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Genealogies of *lo popular*:
Alterity, nation, and industry in the voice of Julio Jaramillo.

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
Requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

by

Juan David Rubio Restrepo

Committee in charge:

Professor Amy Cimini, Chair
Professor Anthony Davis
Professor Kirstie Dorr
Professor Nancy Guy
Professor Roshanak Kheshti

2020

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The Dissertation of Juan David Rubio Restrepo is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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Chair

University of California San Diego

2020

DEDICATION

A mi papá.

EPIGRAPH

Si hasta la esperanza está perdida
Me río de las iras, de mi suerte
Qué carnaval más necio el de la vida
Qué consuelo más dulce el de la muerte.

Carnaval de la Vida by Antonio Plaza and Mercedes Silva, performed by Julio Jaramillo

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation was made possible through generous people spread across the American continent, especially in Colombia, the US, México, and Ecuador. I thank my committee for their guidance over the six years I spent at UC San Diego. I am grateful to Roshanak Kheshti, Kirstie Dorr, and the Ethnic Studies department, a place I always returned to, that welcomed me every time, and whose influence on me and my thought cannot be understated. To Anthony Davis for his generosity, his sharp comments when needed, and the awesome stories. To Nancy Guy for her kindness, for believing in this project and in me, even when I didn't know what I was doing, and for her candidness. I will miss our shuttle catch-ups. I will be forever indebted to Amy Cimini. Her guidance, bright intellect, empathy, and patience are all over these pages. Thanks for helping me shape scattered ideas into a dissertation, for reading and talking through, literally, countless drafts, for challenging me and my ideas, and for being a constant source of inspiration.

The University of California is the institution that made it possible for me to pursue graduate education in the US, first at Irvine and then at San Diego. At UC Irvine's Department of Music and the Integrated Composition Improvisation and Technology program, I thank my mentor and friend Michael Dessen. Aside from being a constant presence and influence in my performance practice for the last eight years, he has helped me navigate the strange waters of US academia. I look forward to keep collaborating. To Nicole Mitchell for her music and bright presence. UC San Diego's Department of Music let me dive freely into the whirlpool of (un)disciplined knowledges. The Integrative Studies program is a place where special things can happen. In there, I have met wonderful people. My gratitude

goes to all my IS colleagues, especially to Suzanne Thorpe, Keir GoGwilt, and my friend and intellectual soundboard Gust Burns. To the IS faculty, David Borgo, Jann Pasler, Sarah Hankins, and Matthew Leslie Santana goes my appreciation. An important part of my academic training took place outside the Department of Music. Aside from the Ethnic Studies department, courses and conversations I had at the Literature and Visual Arts departments have shaped my work. At the Linguistics Department, I thank Alicia Muñoz and Rachel Pekras for the invaluable pedagogical and personal experience I had teaching Spanish.

The fieldwork for this project took place in several stages over three years. I thank the generous funding from UC San Diego's Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies Tinker research grant and to Isela Brijández for accommodating my frantic research schedule. To Katya Neuman, Barbara and Jerry Fitzsimmons, and all the generous people at the Friends of International Center. To Nancy Postero and the International Institute research travel grant, the Dean of Arts and Humanities Travel Fund, and the Department of Music travel grant and dissertation writing grant. All of them funded the research and writing of this dissertation at different stages.

Fieldwork for this project has reconnected me with people and institutions in Colombia. Thanks to my colleagues Mario Valencia and Hector Fabio Torres at the Universidad de Caldas in Manizales, Colombia. To Leonor Convers, María Francisca Roldán, and Andrés Samper at the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana's Department of Music. At the Universidad de Antioquia, I thank Carolina Santamaría Delgado. The generous contributions of Carolina and Natalia Bueno Bieletto at Universidad Mayor de Chile were central to this dissertation.

I have presented parts of this research at the International Association for the Study of Popular Music-US 2019 conference, the Latin American Music and Performance Conference at UC Riverside, and the 63rd annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology. A passage of the introduction was published in the procedures of the Comunicación y Cultura Popular en América Latina y el Caribe conference under the title *Genealogías de lo popular: Música, alteridad, nación e industria.* I thank all the organizers, panelists and, participants of these conferences for their valuable feedback.

I spent countless hours in public and private archives. The help of UC San Diego's Music Librarian Peter Mueller was instrumental since the early stages of this project. Mónica María Arango Zapata gave me access to *El Colombiano* newspaper database in Medellín. The librarians at Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango in Bogotá and the Hemeroteca Nacional de México were most helpful. One of the most rewarding things about this project has been to meet the jaramillista community. My sincere gratitude goes to the members of the Grupo Cultural Julio Jaramillo, especially to Francisco Xavier Romero Muñoz in Quito, and Víctor Hugo Arce Gaibor, Carlos Alberto Ramírez Suárez, Juan Francisco Bustos Almeida, Juan José Jaramillo Reinoso, Juan Navarrete del Pino, and Edder Condo in Guayaquil. Also to Ricardo Prado. I carry their hospitality, generosity, and passion for Julio Jaramillo with me. Records collectors have become central to my work. I thank Jorge Oswaldo Reina in Alangasí, Ecuador. The collaborative work I have done with Henry Martínez Puerta over the last two years is present throughout this dissertation. I have spent hours doing research with Don Henry and I never cease to be in awe with the knowledge of the collector. This dissertation pays a small yet heartfelt tribute to these fascinating figures. I hope to keep growing this collaborative relation. I am glad that I have been able to contribute to the

jaramillista community with the materials I obtained in public archives. These documents are now part of the jaramillismo and are being used to reconstruct the artistic and cultural legacy of Julio Jaramillo.

To Ben, Botero, Kike, Mange, Mariate, Lili, LuisDa, my cousin Rodolfo and all the *matik-matik* *parche* in Bogotá goes my affection. This is the place where my journey outside the aesthetically and epistemically normative began. *matik-matik* and the *toques punkeros* with las Almas is something I will always miss and cherish. The academic road can be lonely, especially for someone coming from a performance background. I thank *los jóvenes,* Diego Mauricio Cortés, Edwin López Rivera, and Manuel Morales for making graduate school livelier through late-night PS4 tournaments, TJ hangouts, and endless WhatsApp conversations.

My family has been a never-ending source of strength. I thank my mother, Luz Marina, for supporting my wandering path and for always being there unconditionally. Watching my sister Carolina, my friend Luis Fernando "El Mono," and my nephew Gerónimo grow as a family from afar has been joyous and, sometimes, heartbreaking. To Juliana, my partner and love goes all my gratitude. This dissertation is as much mine as it is hers. The last and most intense stage of this project coincided with the COVID-19 quarantine. There is no one else I would have preferred to spend months sharing a 50 square meter apartment. I wrote a major portion of this text on a folding table, trying to stay out of each other's way as we continued to teach and study while reality was in turmoil. Here's to keep roaming the world together. My father Fernando passed away during the early stages of this project, it was a Wednesday and I was thousands of kilometers away. This dissertation, and whatever it may become, is for him.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Genealogies of *lo popular*:
Alterity, nation, and industry in the voice of Julio Jaramillo.

by

Juan David Rubio Restrepo

Doctor of Philosophy in Music
University of California San Diego, 2020

Professor Amy Cimini, Chair

This dissertation traces the discursive development of the term *música popular*, as it was attached to Ecuadorian singer Julio Jaramillo's life, work and reception history, to show how it functions as a vehicle for racialization in multiple national contexts and along long-standing colonial lines. I reveal polysemic usages of *música popular,* specific to the Spanish-speaking Americas, that intertwine racializing tropes, nationalistic discourses, and media

capital. I mobilize Jaramillo’s positionality as a working-class brown subject who rose to stardom, his hypermasculine figure, gifted voice and musicianship, and transnational music practice to study and theorize *lo popular* in various registers.

Chapter one follows Jaramillo and his listeners across Ecuador, México, and Colombia to theorize site-specific listening practices and racial formations. Focusing on venues Jaramillo performed at, I argue that a racialized *popular* subject was constructed as the archetypal Jaramillo listener. This subject signals a rupture to the mestizaje regime and its aural geopolitics. The chapter queries how and why this listener has been constructed as brown, lower-class, and masculine and unsettles these notions through primary sources. Chapter two explores *lo popular* vis-à-vis the Latin American music industry of Jaramillo’s time. Written in collaboration with record collector Henry Martinez Puerta, this chapter traces Jaramillo’s vast body of work and his widely transnational recording practice. Developing on Jesús Martín-Barbero’s concept of *mediation*, I show how J.J.’s recorded practice dialogues in complicated ways with hegemonic conceptions of media capital and culture industries. Jaramillo’s mediated music practice was a locus in which alterity was voiced, reified, and transgressed.

Chapter three considers the gender and race dynamics of *música popular.* Focusing on Jaramillo’s repertoire and his mediated persona, I argue that his music and figure mobilized heteropatriarchal and, often, misogynistic tropes. I contrast these representations with how masculinity is lived and perceived in Latin America to argue that Jaramillo was developed into a site of both masculine fantasy and moral admonishment. Chapter four focuses on Jaramillo’s voice and theorizes singing/listening as deeply embodied practices.

Focusing on Jaramillo's vocality, I unpack the vocal techniques he used to engage with the eclectic repertoire he performed and how he engaged with a wide array of auralities.

Figure 1. Julio Jaramillo entering the stage of the Teatro Blanquita. México City. October, 1960
(from the Francisco Xavier Romero Muñoz collection)

INTRODUCTION

Aural Regimes and Vocal Disturbances

After two decades living abroad, Julio Jaramillo returned to his natal Guayaquil, Ecuador in 1976. Nearing the end of his career and two years before his death, he was interviewed for entertainment magazine Revista Estrellas. Reflecting on his career, journalists Livingston Pérez Sernaqué and Francisco Romero Albán asked Jaramillo: "Do you consider yourself a bohemian or a professional singer?" Developing the question, the interviewer added: "In other words, do you sing because you get paid to do it or because you want to? [Mejor dicho, cantas por ganar o cantas por cantar?]. He responded: "I consider myself to be a bohemian singer first and foremost, but you can be both at the same time" (Pérez Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978b, 94). The question was loaded with the tropes that surrounded J.J.'s (Julio Jaramillo) public persona. In the local vernacular, the "bohemian" adjective alluded to the hedonistic lifestyle that, according to the transnational media, he engaged in during the two decades he lived on the road.

These behaviors were constantly narrated in the context of his working-class background. J.J. was as a brown kid who made it to international stardom. In the midst of his "bohemian" lifestyle, Jaramillo traversed the American continent several times, performing, recording, drinking, spending, marrying multiple times, and leaving tens of children behind. His "bohemianism," he stated, was the driving force behind his prolific artistic career. Jaramillo's voice was heard across the entire continent in the 1960s, 70s, and to this day. His

lifestyle would eventually catch up with him. In February 1978, a little over a year after this interview, he died. Julio Jaramillo was 42 years old.

Jaramillo's mediatized persona, what I call his *figure*, was at the core of his status of *cantante popular* (popular singer). J.J. was one of the most dominant voices of *música popular* (popular music in its literal translation) in Latin America. Rather than alluding to a particular music genre, in the context of Jaramillo, *música popular* functioned as a loaded signifier that comprised a broad array of markers. *Música popular* encompassed his eclectic music practice, made up from several music genres originating from different parts of the continent. It also alluded to his humble background, brown body, and hypermasculine persona. It also referred to how his music was circulated through commercial circuits and consumed by a marginalized listener. In Jaramillo, the historical processes that have made the signifier *música popular* coalesced.

First Moment: Bogotá, 2010s

> *Julio Jaramillo's voice has always sounded in my household. More than a constant presence, he makes up a part of a broad musical selection. Together with him, we listen to salsa, merengue, bambucos, rancheras, cumbia, tangos, and many more. J.J.'s is a voice I index to my elders, to family reunions. Jaramillo's soundscape is traversed by childhood memories and some nostalgia, even though we continue to listen to him. To listen to Julio outside my household has always struck me as something special, as if some sort of affective connection developed from doing it with people outside my family circle. As I became a professional drummer and composer in Bogotá, I involved myself with the local experimental music scene. I studied jazz at the university and turned to improvised practices. I also began playing drums for punk-rock band 1280 Almas. J.J. and the music I made seem to be more at odds every day.*
>
> *About a decade ago, I was hanging out with the members of 1280 Almas before a gig. We went to the house of the band's percussionist Leonardo López to eat something and rest. As we hung out, and knowing the shared taste Leonardo and I had for Julio, he popped in the conversation. This was music*

our bandmates didn't care for. Their musical taste was as diverse as ours. Salsa, punk, cumbia, reggae, ska and many more were stuff we would hear when we got together. As for many, for them Julio was not only old music, but music that men of a certain age listen to in sketchy cantinas while they drink themselves to oblivion. Leonardo proposed that we should get together sometime to listen to Julio and have some drinks, perhaps inadvertently honoring the tropes built around the singer. In the midst of making plans that never crystalized, we started talking about J.J. When the issue of his nationality came out, we looked at each other. As a voice both of us grew around with, we seemed to agree that he must have been Colombian. Leonardo and myself were quite surprised to hear, after a quick Wikipedia search, that Julio was born in Guayaquil.

What does it mean for a voice to be such a constant presence that you just assume it is from around? As I began research for this project, I found that the assumption Leonardo and myself had wasn't unique. Stories of people from across the Americas assuming Julio is from wherever they are from are quite common. In other words, I, and many others were indexing J.J. to their national soundscape. These anecdotes have pushed me to explore how a voice can be rendered so differently, by so many people, and in so many different places. In the process of doing so, I have tried to trace Julio's path across America.

Figure 2. Julio Jaramillo arriving at Montevideo's national airport. March, 1960 (from the Francisco Xavier Romero Muñoz collection).

Finding J.J.

My interest in *música popular* took me to Julio Jaramillo and vice versa. A familiar voice in the soundscape of my childhood, and to this day, Jaramillo has brought me to know better the region known as Latin America, intellectually and physically. In my search for J.J., I have visited new places and met people I wouldn't have otherwise. To reconstruct Jaramillo's path, to "recoger sus pasos" as we say in Spanish, is a nearly impossible endeavor. J.J. spent twenty-plus years on the road, some of them in the media spotlight and some of them as a struggling artist. Jaramillo's transnational resonance is at the core of my interest. He performed in most American countries. To better grasp his nearly omnipresent persona, I opted to focus my fieldwork on places that were strategic in his career and to this project; Colombia, México, and Ecuador.

I began in Colombia, a place familiar to me and from which all of the auto-ethnographic echoes scattered in the next chapters emerge. There, I did archival research in the Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango, the country's main national library. More specifically, in its *hemeroteca* that houses most of the country's newspaper and magazine archives. The primary sources in this archive are analog. Due to the specificity of this project, and to fine-tune my research, I traveled to Medellín to El Colombiano newspaper. Following a colleague's advice, I was able to access the newspaper's proprietary database.[1] Most of the Colombian documents come from these two sources. Record collector Henry Martínez Puerta is located in Dosquebradas, a Colombian town in the outskirts of Pereira. As I develop in chapter two, our collaboration has been fundamental for this dissertation. We have spent over

[1] I thank my colleague and friend Manuel Morales Fontanilla for this tip.

two years working telematically, conversing about J.J., and finding our way through his massive recording corpus.

Don Henry's archive and knowledge, as well as those of his fellow collectors, were instrumental to the discographic research of this project. I began this project by inquiring about public discographic archives that house *música popular* with no avail. I even began purchasing a few Jaramillo vinyls myself. This was a minor effort compared to the decades of dedication and hundreds of records Don Henry and his colleagues have amassed, not to mention the knowledge that has developed from their craft.

México was the entertainment powerhouse of the Latin American entertainment industry. In different documents, and in conversations with *jaramillistas* (Jaramillo buffs), J.J.'s triumphs in México were constantly brought up as proof of his international relevance. My research in México was exclusively archival. I was particularly eager to do work at the Hemeroteca Nacional de México, the national repository of newspapers and magazines, subscribed to the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, UNAM. This archive has centralized most national and regional press documents dating back to the 16th century. Moreover, an important part of these materials have been digitized and are available through a search engine.[2]

I spent several weeks in this archive, looking for documents directly relevant to Julio Jaramillo as well as related topics of interest. Such is the case of the *música popular* archive I analyze below. The conjunction between México's historically dominant entertainment industry, and the robust archival sources that are available to study it, made this visit a fruitful

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[2] Some of these materials are available through the hemeroteca's website. However, the majority of them can only be accessed in situ.

one. Aside interviews and profiles, the advertisements I found in these newspapers are central in my study of Jaramillo's performance practice

I visited Ecuador last, the place where Jaramillo was born. There, archival research was difficult. Press sources are not centralized in neither Quito and Guayaquil, the country's major cities, much less digitized. Fortunately, Ecuador was the place that I engaged more directly with the jaramillista community. I am deeply grateful to members of this community that are judicious collectors of J.J. Francisco Xavier Romero Muñoz' private archive of J.J. images, press clips, and locally-published documents appear throughout this dissertation. Similarly, Jorge Oswaldo Reina's record collection has brought important insights.

Ecuador is also where I performed most interviews. In both Quito and Ecuador, I interviewed twenty members of the jaramillista community, in both individual and group settings, whose ages ranged from early 20s to 60s. These conversations gave me a better grasp of how J.J.'s mediated image is perceived nowadays and of the long-lasting effect of his figure in the Ecuadorian national imaginary. In Guayaquil, I was also able to talk to Ricardo Prado, a former sideman of J.J., and engage in a more detailed way with his music practice. In a more affective register, visiting Ecuador, Guayaquil, in particular, brought me closer to Jaramillo's figure. Visiting the places he performed at, the streets and bars he frequented, and his grave further increased my interest in this fascinating artist.

Figure 3. Street painter stand on Guayaquil's esplanade. Julio Jaramillo's portrait is located top center. To his right, Latin American comedic icon El Chavo del 8. Underneath him, his co-star Quico. August, 2018 (picture by the author).

A genealogical study

This dissertation performs a genealogical study of the Julio Jaramillo archive. This approach implies, 1) embracing the heterogeneous types of materials and voices that make it, and 2) considering and surfacing their site of enunciation. I use four broad types of archives; textual, oral, aural, and embodied. The textual encompasses primary sources such as newspaper articles, literature (novels, short story, and poems) in which Jaramillo's figure and voice appears, and secondary sources like academic scholarship, short biographies, and anthologies that I use throughout the four chapters. I also consider oral histories that I collected during my fieldwork. Although I reference a few of them directly (such as collector Henry Martínez Puerta's in chapter two, or former Jaramillo sideman Ricardo Prado's in

chapter four), in various points of the dissertation, I signal how lines of inquiry and theoretical formulations developed from conversations and exchanges I had during my fieldwork.

Recordings are a crucial part of the Jaramillo archive. Although I consider them throughout the four chapters, vinyl are the central materials behind chapters two and four. Aside from Jaramillo's singing voice, all the textual and graphical information these recordings contain has been taken into consideration. Finally, I introduce the embodied archive to refer to the collector and their collection. Rather than considering them separate entities, the embodied archive emerges from the encounter of the two. My collaborator, collector Henry Martínez Puerta, is the embodied archive driving chapter two. Besides the recording themselves, the embodied archive alludes to the memories, worlds of knowledges, and networks of information that make the collector and their collection as well as the affective relation they hold.

My study of this heterogenous archive underlines the place of enunciation from which these documents have been formulated. For instance, many of the voices in the newspapers are inquisitorial ones trying to get a reaction from Jaramillo or those around him. The voices behind the literary renditions of Jaramillo are those of educated men. Their representations of J.J. traverse a fine line between admiration and otherness. In contrast, the voices in the oral and the embodied archive are those of Jaramillo fans or jaramillistas, people that have followed him avidly, and that are deep listeners of his music. Finally, recordings constitute an aural snapshot of J.J.'s vocality; they contain auralities of a particular space and time. I consider them in the context of the complex networks of agents and financial interests that produced them.

The genealogical and the decolonial

My conception of the genealogical is indebted to Colombian philosopher Santiago Castro-Gómez and anthropologist Eduardo Restrepo (2008b). They propose genealogy as a theoretical framework to query the processes of epistemic and racial alterity that have constructed the Colombian subject. Building on Michel Foucault, Castro-Gómez and Restrepo posit that the genealogical approach seeks to problematize universalizing historical accounts. According to Foucault, historians obviate events that counter the formulation of cohesive historical narratives. He calls this "de-eventualization." Historians, Foucault continues, de-eventualize by:

> [referencing] the object of their analysis within a certain mechanism or structure that must be as unitary as possible, as necessary as possible, as inevitable as possible. This is what is most external to history, an economic mechanism, an anthropological structure, a demographic process as the climax of their analysis: that is, in a few words, the deeventualized history (Castro-Gómez and Restrepo citing Foucault, 35).

De-eventualizing thus implies erasing fragments of the archive that unsettle the construction of homogenous historical narratives. These processes of discursive homogenization, I suggest, are traversed by hegemonic power structures of race, gender, and world capitalism that, in academic discourse, maintain and reify the epistemic dominance of certain theoretical models emanating from the global north. Such models have been mostly mobilized under the category of sciences (biological, social, or otherwise). Hence, the genealogical approach is an "anti-science" due to the fact it "signals interventions against the paralyzing effects of totalitarian theories and disciplinary apparatuses that conceal historical contents and subjected knowledges" (Castro-Gómez and Restrepo, 35). Castro-Gómez and Restrepo thus perform a decolonial intervention on Foucault.

Latin American decolonial thought has posited that the invasion of the Americas constituted a fundamental moment in world history. This event not only signaled the encounter between the white-European with their others on a mass scale but the foundational moment of the process of epistemic and wealth domination that continues to shape world capitalism. Modernity is thus a Eurocentric politics of control aimed towards maintaining and reproducing these unbalanced power structures.[3] Therefore, modernity is only possible through the systemic inequalities whose origins reside in the colonial machinery; this is what decolonial thinker Enrique Dussel (2001) calls the modernity/coloniality axis. These colonial structures remain to this day and are constitutive of the archive and the hegemonic epistemological models we use to study it.

By calling to expose the power structures that have made the archive, Castro-Gómez and Restrepo are gesturing towards uncovering the colonial structures that shape history and its construction. This is what a genealogical intervention puts forward, that is, to embrace the fragmented and convoluted conditions under which historical documents are produced and how hegemonic knowledges have systemically silenced subaltern narratives.

