a casual reference to this melodic concept (“*é uma ponta, é uma ponto [...] é uma conta, é um conto*”). Several other words also allow for a double reading. At first sight, the names of João and José, common in Brazilian-Portuguese, seem to have been chosen because of their insignificance. However, the name José is also used in another famous poem by Carlos Drummond de Andrade – a despairing hymn to an ordinary man who goes by the name José. Furthermore, near the end of the song the lyrics mention “*uma belo horizonte*” (“a beautiful horizon”), which for a Brazilian listener without doubt evokes Belo Horizonte, the capital city of Minas Gerais in the southeast of Brazil. Like Brasília, the modern capital of Brazil that was designed and built in the late 1950s, the more populous Belo Horizonte has become a symbol of urban planning and modernization, but gradually it has also come to be associated with the many problems caused by urbanization. A parallel can be drawn between the discreet allusion to this city in “Águas de março” (followed by the somewhat remarkable observation “*é uma febre terçã*,” “it’s a tertian fever”) and the lyrics of Caetano Veloso’s abovementioned song “Tropicália” (1967), which cleverly challenges the triumphalism associated with the construction of Brasília.⁵⁴ Like “Tropicália,” “Águas de março” might thus be interpreted as a skeptical comment on the developmentalism promoted in Brazil during the presidency of Joscélino Kubitschek, with which early bossa nova has invariably been associated.⁵⁵

In conclusion, the clever integration of words and music in “Águas de março” bears close resemblance to that of earlier of Jobim’s bossa nova compositions. At the same time, however, the evocation of ecological activism in lyrics, the borrowing from and references to Brazilian folklore in both text and music, and the frequent use of polysemous words clearly put the composition in line with the songwriting practice in Brazilian popular music since the military coup in 1964. The numerous cultural specificities referred to in the lyrics give the song a Brazilian character, which corresponds with the idea of a ‘native’ form of expression that was fundamental to the repertory of MPB. Moreover, the song’s intertextual potential in connection with the writings of the modernist poets Oswald de Andrade and Carlos Drummond de Andrade could be read as a shared concern with the tropicalists. “Águas de março”

⁵¹ Treece, “Bossa Nova and Brazil’s Music of Popular Protest,” p. 7. For more details on Jobim’s involvement with ecological activism, see Helena Jobim, *Antônio Carlos Jobim: Um Homem Iluminado* (Rio de Janeiro: Editoria Nova Fronteira, 1996).

⁵² Perrone, “Lyric and Lyrics,” pp. 59 and 74 n. 19.

⁵³ Treece, “Movement and Time in Bossa Nova,” p. 91.

⁵⁴ Among others, see Leu, *Caetano Veloso and the Regeneration of Tradition*, pp. 38-9.

⁵⁵ For example, see Dunn, *Tropicália and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture*, pp. 33-5.

features both internal and external dialogism: the composition combines the self-enclosed intimacy of bossa nova songs that predated the military regime with the intertextuality (and, arguably, the *participação*) of Brazilian popular music of the 1960s.

Jobim's English-language Version of "Waters of March"

In 1974, two years after he first recorded "Águas de março," Jobim wrote the English-language version of the song, which he published in the U.S. as "Waters of March." The first notable recording of this translation was that of U.S. singer-songwriter Art Garfunkel, for his album *Breakaway* (Columbia, 1975), and many cover versions would follow suit. What might have encouraged Jobim to make a translation of the lyrics is the international attention that "Águas de março" received at an early stage. In 1973, Georges Moustaki recorded a French rendition of the song entitled "Les eaux de mars," followed shortly afterwards by Mina Mazzini's performance of an Italian translation of the song that had been provided by Giorgio Calabrese, "La pioggia di marzo." In a posthumously published collection of his complete works, Jobim gives the following explanation for his decision to translate "Águas de março" into English: "I had never been satisfied with American versions of my lyrics, because they weren't exactly translations. People just wrote them without knowing what they were talking about. So I decided to write the English lyrics myself."⁵⁶ Although Jobim obviously knew what he was talking about, as the translator of his own lyrics, he chose not to incorporate the references to Brazilian culture that contributed strongly to the evocative force of "Águas de março." The composer simply omitted all of the references to wood and trees (except for the relatively insignificant "é um resto de tóco" and "nó da madeira," which he translated verbatim as "it's a rest of stump" and "knot in the wood"). Instead, he came up with more universal images of nature: "The oak when it blooms / a fox in the brush [...] the song of a thrush." As a result, the English lyrics did not urge listeners to make a connection with the Brazilian tropical forest (not to mention Jobim's involvement with ecological activism, or Oswald de Andrade's Brazilwood metaphor). In addition, although the rhyme structure of the *quadra* was preserved, musical and textual allusions to Brazilian folklore were left out or simply could no longer be discerned as such. In other words, while Brazilian listeners were enabled to recognize in "Águas de março" the kinds of intertextuality and *participação* that had become a prominent feature of Brazilian popular music, "Waters of March" contains no traces of such external dialogism for Anglophone audiences.

A closer look at the translation process strengthens the impression that Jobim indeed tried to create a complete, self-contained version of the lyrics that made sense to English-speaking listeners. Although the exact meanings of the English words frequently deviate from the Brazilian-Portuguese, they again describe a large number of disparate objects or situations, instead of telling a story. Jobim picked English words that were as "concise, stark, and evocative" as the Brazilian-Portuguese, and again combined them in a "short and economic" phrasing.⁵⁷ He introduced a number of characteristically Anglophone word combinations that could not be found in "Águas de março," such as "the beat of the road" and "the end of the line," while domesticating the phrase "é João, é José" as "it is John, it is Joe." Moreover, he made his translation more attractive to Anglophone audiences by favoring one-syllable words with Anglo-Saxon roots wherever possible, apparently in an attempt to avoid the Latinate vocabulary of Brazilian-Portuguese.⁵⁸ In English-speaking countries, such originally Anglo-Saxon words contribute to the expressive power of the poetry, due to their more direct connection to specific objects, events and ideas. This insight is affirmed by Gene Lees, among others, who argues that words with Anglo-

⁵⁶ As quoted in Freeman, "Complexity, Simplicity and Poetic Invention in Jobim's "Águas De Março," p. 56.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁵⁸ Dahl, *Haunted Heart*, p. 195; Freeman, "Complexity, Simplicity and Poetic Invention in Jobim's "Águas De Março," p. 56.