The written word has been an effective technology of control through which the modernity/coloniality axis has been maintained. Therefore, working with documents that

---

[3] Argentinian philosopher Enrique Dussel (2001), defines the central percept of modernity as: "(1) Modern (European) civilization understand itself as more developed, the superior civilization. (2) This sense of superiority forces it… to 'develop' (civilize, educate) the more primitive ones, the underdeveloped barbarian civilizations. (3) The model of this development must be the one followed by Europe, the one that brought it out of antiquity and the middle ages. (4) Where barbarians or primitives oppose the civilizing process… violence is necessary to remove the obstacles to modernity. (5) This violence… comes with a ritual character… in which the scarified makes part of a process of sacrificial redemption. (6) From modernity's stand point, the barbarian… is in a state of guilt… This allows modernity to present itself… as a force that will emancipate or redeem the victim's guilt. (7) Due to modernity's 'civilized' and redemptive character… the sacrifices imposed by modernization to 'immature' people, enslaved races, the 'weaker' sex (el 'sexo' débil), etcetera, are unavoidable and necessary" (68-9).

escape the written word, such as aural archives and oral histories, unsettle these power dynamics. As Ochoa Gautier (2014) has shown, the aural goes with and against the grain of the power inherent to the written word. Instead of maintaining a clear division between hegemonic and counterhegemonic knowledges, the eclectic archive this dissertation engages enclose overlapping, and often contradictory, dynamics of alterity and power.

Rather than seeking to reconcile these juxtapositions (that is, "de-eventualize" them), a genealogical study stresses and embraces them; the case of *música popular* and *lo popular* calls for such an approach. As I show in this dissertation, the *música popular* concept emerged as a disputed epistemic locus at the turn of the 19th century. The genealogies of *lo popular* that coalesce in Julio Jaramillo, and that I trace through the archive, are products of long-lasting histories of difference construction. This project follows Julio Jaramillo's music and mediated figure to disentangle various discursive formations that make the *música popular* concept.

What is the *Popular* in Music?

To better grasp the overlapping dynamics of disciplining and resistance that I trace through Julio Jaramillo, it is crucial to understand the discursive formations that were built around the signifier *música popular* before his time. As I show below, since the turn of the 19th century, *música popular* emerged as a disputed acoustemological locus, through which different nation projects, the racial formations constitutive of them, and media capital were mobilized. In what follows, I provide an overview of how this concept was used and circulated in the first half of the 20th century.

Focusing on newspaper archives from Colombia and México that spans 1909 to 1953, I perform a comparative work between the discursive formation of *música popular* in both countries. The importance of these sites lies in the robust printed, recording, and radio industries they had since the beginning of the 20th century. As I show below, México's entertainment industry was the most prominent one in Latin America. However, Colombia, and Medellín in particular, was also an important player. Both of these media industries have left robust documentation.

I go back and forth between Colombia and México, focusing on similarities and nuances that afford an understanding of local constructions of sound, race, and space. To do so, I focus on voices and moments that are representative of the discursive constructions of *lo popular.* I use *alterity, nation,* and *industry* as broad analytical categories through which I theorize the vast array of ideas and discourses that the *música popular* signifier encloses. In this section, *alterity* refers to the racialization of indigenous and black auralities and the processes of acoustemological disciplining enacted to include or exclude them in normative racial formations. Such racial formations were constitutive of hegemonic ideas of *nation* and national subjects and their respective auralities. At the turn of the 20th century, the emerging media *industry* dialogued in complicated ways with these hegemonic discourses, at times reifying them and at times going against their grain.

Although I mobilize each of these categories to analyze specific historical moments, this does not imply that *música popular* has developed in a teleological fashion. It also does not mean that its ontology has transformed in a linear manner. On the contrary, I conceptualize these genealogies—alterity, nation, and industry—as overlapping ones that at times co-construct and at times disrupt each other.

I argue that *música popular* is a *palimpsestic* and *polysemic* concept. It is palimpsestic because it encloses different connotations that have sedimented since at least the 19th century. Its polysemic quality alludes to the fact these various connotations continue to inhabit the single signifier *música popular*. The discursive formations embedded in *música popular* have been constructed on relations of alterity aimed to discipline racialized bodies and auralities. More specifically, since the 19th century, the *popular* adjective was used to mark non-white/non-white mestizo practices of music and sound.

Aural nationalisms and *música popular*

The emergence of mass-media at the turn of the 20th century brought debates regarding the identity of the emergent Latin American nations to the public sphere. Discussions that were previously exclusive to intellectual and political elite circles began to appear in the public sphere. Newspapers were the primary medium through which debates that were thought to be of public interest were exposed to the public. The role of the press was vital. As judge and jury, voices coming from different ideological stances commented on the state of their national musics (or lack thereof) and educated their readers on what they deemed constituted a music practice representative of the emergent nations. During the first half of the 20th century, ideas of *lo popular* and *música popular* were at the core of debates that intertwined sound, national identity, subjectivity, and media capital.

Música popular became a place-holder through which discussions regarding what constituted proper manifestations of national music*,* where such practices were located, and how they should be circulated took place. The turn to the 20th century brought a renewed interest in *popular* expressive cultures by elites. Seeking to interpolate these formerly shunned

auralities to mobilize discourses of nation, politicians and intellectuals demarcated and policed what a *popular* practice entailed. As this was happening, the rise of music industries across the regions unsettle these acoustemological regimes. The role of media industries was paramount. By using the *música popular* signifier to market both music practices that elites deemed as proper, and other ones they perceived as "morbid" and "immoral," music industries went with and against the grain of hegemonic discourses. This was true in México and Colombia.

In August 1909, the newspaper La Gaceta de Guadalajara opened a call for compositions to commemorate the centenary of the Mexican independence. Stating that "we [Mexico] don't have *música popular*, because we have never made serious music,"[4] the editorial advocated for a nationalistic music practice. To their ears, this subpar music practice arguably had to do with the lack of a stablished school of composition that followed Eurocentric paradigms. Furthermore, the editorial suggested that this nationalistic music practice should incorporate local sonorities, representative of the nation-state, to composition techniques of the European concert music canon. A possible model, they argued, could be taken from what Offenbach had done with French operetta, and that opened "a world of rhythms to popular song."[5] The composition contest, the editorial argued, would be an opportunity to "crystalize… guajiras and tumbas from the coast, hot valonas from the bajío [lowlands], melodic sones from the mountains, all those national utterances [todo ese silabeo

[4] "La idea de un Concurso." *La Gaceta de Guadalajara.* August 22, 1909 (emphasis added).
[5] Ibid.

nacional], odd, melodious in the monotonous tongue with which our people say that they have a soul."[6]

CONDICIONES:

"La Gaceta de Guadalajara," semanario, se publica los Domingos y su abono por semestre es:

Para Europa, Centro América y Sud América $1.50 oro americano.

Para los Estados Unidos un peso oro.

Para todos los Estados de la República Mexicana y para la ciudad, servida á domicilio por Correo $1.50 cvs. plata, siempre que el pago se haga adelantado.

Los números del día se vocean y se venden en Guadalajara al precio de

CINCO CENTAVOS.

A los subscriptores que no remitan directamente á nuestras oficinas el precio de un semestre, se les recargará el gasto de giro postal que cobra el correo y la estampilla.

LA GACETA DE GUADALAJARA

TARIFA DE ANUNCIOS

Los "anuncios mercantiles" se cobrarán á razón de VEINTICINCO CENTAVOS centímetro de altura ancho de columna por inserción.

Los "avisos judiciales" y los de ocasión á diez centavos cada vez.

Los "remitidos" de interés particular á veinticinco centavos línea por publicación, y los "reclamos" á precios convencionales.

La correspondencia mercantil ó de administración y toda clase de pagos deberán dirigirse al

SEÑOR ADMINISTRADOR DE "LA GACETA DE GUADALAJARA"

GUADALAJARA, JAL. APARTADO 339

TODO PAGO ADELANTADO.

Registrado como artículo de 2ª clase, por última vez el 12 de abril de 1904.

AÑO XII. NUMERO 34 | DOMINGO 22 DE AGOSTO DE 1909. | 12 PAGINAS, CINCO CENTS.

SEMANA POLITICA

La Cuestión de Coahuila y el ultraje á la Soberanía del Estado.--Hay relativa calma política.--¿Renunciará el General B. Reyes?

Al referirse en días pasados á la cuestión de Coahuila, de palpitante interés en los últimos días, y haciendo un poco de historia, "El Tiempo," de México, dice:

"La situación delicada en que Nuevo León y Coahuila se encuentran, no es nueva, y data de muchos años atrás, pudiéndose decir que la agitación actual es el último episodio de lucha que desde los tiempos de Garza Galán vienen sosteniendo en esos Estados los diferentes partidarios políticos que allí existen y que por cierto se han acreditado de tenaces é intransigentes. Con este último episodio terminará para siem-

Sobre este punto la prensa hace variados comentarios, y mientras unos asientan que en efecto, la soberanía de Coahuila ha sido lastimada, por el paso dado, los otros alegan que así lo exigía la salud nacional y que la Ley faculta al Ejecutivo de la Unión para intervenir en la soberanía de una entidad federativa, por estar obligado á conservar, según la Constitución (Art. 85, fr. VI) la tranquilidad pública.

En efecto, dice "La Iberia":

"La ex-administración Cárdenas se había desvirtuado. No se circunscribía ya á procurar el bien de sus gobernados, sino que, en el camino de la política y desligada del cen-

al menos, no pocos de sus partidarios, quienes han visto con sumo desagrado que el General Reyes haya permanecido impasible en Galeana, como si tal cosa. A juicio de ellos, ya á estas fechas las cosas habrían debido cambiar de una manera radical."

Pero esta calma de que venimos hablando, ha sido muy relativa y seguramente que no será ni con mucho duradera. Se anuncia ya un nuevo acontecimiento político que no por esperado dejará de ser menos sensacional: la renuncia del General Bernardo Reyes al Gobierno de Nuevo León. También el candidato vicepresidencial está cansado ya del mando y quiere retirarse del poder. A persona de sus confianzas le ha manifestado que considera la situación adversa para él mismo y que renunciará desde luego. Para el día de la apertura del Congreso neolonés tiene pensado realizar su propósito.

Los ojos de toda la República están hoy por hoy puestos en Nuevo León. Allí se han concentrado algunas fuerzas federales con el objeto de prevenir posible disturbios y el

La idea de un Concurso

A LA COMPETENTE CONSIDERACION DE LA COMISION NACIONAL DEL CENTENARIO

Desde el momento en que se comenzó á discutir la manera de celebrar pomposamente el primer Centenario de la Independencia Patria, se habló, entre otras cosas, de la factura de una ópera que tuviese por tema algun episodio nacional, ya fuera de la época anterior á la conquista, ya de las posteriores, tan abundantes en sucesos dramáticos, dignos de constituir el asunto de una obra teatral de esa naturaleza. La idea encontró simpatizadores entusiastas, y el hecho se explica fácilmente. Era una iniciativa bri-

lo, impregnada de amor y de lágrimas—vendría á condensarse en un resistente núcleo y en un fecundo foco de inspiración.

Eso sería el paso inicial de lo que llamaríamos la organización técnica de la música popular. Y si la palabra "organización" parece demasiado recta, tratándose de algo que no admite la disciplina de un cánon, diremos ordenación, ó de cualquier modo más llano que no choque á los oídos estrictos y que dé idea de la iniciación de un movimiento en ese sentido.

Figure 4. "La Idea de un Concurso." La Gaceta de Guadalajara. August 22, 1909.

This editorial illustrates the notions of *lo popular* the newspaper was aiming to establish. The contest had several goals: 1) to set the basis of a music practice appropriate for the modern nation, 2) to document and "crystalize" rural sounds found across the Mexican nation (the guajiras and tumbas from the coast, valonas from the lowlands, and sones from the mountains), 3) to use these aural markers of rural Mexico for the construction of "serious" (read European concert) music, and 4) to circulate the product of these processes of transculturation under the signifier *música popular*.

Clear discourses of sound, race, and nation emerge from this editorial. The stark division between a rural and primitive aurality and an urban and civilized one is salient. The article argued that rural musics were the expression of an "indigenous soul, full of sadness

[6] Ibid.

and grief, impregnated with love and tears."[7] This racialized conception, in which indigenous subjects are represented as melancholic and the base through which national identities were to be built, were common in Latin America through the 20th century.[8] However, these rural sounds had to be funneled through the aurality of the enlightened elites before they could be considered *música popular.* In an act of aural disciplining, the editors were arguing that the sounds of "our people" could only become proper music once they were reproduced under Eurocentric acoustemologies.

In January 1935, Daniel Castañeda, a Mexican composer and one of the first local musicologists to study Mexican folklore, published the article "La Música y la Revolución Mexicana" in *El Nacional* newspaper.[9] Castañeda was a highly respected figure in Mexican intellectual circles; he came to be the chair of the Academia de Música Mexicana del Conservatorio Nacional de Música (Mexican Music Academy of the National Conservatory) in the 1930s. In a diagram annexed to the article (Fig. 2), Castañeda posited that "Mexican music" (música méxicana)—a term he freely interchanged with *música popular*—was to be found in a liminal place between rural and urban music practices. Intertwining sound, race, and space, he argued that Mexican *música popular* emerged from the encounter between "pre-Columbian sounds"/"aboriginal influences"/ "places away from civilization" and "European and Europeanizing music"/"European influences"/"capitals and cities."

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[7] Ibid.
[8] Hernández Salgar (2014) has explored at length the relation between indigeneity, melancholy, music, and nationalism in Colombia.
[9] "La Música y la Revolución Mexicana." *El Nacional*, January 13, 1935.

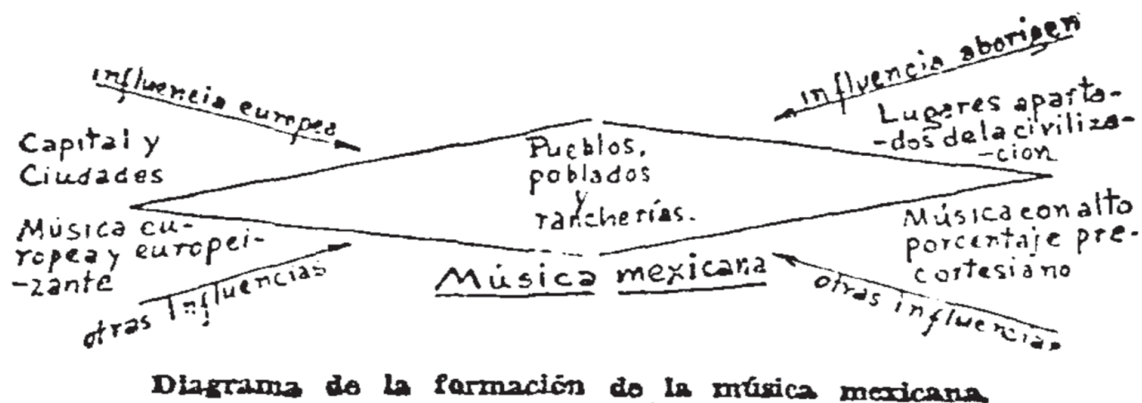

Figure 5. Castañeda, Daniel. "Diagrama de la formación de la música mexicana." *El Nacional*, January 13, 1935. The left side, top to bottom, reads "European influence; capital and cities; European and Europeanizing music; other influences." Center top to bottom: "towns, villages and hamlets; <u>Mexican music.</u>" Right side top to bottom: "aboriginal influence; places away from civilization, music with high pre-Cortesian [alluding to Hernán Cortés] percentage; other influences."

Castañeda's musicological analysis eloquently illustrates the state of what I call the aural geopolitics of mestizaje, that is, the clear division between rural racialized acoustemologies and white-mestizo urban ones. The article also shows how some intellectual elites were adamantly seeking to establish an equivalency between "national music" and *música popular.* Developing from what was already signaled fifteen years before in La Gaceta de Guadalajara, Castañeda's project seemed to be influenced by the wave of music nationalisms coming for Europe.

However, Castañeda's theorization gave more prominence to indigenous acoustemologies. He posited that European and indigenous sounds were to meet in the middle, so to speak, as opposed to the former being absorbed by the later. This formulation has to do with the aural as much as it has with the racial. Establishing this liminal acoustemology as the sound of México was concomitant with the establishment of the white mestizo as the normative subject of the nation. This act of aural and racial whitening also

enclosed the complete erasure of the Afro-Mexican subject.[10] As I show below, this anti-black sentiment would remain well into the 20th century in both México and Colombia, thus becoming fundamental in the construction of the normative mestizo subject.

This acoustemological turn developed from broader discursive changes in México. By the time Castañeda was formulating his theory on the origins of Mexican *música popular*, the work of José Vasconselos—one of the intellectual architects of the mestizaje political ideology, mainly through his seminal book La Raza Cósmica (The Cosmic Race) first published in 1925—had been circulating for at least a decade. Therefore, Castañeda's ideas constituted another brick in the construction of Mexico as a white-mestizo nation. This process of construction of national identity began in the days of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911) and was further established in the Revolution (1910-1917) and post-Revolution (1917-1940s) period, as the title of the article ("Music and the Mexican Revolution") indicates.

This cultural revolution, sponsored by the government through figures like Vasconcelos himself, found in scholars like Castañeda a natural partner. Intellectual and political elites established a mestizaje regime as the base of the Mexican national identity. While in Mexico the indigenous subject was central for the construction of national identities, this was not the case for Colombia. There, whiteness and Eurocentrism continued to be cultural capitals of the utmost importance.

In October 1923, Guillermo Uribe Holguín, a Bogotá-born composer academically trained in France, published in the newspaper *El Colombiano* an article titled "La Música

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[10] In the context of Latin American nation-states, Mexico has been arguably one of the most successful countries in the process of erasing blackness from its nation discourses. This erasure has been taken up by scholars in the last two decades (see Hernández Cuevas 2004).

Nacional."[11] In it, Uribe Holguín argued that: "The indigenous origin of *our* music cannot be proved [due to the] lack of documentation of oral sources."[12] Elaborating on his argument, he posited that "it is likely that *our música popular* [nuestra música popular] was derived from Spain"[13] (emphasis added). Although Uribe Holguín did not foreclose that a pre-Hispanic indigenous music practice existed, it was likely that such a practice—which he calls "indigenous folk-lore"—was "rudimentary."

BERLIN.—Las noticias llegadas de Moscou de que allí se piensa en la posibilildad de prestar ayuda a los comunistas alemanes para dar un golpe que les permita adueñarse del poder, ha causado mucha inquietud. El Can-

las propuestas de los periódicos. Por mayoria se resolvió continuar la huelga.

Se han registrado algunos pequeños disturbios, provocados por los huelguistas, que han pretendido atacar al-

Ultimamente hemos recibido:
Pañuelos para luto para señoras.
Gorros de caucho. Sandalias para niños.
Carrieles de cuero para señoras. Hermosos estilos.
Cobertores de lana para niños.
Género especial para sábanas.
Alemanisco para manteles Colores variadísimos.
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COMODIDAD
para los constructores
Para obtener rápidamente materiales de los Tejares de Guayabal,
llame Ud. al Teléfono 8J-38.
GONZALO LOPEZ

DISENTERIAS
Diarreas crónicas y rebeldes se curan con Tabletas de
DISENTECURA
y no hay necesidad de inyecciones.—Pídase en Droguerías y Boticas de crédito.

La Música Nacional

La discusión sobre música nacional ha venido a tomar proporciones alarmantes. A fuerza de golpear obstinadamente en todas las puertas, ha conseguido el señor Murillo hacerse a una falange de filósofos, historiadores, poetas, militares y agricultores, quienes enternecidos, han correspondido a la lastimera voz que les pide su óbolo: "Una limosna para el culto del arte y la defensa de la música nacional".

Abrumador es el número de artículos que sobre ese tópico ven la luz pública. Un solo diario dedica metódicamente una página entera al sensacional asunto. Se pensará acaso formar un álbum y una galería fotográfica de hombres ilustres, en recuerdo de la noble lid.

Mas no obstante la inmoderada y desconcertante facundia de mis contradictores, no han llegado a abordar el tema. La argumentación se ha reducido a protestas de indignación contra mí, por lo que he sostenido (tal parece que no hayan leído esos señores, ni mi conferencia ni mis escritos posteriores); a ataques malévolos; a reparos sin relación con el asunto que se quiere discutir.

Con el fin de traer el debate a su verdadero terreno, resumo lo que he sostenido:

1º No es demostrable el origen indígena de nuestra música. Me fundo en la carencia de documentos escritos y de tradición oral. No he negado, como se me atribuye, que los indígenas puedan haber poseído alguna forma de música y también de danza. En mi opinión esa música debió ser muy rudimentaria, dado el atraso de esas tribus.

2º Pueden haberse encontrado instrumentos que pertenecieron a los chibchas. Nadie los ha hecho sonar, y suenen bien o mal, produzcan ruídos o verdaderos sonidos, no se les puede interrogar respecto de la música que en ellos se ejecutara.

3º Es probable que nuestra música popular sea derivada de la española. En todo caso, cualquiera que sea su origen, aún no ha sido explotada artísticamente, tal como se comprende dicha explotación entre músicos profesionales.

4º Nuestros instrumentos populares, ni son de invención nuestra, ni satisfacen las necesidades de una música artística.

Ahora bien: resultan en parte de acuerdo conmigo, las únicas dos veces que pueden tenerse en cuenta, de las mil que me ata-

jó". Cuán agradecidos quedarían los Achaguas y los Tunebos, los Guahibos y los Sálibas, si vinieran a inmortalizarse sus armonías en obras sinfónicas que maravillaran al mundo artístico.

Estoy dispuesto a continuar, si no más bien a comenzar, la discusión, aunque no sea sino respecto a los puntos de discrepancia, si así se deseare por mis contrincantes. Mas no seguiré en lucha con este ejército de Quijotes, que han resuelto, lanza en ristre, salir a la defensa de lo que nadie ha atacado.

G. Uribe H.

POLVORA
FF y FFF
Garantizada
Distribuidores: G. Saldarriaga
10—Fmv

Hagámosle a las bondas una guerra implacable.
S. M. P.

Figure 6. Uribe Holguín, Guillermo. "La música nacional." El Colombiano. February 3, 1923.

Uribe Holguín's raging racism aside, it is salient how he equates "the national" with *lo popular.* On this point, his account resounds with his Mexican colleague Daniel Castañeda. The fact that Uribe Holguín made a clear differentiation between the national-*popular* and the folkloric-indigenous is also significant. Arguably, this constituted an attempt to distance the national-*popular* he subscribed to from the primitivity that, to Uribe Holguín, the folkloric-indigenous presupposed.

[11] Uribe Holguín, Guillermo. "La música nacional." *El Colombiano*. February 3, 1923.
[12] Ibid. (emphasis added).
[13] Ibid. (emphasis added).

In Colombia, characters like Uribe Holguín's represented the most radically conservative voices in this debate. Nevertheless, unlike Mexico, in Colombia, there was a more generalized reluctance to accept indigenous acoustemologies as part of the *música popular* category and, therefore, of the national soundscape. During the first half of the 20th century, most of the music practices that were considered *popular* and representative of the emerging Colombian nation were systematically whitened and rendered as either white-mestizo or European derived. Musics such as the *bambuco* or *pasillo* were historically and aesthetically revised using Eurocentric paradigms over the 20th century (see Santamaría Delgado 2007, Hernández Salgar 2007).