Saxon roots constitute “the most effective vocabulary to use in poetry or lyrics,” since they usually describe concrete feelings rather than abstract thoughts.⁵⁹ According to Lees, celebrated songwriters in the U.S. like Cole Porter and Johnny Mercer for that reason generally use such words when they want to convey strong images or emotions. With regard to the music, Jobim simply shifted the alternating modal melodic motifs (that function as autonomous building blocks) so as to adapt the melody to the intonation and number of syllables of the English words. As a result, the English words seem to fall as effortlessly into the musical structure as did the Brazilian-Portuguese.⁶⁰

Due to such adaptations and revisions, possible meanings of “Águas de março” were displaced in “Waters of March,” and the attention of non-Brazilian listeners would be directed to themes that stood out for them. Jazz vocalist Susannah McCorkle’s revised English translation, which I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, helps to speculate about what it is in the lyrics of “Waters of March” that might have appealed to U.S. listeners in particular. According to Linda Dahl, McCorkle turned “Waters of March” into her signature song after she had replaced “a number of awkward word choices” in Jobim’s English-language lyrics, which Dahl believes further “heightened the contrasts of emotional shifts.”⁶¹ In McCorkle’s opinion, the discreet references to life, death and violence (“it’s a trap, it’s a gun”) were the most remarkable aspect of the song from a non-Brazilian perspective, since such references are quite uncommon in the U.S. popular song tradition.⁶² Whereas Jobim’s English-language version of “Waters of March” in addition to the themes of life and death refers to physical injury and disease (“it’s a cold / it’s the mumps,” “it’s a thorn in your hand / it’s a cut in your toe”), McCorkle chose to focus on this reflection on human life and its limitations. She treated the song’s subtext as a lament about life’s downside, though for her this simultaneously meant an affirmation of freedom and future expectations. That such an interpretation provides “a reason for hope” is emphasized in her rendition of the lyrics, which singles out the optimism of Jobim’s: “it’s the weight of your load [...] the mystery of life [...] it’s the end of despair [...] it’s the will to survive.” McCorkle’s association of the lyrics with hopefulness and “the lifting of depression” are not surprising, given Jobim’s repeated evocation of the arrival of springtime. Whereas the month March marks the end of the summer in Brazil, as the original lyrics indicate (“*são as águas de março / fechando o verão*,” “it’s the waters of March / closing the summer”), this adaptation made sense to English-speaking listeners in most Western countries, where March announces the beginning of spring. In other words, the idea of “the promise of life” (“*a promessa de vida*”) takes on a more literal meaning in “Waters of March,” and not surprisingly, the lyrics appear to be more hopeful and optimistic in comparison with the contemplative mood of “Águas de março.”

It is worth noting, in this regard, that Jobim maintained the strong connection between words and music in “Waters of March.” Like in “Águas de março,” the impression of an endlessly looping, circular motion created by the music is also apparent from the lyrics of “Waters of March,” which are fragmentary but at the same time suggest a cyclic recurrence. This latter effect is reinforced by the refrain-like quatrain starting with “and the riverbank talks / of the waters of March” which in comparison with its equivalent in “Águas de março” (“*são as águas de março / fechando o verão*”) turns up for the first time more towards the beginning of the lyrics and thus seems to recur more regularly. In other words, in the absence of intertextuality with various sources of poetry and literature, the internal dialogue between lyrics and musical accompaniment is put centre stage in “Waters of March.” For non-Brazilian popular music fans, this interdependence of words and music, in addition to the poetic character of the lyrics, would have appeared familiar in connection with the subtle and intimate songs of the likes of João Gilberto, Luiz Bonfá and Jobim himself that had earlier been popularized in the U.S. and elsewhere. The comparatively

⁵⁹ Gene Lees, “William and Harold and How to Write Lyrics,” in *Singers and the Song II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), in particular p. 9.

⁶⁰ Freeman, “Complexity, Simplicity and Poetic Invention in Jobim’s “Águas De Março,” p. 56.

⁶¹ Dahl, *Haunted Heart*, pp. 194-6. The quoted passages can be found on p. 196.

⁶² McCorkle remarked that “We don’t talk about death, about killing ourselves, in a pop song, but the Brazilians do.” Reportedly, Brazilians told McCorkle that the evocation of death and violence had a personal connotation for Jobim, for whom it referred to “the murder of an acquaintance.” *Ibid.*, pp. 195-6.

optimistic tone of “Waters of March,” whose lyrics were not obscured, in contrast to “Águas de março,” by countless allusions to the critical counterculture of 1960s Brazil, was thus more in line with the predominant conception of bossa nova outside Brazil, where the more socially articulate ‘second generation’ of bossa nova (not to mention MPB and tropicalismo) had not yet gained ground. I believe that the comparatively optimistic and carefree tone of the evocation of springtime in “Waters of March” explains – in combination with the tight integration of words and music – that writers like David Treece and Charles A. Perrone have understood the composition as a continuation of the early bossa nova repertoire. Whereas the Brazilian-Portuguese-language lyrics of “Águas de março” invite to be listened to in connection with the *participação* cultural nationalism of MPB and *tropicalismo*, the cultural translation of “Waters of March” appears more self-contained and optimistic and thus allows to be listened to nostalgically, as a recollection of the internationalizing Brazilian popular music before the advent of a critical counterculture in the 1960s. The cultural translation of “Águas de março” as “Waters of March” turned the composition into some kind of “poetry for export” as envisioned by Oswald de Andrade, since the English-language lyrics were understandable for Anglophone listeners but nonetheless would have been admired for their uniqueness in comparison with U.S. popular song lyrics.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored what happened to the Brazilian meanings and connotations of a number of bossa nova songs when these were translated into English. My main reason for examining the translation of song lyrics is that I believe that this process of adaptation must have significantly affected how bossa nova was understood outside Brazil. On the basis of the discussions of the early bossa nova repertoire by several Brazilian music and literature specialists, as well as the memoirs of translators Gene Lees and Susannah McCorkle, I concluded that well-known bossa nova lyrics from the late 1950s are typically characterized by the following musico-poetic qualities: an introspective mood that is generally melancholic or wistful; an internal dialogism between music and lyrics, which makes it seem as though the singer responds to the musical accompaniment or vice versa; and, more occasionally, culturally specific allusions (like the Corcovado, or aesthetic discussions that occupied the popular music scene in 1950s Brazil). Both Lees and McCorkle, who have commented on their reinterpretations of the Brazilian-Portuguese-language lyrics in different contexts, claim that they tried to maintain such qualities in their translations. More pragmatic adaptations to U.S. popular music culture, which did not appear to be very attentive to the connotations bossa nova songs might have had for Brazilian listeners, were dismissed by them as ‘banal’ or ‘Tin Pan Alley’ lyrics. However, some culturally specific elements (such as word plays and kinds of humor that depended on acquaintance with the historical context of 1950s Brazil) simply would not make sense to non-Brazilian audiences and therefore turned out to be untranslatable, regardless of the knowledgeability of the translator. Partly in order to demonstrate that lyrics were not necessarily altered because they were misunderstood by U.S. translators, I have provided a more thorough analysis of the lyrics of Antônio Carlos Jobim’s composition “Águas de março,” of which Jobim made an English-language translation himself. I approached the English-language lyrics of “Waters of March” as a cultural, rather than a poetic, translation, since I believe that Jobim tried to ensure that this version would appeal to the prior knowledge and expectations of audiences in the U.S. (where the translation was published).

In my discussion of “Águas de março,” I initially focused on the characteristics typical of the early bossa nova repertoire. I showed that musico-poetically, “Águas de março” bears close similarities to some of Jobim’s earlier bossa nova songs. The harmonic circularity resembles that of “Corcovado,” for instance, and the interdependence of lyrics and music calls to mind songs like “Desafinado” and “Samba de uma nota só.” However, despite this connection, I argued that the classification of “Águas de março” as a bossa nova piece is problematic, since this interpretation does not take into account important developments in Brazilian popular music in the 1960s which clearly affected Jobim’s songwriting. As I explained, the beginning of the military dictatorship in Brazil in 1964 urged popular artists to incorporate various kinds of social criticism in their lyrics (a kind of involvement that was known as *participação*), and

to promote a national idiom that made use of various Brazilian folkloric traditions of music, literature and poetry. This tendency led to the emergence of MPB (*Música Popular Brasileira*), an eclectic trend of popular song that according to some also entailed a more socially articulate ‘second generation’ of bossa nova. Near the end of the 1960s, a more radical movement known as Tropicália, or *tropicalismo*, partially dissociated itself from MPB by appropriating a greater variety of styles and influences in protest against social inequalities. This movement – which was led by singer-songwriter Caetano Veloso – explicitly referred to work of several Brazilian cultural nationalists and poets from the 1920s, who had stressed the need for a native form of expression that combined international appeal and intellectual prestige with Brazilian cultural heritage. I have argued that Jobim draws on this intertextuality with different kinds of poetry, literature and music in “Águas de março,” since this composition features poetic and musical devices that are common in Brazilian folklore as well as an allusion to a well-known mythological character. Furthermore, the lyrics contain references to the tropical forest, which allow for a reading in connection to Oswald de Andrade’s Brazilwood manifesto and betray the composer’s political involvement as an ecological activist. Interestingly, this layer of meanings was omitted from the cultural translation of “Waters of March,” which had to appeal to non-Brazilian popular music fans. As I demonstrated, Jobim’s decisions in the translation process served to highlight the circularity of the fragmented lyrics and musical accompaniment. In addition, partly due to the centrality of the arrival of springtime, “Waters of March” conveys a more hopeful mood than “Águas de março.” On these grounds, I concluded that “Waters of March” appears more self-contained and optimistic and could thus be interpreted in line with the early bossa nova song repertoire.

Conclusion

In the preceding chapters, I have described various moments in which bossa nova was adapted to jazz and popular music practice in the United States between 1962 and 1974. I have relied on the metaphor of translation to understand the kinds of negotiation that took place in this process. In the first chapter, I sought to answer the question of how bossa nova was reconfigured and presented on the jazz albums of Verve Records, in an attempt by artistic director and producer Creed Taylor to appeal to U.S. audiences. In the second chapter, I investigated the face-to-face interaction between individual members of the jazz and bossa nova communities of Brazil and the U.S., so as to understand how bossa nova gradually became part of U.S. jazz practice. I concentrated on Horace Silver's composition "Song for My Father" to see how the incorporation of bossa nova into jazz works in a specific composition. In the third chapter, I focused on bossa nova lyrics, and examined to what extent Antônio Carlos Jobim's English-language translation of his song "Águas de março" ("Waters of March") deviate from the original Brazilian-Portuguese lyrics, and how this makes sense in relation to the different conceptions of bossa nova in Brazil and in the U.S. In each case, the notion of cultural translation has helped to reveal the interests and motives of the 'translators' who reinterpreted bossa nova in ways that made sense to them and their audiences.