What I find to be consistent in the Mexican and Colombian cases at this point is, 1) the category *música popular* was constructed in opposition to the European concert canon, and 2) that local, mostly rural, auralities could be considered *popular*-national inasmuch as they were studied and reproduced under Eurocentric paradigms. Put differently, *popular* auralities represented potential rather than intrinsic cultural value.

At the turn of the 20th century, the concept *música popular* thus emerged from a negation. In other words, *música popular* was defined for what it was *not,* for being non-European. This ontology of difference goes hand-in-hand with the racialization of non-European acoustemologies. Thus, while Eurocentric musics were indexed to the white-mestizo urban elites, rural musics emanated from the racialized other. The *popular* practice these intellectuals were arguing for was situated in a liminal space in-between these two. However, European acoustemologies had priority in this equation. Rural-indigenous auralities had to be mediated through the Eurocentric ear in order to become "proper" *músicas populares.*

The acoustemological struggle for *lo popular*: The rise of the music industry

The local and transnational media industry established in Latin America roughly between the 1920s and 30s. It is important to nuance the Colombian and the Mexican cases. While the Colombian industry did become an important player in the regional market towards the 1950s, it paled compared to the Mexican media industry. The latter was the powerhouse of the region throughout the 20th century. Both industries circulated musics from different parts of Latin America as well as US exports such as the foxtrot and jazz. All of these became integral to the wide musical selection they marketed. For the voices arguing for the construction of a "proper" *música popular,* the music industry was an interloper that could derail the nationalistic project.

The establishment of media industries in Latin America coincided with widespread debates regarding national identities and the construction of the *popular*-national sound. The relation between music industries and the intellectual-political elites I reference above is complex. On the one hand, in several Latin American countries, the radio and recording industry were crucial agents in establishing certain local repertoires as *popular*-national musics.[14] On the other hand, these same music industries imported foreign musics and circulated them as *música popular.* These imports included transnational genres from Latin America (tango, bolero, tango, etc.) and the global north (jazz, foxtrot, rock, etc.) This friction between repertoires originating from different geopolitical spaces, and with different connotations of race, music, and nation, triggered a struggle for the ontology of *lo popular.* At

[14] For the case of Ecuador see Pro Meneses (1998), Wong (2012), and Rodríguez Albán (2018). For Colombia see Wade (2000), and Ochoa Escobar (2018). For Brazil see Franceschi (2002). For Argentina see Cañardo (2017).

the core of this debate, was the fact that music industries were unsettling the clear division between rural-indigenous and urban-white auralities they were aiming to police.

While white-mestizo intellectuals kept advocating for a *popular* music practice that would represent the normative national subject, media industries began using the same term (*música popular*) to group musics outside the European concert canon, and that originated locally *and* abroad. Voices from different ideological stances rose to denounce the perils that music industries represented. Most of these critiques came from deeply racialized perceptions. Describing some of these transnational sounds as "negroid" and "ape-like," critics in Colombia and México disparaged the bolero and the tango, as much as they did jazz and, later on, rock-n-roll.

Critical voices scorned the wide array of musics brought by the music industry. They used different monikers to do so; these included "commercial music," "arte arrabalero" (partially translatable to "ghetto art"), and *música populachera* (broadly speaking, music of the uneducated classes) among others. Arguing against these musics, in an editorial published in December 1937, the Mexican newspaper *El Nacional* urged the government to regulate radio broadcasting. The ideal programming, they argued, should have a healthy balance between European ("classical") music –which they call "professional" music—and *popular* (that is, national) music. A third type, which they call "commercial music," was to be given minimum airtime. This, the editorial argued, was due to its "unhealthy and morbid quality" and the fact that "its texts are generally based on vulgar eroticism and the music matches such texts in its morbidity."[15]

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[15] "Consejo para supervisar la radiodifusión," *El Nacional.* December 27, 1937.

PAGINA SEIS—PRIMERA SECCION

EL NACIONAL

México, D. F., Lunes 27 de Diciembre de 1937

Inútil Ataque de los...

Consejo para Supervisar la Radiodifusión

CELEBRE USTED
LA LLEGADA DEL AÑO NUEVO
con una copa de Sidra "SERRANA"

Serrana

SIDRA CHAMPAGNE
TIPO ASTURIANA

Garantizamos de igual calidad a la mejor Sidra importada. Así recibirá el Año lleno de satisfacción y alegría.

Industria Embotelladora de México S.A.

Figure 7. "Consejo para supervisar la radiodifusión," El Nacional. December 27, 1937.

The international imports were not the only musics deemed as depraved. Local iterations of "commercial music" and, most importantly, rural musics making its way into the music industry were also part of this perceived wave of aesthetic and moral degradation. The disturbance of what until then was conceived as a clear division between a rural and an urban aurality came as a shock to the champions of *lo popular.* This switch in the aural geopolitics of *músic popular* was further complicated by the fact that, to their eyes, the media machinery was prostituting these pristine rural sounds for a buck.

This was the case in México as much as it was in Colombia. As Santamaría Delgado (2007) has shown, as early as 1928, a similar debate was taking place there. In a series of open letters published in various newspapers, composer Gonzalo Vidal argued for the well-being of Colombian national music. He stated that recording Colombian musics that fell outside the European music canon and circulating them as an aural symbol of the country would portray the nation as a primitive state. In his diatribe, he differentiated between three types of music: "academic" music, *música popular,* and "música populachera." The

"academic" music category is the one he subscribed to and the one he posited was to be the sound of a civilized nation. *Música popular* alluded to the rural musics that, although primitive in its sonority, emanated from people in the rural areas and thus had a certain charm. The "música populachera" category, Santamaría Delgado (Ibid.) posits, was used to describe "urban *música popular*… rendering it as populist, vulgar, and cheap" (205). Arguably, for Vidal, part of this "vulgarity" developed from the fact that these musics were being mediated through the music industry.

In an article titled "Imperio del Estridentismo" (Strident Empire), published in April 1951 in the newspaper *El Colombiano*, journalist José Guerra developed these discourses. Arguing against the state of *música popular*, Guerra wrote: "Many of our readers share our views on the newly made *música popular*... only under morbid states of mind or under the influence of liquor can such stridencies produce any sense of joy."[16] To be clear, in this context, *música popular* could encompass musics from a rural background making it into the media industry to transnational imports and everything in between. Sharpening his critique, Guerra continued: "Mr. Dámaso Pérez Prado… has concocted a mixture between the most strident of Saxo-American music and the black sounds of the Spanish-speaking peoples. The mambo emerged from this hybridization… it is a rhythm drunk on lust, a negroid clamor."[17]

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[16] Guerra, José. "Imperio del Estridentismo." *El Colombiano*. April 29, 1951.
[17] Ibid.

Figure 8. Guerra, José. "Imperio del Estridentismo." El Colombiano. April 29, 1951.

For Guerra, such sub-human sounds shouldn't be called *popular,* but "populachera" music. The unapologetic racism in these critiques unveils the racial dynamics of a mestizo nation whose identity could oscillate between whiteness and indigeneity, but never towards blackness. Furthermore, narratives like this one—which weren't exceptional—clearly exemplify the race-class intersectionality that is pervasive throughout Latin America. In this particular case, mambo was depicted not just as a "negroid clamor," but as *música populachera* –as opposed to *música popular.* The *populachera* adjective, partially translatable to "the populace," was used to index these musics to the vulgar and uneducated masses.

Also, in 1951, in the Mexican newspaper *Jueves de Excelsior,* Mexican journalist Federico Ortíz Jr. published the article "El Mambo y su Influencia Malsana" (The Mambo and its Morbid Influence). Similarly to his Colombian counterpart, Ortíz argued: "the *música*

popular of America and the United States is going through a hard time."[18] Focusing on the mambo, Ortíz Jr. pointed out that: "Most of the orchestras that perform this kind of music are formed mainly by drums, bongos, trumpets, maracas, güiro, conga, and *other odd instruments.*"[19] Invoking primitivist tropes, Ortíz Jr. based his argument on the various percussion instruments involved in mambo. Arguably, the mambo's backwardness—its "stridency" as his Colombian colleague Guerra would put it—partially developed from these aural markers.

However, the musical aspect wasn't the only aspect that concerned Ortiz Jr. Underlining that the mambo was a foreign agent, he continued his critique: "We hope… that America as a whole will react on this issue by supporting the *música popular of its own people,* thus displacing the music that comes from outside."[20] The mambo was not only a primitive and black music, but also a foreign, invasive, and commercial one. In other words, the mambo was the antithesis of the *popular* music practices critics like Ortiz Jr. in México and Guerra in Colombia were arguing for.

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[18] Ortiz Jr., Federico. "El mambo y su influencia malsana." *Jueves de Excelsior*. June 28, 1951.
[19] Ibid. (emphasis added).
[20] Ibid. (emphasis added).

El Mambo y su Influencia Malsana

Por FEDERICO ORTIZ Jr.

Actualmente, la música popular de América y de los Estados Unidos está pasando por dura prueba. Esta clase de música está siendo desplazada por esas composiciones modernas que caen dentro del "exotismo" y que son lanzadas al aire por compositores anónimos que más tarde se vuelven "ídolos" del público.

Desde el "Tiempo de Jazz", que apareciera en el sur de los Estados Unidos y que fuera penetrando más tarde en todas las capas de la sociedad no sólo de Estados Unidos sino de América entera, la música viene sufriendo transformaciones que las masas toman como costumbres que más tarde se vuelven tradición.

Estas transformaciones han llegado hasta el mambo, una música que es producto de la época; de la era atómica; del medio y de la vida que se desarrolla vertiginosamente y que ha convertido los automóviles en aviones de retropropulsión, la radio en televisión, la cámara fotográfica inalámbrica, etc.

El mambo, cuya paternidad se disputan los compositores Stan Kenton (músico norteamericano) y Dámaso Pérez Prado (compositor cubano), no es —según las opiniones de algunos conservatoristas—, sino una clásica "deformación" de los cantos de las antiguas tribus africanas, que constituyen todavía, melodías extrañas que fueran origen del jazz norteamericano.

el baile, sólo se trata de encontrar la rapidez en la ejecución de miles de pasos inventados por otros tantos bailadores del mambo, el contorsionismo, es el principal factor en la ejecución del mambo "batiri" llamado así por ser el más rápido, según dicen los especialistas.

Según van lanzando al aire sus notas los diversos instrumentos de las orquestas ejecutadoras del mambo, van calentando la sangre de los "bailarines" con las voluptuosidades consiguientes y los ademanes arrebatadores.

La mayoría de las orquestas que ejecutan ésta clase de música, están compuestas principalmente por tambores, bongos, trompetas, maracas, el guiro, la conga y otros instrumentos raros.

LA INFLUENCIA DEL MAMBO

Apenas apareció el mambo en el escenario de la música, toda América, —con excepción de algunos países que lo desterraron—, aprendió a bailarlo rápidamente. Cafés, salones de baile, cabarets etc, todos tenían al día su discoteca en mambos. Aunque la multitud no ha podido ni podrá unificar los miles de pasos con que éste baile cuenta, lo ejecuta sacando miles de contorsiones y pasos de su invención. Hay quien haya dicho, que el mambo "lo bailamos como podemos".

Figure 9. Ortiz Jr., Federico. "El mambo y su influencia malsana." Jueves de Excelsior. June 28, 1951.

Importantly, in his editorial Ortíz Jr. used the term *música popular* to refer both to the mambo (the target of his critique) and to call his readers to endorse "the *música popular* of its own people," that is, to foster their "national" white-mestizo musics to counter the foreign interloper. Therefore, the author was using the same signifier to name diametrically opposing music practices. This indicates that, by the early 1950s, the struggle to equate *música popular* with national music was a lost cause. Critics like Ortiz Jr. were pushed to use the term's more pedestrian and inaccurate connotation to connect with their readership. This made the *música popular* concept a less efficient one to forward discourses of music nationalism.

The mambo was an easy target for the voices arguing for a "proper" *popular* practice. However, it wasn't the only genre receiving such critiques. On the contrary, voices like Ortiz Jr.'s in México and Guerra's in Colombia were part of what could be described as a crusade against mass-mediated musics. For these critics, these commercialized sounds jeopardized the aural and moral health of the nation. In México, between 1949 and 1953, this crusade produced outrageous headlines such as "Los Mercachifles de la Música Venden Fango al

Teatro, Cine y Televisión" (Music Con-Men Sell Mud to the Theater, Film, and Television),[21] "Los Componedores de Canciones Comerciales, Como los Traficantes de Drogas Heróicas, Están Envenenando el Cuerpo y el Alma de México" (Commercial Music Composer are Poisoning México's Body and Soul like Drug-Dealers),[22] "La música llamada popular responde a la época de un mundo muy corrompido" (The So-Called Música Popular Develops From a Very Corrupt World),[23] and "Nociva Labor de Compositores Noveles que Están Degradando la Canción Mexicana" (The Harmful Work by New Composers is Degrading the Mexican Song),[24] among others.

These articles warned that local music practices (that is, the "proper" *popular*) were being co-opted by the music industry. The aesthetic result was, to their ears, disastrous. Although some of the musics encompassed in these critiques lacked the racial markedness of the mambo (a black racialized music), the line of analysis followed a similar discursive pattern: otherness (whether racial, geopolitical, or aesthetic) constituted an objectionable aurality. For intellectuals like Guerra and Ortíz Jr., the music industry was directly responsible for this disruption. At the same time these champions of *lo popular* were seeking to establish *música popular* qua national music, media industries were using the same terminology to further their interests.

Since at least 1939, the Mexican subsidiary of the RCA Victor was marketing their catalog using two broad categories: a "sello negro" (black label) composed by "*música*

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[21] "Los mercachifles de la música venden fango al teatro, cine y radiodifusión." *El Nacional*. June, 10, 1949.
[22] "Los componedores de canciones comerciales, como los traficantes de drogas heróicas, están envenenando el cuerpo y el alma de México." *El Nacional*. June 21, 1949.
[23] "La música llamada popular responde a la época de un mundo muy corrompido." *El Nacional*. July 3, 1949.
[24] "Nociva labor de compositores noveles que están degradando la canción mexicana." *El Nacional*. May 24, 1953.

popular," and a "sello rojo" (red label) made up mostly of music of the European music canon (Fig. 10).[25] The red label included well-known arias by Bizet and Rossini performed by singers such as Enrico Caruso and Lily Pons, as well as famous instrumental pieces like Ravel's bolero. The black label encompassed a broad musical selection. This included Latin American bolero hits like Perfidia in the voice of Mexican bolerista Lupita Palomera, songs by Mexican star Pedro Vargas, and the foxtrot Labert Walk performed by the orchestra of US bandleader Joseph Rines.

Figure 10. "Pronto expirará esta sensacional oferta RCA Victor." Advertisement. El Nacional, February 27, 1939.

[25] This differentiation echoes the one found by Cañardo (2017) in Argentina. Since the early 1920s, locals subsidiaries of companies like the Victor Talking Machine were marketing their recordings under the broad categories "classical" and "*popular*" music (147).

Here, the *música popular* category was not dissimilar from what the critics considered to be the debacle of *popular*-national musics, that is, foreign musics, racialized musics, and musics from rural descent that were being commercialized. We can see how, with the rise of the music industry, the *música popular* category became a disputed acoustemological locus. On the one hand, intellectual elites were using mass media such as the newspaper to police and discipline what that deemed to be a “proper” *popular* music practice. On the other hand, the music industry was using the same signifier to promote musics that went from the local to the transnational. Furthermore, while the music industry was the main agent importing foreign sounds and commercializing local ones, it was also also key in establishing musics like Samba in Brazil (Vianna 1999), tango in Argentina (Castro 1999, Cañardo 2017), and Ecuadorian pasillo in Ecuador (Wong 2012, Rodríguez Albán 2018), as “national” musics.

Through this brief archival overview of the *música popular* concept, we can see the loaded signifier it is. To reduce its meaning to clear-cut categories is to deny the process of otherness and struggle that have constructed it since the 19th century. Concurrently, to formulate a single definition of *música popular* would be to “de-eventualize” (Foucault *dixit*) its history. In the Jaramillo archive, what I have called the palimpsestic and polysemic quality of *música popular* and its adjective form *lo popular,* emerge from every document. Based on the genealogy I trace above, I use alterity, nation, and industry, as three broad genealogical strands to theorize *lo popular*. *Música popular* can be music that is attached to nationalistic discourses. It can also be music that emanates or is consumed by racialized others. It can also be commercially mediated music. It can be some or all of these.

The word popular is a cognate in English and Spanish. Furthermore, they are spelled identically in both languages. Throughout this dissertation, I italicize the word *popular.* I do

so as a performative gesture to allude to its Latin American genealogy. By italicizing it, I invite the reader to use its Spanish pronunciation (poh-poo-lahr) and, as they do so, to evoke the site- and historical-specificity with which I theorize it.

Second Moment: Manizales, 1990s

> *I was born in Manizales, a predominantly white-mestizo city in the northern Colombian Andes. Manizales, as many cities in Latin America, is known for being classist and elitist. A middle-size city away from most of the major financial centers of the country, until recently, Manizales had little migrant (foreign and internal) communities. As a result, I grew up in a city that was ethnically and racially secluded.*
>
> *I moved between the city during the week, where I attended primary and secondary school, and the coffee plantation my dad owned 45 minutes away. This is something fairly common. Many middle- upper-class families in the city own land on the outskirts of town. I was thus a normative Manizaleño living in a normative white-mestizo city; middle- upper-class, male, and on my way to higher education. Nevertheless, within this world of normativity, something seemed off. While not having strong black or indigenous features, my skin tone was comparatively darker than most around me, the one I inherited from my father, a darker-skinned white-mestizo himself. This oddity made me stand out in a sea of seeming sameness. In a city where light skin was the rule, those of us who didn't have it were interpellated through it.*
>
> *This is not necessarily a mean affair. My mother, grandmother, wife, and many family members call me "negrito," a fairly common moniker for people like me. The same goes for school friends. However, in homosocial youth spaces like the male-only school I grew up in, such a moniker can go from affable to spiteful in seconds. In other words, a constructed blackness in a white-mestizo setting develops into a potential locus for insult. While the relation between blackness and des-humanization has been dealt with at large by Frantz Fanon, I became more interested in how these racial signifiers were circulated. After all, I was growing up in a "post-racial" city and country, one of the best examples of race blindness.*
>
> *The intersectional nature of this otherness has become fascinating to me. How can difference be enacted, enunciated, and the same time erased and silenced? In other words, how can race be a marker of difference in a place where the race category was seldomly uttered? Furthermore, is this erasure of difference representative of broader discursive formations?*

Música Popular in Academic Discourse

While the concept *música popular* is virtually omnipresent in academic literature, little research has been done on it. Instead, *música popular* often appears as a place-holder whose meaning is contingent on the context in which it is deployed. This has been complicated by popular music studies emerging from Euro-American academia. The fact that the word "popular" is spelled identically in both languages has brought a series of semantic, epistemic, and ontological confusions. Such misunderstandings have been further underlined by the prominence and epistemic power that academic circles in the global north hold.

This friction between the "popular" and its cognates in the Spanish-, Anglo-speaking Americas, and Europe has been signaled in recent academic literature. Developing on the work of Nestor García Canclini, Latin American Studies scholar George Yúdice (2001) has called to rethink Latin American *popular* culture as a site of political struggle where counter-hegemonic practices can emerge. Ethnomusicologist Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier (2000) has argued for the necessity to differentiate between conceptions of the popular in Latin American and Euro-American music studies. Synthetizing these, ethnomusicologist Carolina Santamaría Delgado (2014) has stressed "the difference in the meaning of 'the popular' [lo popular] in Latin America vis-à-vis the Anglo-Saxon expressions *popular culture* and *popular* music" (Ibid., 32, original emphasis). While the later, Santamaría Delgado argues, alludes to "mass culture" spread through mass-media, the Spanish signifier "entails, in conflicting ways, musics that range from the rural to the urban, from the folkloric to the mass-mediated" (Ibid.).

More recently, ethnomusicologists such as Mendívil and Spencer Espinosa (2016) have argued that "contrary to *popular music* in English or *popularmusik* in German, the expression *música popular* in Spanish is significantly more ambiguous, encompassing

traditional as well as urban and mediatized forms of music" (Ibid., 11). All these admonishments allude to the ambiguousness of the *música popular* concept and its adjective form *lo popular.* Such ambiguousness derives from the concept's ontological and genealogical complexity that I explore above.

Theorizing *música popular*

Few compelling theorizations of the *música popular* concept exist. I divide them into two broad categories: descriptive and prescriptive. Descriptive accounts are the ones that have traced how the concept has been constructed and circulated. The prescriptive alludes to scholarship that has distanced itself from *música popular's* convoluted ontology and has opted to define it from a particular perspective.

Among the most compelling historical accounts of *lo popular* are those by ethnomusicologist Ana María Ochoa Gautier (2014) and historian Juliana Pérez Gonzalez (2010, 2011, 2014). In the second chapter of *Aurality: Listening & Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia*, Ochoa Gautier performs a historical study of the concept "popular song" in 19th century Colombia. Focusing on the literary works by various Colombian intellectuals, Ochoa Gautier shows how, during the first half of the 19th century, the idea of the *popular* was initially constructed in opposition to hegemonic white European auralities. *Popular* song thus emerged as a category that grouped racialized aural practices. However, Afro-Colombian and non-Catholic intellectuals unsettled these aural regimes by making subaltern expressive cultures such as Afro-Indigenous musics and oralities visible. In the second half of the 19th century, the idea of *popular* song was disputed and traversed by different perceptions of what the Colombian nation was and ought to be.

Similarly to Ochoa Gautier, Pérez Martínez has focused on intellectuals that have shaped the *música popular* concept. Her work on Brazilian intellectual/musicologist Mário de Andrade (1893-1945) and Argentinean composer/musicologist Carlos Vega (1898-1966) is particularly relevant. Both of these figures pioneered the musicological study of *músicas populares* in Latin America. Broadly speaking, both of them, Pérez Martínez argues, presumed an equivalency between *música popular* and folk musics, that is, predominantly rural and indigenous expressive cultures. However, with the rise of the music industry, instead of excluding mass-mediated musics from their purviews, both de Andrade and Vega argued that commercialized rural practices should remain within the scope of Latin American musicology.

Contemporary voices, particularly coming from Chilean musicological circles, have opted to prescribe what *música* popular is. Musicologist Juan Pablo González (2001, 2010) understands *música popular* as music that is "mass-mediated and modernizing" (2001, 38). González proposes this definition as a practical one to circumscribe the objects of knowledge of Latin American popular musicology. His colleague Daniel Party (2012) has followed a similar approach in his study of mass-mediated Latin American and Latinx musics. This corpus has brought major contributions to the study of Latin America commercial musics. Most importantly, it has established mass-mediated musics as relevant practices in ethno/musicological circles. However, I suggest that prescribing *música popular* divests it from its loaded history and ontological complexity, that is, it de-eventualizes it, thus potentially silencing the stories of difference and resistance it encloses.