Before I discuss my findings in more detail, I would like to briefly return to my use of the notion of translation. In the introduction, I argued that the concepts that are used to grasp interaction between cultures deeply affect how such interaction and its outcome are understood. As an alternative to more familiar concepts in music studies such as diaspora, synthesis, syncretism, and transculturation, I proposed the notion of cultural translation as a way of thinking about music that travels across cultural boundaries. In the course of the last two decades, this notion of cultural translation has come to denote, firstly, the awareness that the translation of literary texts should be seen as an exchange between cultural differences (rather than merely between two languages), and, secondly, the practice of translators who deal with such differences in a conscious manner. My application of translation to traveling music is particularly inspired by the expanded use of the notion in the humanities and cultural studies. Among others, postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha has argued that changes in cultural objects, traditions and identities that move from one place to another should also be considered translational. This means that cultural changes outside of the domain of literature might also result from the partial untranslatability of cultural specificities. I have drawn on this insight in my attempts to understand how various aspects of bossa nova culture were reframed or displaced on a number of occasions in the U.S. in the 1960s and early 1970s. Whereas abstract concepts like transculturation seem appropriate to grasp cultural exchange over a prolonged period of time, and between disparate and clearly distinguishable cultural entities, translation allows us to understand the unpredictable flows of culture by way of concrete moments of reinterpretation. This approach corresponds with my understanding of bossa nova as a discursive formation that continues to exist thanks to its continuous reinterpretation under specific circumstances.

As I noted in the introduction, this definition of music as a complex cultural constellation that is continuously in motion dovetails with the work of a number of scholars who, like Bhabha, are concerned with the transformations of culturally specific forms of knowledge in a world that is characterized by increasingly global subjectivities, mobility, and interaction across cultural differences and between economies. As I mentioned, developments commonly lumped together as globalization have resulted in what cultural theorist Nikos Papastergiadis calls "the deterritorialization of people and culture," by which he means that "people now feel they belong to various communities despite the fact they do not share

common territory with all the other members [of those communities].”¹ The interaction between jazz and bossa nova communities in both Brazil and the U.S. – which was based on the cosmopolitanist ideals of the artists involved – helped to fulfill such a development in the case of bossa nova, whereas U.S. music producers like Creed Taylor contributed to the understanding of the style as preeminently Brazilian. Anthropologist James Clifford has emphasized that a heterogeneous cultural entity that at first might seem to belong to a particular geographical territory should nonetheless be grasped by way of its travels, not only through time but also through space. Building on Clifford’s work, I argue that the processes of translation that take place on such travels, and thus the displacement of possible meanings, significantly shapes our understanding of culture. Most people who have become acquainted with bossa nova would not have been able to learn about the style were it not for adaptations outside of Brazil. Therefore, as I mentioned in the introduction, it is necessary to examine the ways bossa nova was rendered accessible and appreciable for those people in order to grasp the worldwide legacy of the music.

In the first chapter, I expanded this argument by challenging the assumption that bossa nova is not worthy of scholarly consideration anymore from the early 1960s onwards, when it was appropriated for commercial purposes by the U.S. entertainment business. The commercial production of bossa nova outside Brazil is worth studying, I argued, since it draws on, and in turn contributes to, foreign conceptions of bossa nova (and, by extension, of Brazilian culture). My examination of the bossa nova output of Verve Records was motivated by two central questions, which I would like to rephrase here:

- *How did the production strategies of Verve Records shape the presentation of bossa nova on albums?*
- *To what extent did Verve domesticate bossa nova, and to what extent did it foreignize the style?*

The production strategies I discerned in my analysis of Verve’s bossa nova albums involve the conscious use of genre categories and artist names, intended to reach out and connect to the prior knowledge and experiences of potential record buyers. In addition, product differentiation was required in order to maintain a sense of exclusivity. I recognized the crossover category “Jazz Samba” as an example of the first production strategy, since it combined the widespread popularity of samba as an exotic dance rhythm with the social prestige of jazz. Taylor used this category as the title of the well-known bossa nova album by Stan Getz and Charlie Byrd in 1962, when bossa nova was still relatively unknown in the U.S., and once the style became popular he would continue to present a number of albums as sequels to *Jazz Samba*. Furthermore, the collaborations of Luiz Bonfá and João Gilberto with Stan Getz served to authenticate Verve’s bossa nova output and legitimize Getz’s engagement with the style, while his reputation in turn helped to familiarize U.S. audiences with their personalities. This clever combination of names of artists from different backgrounds was intended to reach out to potential listeners, in a way comparable to collaborative modes of production in more recent kinds of world music. A good example of an attempt to create a sense of exclusivity is the abstract-expressionist cover art by visual artist Olga Albizu that adorned a number of albums between 1962 and 1965.

My examination of Creed Taylor’s conscious presentation of bossa nova was based on an analogy with the mediation of cultural specificities in literary translation, which opens up a range of translational approaches from domestication to foreignization. With strategies like the ones mentioned above, producer Creed Taylor managed to strike a balance between those extreme ends. He adapted his bossa nova albums to U.S. jazz and popular music culture, for instance by having arrangers like Claus Ogerman provide light string orchestrations. At the same time, he demonstrated a discerning taste for bossa nova as it was conceived in Brazil, for instance by adding liner notes that directed attention to the reputations of Luiz Bonfá, Antônio Carlos Jobim, and Walter Wanderley in their home country. This emphasis on the style’s foreign roots helped to add a touch of authenticity that was desirable at a time when the style seemed

¹ Nikos Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 115-6.

liable to an excessive degree of domestication in the U.S., particularly through its reinvention as a social dance that was taught along with the Twist. Eventually, however, the emphasis on foreignness gained the upper hand in Verve's album output in the second half of the 1960s, when albums clearly gravitated towards a more stereotypical portrayal of bossa nova as intrinsically Brazilian.