The works by Ochoa Gautier and Pérez Martínez are relevant for my project; in particular, their insights regarding the close relation notions of *lo popular* have had with

hegemonic and counter-hegemonic notions of the nation-state and the division of academic knowledge. I develop from these works and focus on how ideas of *lo popular* were circulated, policed, and transgressed in the Latin American public sphere. In other words, while indeed political and intellectual elites have been central in constructing ideas of *lo popular*, I am interested in how this concept has been mobilized outside elite circles. Considering voices of journalists, the media industry, and consumers, as well as educated ones such as writers and poets, I show the convoluted ways in which the *música popular* concept was mobilized during the second half of the 20th century.

Julio Jaramillo and *Música Popular*

As I show above, the 1950s were a crucial point in the history of *música popular* in Latin America. This was true not just for the concept's ontology, but for the overlapping dynamics of alterity, nation, and industry that were at the core of this acoustemological struggle. What is at stake in the discussion of what is *música popular* are not just the practices of music and sound that should be included/excluded from this concept. I argue that these seeming semantic discussions enclose fundamental questions regarding the histories of difference construction that made the Latin American republics and their further emergence as modern nations at the turn of the 20th century. It is in this historical and geopolitical juncture that I situate Julio Jaramillo and this dissertation.

This project focuses primarily on the years of J.J.'s active career, roughly from 1955 to 1978. I argue that the genealogies of *lo popular* that I have traced above are at the core of Jaramillo's aurality and body. A brown, working-class child that grew up in a booming yet unequal Latin American metropole, J.J. is not just the locus through which I explore the

música popular concept; he embodies and voices the subject that develops from these processes of difference construction. I do not consider Jaramillo to be a counter-cultural agent. Instead, I suggest that he signals certain dynamics, some of which go with the grain, and others that go against the grain of hegemony. These overlapping dynamics of reification and rupture develop from a set circumstances particular to his historical moment; I disentangle them in the next four chapters. For now, and developing on the intellectual genealogy I review above, I preface these continuities and ruptures using alterity, nation, and industry as broad categories.

Alterity

Alterity encompasses the process of otherness that are constitutive of Latin American nations (García Canclini 2002). In this dissertation, I read these processes in three main registers: race, gender, and class. One of the main theoretical threads of this project is inquiring how the racial subject that emerges from constructions of *lo popular* dialogues with the normative subject of the Latin American nation. This normative subject, I show in chapter one, is the white mestizo, one whose privilege is traversed by intersectional axes of power. The mestizaje discourse and the white mestizo have to do with phenotype as much as it has to do with socioeconomic, geopolitical, and gender markers. The way in which these alterities intersect are, as Latin American decolonial thought has compellingly argued, historically traceable to the early colony.

As a widely miscegenated area, certain racial formations in the former Spanish colonies escaped what Sylvia Wynter has famously called the triadic schema, that is, the hierarchical division between black, indigenous, and white racial groups. These processes of

difference construction produced a series of subjects of otherness. As the historical overview above shows, the black and the indigenous subject are the most salient ones that have been constructed in opposition to the white (and then white mestizo). At the turn of the 20th century, race mixture was mobilized as a cohesive agent of nation-building. This is the epistemological basis of the mestizaje discourse. However, this celebration of diversity enclosed racial hierarchies. As I show in chapter one, the white mestizo, masculine, urban, lighter-skinned, and educated, emerged as the normative subject of the mestizo nation.

How to account for racial formations that fall outside the triadic schema *and* the mestizaje regime? In other words, instead of enunciating that mestizaje is an ideology of faux sameness, how can we trace the otherness that results from this constructed homogeneity? The subject that emerges from the discursive constructions of *lo popular*, the *popular* subject, I argue, is one that voices the contradictions inherent to the mestizaje regime. Rather than being an exceptional racial formation, I suggest that the *popular* subject is constitutive of the mestizo nation. Put differently, it is on its marginality, and that of black and indigenous bodies, that the Latin American nations emerged as modern states. My theorization of the *popular* subject seeks to disentangle the discursive formations that construct and erase it as well as the inequality these discourses have afforded.

Like the normative white mestizo, the *popular* subject is a predominantly masculine one. In chapter three, I focus on the gender politics of *música popular* to query how gendered bodies dialogue with these intersectional power structures. Following what Maria Lugones (2009) has called "coloniality of gender," I show how, within the mestizaje regime and the racial formations that construct the *popular* subject as a marginal one, the gendered body is systematically rendered as a subaltern one. Sexuality, gendered labor, and how women

interact with their male counterparts are at the core of what makes gendered bodies more or less normative, more or less desirable, and more or less significant. In this dissertation, J.J. is the locus through which these axes of difference are mobilized.

Nation

The mobilization of music practices to further nation discourses in Latin America has been constitutive of the mestizo nation. In chapter four, I explore the relation between music genres, (trans)nationalism, racial formations, and J.J.'s vocality. At the core of these dynamics is the acoustemological struggle between normative, and often state-sponsored, ideas of music nationalism coming from white-mestizo nation builders, and the media industry. Jaramillo's vocality, I show, stepped in and out of normative modes of music nationalisms. Therefore, I read his aurality as one that unsettles the aural geopolitics of the mestizo nation. J.J. embodied and voiced the erased *popular* subject on a transnational scale.

While chapter four focuses directly on J.J.'s vocality vis-à-vis ideas of nation and musical (trans)nationalisms, in chapter one, I unearth the racial, gender, and socioeconomic inequalities that Jaramillo voices and that have been constitutive of the modern Latin American nation. Jaramillo's vocality has been coopted into nationalistic discourses in Ecuador. At the same time, his music practice is widely eclectic and transnational. This overlapping dynamics of sound and space make him a fertile locus to disassemble the constructed sameness of the mestizaje regime and the actual difference it reproduces, and that is at the core of the mestizo nation.

Industry

The media industry is the agent through which I study Jaramillo. Rather than a biographical account of J.J., this project traces how Jaramillo was rendered and circulated by transnational media industries; this includes recordings, radio, press, magazines, and literature. Therefore, I allude to Jaramillo always in terms of his mediatized persona; I call this his *figure.* This analytical move from the biographical to the mediatized seeks to unravel how otherness is mobilized, reified, and often transgressed in mass-media. As I elaborate in chapter two, I expand on Jesús Martín-Barbero's (1993) seminal concept of mediation to account for how hegemonic and counter-hegemonic dynamics meet in mass-mediated expressive cultures.

My approach to the media industry thus seeks to unsettle essentialized notions that render media as an agent of subjectivation. Taking a detailed look at the music industry of Jaramillo's time, I explore the complex network of human, mechanical, and financial agents that take part in the production of *música popular.* J.J.'s figure and his recording practice makes the case for how, instead of merely interpolating and constructing a listener-consumer, media industries represent and re-image them.

Aside from the recording industry, the figure of Jaramillo I analyze was also mediated by the written media. Press and literature, in particular, are the loci through which I analyze how J.J. was imagined and rendered. Furthermore, developing on these sources, I show how it is not only J.J. that was figured in these sources, but also a certain listener of his music. My theorization of the race, gender, and class markers that construct Jaramillo's aurality extrapolate to his constructed listener.

Figure 11. Julio Jaramillo performing at Caracas accompanied by the Trío Los Ñeros. June, 1970.
(from the Francisco Xavier Romero Muñoz collection).

A Brief Chronology of Julio Jaramillo

Julio Alfredo Jaramillo Laurido was born in Guayaquil, Ecuador, on October 1, 1935. He grew up in the working-class neighborhood of Gómez Rendón y Villacencio, near the Guayas river that borders the city on the east and connects it to the Pacific Ocean. He was the son of Apolinaria Laurido Cáceres (also known as Polita or Doña Polita) and Pantaleón Jaramillo Erazo. Julio grew up with his elder brother José Jaramillo, also known as Pepe. Two years his elder, Pepe was also a singer. He began his career before Julio and became a renowned artist on his own right, particularly in Ecuador. Pantaleón Jaramillo died in a work-related accident on April 2, 1941. Julio was five and Pepe seven years old. Doña Polita raised her children as a single mother, supporting them working as a nursing assistant.

In 1947, Julio graduated from primary school. This marked the end of his formal education. As a teenager, Julio worked as a shoemaker and cabinetmaker. Against his mother's wishes, he adamantly advanced his singing career, which began in 1952, by performing in amateur shows in Guayaquil-based radio station Radio Condor. In those years, he also worked in an area known as "La Lagartera," where musicians offered serenading services for passing customers. He also performed at local cabarets and cantinas. 1952 was also the year of Julio's recording debut. He subbed in a recording session for a jingle for Ecuadorian presidential candidate Carlos Guevara Moreno. That same year he did a tour from Guayaquil to Cali, Colombia's major southernmost city. An unknown singer back then, he and his sidemen were stranded in the city for several weeks, striving to make ends meet.

In 1954 J.J. did his first professional recording, a collaboration with Guayaquileña singer Fresia Saavedra. A well-established local singer back then, Saavedra agreed to record with Jaramillo after his relentless requests. They recorded the *yaraví* "Pobre Mi Querida Madre" and the Ecuadorian *pasillo* "Mi Corazón" for the Guayaquil-based label IFESA with moderate success. During these formative years, J.J. met some of his most influential mentors and collaborators. These included Mrs. Saavedra, singer/composers Carlos Rubira Infante and Nicasio Safadi, and *requinto*[26] player Rosalino Quntiero. In those years, Jaramillo married his first wife, Maria Eudocia River, with which he had his first two children.

Jaramillo's solo recording career began in 1956. He was hired by José Fernando Feraud Guzmán, the owner of Guayaquil-based label Ónix, to record a set of tracks, some of

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[26] The *requinto* is a guitar-like instrument popularized in Latin America by Mexican trios like Los Panchos and Los Tres Ases, famous for performing stylized versions of boleros. The *requinto* is a predominantly melodic instrument, in charge of playing counterpoint-like melodic lines with the voice and leading instrumental passages.

which were previously popularized by Ecuadorian singer Olimpo Cárdenas. Between 1956 and 1959, Jaramillo recorded what would become his local and transnational hit songs. These included the Peruvian valse "Fatalidad," the boleros "Nuestro Juramento" and "De Cigarro en Cigarro," and the tango "No Me lo Digas," among others. These launched his national and transnational career.

With the success of these tracks behind him, Jaramillo's second international tour took place in 1957-58. It began in Perú. Besides Lima, he toured extensively through cities like Trujillo, Callao, Huancavélica, and Sultana. He settled in Santiago, Chile, for a few months where he earned the nickname "Mister Juramento," due to the tremendous success of his rendition of "Nuestro Juramento." He then continued touring Bolivia and Argentina. 1958-1959 were pivotal years for Jaramillo's career. His tracks recorded for Ónix began to be circulated in other Latin American countries such as Costa Rica and México. The case of México was particularly important. Peerless, arguably one of the most important *música popular* labels of the region, began pressing Jaramillo's Guayaquil-made singles.

Jaramillo's rising career was abruptly paused. Upon his return from the southern territories, he was arrested at Guayaquil's airport for failing to comply with his one-year mandatory military service. He had been stationed at a military base at El Oro province. He would serve just a few months. During his conscription days, he continued to perform in local theaters and even for his military superiors. In October and November 1959, Jaramillo toured Uruguay and Argentina. This tour was very successful. His reception in Uruguay was multitudinous. He performed at sold-out venues and radio stations with great success. During this tour, Jaramillo also recorded his first international tracks. Having signed an exclusivity contract with Guayaquil's Ónix that lasted 6 to 8 years, all the international recordings

Jaramillo during his early career were licensed by the Ecuadorian label. He recorded for Uruguay-based label Antar-Telefunken. As I show in chapter two, the tracks from these sessions were rapidly purchased and re-issued by labels across the American continent. This further energized J.J.'s rising international profile.

Between March and July 1960, J.J. toured Uruguay, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Panamá. In October of that year, he debuted at México City's Teatro Blanquita. Jaramillo's Mexican debut was greatly anticipated by the resounding success of his Ecuador- and Uruguay-made singles, several of which were ranking on top-10 lists in local radio stations. As I explain in chapter one, J.J.'s 1960 Mexican tour was crucial for his career. Aside from performing, he also recorded for the label Peerless accompanied by the local trio Los Plateros. Between 1960 (after his Mexican debut) and 1976 (when he returned to Ecuador), Jaramillo's specific whereabouts are harder to track down and are still a matter of ongoing research. We know that he was expelled from México on two occasions, likely in 1961 and 1963, under accusations of polygamy (that is, being legally married to more than one woman), domestic violence, and working as a performer without proper documentation.

Jaramillo's exclusivity contract with Ónix expired in the early 1960s. After that, he would start recording avidly for whoever could afford his fees, which, according to him, was USD 1.000 per album (10 to 12 tracks). Throughout his entire career, J.J. waved the reproduction rights of his recordings and always preferred to receive a flat rate instead. Because of this, he managed to record close to 2,500 tracks during his twenty-odd years of career. His unique voice, nomadic lifestyle, efficiency in the recording studio, and the sharp ear he possessed to learn new repertoire, made him one of the most recorded artists of his

time. He recorded in at least nine countries, and his songs were reissued in most American nations.

During his sustained absence from Ecuador (1960-1976), Jaramillo lived in several Latin American countries. He settled primarily in Venezuela, Colombia, and México. Jaramillo resided in Caracas roughly from 1966 to 1973. A wealthy country back then, Venezuela was, by Jaramillo's own account, the country where he made the most money. It is likely the place where he recorded the most too. Regardless of where he was stationed, J.J. continued to tour the continent incessantly and indiscriminately. He performed in theaters and radio stations as much as he did in small towns and venues. In the midst of these engagements, he continued to record. From Venezuela, he made short tours to Central-, South-America, and the US. This was a modus operandi Jaramillo used for most of his career. He settled in major cities, and from there, he toured surrounding areas. In the US, Jaramillo performed mostly in the Northeast (mostly New York and New Jersey) and on the west coast (Los Angeles) on several occasions in 1965, 1971, and 1977.

After more than 15 years of living abroad, J.J. returned to Ecuador in 1976 upon the request of Ónix's owner José Francisco Feraud Guzmán, to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the label. While Jaramillo's return was publicized, the day of his arrival coincided with an important international soccer match of one of the local teams, Barcelona S.C. Thousands of people, including some of which were at the sporting event, received Jaramillo in the streets of Guayaquil, much to his surprise.

In the first days of February 1978, J.J. was admitted to the Domínguez Clinic. While the official report indicated that it was due to a bladder-stone operation, Jaramillo's health had been declining for months. Since at least 1976, rumors stating that his voice was declining

were circulating. Hundreds of people agglomerated outside the hospital, waiting for news. On February 9, 1978, J.J. passed; he was 42 years old. Although Jaramillo asked for a discrete funeral, the casket containing his body was hijacked by the crowd. Up to 200,000 people paraded his remains across the city, according to the Associated Press. His body was eventually stationed inside the municipal coliseum, where people lined up for hours to pay their respects to the deceased idol.

Mediations of Jaramillo's death are a constant presence in the upcoming pages. I use them as eloquent illustrations of how Jaramillo was imagined and mythologized. They also speak of how his listeners were constructed and narrated. Obituaries, literary renditions, and interviews were media through which J.J.'s figure was sedimented in the Latin American imaginary.

Third Moment: Southern California, 2010s

> *I moved to the US a few years after finishing my undergraduate degree in music. After graduating from a practice-oriented MFA, I was accepted into a music Ph.D. program. As I tried to find my way into an artist/scholar academic environment, I came in contact with a wide array of scholarship. I made the personal commitment to take at least one course outside my department every quarter. The humanities caught my attention. Having little scholarly training previously, I was overwhelmed with information. As I worked through academic fields, concepts "you should be aware of," and, mostly, the white Euro-American men that continue to dominate academia, I found myself intellectually inspired and stuck. For some reason, many of these brilliant people I was reading didn't resound with me.*
>
> *How does an "experimental artist" from South America, incipient scholar, and brown immigrant navigate all these worlds of knowledge and the power structures that traverse academia in the global north? For me it was a matter of engaging my own subjectivity, to better understand the context I grew up in, to unpack the biases and long-lasting histories of (epistemic) violence that made me and the privilege that brought me here. It is indeed an oxymoron to carry this process of intellectual introspection several thousand miles away from home.*

The struggle to find voices and ideas that would resound with such motley assemblage was, and continues to be, a crucial part of this process. Thinking the "south" while living in the "north," reaching for voices that speak to my subjectivity while running into others I wouldn't have heard otherwise, reconstructing scenes long gone, so on and so forth… Over the last years, I have strived to write "properly" in English while I have barely written at this level in Spanish. This is the space of in-betweenness, of neither-here-nor-there that the last decade has been.

Literature Review

This dissertation is decidedly interdisciplinary and dialogues with scholarship from across the humanities and social sciences. My intellectual project is particularly interested in generating productive dialogues between Euro-American and Latin American academia. I engage with literature in Spanish, English, and Portuguese. As I mentioned above, my study of Julio Jaramillo and *música popular* develops from three broad categories: alterity, nation, and industry. I develop from these to query dynamics that intertwine racial formations and the Latin American nation, sound, technology, and power, and media industries and music circulation.

Popular music, race, and the Latin American nation

Critical scholarship on popular music and the Latin American nation is plentiful. Since at least the 1990s, Latin American scholars have queried the relation between nation discourses and mass-mediated music practices. A seminal work on this corpus is that of Brazilian anthropologist Hermano Vianna (1999). His work has been widely influential in showing the importance music has had in shaping national identities as well as the dynamics of race and media that play into such constructions. Focusing on samba, Vianna traces this music's transition to becoming a sign of Brazilian-ness to the early 20th century. Originally

emerging from Afro-Brazilian marginalized rural communities, samba became of interest to Brazilian white-mestizo intellectuals like Gilberto Freyre. The rise of samba as national music came by the hand of these intellectuals and the emergence of media industries. By constructing samba as the sound of the multiracial Brazilian nation and circulating through the emerging radio and recording industry, samba became a crucial agent in establishing *mestiçajem* (race mixture) in Brazil's racial and national imaginary.

In a similar vein, anthropologist Peter Wade's (2000) study of "música tropical" in Colombia focuses on the transition music practices originating Colombia's Atlantic coast (a predominately miscegenated are with a strong concentration of communities of Afro-Indigenous descent) into the inland (predominantly white-mestizo) cities and then their emergence as "national musics." The musics Wade studies circulate under different names, the most common being *cumbia*, *porro*, and *vallenato*. The transition from local musics to national soundtrack, Wade explains, was traversed by a wide array of financial and political interests. On the one hand, starting in the 1910s, the emergent transnational media industry brought musics from across the Americas to the Colombian ports. Musics like jazz, bolero, foxtrot, mambo, and the like mixed with local music practices. On the other hand, intellectual and political elites in the Atlantic coast mobilized some of these local musics as a way to establish their presence in the national imaginary. On its path to national prominence, "música tropical" underwent a systematic process of whitening.

More recently, ethnomusicologist Ketty Wong (2012) has considered the idea of "national music" in the Ecuadorian context. Instead of focusing on a single practice, Wong queries what musics make it into the national canon and why. She shows how the national music category has been constructed to maintain and police hegemonic racial formations and

the music practices traditionally indexed to these. National music, she explains, encloses aural politics aimed to police Ecuador as a white-mestizo ethnostate.

Over the last two decades, microlevel studies have focused on popular music practices that go against the grain of hegemonic constructions of music and nation. An important part of this work has been done through cumbia. A rural music practice that originally emerged in what is now the Panamá-Colombia border, cumbia began circulating in the 1950s throughout the American continent, engendering local practices from Argentina to the US. The scholarship on cumbia continues to grow. In English literature, L'Hoeste and Vila's (2013) edited volume continues to be one of the most substantial sources. Cumbia scholarship signals an intervention to popular music and nation literature by 1) decentering the nation category as the primary one through which dynamics of music and race are studied, and 2) showing how expressive cultures emerging from racialized working-class communities signal ruptures to hegemonic discourses of to the mestizaje nation.

This dissertation engages with and problematizes these literary corpuses. Studying local racial formations within the broader context of national and Latin American constructions of the mestizo nation, I show how figures like Julio Jaramillo signal aural disruptions to the mestizaje regime. Jaramillo goes with and against the grain of national music discourses, sometimes reifying these acoustemologies, and sometimes unsettling them. The site-specific yet comparative approach of this project mobilizes the methodological insights brought by the macro approach of the music and nation corpus and the micro one of cumbia scholarship.

Sound, (anthropo)technologies, and power

The role sounds play in processes of subjectivation and disruption stands at the core of this project. I consider the technological as an essential agent mediating between these two. I develop the concept of the technological in two registers. Firstly, I focus on sound technologies such as recordings, radio, the jukebox, and other mass media such as newspapers and magazines. I study these materials to query how Jaramillo's voice and figure were represented and circulated on a transnational scale. Secondly, I also conceive the technological as man-made techniques developed to discipline (human) life.

This particular approach is influenced by ethnomusicologist Ana María Ochoa Gautier (2014), who, building on Argentinean philosopher Fabián Ludeña, argues that certain aural techniques, which she calls "antrhopotechnologies," have the capacity to discipline voices and bodies. In the particular case of J.J., I analyze his recordings to explore how he dialogues with notions of disciplined and un-disciplined vocalities. More specifically, I explore how Jaramillo's vocal style interacts with "proper forms of voicing" (Ochoa Gautier 2014, 3) that have been formulated through hegemonic discourses of music and nation.

Ochoa Gautier's seminal work has explored in an archivally robust and theoretically rich way how the aural, and vocality more specifically, is at the crux of how hierarchies of the human were constructed and reified in 19th century Colombia. These processes of difference construction were constitutive of the modern Colombian nation. This dissertation finds many resonances with Ochoa Gautier's work. The fact that her work is set in a 19th century former Spanish colony, and that she formulates a wide set of theoretical devices to analyze aurality vis-à-vis power structures, make it an important intellectual and historical precedent to my intellectual project. While Ochoa Gautier does not foreclose the possibility of sound as an

emancipatory agent—indeed, her project also alludes to such instances—my conceptualization of sound as an agent of disturbance is also influenced by African American studies scholar Fred Moten (2003).

In his influential *In The Break*, Moten performs a rich exploration of the aural through the literary, signaling an intervention to academic accounts of sound and power. Focusing on the aesthetics of the black radical tradition, Moten shows how black aurality, from Frederick Douglas to Cecil Taylor, signals repetitive ruptures to the gender and racial regimes that construct the black body. Inspired by Moten, I find such ruptures in J.J.'s aurality. They come in the form of a fluid vocality that engaged with different music genres and unsettled hegemonic discourses of music, race, and nation. They also appear as literary accounts in which Jaramillo's mechanical voice momentarily disrupts the normativity of a white-mestizo unequal city with his *popular* voicings. The very act of representing, of voicing the subject of erasure that is the *popular* subject, stands at the core of J.J.'s performative breaks.

Moten's theorization uses rich rhetorical devices and a wide-spanning intellectual dialogue whose primary point of convergence is the genealogy of black radical thought. The black artists Moten writes about are not the only ones cutting the difference that makes the black body. By writing these cuts, Moten himself is performing these disruptions, these breaks. His present writing voice and unapologetic performativity are central to my analytics and conceptualization of *lo popular.* Listening critically through Jaramillo and his archive, I unearth the ruptures he signals.

While seemingly apolitical, I consider J.J.'s *popular* music practice a fertile ground to rethink the politics of disciplining and resistance of urban marginalized communities in 20th century Latin America. Rather than signaling a utopian futurity in which "music doubles

reality" (Steingo 2016, 9), I suggest that the act of representing marginality, of voicing the inequality inherent to the mestizo nation, stands at the center of Jaramillo's aural politics.

The different kinds of listening I theorize throughout this dissertation have been profoundly shaped by Moten's work. Inspired by his poetics, my analytics of sound, space, and difference always strive to de-essentialize and find the contradictory forces that the aural mobilizes. For instance, for the Ecuadorian writers that sedimented Jaramillo's figure, the singer develops into a locus where marginality is rendered audible. This double rendition, in which J.J. is racialized, further indexed into a marginal aurality, and glorified, illustrate the overlapping dynamics of othering and resistance that meet in him. Moten is also the node through which I connect myself with black thinkers from across the globe that, although are not directly mentioned in the next pages, have been influential to my thought. Through him, I hear echoes of Du Bois, Fanon, Césaire, C.L.R. James, Trouillot, Angela Davis, Paul Giloy, and many other voices that have helped me speak.

Not essentializing either Ochoa Gautier's or Moten's work, they present contrasting and equally compelling, accounts of sound and power. This has to do with their theoretical, rhetorical, and methodological contributions, as well as with the diverse intellectual genealogies each of them mobilize. I consider these to be representative of my scholarly upbringing as a Colombian immigrant in US academia.

Julio Jaramillo in academic literature

Julio Jaramillo continues to be an understudied figure in academic scholarship. He appears mostly in studies of music in Ecuador and Ecuadorian national identity. Such is the case of Wong (2012) and Rodríguez Albán (2018). In these works, Jaramillo is sporadically

mentioned due to the importance he had in the history of the Ecuadorian pasillo and working-class music genres like *rocolera* music (which I consider in chapters two and four). Jaramillo is considered in the context of Ecuadorian national identity and local and diasporic Ecuadorian communities. Similarly, J.J. is also dealt with in works on Ecuadorian identity; such is the case of chronicler Jorge Martillo Monserrate (2004) and historian Jorge Nuñez Martínez (2008).

In a more journalistic vein, a few short biographies and anthologies of J.J. have been published in Ecuador. These include works by Carlos Díaz (1998), Edgar Allan García (2006), and Mariana Cortázar and Rodrigo Salcedo (2011). Raúl Serrano Sánchez's (2012) wonderfully curated compilation has been particularly important for this project. This book collects most of the literary renditions by Ecuadorian authors that feature J.J. Many of these literary texts, plus other ones that are not featured in them, are scattered across this dissertation. I consider them eloquent examples of how J.J.'s figure and music were circulated, imagined, and rendered. This archive is made up of novels, poems, and short stories by Jorge Valesco Mackenzie (1983), Raúl Pérez Torres (1983), and Fernando Artieda (1990).

All in all, in scholarship (and literature more generally), J.J. is consistently considered within the context of Ecuador. Not only are the majority of these works in Spanish (Wong's being an important exception), but their analytical approach is delimited by the geopolitical space of the nation-state. Jaramillo's transnational relevance hasn't been dealt with in neither an archival or theoretical register. This dissertation constitutes the first full-length monograph focusing on Julio Jaramillo. However, this is not a biographical project. Instead, I follow Jaramillo throughout the Americas to build a comparative study of the *música popular*

concept. Therefore, the overall dissertation and each of the chapters are not structured in a traditional chronological sense. I focus mostly on Jaramillo's active career years (roughly 1955 to 1978), jumping back and forth between temporalities and geopolitical spaces. Furthermore, using a decolonial approach, I trace specific dynamics of sound, alterity, and power, that Jaramillo mobilizes back to the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Media, mediations, sound, and circulation

My analysis of J.J. departs mostly from documents product of mechanical acts of reproduction. That is, I analyze Jaramillo's figure through printed primary sources, and I engage with his voice through recordings. In doing so, I consider the dynamic network of agents (human, mechanical, and financial) that play in making these documents. The very process of producing these materials lies at the core of my theorization. Following communication studies scholar Jesús Martín-Barbero (1987, 1993), I use the concept of *mediation* to account for the fluid network of agents constitutive of the music and entertainment industry.

Martín-Barbero situates mediations at the interstices of hegemonic discourses. Accounting for, and giving agency to, the consumers of mass-mediated expressive cultures, he nuances essentialized theorizations of mass-media, popular culture, and subjectivation, some of which have derived from post-Marxist Eurocentric thinkers like Adorno and Horkheimer. Importantly, the main subjects of Martín-Barbero's theorization are former rural and racialized populations that, starting in the 1930s, migrated massively to the major Latin American cities.

These processes of internal migration disrupted the seeming clear differentiation between rural and urban spaces, the subjects that inhabit them, and their auralities. Instead of conceptualizing mass-mediated culture as an agent of subjectivation, Martín-Barbero argues for the *potentiality* (as opposed to an innate quality) it has to represent and empower what he calls "the masses." Martín-Barbero's insights are central to my theorization of *música popular.* As I show, particularly in chapters two and three, J.J. is a locus where a certain constructed listener of his music is voiced and racialized. Through Martín-Barbero, I explore how overlapping dynamics of race, gender, nation, and media capital emerge from the Jaramillo archive.

As I show in chapter two, an important part of J.J.'s mediation was made through his recordings. His itinerant and widely productive artistic practice left a vast recorded corpus. Through it, I query dynamics of sound, alterity, and power and the recording industry itself. Answering to a gap I identify in studies of Latin American recording industries of the second half of the 20th century, I map and theorize the transnational recording industry of Jaramillo's time.

Studies of regional recording industries have emerged over the last two decades. These include works by Pro Meneses (1997) in Ecuador, Franceschi (2002) in Brazil, Cornejo (2011) in Chile, Cañardo (2017) in Argentina, and Santamaría Delgado (2019) in Colombia. The work of Cañardo in the early years of the Argentinian recording industry (1919-1930) deserves special attention due to its archival richness and historical depth. Focusing on discographic and textual primary sources, Cañardo performs a detailed historical analysis of the beginnings of the Argentinian music industry. She considers specific audio technologies like the phonograph, record pressing techniques, and microphones vis-à-vis the novel types of

listening and socializing they afforded. Confirming the work of scholars like Castro (1999), Cañardo shows the central role sound technologies and music industries have played in the establishment of certain local repertoires as national musics.

My work on the Latin American industry develops and dialogues with this academic corpus. Studies of regional music industries continue to be mostly formulated from the geopolitical space of the nation-state. Such an approach obviates the fluid network of musical transnationalisms inherent to the regional industry. Throughout this dissertation, and more explicitly on chapter two, I map J.J.'s recorded corpus and show the shared network of agents constitutive of the Latin American music industry of the 1960s and '70s.

Listening to Julio Jaramillo

Throughout the four chapters, J.J.'s vocality is a constant presence and the cohesive agent pulling together otherwise scattered stories of sound, technology, and power. Importantly, my theorization considers Jaramillo's vocality to be a product of mediations. That is, I never presume a "direct" engagement with it. Whether emerging from literary accounts, recordings, or oral histories, J.J.'s aurality is always traversed by networks of human, mechanical, and financial agencies. This certainly includes my own account and analysis, which I consider to be an act of mediation in itself. My analytical approach to Jaramillo's vocality can be divided into three broad categories that I explain below: *the popular voice*, *the mechanical voice,* and *the singing voice.*

As is the case with most analytical tools I develop throughout this dissertation, these three conceptualization of the voice are not discrete entities. They often overlap and co-constitute each other. For instance, in chapter two, the *popular* and mechanical voice are

central to my analysis of music circulation. In chapter four, the *popular* and the singing voice collide in my study of Jaramillo's vocality. And in chapter three, the mechanical and the singing voice meet in my theorization of the gender politics of *música popular.* I invite the reader to listen to Jaramillo's aurality in these three registers continuously.

The popular voice

Throughout the archive, J.J.'s voice emerges as an aural marker through which certain dynamics of space, race, class, and gender are mobilized. Often in subtle, yet compelling and systematic ways, Jaramillo's vocality is indexed to classed and racialized listeners, hypermasculine fantasies, and marginal spaces. In chapter one, I theorize the subject that emerges from these discursive formations as the *popular* subject. The *popular* voice is thus the aural locus that emerges from the archive through which otherness is enacted, reproduced, and, often, erased. I find the *popular* voice mostly in literary renditions of Jaramillo, but also in lyrics, obituaries, interviews, newspaper profiles, and scholarship.

In analyzing the *popular* voice, I deploy an eclectic scholarly corpus. I put in dialogue the Jaramillo archive with literature from sound studies, Latin American studies, critical race theory, and gender and masculinity studies. In chapter one, I consider Jaramillo's *popular* voice an *aural popular sphere* through which I unravel stories of internal migration, racialization, and urban marginality. In chapter two, the *popular* voice has to do with how "the people" (what I call the *popular* subject) are represented and imagined through the singer's voice. In chapter three, it emerges from lyrics of the Jaramillo repertoire. Such lyrics, I show, enclose certain tropes of gender relations in Latin America. In chapter four, I query

why exactly Jaramillo's voice was rendered as a *popular* one. In other words, I ask what constitutes a *popular* voice for those portraying it as such?

The mechanical voice

Both the archive and this dissertation engage with Jaramillo's mechanical voice. As a matter of fact, I seldom allude to live performance. Instead, recordings, radio, and the jukebox are the primary agents through which J.J. is funneled. In the archive, when Jaramillo's vocality is invoked, it is done so through some of these sound technologies. For instance, in chapters one and four, Jaramillo's voice appears in literary and scholarly representations of him via the jukebox. In literary renditions of Jaramillo, scholarship, and in the public sphere, Jaramillo's figure intertwines with the jukebox, the homosocial cantina space, and *popular* subjectivities. The jukebox, and Jaramillo's mechanical voice funneled through it, have been crucial technological agents in the construction of his *popular* aurality. Here, we see one of many instances in which these vocal categories (the *popular* and the mechanical) overlap. Martín-Barbero's work constitutes the main theoretical corpus through which I develop this line of inquiry. Through him, I also dialogue with European thinkers like Antonio Gramsci and Walter Benjamin.

The mechanical voice is also the driving force behind chapter two. In my study of the Latin American recording industry, Jaramillo's recorded voice constitutes the thread through which I map and theorize fluid networks of music transnationalisms. These include both the circulation as well as the production stage. Therefore, Jaramillo's mechanical voice is not just the one that traverses the continent through recordings. It is also the voice that is being

inscribed in vinyl. In other words, I conceptualize the transmutation of composing songs to recording them as another instance in which the *popular* and the mechanical voice overlap.

The singing voice

The singing voice alludes to the engagement myself and others in the archive have with J.J.'s vocality. It is showcased mostly in chapter four. Mobilizing an eclectic set of methodologies to analyze the aural/oral aspect of Jaramillo's vocality, I use traditional ethno/musicological techniques such as transcription and rhythmic and melodic analysis to engage with the singing voice. However, other aspects of Jaramillo's vocality escape traditional staff notation. Such is the case non-quantizable rhythms, diction markers, and certain vernaculars he astutely mobilized in his path to transnational stardom. To account for this, I formulate alternative analytic approaches that connect the textual with aural. More specifically, I listen and describe in detail some of these vocal techniques and connect them with listening examples accessible online.

In a more theoretical register, my treatment of the singing voice also engages how J.J.'s vocality went with and against the grain of certain regimes of vocal policing. Developing on Ochoa Gautier's (2014) theoretical contributions to the relation between the discipline of vocalities and the construction of national aural spheres in 19th century Colombia, I query how such regimes developed in the 20th century. I show how Jaramillo's singing voice engaged in both disciplined and un-disciplined modes of voicing. I suggest that this vocal fluidity made him a transnationally successful artist as well as a fertile aural locus to disentangle and theorize the genealogies of *lo popular*.

Chapter Overview

Chapter one follows J.J. through specific moments of his performance career. Using novels and newspaper advertisements, I place him in particular venues where he performed in Guayaquil, Ecuador, México City, and Medellín, Colombia. These spaces, I show, enclose certain dynamics of race, class, and gender. Departing from these venues, I unravel long-lasting histories of difference construction. Focusing on working-class cantinas in Guayaquil in 1978 and *popular* theaters in México City in 1960, I unearth a racialized, classed, and masculine yet erased subject that emerges from these discursive formations: the *popular* subject. Finding similarities in their historical construction, I show how in both Ecuador and México, this racialized urban dweller emerged from similar geopolitical dynamics and processes of internal migration. Furthermore, I posit the *popular* subject as a disruption to the mestizaje regime.

While Jaramillo's aurality was systematically indexed to this constructed listener, I unsettle this notion by placing him in a diametrically contrasting space in 1976; the gendered middle-class *heladería* (ice cream shop, in its literal translation) in Medellín. I do so to problematize essentialized notions regarding the average Jaramillo listener and academic tropes that propose a direct connection between musical taste, class, and alterity. Through the heladería space, I also investigate how mestizo-whiteness (the normative subject of the mestizo nation) has been constructed and policed since the 19th century. At the intersection of space, race, and sound, the theorization of the *popular* subject I perform in this chapter and how this subject dialogues with broader discourses of music, race, and nation, is instrumental for the next chapters.

Focusing on Jaramillo's recorded corpus, in chapter two, I follow J.J.'s recordings through space and time to map and investigate what I call the pre-neoliberal Latin American recording industry, which took place roughly from the 1940s to '80s. This chapter was built collaboratively with Colombian record collector Henry Martínez Puerta. I open the chapter by considering the collector figure and proposing collectors and their collections as fundamental agents of knowledge in the study of *música popular.* I offer an overview of Don Henry's life in collecting J.J. and some thoughts on our collaborative process.

I mobilize the archival research product of our collaborative work to illustrate the distributed network of agencies that made the pre-neoliberal Latin American recording industry. More specifically, I focus on the late 1950s to late '70s, a period that, I suggest, was one of the most dynamic ones of this industry, and that overlapped with Jaramillo's recording career. My analysis of this recording industry considers three broad temporalities of the production-consumption chain: composing, production, and circulation. Developing from Martín-Barbero's (1993) concept of mediation, I argue that in J.J.'s recording practice, the *popular* subject was simultaneously voiced and othered.

Developing on this theorization, chapter three takes a look at the gender politics that emerge from the Jaramillo archive. Focusing on lyrics from his repertoire and putting them in dialogue with interviews with him and his family, I query tropes of the masculine and the gendered body that are mobilized in *música popular.* I argue that, although many of these gender discourses do exist in Latin America, they develop predominantly from a masculine gaze. To contrast these tropes with how masculinity is lived across the region, I put them in dialogue with ethnographic studies of Latin American masculinity.

This chapter also takes a closer look at the literary corpus by Ecuadorian male writers whose work has reproduced and sedimented several of the tropes of race, class, and gender that have been constructed around J.J. Stressing the masculine place of enunciation from which these texts have been formulated, I argue that J.J. constitutes a site of masculine fantasy where gendered bodies, alcohol, and money are symbolically consumed in excess.

Finally, in chapter four, I engage with J.J.'s vocality and those who have rendered it. Listening in detail to Jaramillo's voice, I explore aural markers that made him a successful transnational singer. The idea of music genre and the relation it has in the process of disciplining certain auralities into discourses of nation stands at the core of this chapter. I show how J.J. moved fluidly across different musicalities as he built his vocal identity. Focusing on specific tracks, I perform a detailed musical analysis of the vocal techniques he used to successfully traverse these genres and the aural politics they enclose.

I then turn to voices in the archive that have rendered J.J.'s vocality as a *popular* one. Working through primary sources, I ask what constitutes a *popular* voice for these listeners. Circling back to the *popular* subject I theorize in chapter one, I show how ideas of Jaramillo's *popular* voice develop from racialized and classed perceptions of his aurality. These processes of othering that intertwine aurality and marginalized bodies, I suggest, are present in Jaramillo's transnational figure and are an integral part of his vocal and geopolitical fluidity. Jaramillo's fluid vocality, I suggest, is what makes him a fertile locus to explore the historically and geopolitically scattered histories of sound, alterity, media capital, and nation I study throughout this dissertation.

In the next four chapters, I listen to Julio Jaramillo to disentangle the genealogies of *música popular* and the forces that have shaped the Latin American aural public sphere in the

second half of the 20th century. J.J. emerges as the aural locus through which sameness and difference are voiced, enacted, and erased. I find these dynamics at the intersection of the aural, the human, and the technological. Let us listen to Julio Jaramillo and follow him through space and time.

Passages of the section subtitled *What is the Popular in Music?* of this introduction were published in the procedures of the Comunicación y Cultura Popular en América Latina y el Caribe conference under the title *Genealogías de lo popular: Música, alteridad, nación e industria* (Rubio Restrepo 2020b).

CHAPTER ONE

Listening for the *Popular* Subject: Sound, Race, and Space

Julio Jaramillo died in Guayaquil, Ecuador, on February 9, 1978, circa 9:00 pm, he was 42 years old. International reporters rushed to contact their Ecuadorian peers to corroborate the news and gain some details. Colombian newspaper El Espectador reported that once news of J.J.'s delicate health broke in Guayaquil, "the popular sectors [los sectores populares] mobilized."[1] El Colombiano wrote that during his career, Jaramillo "filled with tears more than a million Colombians…" and that "his now gone sad voice, prone to impossible loves and endless drunkenness… widowed half the country."[2] In Venezuela, Diario Meridiano stated that "though he made a fortune, he died in misery… Jukeboxes in many countries are mourning his death… he lived a chaotic life, perhaps taken by his bohemian character…"[3] The departure of a singer who came to be one of the most successful Latin American stars of the 1960s and 70s was untimely and unexpected.

The Mexican newspaper Excelsior informed that Jaramillo "was one of the most important singers of Latin America in the popular realm [a nivel popular]" and that his departure "ends the history of one of the most bohemian latino singers, who died poor, left several widows and children that he procreated in different countries of the continent."[4]

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[1] "Murió el Cantante Julio Jaramillo," *El Espectador,* February 11, 1978.
[2] "Cantor," *El Colombiano,* March 2, 1978.
[3] "Julio Jaramillo Fue Sepultado Ayer," *Diario Meridiano,* February 11, 1978.
[4] "Tirsteza por la Muerte de Julio Jaramillo," *Excelsior,* February 11, 1978.

Similarly, El Porvenir mentioned that "the melodic Ecuadorian singer… famous in Latin America and the U.S., passed last night in destitution, despite having hundreds of hit records."[5] Summarizing all of these, the press release published by most printed media reads: "Julio Jaramillo, the Ecuadorian singer that had the most impact in popular media [en los medios populares], passed today… His bohemian soul impeded him from making money. He died in poverty, leaving a numerous family behind."

These obituaries presented a multifaceted figure: the artist, the bohemian, the womanizer, the squanderer, the star, the has-been. Embedded in these, are a set of discursive formations that, I suggest, construct not just J.J.'s figure but also a certain listener of his music. The discourses the international media mobilized to render Jaramillo exemplify the various registers in which the *música popular* concept, and its adjective form *lo popular,* function in the Latin American context.

In this chapter, I focus on what the obituaries call the "popular sectors." This concept is widely used across the Spanish-speaking Americas in complicated ways to refer to working-class populations. Preliminarily, what the term "popular sectors" in relation to Jaramillo suggests is that he was predominantly listened to by these "sectors." However, instead of enunciating this subject in terms of class, I argue that this subject is, first and foremost, a racialized one. Put differently, as opposed to Eurocentric notions—still prevalent in the region—that have systematically conceptualize difference in terms of class (particularly in the urban spaces I focus on), I show that the very base of this difference lies in processes of racialization. I call this emerging, yet erased subject, the *popular* subject. Following

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[5] "El Popular Cantante Julio Jaramillo Murió Indigente," *El Porvenir*, February 11, 1978.

Jaramillo's musicking[6] through different sites, focusing on significant moments of his career, and using a heterogeneous archive, I unearth this *popular* subject.

The act of unearthing entails acknowledging bodies whose presence is constitutive of the racialization of a certain place, but whose racial otherness remains un-enunciated, thus constituting an act of double-erasure. I begin in Guayaquil, Ecuador, with Jorge Velasco Mackenzie's novel El Rincon de Los Justos, set during Jaramillo's death in 1978. Considering J.J. an aural marker of difference in Velasco Mackenzie's literary world, I find a racialized subject that sits at the center of the author's world of marginality, the *cholo*. I then move to Jaramillo's 1960 debut in México City that consolidated him as a transnational star. Focusing on newspaper advertisements, I situate J.J. in variety theaters deemed as sites for *popular* entertainment. In these theaters, I find the *pelado,* a marginalized urban dweller. Both of these locations exemplify the racial regime of erased otherness that construct the *popular* subject. Through Mexican variety theaters, I introduce another genealogy of *música popular*, that is, *lo popular* as a signifier that alludes to mass-mediated entertainment.

Though J.J.'s aurality was systematically indexed to racialized listeners, this construction was also not definitive throughout his career. In the last section, I unsettle these notions. To do so, I move to the city of Medellín, Colombia, and Jaramillo's latter part of his career in 1976. Away from the major venues he performed in during his zenith, in Medellín, I find him in middle-class gendered spaced with service-oriented economies called *heladerías*

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[6] Musicking is a term widely used in music studies. Coined by Christopher Small (1998), the concept of *musicking* (to music) seeks to unsettle the Eurocentric notion of music as an "aesthetic object" that exists in a metaphysical or textual form (score, recording, etc.) and instead positing it as to something we *do.* "To music" is to: "*take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing*" (Ibid., 9, original emphasis).

(ice cream shops in its literal translation). Jaramillo has been continuously portrayed as a singer of “the people,” of “the popular sectors.” The case of heladerías is just one of many instances that problematize such construction.