My comparison of the commercial recording of bossa nova in the U.S. with the practice of literary translation has helped to make it clear that the foreignness of Verve's bossa nova albums should not be considered an unmediated representation of how the style had been conceived in Brazil, but rather a strategic construction that fulfilled a demand for authenticity in the U.S. Due to Creed Taylor's shift of focus towards bossa nova's Brazilian roots, Verve's bossa nova albums allowed to be perceived as more authentic than other reinterpretations of bossa nova, at least from the perspective of U.S. listeners. This conclusion suggests that the notion of authenticity might still be of use in the scholarly study of transnational trends in popular music, despite Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh's conclusion that the "buzzword" has already been "consigned to the intellectual dust-heap."² According to Born and Hesmondhalgh, the notion of authenticity is problematic since it has become clear that authenticity-talk often serves the interests of music industry corporations that attempt to turn non-Western music into commodities for the West. Precisely for that reason, however, I believe that scholars should not dismiss it too readily. Instead, it should be possible to be critical of authenticity claims while trying to see how this criterion of musical value works – namely by asking what is authenticated, by whom, and especially for whom – as I have done in the case of the bossa nova albums released by Verve Records.³ Brazilian music that is produced or performed outside of Brazil frequently seems to convey a Brazilian essence, which Kariann Goldschmitt calls *brasilidade*. In the case of bossa nova, which lost its social relevance in Brazil in the wake of the military coup d'état in 1964, Goldschmitt argues that this *brasilidade* has become nostalgic and is in fact more real for non-Brazilians than for Brazilians.⁴ As I have argued, the *brasilidade* that was evoked by Verve's bossa nova albums should be understood as a response to the perceived demand for a more authentic bossa nova by critical U.S. music fans.

Ironically, Verve's emphasis on bossa nova's foreignness did not really correspond either with the beliefs Brazilian musicians, fans and critics had before the military coup of 1964. For them, bossa nova primarily denoted the optimistic spirit and longing for modernization that characterized of the period of Juscelino Kubitchek's presidency (1956-1961), and connected to it the ideal to look for musical inspiration abroad.⁵ In other words, for Brazilians bossa nova in a way transcended national boundaries. In my case study concerned with the connection between bossa nova and jazz, I identified such cosmopolitanism as a shared interest of Brazilian musicians who inspired U.S. jazz musicians to engage in bossa nova. In spite of the strong connection between jazz and bossa nova, this connection has received only scant attention from jazz scholars, and I have tried to make up for this neglect by posing the following questions:

² Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, "Introduction: On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music," in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, eds. Born and Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), in particular pp. 21-30.

³ See also Allan Moore, "Authenticity as Authentication," *Popular Music* 21, no. 2 (2002), and Richard Middleton, "The Real Thing? The Specter of Authenticity," in *Voicing the Popular: On the Subjects of Popular Music* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

⁴ Kariann Elaine Goldschmitt, "Bossa Mundo: Brazilian Popular Music's Global Transformations (1938-2008)," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2009), in particular pp. 175-6. Borrowing from Jean Baudrillard, Goldschmitt interprets the *brasilidade* in bossa nova performed outside of Brazil as *hyperreal*. Baudrillard's theory of hyperreality applies to simulations that come to be mistaken for reality, due to the mutual dependence of consumer culture and mass media.

⁵ Among others, see Albrecht Moreno, "Bossa Nova, Novo Brasil: The Significance of Bossa Nova as a Brazilian Popular Music," *Latin American Research Review* 17, no. 2 (1982).

- *How did members of the jazz and bossa nova communities in Brazil and the U.S. interact with each other, and in what ways did bossa nova resonate with the interests and motives of individual jazz musicians who drew inspiration from it?*
- *How does the incorporation of bossa nova function in Horace Silver's jazz composition "Song for My Father"?*

I concluded that U.S. jazz musicians like Herbie Mann and Kenny Dorham acquired part of their knowledge of bossa nova through their encounters with Brazilian bossa nova artists and *jazzistas* such as João Donato, Sérgio Mendes and Dom Um Romão, notably in nightclubs and jam sessions in Copacabana. Those Brazilians generally had a rather blurred conception of jazz and bossa nova, and appropriated well-known bossa nova songs as vehicles for jazz improvisation, while performing covers of U.S. jazz tunes with the use of bossa nova rhythm. A shared familiarity with jazz standards and the blues scale and form – which functioned as a springboard for collective improvisation – facilitated the musical encounters between U.S. and Brazilian artists. However, this cross-cultural dialogue was not limited to the exchange of musical knowledge or skills: U.S. jazz artists who traveled to Rio de Janeiro would also have felt attracted by the cosmopolitanist ideals of their Brazilian peers, which inspired them to draw on their experiences with bossa nova in their own music practice.

In order to understand how the musical idiom of bossa nova and the ideals attached to it in Brazil resonated with the ambitions of U.S. jazz artists, I focused on Horace Silver's composition "Song for My Father." I grasped the connection between jazz and bossa nova dialogically, and I argued that the dialogue between jazz and bossa nova was manifest in "Song for My Father." Silver's experiences bossa nova allowed him to reevaluate his Cape Verdean ancestry, which resulted in a personal take on the dialogue between U.S. and Brazilian artists – a musical tribute to his father. In my analysis of "Song for My Father," I argued that Silver treated bossa nova as an idiom that could be incorporated in the musical texture of his composition as a unique cultural voice. Building on Ingrid Monson's discussion of the internal tension between different music styles in jazz, I demonstrated in what sense the evocation of bossa nova in "Song for My Father" functions like heteroglossia in literature, as it enters into a dynamic unity with the other musical idioms incorporated in the composition. This led me to conclude that Silver adopted bossa nova in his unremitting search for a more universal kind of musical expression, thus mirroring the cosmopolitanist ideals of Brazilian artists. I would like to emphasize that my interpretation of "Song for My Father" as the outcome of the face-to-face interaction between members of different cultural communities confirms the importance of the oral transmission of knowledge in jazz, which has been established by ethnomusicologists and jazz scholars Ingrid Monson and Paul Berliner. However, while both Berliner and Monson almost exclusively focus on the kinds of interaction that takes place during actual performances,⁶ I took this approach a step further by asking how such interaction contributes to the act of putting together different kinds of musical knowledge in anticipation of staged performances or studio recordings. In other words, I believe that a communicative ethos is central not only to jazz performances, but also to relatively 'fixed' jazz compositions like "Song for My Father."

In the third chapter, I focused on what should perhaps be seen as the most unmistakable site of cultural negotiation as bossa nova became popular on the international stage: the lyrics. From the moment Astrud Gilberto inspired U.S. singers to perform bossa nova songs in their own language, English-language translations of song lyrics must have significantly contributed to the understanding of bossa nova outside Brazil. My examination of the translation of bossa nova lyrics was guided by two main questions:

⁶ Berliner, for instance, is primarily interested in jazz extemporization (particularly the way jazz musicians acquire improvisational skills) and thus fails to discuss their invention of more or less 'fixed' pieces, though he does seem to recognize the problems with a clear-cut distinction between 'composition' and 'improvisation.' Paul F. Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994), in particular pp. 492 ff.

- *How have translators of lyrics negotiated the musico-poetic qualities and cultural connotations of bossa nova songs?*
- *In what ways do Jobim's English-language lyrics of "Waters of March" deviate from the Brazilian-Portuguese-language lyrics of his composition "Águas de março," and how are those differences related to the distinct trajectories of bossa nova in Brazil and the U.S.?*

I addressed the first question by discerning a number of musico-poetic qualities that, in addition to the overall poetic appeal, typically contribute to the strength of early bossa nova lyrics: a self-conscious mood that conveys an introspective or intimate atmosphere; a clever integration of lyrics and musical accompaniment which somehow seem to reinforce each other; and occasional references to Brazilian culture. On the basis of the memoirs of Gene Lees and Susannah McCorkle, I concluded that these aspects posed problems for translators who wrote English-language versions of bossa nova lyrics. It could be worthwhile for a translator to make the overall mood of a song explicit in the translation, but this sometimes required substantial adaptations (for instance in Jobim's "Corcovado," in which the allusion to the eponymous hilltop in Rio de Janeiro gave the song an impressionist atmosphere). Illustrative in this regard is also McCorkle's translation of Antônio Carlos Jobim's "A felicidade" ("Happiness"), with which she wanted to convey the irony that the song was actually about sadness. Furthermore, musical knowledge was indispensable in order to preserve the interdependence of words and music, which functioned as the main attraction of songs like "Desafinado" and "Samba de uma nota só." In case a song contained implicit or explicit references to Brazilian culture, non-Brazilian equivalents would have to be found to make the song understandable outside Brazil. As a consequence, the more specific historical significance that songs had in Brazil (as was the case with "Desafinado," the style's unofficial anthem) would be lost in translation.

This latter conclusion also applies to Jobim's "Águas de março" (1972), which I argued appealed to Brazilian listeners especially since it could be understood as a response to developments in Brazilian popular music culture following the military coup d'état in 1964. Whereas bossa nova reached its peak of popularity in the U.S. in that year, the style had by then already become less relevant for Brazilian audiences due to the changing socio-political conditions. While my first chapter pointed to the need to be critical of generic and stylistic classifications of music, the findings of the second chapter emphasized that we sometimes need to think beyond such categories in music studies. In the third chapter, I continued this line of thought by challenging the use of the term bossa nova itself. Although theorists outside Brazil have almost invariably classified "Águas de março" as a typical example of bossa nova, I argued that such an interpretation overlooks the strong evocative force of the lyrics from a Brazilian perspective. My analysis of the song suggests that Jobim drew inspiration from the social involvement or *participação* of Brazilian popular music in the 1960s, since the lyrics convey a heightened political commitment that put them into contrast with the more carefree lyrics of his bossa nova songs from the late 1950s. The lyrics also contain numerous allusions to specifically Brazilian musical, literary and poetic sources, resulting in a rich intertextual potential for Brazilian listeners. In his English-language translation, titled "Waters of March" (1964), Jobim managed to preserve the song's reflective mood and tight relation between words and music, which I recognized as qualities typical of the early bossa nova repertoire. However, he deliberately omitted the ubiquitous references to Brazilian culture, which he replaced with more universal images in order to make the song understandable and attractive for non-Brazilian listeners. As a result, "Waters of March" appeared more self-enclosed, carefree and optimistic than "Águas de março," and thus allowed to be connected to the early bossa nova song repertoire by listeners and theorists in the U.S. (where the critical song culture of 1960s Brazil had not really gain ground).

Due to the limited scope of this thesis, I have only examined a number of instances of adaptation that helped to popularize bossa nova as a musical style in the U.S. and elsewhere. Despite these limitations, I believe that my observations may have implications for the study of traveling music styles in general. I have made a case here for the need to focus on the contributions of cultural translators to a traveling music culture, while such contributions are commonly dismissed as deviant or unfaithful. This

has enabled me to find that, rather than questions of faithfulness, considerations of recognizability, adaptability, comprehensibility and marketability determined how the musical idiom and social connotations of bossa nova were transformed in the U.S. between 1962 and 1974. My findings emphasize the need to focus on the musical activities of individuals, while stylistic or generic changes in music are often described theoretically and in abstracto. Moreover, I have demonstrated that the adaptation of music in particular contexts and for particular audiences is a decisive factor in the transformations of music styles that are consumed internationally. This means that it is crucial, I believe, to study such processes of adaptation in order to understand world music cultures at large, whether they are marketed as such or not. The presentation of world music nowadays demonstrates signs of translation that are very similar to the ones I discerned in the reconfiguration of bossa nova by Verve Records, for instance by means of cross-cultural collaborations, explanatory liner notes, images of foreign localities, and promises of authenticity. For that reason, the model of domestication and foreignization that I used in the case study about Verve might be helpful to study the transformations in specific kinds of world music today. The notion of cultural translation is also useful to study transformations brought about by artists, since musical categories (including 'world music') are static and often ideologically charged and therefore not very suitable to understand interaction between musicians. The notion of translation helps to steer clear of these problems as it is unbiased and implies that culture is continuously in flux. In conclusion, I hope that my findings provide a stimulus to adopt a similar perspective to other non-Brazilian adaptations of bossa nova, or to different forms of traveling culture generally.