I situate the *popular* subject in a liminal racial space in-between whiteness, blackness, and indigeneity. Jaramillo’s brownness and working-class origins, and the direct relation these attributes had with the *popular* listener constructed around his music, shed light on the racial dynamics his music and figure put in motion. The racial formations Jaramillo puts forward unsettle discourses that have been actively entangled with the Latin American nation-state since the 19th century and that have been mobilized under the idea of *mestizaje* (race mixture in its literal translation). I posit the *popular* subject as a disruption to the mestizaje regime. However, before that, a brief overview of mestizaje is in order.

From *mestizaje* to the *popular* subject

The mestizaje discourse is complex and dates back to the early colony.[7] Since the 19th century, mestizaje was actively interpolated by intellectual and political elites across Latin America into nationalistic discourses. This set the basis for the emergence of a normative subject in these emerging republics. My theorization echoes de la Cadena’s (2005) admonition that distinguishes mestizo from mestizaje. According to her, while mestizo enunciates a certain subject, mestizaje falls in the realms of discourse, a “political ideology” (Ibid., 262). During the colonial era, mestizo referred to “the child of a European (usually male) and an indigenous person (usually female)” (Wade et al., 2014, 13). This subject, who

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[7] For racial formations in colonial Latin America see Padgen (1986) and Martínez (2008).

was hierarchically below the white-European (and especially European-born), was reappropriated by American criollos (American-born from European descent) in the 19th century. Once reappropriated, the mestizo emerged as the normative subject of the mestizaje political ideology. From its inception, the normative mestizo was white criollo, predominantly urban, masculine, and educated.

Critical accounts of mestizaje have surged over the last two decades. The vast majority of them have been formulated from the geopolitical space of the nation-state. One of the most compelling historical overviews articulated from a transnational scope is that of Miller (2004). She has traced an intellectual genealogy of mestizaje that begins with Simón Bolivar. This prominent criollo led the independence campaigns in the southern territories in the first two decades of the 19th century. Bolivar's views on mestizaje and its relation to his republican project were profoundly influential for the soon-to-be nation-states and their intellectual elites.[8] Acknowledging the potential obstacle the racial and ethnic diversity in the region presupposed to the republican movement, Bolivar posited that rather than a hindrance, mestizaje—now used more loosely to refer to miscegenation—was an asset. However, being part of an elite criollo minority, Bolivar argued that it was precisely the white criollo's intellectual capacity that would lead the mestizo from colonized subject to sovereign citizen (Ibid., 9-10).

In the second half of the 19th century, Cuban intellectual José Martí elaborated on Bolivar's discourse. Martí argued that mestizaje was a potential agent of regional cohesion for the developing Latin American nations. By the turn of the 20th century, the mestizaje

[8] Miller (2004) mention two documents in particular; Bolivar's seminal Carta de Jamaica written in exile in Kingston in 1815 and an address to the Venezuelan congress of Angostura delivered in 1819.

discourse was making its way from elite circles to the political realm. Intellectuals/politicians like José Vasconcelos in México and Gilberto Freyre in Brazil were key in incorporating mestizaje to their nation's discourses and constructing the mestizo qua normative national subject.[9] To be sure, positive views on biological and ethnic mestizaje were far from uncontested.[10]

Deeply entrenched with a normative citizen that became sedimented throughout the region during the first half of the 20th century, the normative mestizo subject also has to do with the ethnic (culture, character, faith, science), the educational (level of formal education), and the performative (speech, sexuality, manners, demeanor). It is through these intersectional axes that the mestizo is constructed, rendered, reappropriated, and transgressed. Rather than constructing a "color line" between whiteness and its Others,[11] mestizaje is a "political ideology" (de la Cadena *dixit*) of inclusion/exclusion that *reifies, subsumes,* and *erases* difference.

Mestizaje reifies difference because it maintains and reproduces unequal social relations that are constitutive of the Latin American nation (and world capitalism more generally) and whose historical origins date back to the early colony. This is what decolonial

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[9] Vasconselo's *La Raza Cósmica* (translated as The Cosmic Race) published in 1925, and Freyre's Casa-Grande & Senzala, (The Masters and the Slaves) published in 1933, were seminal text in establishing the mestizo qua normative national subject. For more on Freyre and his relation to discourses of music and nation in Brazil, see Vianna (1999). The way in which the mestizaje discourse evolved was particular to each nation-state. My theorization throughout this chapter works through these nuances, considering them not just through the geopolitical nation-state scale, but from specific urban centers. For more on how mestizaje has developed in different Latin American countries, see Miller (2004) and Wade et al. (2014).

[10] Intellectuals across the region argued against miscegenation. For a case study on how this developed in Colombia and Argentina, see Uribe Vergara (2008).

[11] I am not suggesting that a "color line" doesn't exist in the former Spanish colonies. A clear divide between (mestizo) whiteness and its others—in particular Amerindian and Afro-diasporic communities—does exist. Rather, I am focusing on the grey racial space (no pun intended) that exists in-between all of these.

thinker Anibal Quijano (2000) has theorized as the "coloniality of power." It subsumes difference in that these unequal social relations are the base on which wealth, power, and labor are (re)produced. Finally—and this is arguably one of mestizaje's most powerful and theoretically challenging ideological aspects—it erases said differences by establishing a regime of faux homogeneity[12] in which race mixture is outwardly celebrated but in which whiteness (or better, mestizo whiteness) remains to be an asset. Therefore, as scholars like de la Cadena (2000, 2005) have pointed out, the mestizaje discourse is not short of instances that uncover the contradictory nature of this ideology. I posit the *popular* subject as "break" (Moten *dixit*)—that is, the repetition that surfaces difference—to the mestizaje regime.[13]

In the first half to the 20th century, the mestizaje discourse sedimented and entangled with nation discourses in Colombia (Castro-Gómez and Restrepo 2008b), México (Miller 2004), and Ecuador (Wong 2012). By the late 1950s, when Julio Jaramillo was rising as a transnational star, the white mestizo was the archetypal subject of the "modern" nation. The urban centers were the paradigmatic geopolitical spaces of the modern-mestizo subject. The major cities, where I situate this chapter, constituted the epicenter of an emergent national modernity.[14] It is in this spatiotemporal juncture that I find the *popular* subject mobilized by

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[12] I am borrowing here from Mexican scholars Pedro Angel Palou (2014) who has called to undo "the mestizo qua *falso homogéneo* [faux homogenous subject]" and the "naturalization of race and racialization" it foregrounds (Ibid., 210, emphasis added). I find the idea of *falso homogéneo* a productive one to think through the ontological plasticity of the mestizo and the recial regime of erase otherness it presupposes.

[13] I am indebted to my colleague and friend Gust Burns for working with me on this definition of Moten's "break." Moten's project unearths performative gestures in the history of the black radical tradition that, from Frederick Douglas to 20th century luminaries like Amiri Baraka and Cecil Taylor, rupture with the genealogies of racial and sexual otherness constitutive of the black body in the US.

[14] This is not to say that the mestizo subject and the mestizaje discourse didn't develop outside the urban centers. Quite the opposite, as I show below, the very encounter between the rural and the urban, its populations and their racial and ethnic background, unsettled normative discourses of race and nation. I study some of these in this chapter.

J.J. In this chapter, I follow Jaramillo through Guayaquil (Ecuador), México City, and Medellín (Colombia) and trace the *popular* subject on a transnational and comparative scope. The question then becomes how to "read" race within a state-discourse that has systematically strived to erase and reify the relations of difference afforded by it. I suggest that a fertile ground to do so resides in the encounter between the aural and the lettered.

The lettered city and the aural *popular* sphere

In his seminal *The Lettered City*, Angel Rama (1996) posits that the written word was the privilege of the Latin American lettered elites since the early colony. Located predominantly in the cities, it constituted one of the most powerful tools through which difference was constructed and maintained well into the 20th century. Ochoa Gautier (2014) has developed on Rama, arguing that sound was equally relevant in the construction of an "unequal public sphere" (4). She further posits the aural as "not the other of the lettered city but rather a formation and a force that seeps through its crevices demanding the attention of its listeners, sometimes questioning and sometimes upholding, explicitly or implicitly, its very foundation" (Ibid., 5). Rather than a decolonial technology that opposes the power of the lettered city, the aural goes with and against its grain.

Following Ochoa Gautier (2006), this chapter queries different recontextualizations of sound. She writes: "the practices of recontextualization of sound are profoundly interrelated to the modes of studying it and both are constitutive of an aural public sphere characterized by sonic hierarchies that is itself a sphere of production of social differentiation and inequalities" (813) The figure of the listener, creating meaning around sound, is central to how difference is

negotiated and rendered. I consider the heterogenous lettered corpus on Jaramillo as an aural public sphere.

The literary renditions of these aural sites—what Ochoa Gautier calls the "recontextualization" of sound and that in this chapter take the form novels, advertisements, and press articles—actively construct not just spaces of public aurality, a racialized *popular* subject also emerges from these discursive formations. While Ochoa Gautier alludes to how the aural has been a "crucial site of constitution of the disencounters of modernities" (Ibid. 820), and specifically of the construction of the "modern" unequal Latin American nation-state, I scale down (in the geographical sense) her theorization. I consider the aural public sphere vis-à-vis the *popular* subject, what I call the aural *popular* sphere, a fundamental epistemic and spatial locus for the construction of this subject.

Going from the lettered city to the aural *popular* sphere, I expand on the discursive formations found in Jaramillo's obituaries by putting in dialogue an eclectic archive that departs from the lettered (non-fiction, journalism, chronicle, and scholarship) to find the aural. The aural *popular* sphere is the theoretical framework through which I study specific venues in Guayaquil, México City, and Medellín. I find Jaramillo in literary works, primary sources, and advertisements. Departing from this eclectic archive, I consider race and space through sound.

Sound sits at the center of this study as a fertile locus for knowledge production. To show how the geographical sites I focus on signal specific dynamics of difference and resistance, I explore how alterity has been historically constructed and have coalesced in them. I am thus invested in showing how site-specific genealogies of difference have developed discretely in each of these spaces, but also in tracing the similarities among them.

These similarities are a product of long-lasting genealogies of colonial difference that binds the former Spanish colonies and that have been systematically erased through the mestizaje regime. By overlapping Rama's theorization with Ochoa Gautier's, and putting them in dialogue with my own, I unravel the complex network of ideas that make the mestizo racial order. While Rama considers how the lettered emerged as a technology of control by the Latin American elites, and Ochoa Gautier shows that the aural is also a powerful de/colonial technology, I consider both of these vis-á-vis the geopolitics of the 20th-century Latin American metropole.

Discourses of sound, mestizaje, and nation formulated at the turn of the 20th century presupposed a clear division between the rural and the urban, what I call the mestizo geopolitical regime. However, the unequal modernity constitutive of the nation-state pushed pauperized rural populations into the burgeoning cities. This is what Jesús Martín-Barbero (1993) has called the "'irruption' of the masses in the cities" (156). This dis-encounter between racial formations, epistemologies, and musicalities triggered a series of fractures in the ontology of the *popular,* some of which I overview in the introduction. This resulted in the emergence of a residual subject located in a liminal space between the normative and the other.

Guayaquil, Urban Displacement, and the *Cholo's* Aurality

While Julio Jaramillo's career was decidedly cosmopolitan, his life remained inextricably linked to Guayaquil; the Ecuadorian city where he was born, left as a young man, and came back to die in. Out of his twenty-odd years as an active performer (~1955-1978), he visited his hometown sporadically and for short lapses. Nonetheless, Jaramillo rose to such

iconic status that he became the city's absent child, its proverbial prodigal son. The intimacy between the singer and his city reached its most climactic point with Jaramillo's demise. Literary renditions of J.J.'s death by writers like Jorge Velasco Mackenzie (1949-) were central in his transit from local icon to national legend.

Velasco Mackenzie has become the paradigmatic narrator of (and from) Guayaquil. Born and raised in this port city, he has tasked himself with writing "una novela total sobre Guayaquil" (the ultimate novel about Guayaquil) (García), a goal that he continues to pursue and that is at the center of his entire oeuvre. In this section, I dialogue with this author's literary world. Analyzing his 1983 novel *El Rincón de los Justos,* I trace Julio Jaramillo in this work and consider him a fundamental character in the writer's portrayal of marginal Guayaquil. I show that Jaramillo serves as an aural marker of alterity throughout the novel. Elaborating on Velasco Mackenzie's book, I suggest that a racialized—yet unnamed—*cholo* subject lies at the core of the writer's work. Rather than conceiving *El Rincón de los Justos* a work of fiction, I read it as a powerful literary testimony of the city. To do so, I consider it vis-à-vis a series of academic texts to situate better, unearth, and theorize the relations of othering in the book and their connection to J.J.'s figure and his city.

"Guayaquil de mis amores" (My dear guayaquil)

Guayaquil is Ecuador's main port. Settled by the Guayas river that connects the city with the Pacific Ocean located about 20 kilometers south, Guayaquil is also the country's largest economy. While the country's political power resides in its capital Quito, Guayaquil often overshadows it due to its financial prominence and because it is also slightly more

populated than the capital.[15] A port since the early colony, the city has been a hub through which not just commodities, but people have come to the town and into the country. Like many port cities throughout Latina America, Guayaquil carries within the racial complexities of a colonial past traversed by settler colonialism, chattel slavery, and concentration of power and wealth since its very inception.

In Guayaquil, Julio Alfredo Jaramillo Laurido was born in 1935 and passed in 1978; the latter out of mere serendipity as Jaramillo's life and career were nomadic. J.J.'s death was particularly significant in the city's and his mythology. Having come back after almost two decades of living abroad, Jaramillo's return to Ecuador—and especially to his hometown Guayaquil—just a year and a half before passing at age 42, further iconized him. The days around his death on February 8, 1978, are surrounded by an aura in which myth and fact are virtually indissoluble: fans keeping vigil outside the Domínguez clinic where he passed, local station Radio Cristal broadcasting live to the nation, and foreign media requesting updates of Jaramillo's health much to the surprise of many Ecuadorian journalists that until then didn't realize the singer's transnational relevance. These were some of the prolegomena leading to his massive funeral. As reported by the press, several family members, and close friends, his coffin was sequestered by "the people," paraded around the city, and eventually set in the municipal Coliseum were Guayaquileños lined up for hours to catch a glimpse of the deceased idol.

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[15] According to Ecuador's Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (INEC), as of 2010 Guayaquil had a population of 2.350.915, while Quito had 2.239.191.

Figure 12. Julio Jaramillo’s statue located in Guayaquil's esplanade outside the Museo de la Música Popular Julio Jaramillo (picture by the author. August, 2018)

The aurality of marginality

J.J.’s death was further mythologized by a series of literary works whose authors included Velasco Mackenzie, Fernando Artieda (1945-2010), and Raúl Vallejo (1959-), all part of a group of Guayaquil-based intellectuals.[16] Resolutely apart from the central political and intellectual power of Quito, these authors were invested in narrating and making visible the marginalized other, thus distancing themselves from tropes rendering Guayaquil as a tropical fantasy and a vigorous industrial hub. Velasco Mackenzie’s work focuses on those

[16] The entire group included Fernando Nieto Cadena, Héctor Alvarado, Fernando Artieda, Fernando Balseca, Fernando Nieto, Willington Paredes, León Ricaurte, Hugo Salazar Tamariz, Guillermo Tenén, Edwin Ulloa, Raúl Vallejo, Jorge Velasco, Gaitán Villavicencio, and Solón Villavicencio. In 1977, their efforts coalesced on the literary magazine Sicoseo (Hidlago, 2017)

who progressivism leaves behind or, better, those on which the development machine feeds on. These are the main characters of his novel *El Rincón de los Justos* (1983). Settled completely in Guayaquil, the book is centered around the neighborhood Matavilela, its inhabitants, the local cantina El Rincón de los Justos (The Corner of the Righteous) which titles the book, and the imminent eviction of its residents by the municipal authorities as part of the city's "urban recuperation" efforts.

Located in the heart of Guayaquil's downtown, Matavilela is home to a series of characters of the "other" city, those who Walter Mignolo would place in the "darker side of western modernity,"[17] that is, those subjects whose very alterity and inequality affords developed cities like Guayaquil to thrive in world capitalism. Though no specific background story is offered to any of the characters, the overall context suggests that they either come from peripheral coastal provinces or that they are city dwellers that have endured a status of subalternity for generations. Most likely, many of them are internal migrants pushed out of their rural pauperized communities and into major cities like Guayaquil and Quito, pursuing the wave of urban industrialization brought by the oil boom of the 1970s (Rivadeneira Aseicha 2004, 71).

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[17] Theorizing what he and other decolonial thinkers call "the colonial matrix of power", Mignolo enunciates a series of "historic-structural nodes" that sustain modernity/coloniality; these include: "1 A global racial formation whose point of origination was Christian Spain… 2 A particular global class formation where a diversity of forms of labor (slavery, semi-serfdom, wage labor, petty-commodity production, etc.) were to coexist and be organized by capital as a source of production of surplus value through the selling of commodities for a profit in the world market… 3 An international division of labor of core and periphery where capital organized labor at the periphery around coerced and authoritarian forms. International division of labor was supported by the ordination of international law… in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. 4 An inter-state system of politico-military organizations controlled by Euro-American males and institutionalized in colonial administrations. 5 A global racial/ethnic hierarchy that privileged European people over non-European people…" (2011, 17-18) Velasco Mackenzie's characters, as I theorize them here, stand on the latter part of the modernity/coloniality formulation. That is, the inhabitants of Matavilela epitomize the systematic racialization of bodies (coloniality) on which the very idea of modernity has been made possible.

Velasco Mackenzie's main characters are part of the marginal, racialized, and classed populations often referred to as *cholos* in Ecuador (Vimos 2015, 241). A colonial denomination originally used in certain territories to refer to children from a Spanish father and an Indigenous mother (the "original" mestizo), cholo was synonymous with "dog" during the early colony (Espinoza Apolo 2003, 32). During the 19th century, it was used to refer to dispossessed, landless indigenous peoples (Roitman 2009, 120). The cholo denomination continues to be highly pejorative and racialized-classed. According to Wong (2012): "Cholo is often used to point to indigenous people who have migrated to the city and enter a process of 'de-indianization' in which they lose their ethnic status of Indians" (27). More importantly, signifiers like cholo "are pejorative and often used by the upper-middle classes as insults for urban mestizos who have notable indigenous features and try to escalate the social ladder" (Ibid., 4).

As a racial episteme directly traceable to the early colony, the cholo epitomizes the construction of difference that built and sustains Western modernity. Through it, we can unearth how difference was first engendered through a theo-juridical order promulgated through the blood purity dogma that separated the human, from the less-than-human, and the sub-human. And, later on, as the colonies transitioned into republics, how the emerging liberal Man was constructed in opposition to his racialized Other.[18] As Lisa Lowe (2015) has

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[18] In their introduction to their substantial edited volume Mestizo Genomics, Peter Wade et al. (2014) mention: "The idea of race emerged as early as the thirteenth or fourteenth century to refer to lineage, breed, or stock in animals and humans… It became entwined in notions of "purity of blood" (limpieza de sangre) and religious affiliation, especially in Iberian encounters between Christians, Jews, and Muslims… During the discovery and conquest of the Americas, this idea of lineage and purity of blood became one way (among others) of thinking about differences between the key categories that emerged in these colonial encounters—blacks/Africans, whites/Europeans, Indians/Native Americans (as well as Asians and other non-Europeans)… Differences in perceived appearance as well as behavior were naturalized in ideas about heredity. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the idea of race developed as the key conceptual category with which to classify humans

compellingly argued, the liberal Man is rooted on a series of Eurocentric ideals that include "citizenship in the state, the promise of economic freedom in the development of wage labor and exchange markets, and the conferring of civilization to human persons educated in aesthetic and national culture…"[19] (3-4). Outside the formal economy, having little to no education, and persecuted by the state that is supposed to care for them, the cholo subject at the core of Velasco Makenzie's work was not just denied the promise of liberalism. It is precisely on their long-standing exclusion that the liberal Man thrives.

Velasco Mackenzie articulates the world of marginality of *El Rincón de los Justos* through two spatiotemporal markers: 1) the eponymous cantina that constitutes the spatial heart of the novel and that is located in a decaying soon-to-be-gentrified neighborhood in a wealthy yet unequal city, and 2) J.J.'s death on February 9, 1978, that frames the timeline of the novel. Throughout the book, J.J. and his voice—mostly channeled through the jukebox in the cantina[20]—turns into a looming presence that is mobilized by the author to render Guayaquil audible. Jaramillo's mechanical voice thus functions as an aural marker of Matavilela's alterity. J.J. is continuously invoked as both *the popular* artist and the soundtrack of the *popular* subject, allowing Velasco Mackenzie to construct a marginal literary space.

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into "types." By the nineteenth century, with the development of biology and physical anthropology, these types were conceived as physically distinct entities, even separate species, and were ranked in a hierarchy of biological and cultural value…" (3-4)

[19] While, as Lowe argues, these ideals originated in Europe, specifically in epistemic geopolitical centers such as France, the British Empire, and Germany, the relation of Othering Europe had with its colonies was key for the construction of the Liberal Man—or what Silvia Wynter would call Man2 (2004)—for it was only through the colonial encounter, the construction of difference and categorization of human life, and the further deployment of this zoopolitical order on a world scale that the Liberal Man/Man2 came to fruition in the 19th c. In this regard, while not directly in dialogue, Lowe and many Latin American decolonial thinkers overlap, reaching similar conclusions through different paths.

[20] The importance of the jukebox for J.J. and the *música popular* concept is paramount. Broadly speaking, this importance is twofold: 1) The jukebox was a key agent in the process of distribution and circulation of J.J.'s music, and 2) it became a paradigmatic trope in the construction of a series of "musical topics" (Hernández Salgar 2016) surrounding his music. I expand on this on chapter two.

While fictional, El Rincón de los Justos was based on a real cantina located in downtown Guayaquil that Velasco Mackenzie frequented as a teenager, when he would sneak out his high school to have a beer (Martillo Monserrate 2013). The places, sounds, and characters in the novel are traversed by the intimacy the author holds with his city.

This aurality of marginality, sounded through J.J., serves the author to build a non-fictive Guayaquil. Tropes connecting J.J. to the ghettoized and condemned Matavilela neighborhood, violence, and alcohol are found throughout the book. Consider el Diablo Ocioso o Sordo (Deaf or Idle Devil) who sells loose cigarettes and sweets outside the Lux cinema, and that frequents El Rincón de los Justos cantina to gaze at the cantina's "salonera" (waitress) Narcisa Martillo.[21] Narrating in the first person, el Diablo Ocioso holds an imaginary conversation with the salonera:

> You transform during the day, at night once again you become the Martillo Puta [Martillo Whore], and the clients of El Rincón de los Justos shiver as you walk by, they shake their hands asking you to serve them so you'd lean to check out your breasts, your hard nipples that I once felt unwittingly: you were standing by the Wurlitzer [jukebox] and I asked you for permission to get to the water [sic] [bathroom], you wanted to dodge me but it was too late, I pressed you hard against the machine that just in that moment started to play one by J.J., and then my chest stuck to your chest, in a fraction of a second we quivered, and I say we because even though you belong to Sebastián, you, Narcisa Martillo, shivered when I cornered you. It all passed as an accident, as a sad pass from a drunk. I had to lock the door in the water [sic] to vent myself, and at that point that place wasn't a filthy site but my eternal sacred place (35-36).

[21] The figure of the cantina/bar waitress in América Latina is found throughout the region under different names. "Salonera" (saloon-lady) in Guayaquil or "copera" (cup- or glass-lady) in parts of Colombia. I use the Derridian under-erasure for waitress since, while the salonera or copera's job is primarily to wait tables in male-dominated spaces like cantinas, the genealogy of this figure is unique to certain Latina American areas. Therefore, there is not real equivalency between salonera and waitress. Narcisa Martillo is the salonera of El Rincón de Los Justos. While throughout the novel several characters refer to her as Narcisa Puta/Martillo Puta (Narcisa whore/Martillo whore), in actuality she is not a prostitute, merely the salonera of the place. I explore issues of gender, masculinity, and sexuality in regards to J.J. in chapter three.

This passage illustrates the world of marginality at the core of Velasco Mackenzie's work. The nameless Diablo Ocioso/Sordo is part of an unskilled, undereducated workforce forced outside the formal economy. The male-dominated space that is El Rincón de los Justos is a meeting point that welcomes him and other kindred souls lurking around Matavilela. Continuously bullied by Narcisa Martillo's boyfriend Sebastián or El Sebas—the part-time concierge of the cantina/part-time small-time mugger—due to its declining hearing, El Diablo Sordo fantasizes with *the* female figure in the cantina.[22] He spends what little money he makes on beer and feeding the Wurlitzer (jukebox).[23] He gazes towards Narcisa while the machine plays J.J. tunes that he is barely able to listen to and drinks himself to oblivion. Jaramillo's public status of transnational womanizer (which I explore in-depth in chapter three), emboldens El Diablo's fantasy.

Narcisa Martillo, an orphan, picked up by the cantina's owner Encarnación Sepúlveda, is condemned to a life of gendered service. Whether attending to the cantina's drunks, or "sewing socks, underwear" (46) and providing free labor to the pious middle- upper-class Ladies of Charity (Las Damas de la Caridad) that stalk her throughout the novel to "save her." Using the local slang central to Velasco Mackenzie's style, El Diablo goes into the "water" (restroom) after his imagined sexual encounter with the salonera to masturbate.

El Rincón de los Justos is thus the venue where the tropes that make the cholo subject coalesce. The cantina is a space of marginality, occupied by brown, urban-dwellers whose means of subsistence go from the informal to the illegal. Furthermore, it is also a masculine

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[22] While there are other female characters central to the novel, Narcisa Martillo is the only one that represents a sexual interest for the customers of El Rincón de los Justos.
[23] Jukeboxes go by different names throughout América Latina, some them are anglicized version of the instrument's most renown makers such as Wurlitzer or Rocola (Rock-Ola)

space where women fulfill a role of servitude. These cholos embody the inequality constitutive of Guayaquil's industrial wealth. The municipality's gentrifying efforts are directed towards further disenfranchising these communities and making them invisible. By pushing these racialized bodies outside the city's downtown area, the town is sanitizing Guayaquil's public aural sphere.

Communal mourning and a fatal encounter of two cities

While the novel El Rincón de los Justos is mostly set around Matavilela and its people, Velasco Mackenzie shortly steps outside the other city and its racialized-classed cholo subjects and into the world of Guayaquil's normative citizens. These "children of the great country" ("hijos de la patria") coast the streets in the "automobil de los Ratas" or "Autorata" (Ratmobile). El Rulo, Chafo Domínguez, el Carlos Thomas, and Paco—Los Ratas (The Rats)—narrate and live in a diametrically different city. A few blocks away from Matavilela yet a far cry from it, Los Ratas ride along the Guayas River esplanade and go to the hippest clubs. Drawing a clear distinction between Matavilela's aurality (sounded through J.J.'s voice), Los Ratas smoke weed while listening to Janis Joplin, Carlos Santana, and Frank Zappa. Though it is indeed a trope to index these US imports to affluent Latin American youths during the 1960s and '70s, the author uses it as a rhetorical device to contrast the "children of the great country" to El Diablo Sordo et al.. If the cosmopolitan musical taste of Los Ratas illustrates their white-mestizo privileged background, J.J.'s *popular* musicking indexes Matavilela's subalternity.

Los Ratas' learn about Jaramillo's death as they drive through the city. Estranged from the actuality around them, they realize the news after observing people on the street, grabbing

their faces to the headline “MURIÓ JULIO JARAMILLO.” Paco mentions: “We were stunned, animated by the surprise, happy day, a night of limpid surprises” (97). Still incredulous, Carlos Thomas turns on the radio and “moving the dial left to right, there was nothing initially, but then the squeaky voice appeared everywhere, a flood of wailings and falsettos, of ayes [moans] and sung sorrows; it is true, I said, and we felt how the entire city rose towards the airwaves…” Los Ratas’ reaction to this crucial moment serves Velasco Mackenzie to further contrast “los hijos de la patria” with their others. Contrary to the collective sense of grieve, these wealthy youths think of this tragic event as an exciting one that invigorates their night. Furthermore, they take the opportunity to mock J.J.’s whining style and “squeaky” high-pitched voice as it floods the airwaves (as in fact happened for several days after J.J. passed).[24] As I show below, this vocal feature constitutes one of Jaramillo’s most salient aural markers. Rather than joining the general sense of stupefaction, Los Ratas “decide not to keep respect to the deceased,” and instead, they head to the local bar El Murciélago.

After finding the bar is desolated since “jota jota [J.J.] have driven the people away” and that they (“the people”) were likely “singing *pasillos*[25] at his wake” (133), Los Ratas move through the semi-deserted city to score more weed. On their way, they run into the mourning masses that included “*lloronas* ([female] weepers), old and young women, whores and *cachifes* [pimps],” all of them in procession towards the obsequies. Thus, in Velasco Mackenzie literary rendition of Guayaquil’s young elite, these perceive Jaramillo’s followers

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[24] This line of critique was fairly common among Jaramillo’s detractors, to the point that it earned it the moniker of “cantatriste”. A neologism produced by joining the words *cantar* (to sing) and *triste* (sad), this signifier is a loaded characterization of J.J.’s voice I explore in chapter four.
[25] *Pasillo* is an Ecuadorian guitar-based music genre and one of the many styles J.J. performed.

as primarily female, but also lowlifes: the uneducated gendered masses. After further expressing their disdain for the *popular* idol by sarcastically asking if no one wants to see "the *pasillero* [*pasillo* singing] corpse" ("¿Nadie quiere ver el cadaver pasillero?") (133), Los Ratas cruise the city even more freely. The police are busy controlling the weeping crowds.

Once the munchies kick in, they make the unlikely decision to head to Matavilela, looking for food past midnight. This vaticinates the only and fatal encounter Los Ratas have with their others. Amid the party, and now in the guts of the marginal neighborhood, Carlos Thomas fails to see the tinsmith assistant, orphan, and aspiring equilibrist Fuvio Reyes and runs over him. After failing to escape, Los Ratas are yanked from the Autorata by the Matavilela neighbors, now turned into an angry mob. In the middle of the scuffle, we hear one of the few physical descriptions in the book. As Carlos Thomas grasps for air and while the police rush in to rescue "los hijos de la patria," Paco notes Carlos' "beautiful blue eyes turning off" and his "white, pale" skin (169-170).

This singular encounter between Velasco Mackenzie's two Guayaquiles results in the death of a cholo at the hands of a wealthy blue-eyed, light-skinned youth, and in the police protecting the latter. Immediately, Paco starts plotting a narrative to get Los Ratas out of the legal mess: "tell them it was the day of the wake of that jackass jota jota [J.J.]" (170). Shortly after Fuvio's death, Matavilela is no more. The remaining of its former inhabitants and their few possessions are loaded into a truck heading towards the peripheral Guasmo area, east of Guayaquil's downtown, a wetland full of mangroves by the time J.J. passed in 1978.

The rare and fatal encounter between "los hijos de la patria" and Matavilela epitomizes the racialized cycle of life and death that sustain the city's normativities, what Mbembe (2003) has famously called necropolitics. He defines it as "*the generalized*

instrumentalization of human existence and the material destruction of human bodies and populations" (14, original emphasis). The mobilization of death, of bodies to-be-sacrificed, are constitutive of the colonial machinery, and, thus, of coloniality. Matavilela is the necropolitical body on which Los Ratas thrive.

Julio Jaramillo's voice is the aural marker through which Matavilela's marginality is rendered audible. Jaramillo emerges as an aural locus—what I have called the aural *popular* sphere—that voices the necropolitical cycle in which the cholo's death affords Los Ratas' ("los hijos de la patria," the true sons of the homeland) white-mestizo privilege. Fuvio Reyes' cholo body is not the only one feeding this cycle. The death of Matavilela itself, wiped out by the city's gentrification policies and pushed to Guayaquil's periphery, marks the destruction of an entire community and their further marginalization and erasure.

Velasco Mackenzie's literary world is deeply intertwined with Guayaquil's historical reality. As I have mentioned, not only was the cantina El Rincón de los Justos based on a real place, but the semi-fictional neighborhood and its inhabitants were are also partially built on the Guayaquil the author grew up in (Martillo Monserrate 2013). The necropolitical cycle the author narrates has been constitutive of Guayaquil's—and, I would argue, every other Latin American metropole's—wealth.

Urban displacement, racialization, and the *cholo* subject

In *El Rincón de los Justos*, the city is the scenario in which inequality is perceived side by side. The process of gentrification in which marginal urban dwellers were pushed out of Guayaquil's downtown and into the peripheral areas since the early 1970s has been thoroughly studied by sociologists such as Moser (2009) for decades. According to her,

increasing rents was one of the first factors displacing low-income families from the city's downtown into peripheral mangrove swamps, where many of them arrived either as squatters or purchasing land through pirate vendors. Thus, the scene described by Velasco Mackenzie in which the soon-to-be evicted people of Matavilela go to an inhabited mangrove to demarcate their future homes with stakes, string, and flags, was indeed the case for many Guayaquileño families (Moser 2009, 42). All this took place during Ecuador's oil boom when Guayaquil was further establishing itself as the country's financial hub.

However, much in the style of the Latin American intellectuals of the second half of the 20th century, Velasco Mackenzie enunciates alterity primarily on the bases of class. The racial unmarked-ness of Matavilela's population lets a glimpse of the complex discourses in motion. Due to its port status, Guayaquil has been constructed as a highly diverse, cosmopolitan, and progressive city by the locals, especially when contrasted to the Andean capital Quito. This notion has been contested by scholars arguing that this inclusivity discourse is built on an idea of mestizaje that embraces difference by erasing it (Roitman 2009, 130). Put differently, Guayaquil makes a case for a mestizaje discourse found throughout 20th century Latin America that outwardly promulgated inclusivity, but that enclosed the desire for a white-mestizo ethnostate (Roitman 2009, 132; Wade et al. 2014, 14). As it is often the case with the *popular* subject, the (un-named) cholo in *El Rincón de los Justos* is erased and further absorbed into the city's miscegenated normativity through the myth of mestizaje's racial homogeneity.

Part of this intelligentsia, Velasco Mackenzie built his characters on the base of class, obviating the genealogies of racialization on which such difference has been historically constructed. The Ecuadorian generation of writers preceding Velasco Mackenzie et al.—the

so-called “generación del 30”—forwarded an *indigenista* discourse that made visible the racialized indigenous subject.[26] However, during the second half of the 20th century, the military coup of 1963 in Ecuador, the subsequent emergence of a right-wing regime, and the rising Cuban revolution brought intellectuals worldwide closer to anti-imperialist/anti-fascist and post-Marxist discourses based primarily on class consciousness in detriment of other markers of difference. This is the case for Latin American writers such as Velasco Mackenzie, who, as I have shown, makes class the paradigmatic marker of alterity (Martínez Gomez 2015, 263-264). *El Rincón de los Justos* testifies, reifies, and erases the Latin American *popular* subject. Velasco Mackenzie constitutes an excellent example of how class often masks race.

While J.J. continues to be regarded as *the* indisputable Guayaquileño (and Ecuadorian) singer by the locals, he lived abroad for most of his artistic career. This paradoxical relation between affective intimacy and physical distance is part of what makes Jaramillo such an endeared and iconic figure. As many of my Ecuadorian interlocutors told me, news of J.J.’s transnational stardom reached most locals only after his death.

After a few international tours in 1957 and ‘59, Jaramillo left for México in 1960. Though he returned sporadically to his country for short lapses, he didn’t settle back in Ecuador until July of 1976, roughly a year and a half before passing. Jaramillo’s first Mexican tour was fundamental in the process of making him a transnational star. In the next section, I

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[26] The seminal novel *Huasipungo* (1934) by Jorge Icaza is one of example of this. Settled in the 1920s, the book narrates the inhumane treatment an indigenous community suffer at the hands of a white-*mestizo* landlord and a local priest. *Huasipungo* became one of the fundamental texts in the *indigenista* movement in Ecuador. The generation of writers leaded by Icaza, known as “la generación del 30”, is the immediate predecessor to the generation of Velasco Mackenzie et al. as well as one of the latter’s biggest influences.

follow his Mexican debut and situate him in *revista* theaters, venues that have been historically constructed as sites of *popular* entertainment.

***Popular* Theater, the "*Pelado*," and J.J.'s Consecration in México**

México City's was the epicenter of the Latin American culture industry of the 20th century. Its entertainment scene was a microcosm of the cultural landscape of the region. Towards the 1950s, local theaters catering to low-income populations showcasing the latest on *popular* entertainment emerged in the city's downtown area. These variety shows mixed music, dance, and comedy. While to an extent, these venues embodied the vibrant, diverse, and vigorous metropole that was México City, their history dates back to the turn of the 20th century. Tracing it, we find histories of migration, racialization, and performative disruption.

In this section, I explore J.J.'s 1960 tour in México City and place him in local theaters deemed as spaces for *popular* entertainment; the *teatro de revista* or variety theater. In these venues, I find the *pelado,* a subject of alterity closely associated with these spaces. I then move on to show how, similarly to the non-fictional cantinas of Guayaquil, these Mexican venues, the practices of music and sound taking place in them, and the subject that emerge from these, enclose long-lasting genealogies of racialization. Additionally, through these theaters, I trace another genealogy of *lo popular* more related to what J.J.'s obituaries called *popular* media ("los medios populares"), and that has to do with the relation these spaces had with mass-mediated entertainment.

J.J. is coming

During the second half of the 20th century, México—and particularly the capital México City—was *the* powerhouse of the Latin American media industry. To be considered a genuinely transnational star, aspiring artists required the unofficial anointment of the Mexican media industry. J.J.'s arrival to México towards the end of 1960 was a milestone in his career. This was not his first international appearance. As I show in detail in chapter two, Jaramillo's first significant tour to Uruguay and Argentina was noted throughout the region and earned him his first references in non-Ecuadorian media. Newspapers in Costa Rica and México covered the rising star.[27]

J.J. was mentioned in the Mexican press as early as April 16, 1959 when *El Universal,* one of the major national newspapers, reported that Jaramillo was expected to arrive in México City on April 29. His visit, the article explained, was hugely anticipated due to the radio success of his version of the bolero "De Cigarro en Cigarro."[28] The tour was canceled abruptly. Jaramillo was arrested at Guayaquil's airport. Failing to report to the authorities to fulfill his one-year mandatory military service, J.J. was taken into custody and dropped at a nearby military base in El Oro province. *El Universal* informed this development with a headline covering the entire top of the entertainment page reading "El Cancionista Ecuatoriano Julio Jaramillo no Viene a México."[29] In this interview, Jaramillo lamented the truncated trip, particularly the fact that he had booked contracts for USD 10.000 a month, a fortune on those days.

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[27] This according to the archival research I have done in collaboration with the members of the Grupo Cultural Julio Jaramillo.
[28] "Julio Jaramillo Llega el día 29 de Abril", *El Universal,* June 16, 1959.
[29] "El Cancionista Ecuatoriano Julio Jaramillo no Viene a México," *El Universal,* April 21, 1959.

PRIMERA SECCION.—PAGINA TREINTA Y DOS — EL UNIVERSAL — Martes 21 de abril de 1959

El Cancionista Ecuatoriano Julio Jaramillo no Viene a México

Ingresó al ejército para cumplir el servicio militar obligatorio por espacio de un año.-Diez mil dólares deja de ganar por su contrato en nuestro país

A las puertas del cuartel, en Guayaquil, la mamá del cancionista Julio Jaramillo y su novia, la bailarina Blanquita Garzón. (Foto exclusiva para EL UNIVERSAL).

Julio Jaramillo, el cantante ecuatoriano que había alcanzado gran popularidad a través de sus grabaciones ampliamente difundidas en México, las que le valieron jugoso contrato aquí —diez mil dólares mensuales, según afirma el propio Jaramillo—ha visto súbitamente interrumpida su ascendente carrera artística y tanto el mencionado contrato en México, como otros en diversas ciudades latinas, se perderán irremisiblemente, cuando menos por ahora.

Pablo Ulloa, periodista ecuatoriano, nos ofrece amplia información exclusiva comentando la exigencia del ejército de su país, que al reclamar el cumplimiento de su deber a un remiso, corta temporalmente la carrera artística de Jaramillo quien detrás de los muros del Batallón "Pichincha", de Guayaquil, observa impotente la pérdida de jugosas oportunidades.

Ulloa se dirigió al cuartel a entrevistar al cantante, a quien encontró en ropas del ejército, el cabello cortado según el reglamento y un notorio desaliento en toda la actitud de Julio. En respuesta a varias preguntas del periodista, Julio dijo textualmente. "Esto fué tan repentino que, en verdad, no salgo aún de mi asombro. Figúrense ustedes, a fin de este mes tenía que partir a México donde me esperaba un contrato por diez mil dólares mensuales. Este fin de semana, debía actuar en varios cines de Guayaquil por contratos por diez mil sucres. De pronto me detuvieron y aquí me tienen ustedes recordando a mis buenos amigos y añorando la vida que está detrás de esas paredes, el bullicio de los aplausos, las generosas sonrisas de mis amigas y los celos profundos de los otros...

Ulloa comenta que, a pesar de todo, el cantante se siente orgulloso de cumplir con sus deberes de ciudadano y servir a las fuerzas armadas de su país, aunque lamente perder las oportunidades que se le brindaban, así como el "momento" de popularidad a que había llegado.

Seguramente la poco agradable sorpresa estaba muy lejos de los planes del artista que, sin embargo, tendrá bajo las disciplinas cuartelarias la mejor oportunidad de digerir sus triunfos.

Sus admiradores, los que ya le conocían y aquellos que esperaban verle actuar, no tendrán otro remedio que esperar el plazo legal de un año que fija el ejército... Ojalá que para entonces su estrella no haya declinado porque el público suele ser muy desmemoriado.

Aquí se le esperaba para debutar en "Las Estrellas y Usted" la semana próxima. También debería actuar en teatro y club nocturno, así como intervenir en varias grabaciones, pues la "Peerless" confiaba en él para inundar el mercado mexicano con esas canciones, tipo "llorón" que tan de moda están últimamente.

Jaramillo, al estilo de Elvis Presley, tuvo que cumplir con el servicio militar obligatorio: Ello le impide venir a México. (Foto exclusiva para EL UNIVERSAL).

Figure 13. “El Cancionista Ecuatoriano Julio Jaramillo no Viene a México.” El Universal. April 21, 1959.

The expectation for J.J.’s arrival to México grew in the upcoming days, even raising speculations claiming that Mexican promoters were in conversations with high-ranking Ecuadorian officials to waive Jaramillo’s military duties. The reports went as far as stating that the Ecuadorian president himself was intervening.[30] As these events were unfolding, J.J. was gaining more momentum in México. Several of his tracks were ranking in top-10 lists.[31] The singles he recorded in Ecuador for the label Ónix in 1957-1959 were being played in radio stations throughout Latin America.

The Mexican record label Peerless (arguably the most important one specializing in *música popular* in those days) was already pressing copies from masters purchased from Ónix before J.J.’s arrival, all this in preparation for his upcoming Mexican-made albums. Jaramillo’s popularity grew exponentially over a short period. All this hype set the stage for J.J.’s ultimate challenge: confronting the Mexican media industry and its audiences.

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[30] “El Presidente del Ecuador Intervino y es Probable que Jaramillo Venga,” *El Universal,* April 25, 1959.

[31] In April 21, 1959, the Moterrey based radio station X.E.H.I. reported J.J. had 2 tracks on the radio station’s top ten. This included the boleros *Nuestro Juramento* (number 4) and *Mi Locura* (number 7) (“Exitos: Por Raúl Alvarado Ortiz”. *El Porvenir,* April 21, 1959.) The fact that Jaramillo’s music was ranking in radio stations outside México City shows the momentum he was gaining.

A brief history of *revista mexicana*

Jaramillo arrived in México City in early October 1960. Given his rising popularity, his first performances took place in major theaters in México City, namely the Teatro Blanquita, the Teatro Lírico, and the Teatro Iris. These places are significant in his career and my study. It is through them that I analyze J.J.'s time in México and, most importantly, the early 1960s, which I consider the pinnacle of his performing career. While in Ecuador, the Matavilela neighborhood traverses a fine line between reality and non-fiction, these Mexican theaters possess a long history as spaces for *popular* entertainment that date back to the second half of the 19th century. Mexican essayist Carlos Monsiváis (1971), one of the most prominent promoters of Latin American *popular* culture, called the Teatro Blanquita a "recinto *popular"* (*popular* haven) (359, my emphasis).

Located in the heart of México City's downtown, close to the Metropolitan Cathedral and the mythical Palacio de Bellas Artes,[32] the Teatro Blanquita, Lírico, and Iris (also called Teatro de la Ciudad Esperanza Iris), constituted the backbone of the city's live entertainment industry for the best part of the 20th century. By the time J.J. performed in them, these venues carried a mixture of music, comedy, and dance. As Bieletto Bueno (2015) has shown, this type of variety show derived from "*carpa* shows" or "*jacalones de variedades"* (variety tents). Initially itinerant circus-type shows, between 1870 and 1890, these venues settled in México City's downtown offering "zarzuela, puppet shows, boxing, lottery, acrobatic acts, trained animals, magic acts, and film screening" (Ibid., 6). This affordable entertainment was

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[32] The Teatro Blanquita (currently closed) is located at the intersection of Eje Lázaro Cárdenas and Calle Mina. The Lírico (also currently closed) is located three blocks east of the Blanquita, at the intersection of Calle República de Cuba and Ignacio Allende. The Iris (also called Teatro de la Ciudad Esperanza Iris) is one Street down of the Lírico, at the intersection of Donceles and Ignacio Allende.

primarily targeted towards low-income populations. Importantly, the consolidation of carpa shows as a space for entertainment was concomitant with massive influxes of internal migrants—predominantly of indigenous descent—moving from rural peripheral areas into Mexico City.[33]

During the first decade of the 20th century, these venues, the performances taking place in them, and its audiences were perceived as "vulgar" and "frivolous" by critics, intellectuals, and journalists; or, in the words of municipal inspectors, a type of *popular* entertainment (Bieletto Bueno 2014, 23). Such "crass" events were at odds with the raising modern metropole. Therefore, these spaces were continuously harassed by the authorities. As México City's downtown was gentrified, *carpas* were pushed away from the burgeoning commercial sector and tourist areas (Ibid., 300). By the 1930s, the post-revolution intelligentsia looked at *carpas* differently.