Bibliography

- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. "Thick Translation." In *The Translation Studies Reader*, edited by Lawrence Venuti, pp. 389-401. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. Second edition. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Bachmann-Medick, Doris. *Cultural turns: Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften*. Reinbek: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2006.
- _____. "Introduction: The Translational Turn." *Translation Studies* 2, no. 1 (2009): 2-16.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail M. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Translated by Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.
- Bassnett, Susan. "The Translation Turn in Cultural Studies." In *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*, edited by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, pp. 123-140. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998.
- Béhague, Gerard. "Bossa & Bossas: Recent Changes in Brazilian Urban Popular Music." *Ethnomusicology* 17, no. 2 (1973): 209-233.
- Benjamin, Walter. "The Task of The Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens*." In *The Translation Studies Reader*, edited by Lawrence Venuti, pp. 75-82. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Berliner, Paul F. *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Bhabha, Homi K. "How Newness Enters the World: Postmodern Space, Postcolonial Times and the Trials of Cultural Translation." In *The Location of Culture*, pp. 212-235. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Born, Georgina, and David Hesmondhalgh. "Introduction: On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music." In *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, edited by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, pp. 1-58. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Carson, Charles D. "'Bridging the Gap': Creed Taylor, Grover Washington Jr., and the Crossover Roots of Smooth Jazz." *Black Music Research Journal* 28, no. 1 (2008): 1-16.
- Carvalho, Martha de Ulhôa. "Tupi or not Tupi MPB: Popular Music and Identity in Brazil." In *The Brazilian Puzzle: Culture on the Borderlands of the Western World*, edited by David J. Hess and Roberto da Matta. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Castro, Ruy. *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music That Seduced the World*. Translated by Lysa Salisbury. Chicago: A Cappella Books, 2000.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

- Clifford, James. "Traveling Cultures." In *Cultural Studies*, edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson and Paula Treichler, pp. 96-116. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- _____. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Dahl, Linda. *Haunted Heart: A Biography of Susannah McCorkle*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.
- DeVeaux, Scott. "Constructing the Jazz Tradition: Jazz Historiography." *Black American Literature Forum* 25, no. 3 (1991): 525-560.
- Dunn, Christopher. *Brutality Garden: Tropicália and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Farinha, Maria J. "The Eternal and the Poetic in Re-Creating Brazilian Music: The Mutual Enrichment of Popular and Classical Music in the Works of Heitor Villa-Lobos, Radames Gnattali, and Antonio Carlos Jobim." MA Thesis, York University, Canada, 2009.
- Fernández, Lola. *Flamenco Music Theory: Rhythm, Harmony, Melody, Form*. Translated by Nancy R. Rodemann. Pacific, MO: Mel Bay Publications, 2005.
- Fernández, Raúl A. *From Afro-Cuban Rhythms to Latin Jazz*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Freeman, Peter. "Complexity, Simplicity and Poetic Invention in Antônio Carlos Jobim's "Águas de março" (Waters of March)." In *Popular Music: Commemoration, Commodification and Communication [Proceedings of the 2004 International Association for the Study of Popular Music Australia New Zealand Conference]*, edited by Denis Crowdy, pp. 54-64. Melbourne: IASPM Australia New Zealand, 2004.
- Gennari, John. "Jazz Criticism: Its Development and Ideologies." *Black American Literature Forum* 25, no. 3 (1991): 449-523.
- Gioia, Ted. *West Coast Jazz: Modern Jazz in California, 1945-1960*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Goldschmitt, Kariann Elaine. "Bossa Mundo: Brazilian Popular Music's Global Transformations (1938-2008)." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2009.
- Grasse, Jonathon. "Conflation and Conflict in Brazilian Popular Music: Forty Years between 'Filming' Bossa Nova in "Orfeu Negro" and Rap in "Orfeu"." *Popular Music* 23, no. 3 (2004): 291-310.
- Guilbault, Jocelyne. "Interpreting World Music: A Challenge in Theory and Practice." *Popular Music* 16, no. 1 (1997): 31-44.
- _____. *Governing Sound: The Cultural Politics of Trinidad's Carnival Musics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Hale, Dorothy J. "Bakhtin in African American Literary Theory." *English Literary History* 61, no. 2 (1994): 445-471.
- Hennion, Antoine. "An Intermediary between Production and Consumption: The Producer of Popular Music." *Science, Technology, and Human Values* 14, no. 4 (1989): 400-424.
- Hesmondhalgh, David. *The Cultural Industries*. London: Sage, 2002.
- Holt, Fabian. *Genre in Popular Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

- Jobim, Helena. *Antônio Carlos Jobim: Um Homem Iluminado*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1996.
- Jones, LeRoi [Imamu Amiri Baraka]. *Blues People: Negro Music in White America*. New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1963.
- Kartomi, Margaret J. "The Processes and Results of Musical Culture Contact: A Discussion of Terminology and Concepts." *Ethnomusicology* 25, no. 2 (1981): 227-249.
- Katan, David. "Mediating the Point of Refraction and Playing with the Perlocutionary Effect: A Translator's Choice." *Critical Studies* 20 (2002): 177-196.
- Landau, Ellen G. *Reading Abstract Expressionism: Context and Critique*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Lang, George. "Cannibalizing Bossa Nova." In *Music, Popular Culture, Identities*, edited by Richard A. Young, pp. 181-197. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002.
- Lees, Gene. "Father and Son: Horace Silver." In *Cats of Any Color: Jazz Black and White*, pp. 77-90. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- _____. "Um Abraço No Tom: Antonio Carlos Jobim." In *Singers and the Song II*, pp. 217-251. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- _____. "William and Harold and How to Write Lyrics." In *Singers and the Song II*, pp. 3-18. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Leu, Lorraine. *Brazilian Popular Music: Caetano Veloso and the Regeneration of Tradition*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- Lipsitz, George. "'It's All Wrong, but It's All Right': Creative Misunderstanding in Inter-Cultural Communication." In *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism, and the Poetics of Place*. London: Verso, 1994.
- Mathieson, Kenny. *Cookin': Hard Bop and Soul Jazz, 1954-65*. Edinburgh: Canongate, 2002.
- McCann, Bryan. *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- _____. "Blues and Samba: Another Side of Bossa Nova History." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 44, no. 2 (2007): 21-49.
- McGowan, Chris, and Ricardo Pessanha. "Bossa Nova: The New Way." In *The Brazilian Sound: Samba, Bossa Nova, and the Popular Music of Brazil*, pp. 55-74. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.
- Meadows, Eddie S. "Prolegomenon to the Music of Horace Silver." *Jazzforschung/Jazz Research* 18 (1986): 123-132.
- Middleton, Richard. "The Real Thing? The Specter of Authenticity." In *Voicing the Popular: On the Subjects of Popular Music*, pp. 199-246. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Monson, Ingrid T. *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Moore, Allan F.. "Authenticity as Authentication." *Popular Music* 21, no. 2 (2002): 209-223.

- Moreno, Albrecht. "Bossa Nova, Novo Brasil: The Significance of Bossa Nova as a Brazilian Popular Music." *Latin American Research Review* 17, no. 2 (1982): 129-141.
- Murphy, John P. *Music in Brazil: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Naves, Santuza Cambraia. "From Bossa Nova to Tropicália: Restraint and Excess in Popular Music." In *Imagining Brazil*, edited by Jessé Souza and Valter Sinder, pp. 251-66. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2005.
- Negus, Keith. *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Papastergiadis, Nikos. *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000.
- Perrone, Charles A. "Lyric and Lyrics: The Poetry of Song in Brazil." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 1985.
- _____. *Masters of Contemporary Brazilian Song: MPB, 1965-1985*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989.
- _____. "Myth, Melopeia, and Mimesis: *Black Orpheus, Orfeu*, and Internationalization in Brazilian Popular Music." In *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization*, edited by Charles A. Perrone and Christopher Dunn. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Piedade, Acácio Tadeu de C. "Brazilian Jazz and Friction of Musicalities." In *Jazz Planet*, edited by E. Taylor Atkins, pp. 41-58. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003.
- Priore, Irna. "Authenticity and Performance Practice: Bossa Nova and João Gilberto." In *Lied und populäre Kultur/Song and Popular Culture: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Volksliedarchivs Freiburg [Sonderband: Populäres Lied in Lateinamerika/Special Issue: Popular Song in Latin America]*, pp. 109-30. Münster: Waxmann, 2008.
- Reily, Suzel Ana. "Tom Jobim and the Bossa Nova Era." *Popular Music* 15, no. 1 (1996): 1-16.
- Roberts, John Storm. "Everything's Coming Up Bossa: The 1960s, Part 1." In *Latin Jazz: The First of the Fusions, 1880s to Today*, pp. 115-132. New York: Schirmer Books, 1999.
- Rosenthal, David. *Hard Bop: Jazz and Black Music, 1955-1965*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Ruppli, Michel, and Bob Porter. *The Clef/Verve Labels: A Discography*. Vol. 2, Parts 5 and 6. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.
- Schreiner, Claus. *Música Brasileira: A History of Popular Music and the People of Brazil*. Translated by Mark Weinstein. New York: Marion Boyars, 1993.
- Shipton, Alyn. *A New History of Jazz*. London: Continuum, 2001.
- Silver, Horace, and Philip Pastras. *Let's Get to the Nitty Gritty: The Autobiography of Horace Silver*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Slobin, Mark. "The Destiny of "Diaspora" in Ethnomusicology." In *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, edited by Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton, pp. 284-296. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Stratton, Jon. "Capitalism and Romantic Ideology in the Record Business." *Popular Music* 3 (1983): 143-156.

- Taylor, Timothy D. *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- _____. *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Treece, David. "Guns and Roses: Bossa Nova and Brazil's Music of Popular Protest, 1958-68." *Popular Music* 16, no. 1 (1997): 1-29.
- _____. "Suspended Animation: Movement and Time in Bossa Nova." *Journal of Romance Studies* 7, no. 2 (2007): 75-97.
- Trivedi, Harish. "Translating Culture vs. Cultural Translation." In *In Translation: Reflections, Refractions, Transformations*, edited by Paul St.-Pierre and Prafulla C. Kar, pp. 251-260. Delhi: Pencraft International, 2007.
- Veloso, Caetano. "Carmen Mirandadada." In *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization*, edited by Charles A. Perrone and Christopher Dunn. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Venuti, Lawrence. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Walser, Robert. "Popular Music Analysis: Ten Apothegms and Four Instances." In *Analyzing Popular Music*, edited by Allan F. Moore, pp. 16-38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Washburne, Christopher. "The Clave of Jazz: A Caribbean Contribution to the Rhythmic Foundation of an African-American Music." *Black Music Research Journal* 17, no. 1 (1997): 59-80.
- _____. "Latin Jazz: The Other Jazz." *Current Musicology*, no. 71-73 [Special Issue: Jazz Studies] (2001-2): 409-426.