During the Porfirio Díaz era (1876-1911), carpas were considered a "vulgar" yet necessary evil to contain the populace and prevent them from engaging with more harmful and uncivilized activities (i.e., drinking). In contrast, the post-revolution discourse was invested in a nationalistic project rooted in a mestizaje discourse. Acknowledging the potential cultural practices like carpas had, the post-revolution intelligentsia capitalized on them and other similar *popular* expressive cultures. This process of cooptation, deeply influenced by the ideas of intellectuals like José Vasconcelos, was sponsored by the Mexican

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[33] Bieletto Bueno writes: "Statistics show that in the census of 1910, the population that, within the Distrito Federal, was considered 'urban' (locales with more than 4000 inhabitants) was 617.000, while the population considered 'rural' amounted to 102.853 individuals. The census of 1921 reported that nearly 18% of the population in the Federal District was made up of 'purely' indigenous people, 54% by mestizos ('indigenous mixed with whites'), and 22% were 'whites,' which means that the ratio of indigenous people to whites was nearly 1:1."

state. From the 1930s and on, some elites started attending carpas. By then, these venues were transitioning from tents to building, conserving the moniker carpa as a gesture to thread their history (Ibid., 347).

While this move by the lettered elites could be read as an interpolation of carpas to the mestizo-nation discourse, the relevance of these places as sites of *popular* culture was predicated on the fact that these spaces were constructed as loci of marginality, of the *popular* subject. Therefore, while an active process of cooptation by the state, and later on by the media industry, did take place, this does not preclude the carpa's potential as sites of disruption. In any case, in the 1930s post-revolutionary moment, the "indio" that attended the *carpa* shows in its early days was now a marginalized urbanite, and the "*pelado"* came to be its epitome.

The "*pelado"* on/off-stage

As Prieto Bueno (2001) has explained, since the 19th century words like *pelado* and *lépero* have been pejorative appellatives used by middle- and upper-class populations to refer to marginalized communities. Focusing on the development of these words in México City, Prieto Bueno further explains that, in its more literal sense, *pelado* refers to "that who is moneyless or naked." She argues that the pelado, and his female counterpart, the *pelada*, are a "*popular* type of the lower classes, with ragged clothes, wretched and uncultivated, but likable nevertheless due to its common type. Figuratively, the pelado/da is a poorly educated person with obscene language and manners" (Ibid., 268-269, my emphasis). The pelado/da then is not just the racialized other, but an uncultured and classed subject as well. At the bottom of the urban hierarchy, incapable and, more importantly, unwilling to overcome their

subalternity, the pelado figure is that of an endearing bum. Similar to the Ecuadorian cholo, the pelado embodies and explicitly illustrates the race, class, and education intersectionality that have constructed and maintained difference in the Latin American metropole since the turn of the 20th century.

The pelado became a staple character in carpa shows and the Mexican imaginary, so much that Mexican philosopher Samuel Ramos dealt with him in its seminal *El Perfil del Hombre y la Cultura en México* (The Profile of Man and Culture in Mexico) (1934). This essay performs a pseudo-psychoanalytic analysis of the Mexican subject with the underlying argument that *he* (for Ramos, this subject is prototypically masculine) is defined primarily by having an inferiority complex due to its incapacity to "imitate European culture."[34] Ramos thinks of the pelado as the Mexican subject par excellence because "he constitutes the most elemental and better-outlined expression of the national character." (Ramos 2001 [1934], 53)

In the words of Ramos, "The pelado belongs to a social type [pertinence a una fauna social] whose category is insignificant, and he represents the human waste [desecho humano] of the big city. In the economic hierarchy, he is less than a proletarian, and intellectually he is a primitive" (Ibid, 53-54). We see how Ramos intertwines capital and education to render the pelado as the prototypical urban subaltern. Not only is the pelado abject and ignorant, but he is also prone to violence due to the resentment he holds for enduring a state of marginality

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[34] On a theoretical move common among Latin American intellectuals of the first half of the 20th century, Ramos admonishes the "imitation" of "European ideas" by the Mexican educated elite. However, as I show, he addresses indigenous population with a condescending tone, effectively primitivizing them, not to mention the complete erasure of Afro populations pervasive in nation discourses in México well into the turn of the millennia (and still today). Rather, Ramos argues for "assimilating [European ideas] to our geographical location" (2001 [1934], 68). This, he argues for the establishment of a "*cultura criolla".* Ramos' argument unapologetically uncovers one of the most basic yet erased aspect of Latin American *mestizaje* discourses: the desire to construct a white-*mestizo* ethno-state in which difference is erased yet continuously reified; what Palau has called the "*falso homogéneo."*

that he is incapable of overcoming. Importantly, by rendering the pelado as "less than a proletarian," Ramos is placing him at the fringes of liberal economy. The pelado likely operates in the informal economy sector. He has been denied the promise of liberalism. Thus, the similarities between the cholo and the pelado are remarkable but by no means surprising.

Separated by several decades and thousands of kilometers, Velasco Mackenzie's unnamed cholo and Ramos' dissected pelado are local iterations of the *popular* subject. Similarly to Velasco Mackenzie in Guayaquil, Ramos erases the indigenous past of the pelado. The racialized genealogy on which the pelado was constructed is traceable to the early colony. As Bieletto Bueno (2015) argues:

> …if during the sixteenth century the imaginary "cannibal" served to justify the colonial project, in the early twentieth century the imaginary *pelado*—as an uncivilized, rebellious and abject Indian who had migrated to the city—justified the modernizing agenda of Mexican nationalism. At the same time, it contributed to perpetuating the marginalization of unsubmissive Indians or any other person who resisted cultural assimilation. And just as the cultural tropes of the "savage" and the "cannibal" encountered numerous instantiations in literature, painting or sculpture, so too did the pelado in theater comedy (21).

Situated in a liminal space between rhetorical character and urban-dweller, the construction of the pelado at the turn of the 20th century was made through a feedback loop in which art simultaneously reflects and articulates identity. While the idea of a homogenous *popular* subject as the paradigmatic attendee to carpa theaters is indeed a construction, the perception of these venues as spaces for *popular* entertainment and *for* the *popular* subject—a "*popular* haven" in Monsiváis' words—became sedimented in the collective imaginary.

Starting in the 1930s, the theater industry descendant of carpa shows intertwined with the emerging media industry. More specifically, Mexican radio stations used spaces like the

Teatro Blanquita to publicize their talent.[35] By the time J.J. arrived in México City, these venues clearly illustrated what I have called the palimpsestic ontology of the popular. That is, *carpa* theaters were simultaneously *popular* spaces (that is, the *popular* qua subject of alterity), and spaces for *popular* entertainment (venues where mass-mediated entertainment took place). Jaramillo's Mexican debut in carpa theaters constitutes an eloquent example of the palimpsestic and polysemic nature of *lo popular*.

J.J. on the *popular* stage

Julio Jaramillo was first announced to perform in the Teatro Blanquita on October 1, 1960. In a box ad and on the same page with the advertisements of the Teatro Lírico and Iris (the Blanquita's direct competitors) the billboard reads: "Hoy Sábado: JULIO JARAMILLO el cantante más discutido y más comentado del momento" (Today Saturday: JULIO JARAMILLO the most talked-about singer of the moment)[36] (Fig. 14). The caption surrounding the box ad encloses the entire line-up for that night. It includes other *popular* singers, comedians, and *vedettes.* However, while J.J. had this publicity behind him—including the hype generated around his truncated trip in April of the previous year—it seems like he didn't perform that day after all. A follow-up ad with the caption "Muy Pronto: JULIO

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[35] Such is the case of the widely influential XEW, one of the oldest Mexican radio stations that began operations on September of 1930. With its slogan "La Voz de América Latina desde México" (The Voice of Latin America broadcasting from México) and transmitting initially in AM frequency, XEW became one of the most powerful and influential stations in Latin America. Not only was its programing key in consolidating and spreading transnational genres such as bolero and mambo, but the format of its shows also shaped other radio stations that were emerging in other parts of the continent (Santamaría Delgado 2014, 175).
[36] "Hoy Sábado: JULIO JARAMILLO el cantante más discutido y más comentado del momento" (advertisement). *El Universal,* October 1, 1960.

JARAMILLO el cantante más discutido y más comentado del momento"[37] (Coming Soon: JULIO JARAMILLO the most talked-about singer of the moment) was released the following day. On Thursday, October 6, another ad reading: "Por Fin Mañana: JULIO JARAMILLO el cantante más discutido y más comentado del momento" (Finally Tomorrow: JULIO JARAMILLO the most talked-about singer of the moment)[38] was published.

Figure 14. "Teatro Blanquita." Advertisement. El Universal. October 1, 1960.

Friday, October 7, 1960, seems to be the day Julio Jaramillo debuted in México in what for many was the epicenter of Latin American live entertainment. Originally a *carpa* called "el Margo," the Teatro Blanquita opened as a theater on August 27, 1960, just a few

[37] "Muy pronto: JULIO JARAMILLO el cantante más discutido y más comentado del momento" (advertisement). *El Universal,* October 2, 1960.
[38] "Por Fin Mañana: JULIO JARAMILLO el cantante más discutido y más comentado del momento" (advertisement). *El Universal,* October 6, 1960.

months before J.J.'s debut, carrying the overwhelming success of its predecessor and with the impressive capacity of 2.012 seats.[39] Luck was on Jaramillo's side. His arrival to the city coincided with the opening months of the hottest place in town. The importance of J.J.'s performances in the Blanquita endures to this day. For many jaramillistas (Jaramillo buffs), these constitute compelling evidence of his greatness. Featured at the most iconic place and at a time when the regional dominion of the Mexican media industry was undisputed, J.J.'s appearances at the Blanquita became milestones of his career. Furthermore, J.J. headed the marquee over Mexican stars like Javier Solis and Los Panchos, all this in one of the most nationalistic culture industries of the region.[40]

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[39] The Teatro Blanquita was originally opened as a *carpa* called "el Margo"—after Margo Su, the wife of the theatre's founder Félix Cervantes and the person that eventually inherited and ran it after he passed—on September 13, 1949. By then, *carpa* shows were transitioning from theatrical, politically charged narrative forms such as the *género chico* and *género ínfimo* to *revista Mexicana* (variety shows), the latter mostly articulated around singers, comedians, and dancers. The Margo was a success. It featured the hottest numbers in town. Eventually, Su and Cervantes built the Blanquita in order to have more seats (i.e. more income) (Serrano Guerrero 1987).

[40] Mexico has been historically one of the most protective cultural industries in Latin America. Quota policies guaranteeing that both the broadcasting and live entertainment industry showcase a majority of national performers have been in place practically since these industries emerged.

Figure 15. Julio Jaramillo (on-stage, far right) performing in the Teatro Blanquita. October, 1960 (from the Francisco Xavier Romero Muñoz collection)

Advertisements in *El Universal* newspaper show that J.J.'s residence at the Blanquita lasted until October 27, 1960. He performed intermittingly on weekends and weekdays.[41] The fact that Jaramillo was the Blanquita's headliner, competing against the Teatro Lírico—just a few blocks away featuring iconic starts such as the Cuban singer Celia Cruz, the mythical Sonora Matancera, and two of the top Mexican bolero trios of the moment such as Los Tres

[41] Based on the advertisements I found, J.J, performed at the Teatro Blanquita a total of 6 times on October of 1960; specifically on Friday 7th, Saturday 8th, Wednesday 12th, Thursday 20th, Tuesday 25th, and Thursday 27th.

Diamantes and Los Tres Ases—further proves the reputation the Ecuadorian artists had at the time.

For the last day J.J. performed at the Blanquita, the advertisement reads: "Ultimo Día de: Julio Jaramillo." (Last day of: Julio Jaramillo) (Fig. 16). Heading the cartel, a fresh-faced J.J. in his early 20s makes the only headshot in the ad. The entire line-up is composed of more than 15 performers with sets at 7:30 pm and 10:30 pm and tickets ranging from 4 to 12 Mexican Pesos. These were astonishingly low prices for the wide variety of performers.[42] A close analysis of the billboard reveals the heterogeneous nature of these shows. The revista Mexicana was as eclectic as it was transnational. Four types of performers were showcased with J.J. on October 27, 1960: comedians, dancers, vedettes, and singers.

By the 1950s, radio stations like X.E.W., TV broadcasters, and film studios used revista theaters to showcase and scout talent. Several of the national and transnational stars of the time began their careers performing at these venues. At the time, the relation between the theaters and the media industry was symbiotic. It wasn't unusual to find comedians, singers, and actors/actresses featured in carpas in films and TV shows and vice versa.

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[42] 12 Mexican Pesos in 1960 roughly equals to 15 Mexican (New) Pesos in 2019 (around 0.8 U.S. dollars as of May, 2019). Nowadays, a metro fare in México City is 5 Mexican Pesos. I thank Edwin Rivera López for this data. It is worth noting that these borderline ridiculous prices were imposed by Ernesto Uruchurtu (the city's mayor between 1952-1966) who decreed a 12 Mexican Pesos cap for variety theater in a *de facto* attempt to shut down—or at least stifle—the city's nightlife.

Figure 16. "Teatro Blanquita." Advertisement. *El Universal*. October 27, 1960

The eclectic nature of the programming makes it hard to assess the type of audiences in these shows. De los Reyes (1980) tells us that the audience was mainly composed of "low-class families from México City and the provinces" (29). It seems that, regardless of the erotic nature of some of the content, these spectacles were frequented by working-class families. Regarding the Blanquita attendee, it is perhaps better to hear it from Margo Su, the owner and manager of the theater for over four decades:

> I sat for three months at the [theater's] entrance and I saw the people coming in. These audiences have little education: butchers, ladies from the Tepito neighborhood, fayuqueros [street vendors that sell bootlegged items], the traffic cops and their families. And then I understood what the Blanquita is about, that these people come here with a need to be entertained and that they identify with this type of entertainment; I get what the songs from José Aflredo (Jiménez) [a widely popular mariachi singer] mean to them; I understand that they are moving from the countryside to the city and that they yearn for the countryside, that they come to the theater to look for what's theirs, and so I

> understood the Blanquita and fell in love with it (Margo Su cited by Serrano Guerrero 1987, 63).[43]

According to Su, while the overall environment was male-dominated, the Blanquita was also attended by women and children. Nevertheless, for Su, the paradigmatic attendee to the Blanquita was the working-class rural immigrant, the informal laborer, and the people from Tepito. Internal migrants from indigenous descent have historically populated this iconic neighborhood. Furthermore, the Blanquita itself was located in an area of downtown México City that was heavily stigmatized known as the *barrio latino* (a *popular* neighborhood some may say).[44] This further sedimented the notion of these theaters as spaces of the "poor," of the *popular* subject. It was these same processes of urbanistic alterity, of systematic marginalization of carpas, and then variety theaters, that made them spaces of resistance where moral codes were transgressed and normativities were broken, albeit temporarily.

J.J. and an acoustemology of race and space

Based on the number of *popular* singers featured in revista Mexicana and the amount of media coverage they got compared to other performers, music was arguably the backbone of these variety shows. This makes sense when we take into account the aforementioned symbiotic relation variety theaters held with the media industry. Not only was music simpler

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[43] "Y me senté tres meses en la entrada y empecé a ver a la gente. Público con un nivel de educación bajo: son los carniceros, las señoras de la vecindad de Tepito, los fayuqueros, las familias de los policías de crucero. Entonces entendí qué pasa con el teatro Blanquita, con la gente que tiene también una necesidad de divertirse y tiene esa gran identificación con lo que ella es; y comprendo lo que le dan las canciones de José Alfredo; comprendo que viven la llegada de los campos a esta ciudad y que están con la añoranza del campo, que vienen al teatro a buscar lo suyo y entonces entiendo al Blanquita y me enamoro de él." (Margo Su cited by Serrano Guerrero 1987, 63)

[44] Private correspondence with Natalia Bieletto Bueno, April 26, 2019.

to circulate locally and transnationally via radio, recordings, and cinema,[45] but idiosyncrasies were easier to negotiate (in contrast to, for example, comedic routines).

For his residency at the Blanquita, Jaramillo was accompanied by the trio Los Plateros. Much in the style of the Mexican trio tradition with two guitars and one *requinto*,[46] Los Plateros were significant in Jaramillo's career. They became Jaramillo's band of choice for his Mexican tours in the early 1960s and accompanied him in his earliest recording sessions for Mexican labels such as Peerless. Along with J.J., Mexican singers Marco Antonio Muñiz, Javier Solís, and the Trio Los Panchos were featured on that night of October 1960.

A brown, working-class, foreign singer from a little known place, Jaramillo contrasted with the archetypal "national" singer, the hypermasculine *charro.* His voice did too as, contrary to the lyrical quasi-operatic tone of ranchera singers like Solís, he had a high tessitura and a tone described by his critics as "moany" and "sad," something I explore further on chapter four. For the Mexican listener, his style was perhaps more in tune with the *bolero romántico* aesthetic. However, while Jaramillo capitalized on the bolero trends of the time, his style was idiosyncratic. He created it by blending the guitar-oriented, melodic, and crooning style of Mexican referents like Los Panchos, with the rhythmical and up-tempo feel of Caribbean singers.

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[45] In here, I am taking into account the powerful Mexican radio industry with stations like the aforementioned X.E.W., the surge of locally owned record labels across Latin America starting in the 1930's/'40s and the trading of publishing licenses among these I discuss at length in chapter two. On top of that, while cinema was arguably another of the Mexican media industry's staples, it is important to mind the crucial role the film industry played in the circulation of transnational music genres like tango, ranchera, bolero, and others (see Crespo 2003).

[46] The *requinto* is string instrument of the guitar family but smaller in size. The *requinto* is tuned a fourth higher than a standard guitar. In the bolero trio context, it is responsible of playing melodic passages (often called "punteos").

In music studies, bolero has been theorized as a cosmopolitan genre. It has also been indexed to urban middle-class listeners across Latin America.[47] J.J. represents a rupture in this narrative. He rarely makes it into the countless literary accounts written on this musical practice, and, if he does, he is often described as a subpar performer.[48] It is precisely Jaramillo's brownness, the uncharted racial space that he occupies, what makes him a fringe figure difficult to position in academic narratives that oscillate between whiteness, blackness, and indigeneity. Neither white mestizo, nor black or indigenous, J.J. goes against the grain of most academic tropes. However, far from exceptional, he was quite the opposite; he was the *popular* subject tearing through the tissues of the mestizaje regime. This, I suggest, is the reason why, while he broke through the Mexican market with bolero repertoire, he was never considered a worthy exponent of the genre. He was either dismissed or simply erased by most music critics and scholars.

Finding J.J. in the non-fictional world of Velasco Mackenzie's Guayaquil and his heyday in México's variety theaters, we better understand the heterogeneity of the urban *popular* subject. Somewhere between literary character and historical figure, both the cholo listening to J.J. in the cantina El Rincón de los Justos and the pelado seeing him at the Teatro Blanquita stress the regime of erased otherness that the mestizaje regime encloses. Unearthing them from the archive, I have shown how a certain listener has been constructed and thus emerges from these discursive formations. I have called this listener—classed, under-

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[47] See Torres (2004) Santamaría Delgado (2014).
[48] For instance, in his bolero anthology Lo Que Cuentan los Boleros, Colombian music journalist/critic/collector Restrepo Duque (1992) profiles 100 boleros by 100 different boleristas he deemed key in the genre's history. J.J., arguably one of the most successful bolero performers, is not profiled and is only mentioned in relation to other artists. Similarly Castillo Zapata's (1990) Fenomenología del Bolero doesn't mention Jaramillo at all.

educated, predominately masculine, and, most importantly, historically racialized—the *popular* subject.

As the obituaries I opened the chapter with show, the *popular* subject—or what they call the "popular sectors"—stands as the paradigmatic Jaramillo listener. Nonetheless, in actuality, Jaramillo's aurality was widely heterogeneous and far surpassed such essentialized tropes. While not readily available in the literary renditions or most media coverage, such heterogeneity also emerges from the archive. For instance, he performed at places that, in many ways, diametrically contrast *popular* venues. Contrary to the racialized, predominantly masculine, and working-class cantinas and carpa theaters, he also performed at white-mestizo, gendered, middle- upper-class spaces. In the next section, I move to Medellín, Colombia, to find Jaramillo in spaces called heladerías. I do so to unsettle Jaramillo's constructed *popular* aurality and nuance simplistic scholarly accounts that trace a direct correlation between class and musical taste.

Mestizo Whiteness and Gendered Listening in Medellín

By the time Julio Jaramillo arrived in Medellín, Colombia, in 1976, he was no stranger to the city. He had performed and recorded there at least on three occasions in 1966,[49] 1968,[50] and 1970.[51] This city has been the epicenter of the Colombian recording industry. Medellín was a must-stop for J.J. Being the prolific recording artist he was, for Jaramillo, this was a place for money to be made. The concentration of the recording industry in the city came

[49] "Por la radio". *El Colombiano.* April 24, 1966.
[50] "Por la radio". *El Colombiano.* March 12, 1968.
[51] "Grill Zacatecas" (advertisement). *El Colombiano.* October 17, 1970.

hand in hand with the emergence of a wide array of performance venues. Furthermore, while J.J. was known throughout Colombia, he was, and continues to be, particularly popular in Medellín and its surrounding areas.

In this section, I follow what was probably J.J.'s last tour to the city. I situate him in the context of Medellín's entertainment industry and its local racial formations. I move on to show how Jaramillo's musicking dialogues in complicated ways with discourses that render Medellín, the Antioquia state (of which Medellín is the capital), the local *Antioqueño* subject, and the discourses that construct him—that came to be known as *antioqueñidad*[52]—as industrious, white mestizo, and conservative. To better understand the racial formations inherent to the antioqueñidad discourse, I trace them back to the second half of the 19th century. I then find Jaramillo in a series of bourgeoise middle-class venues, focusing on gendered spaces known as *heladerias* ("ice cream shops" in its literal translation). Showing the conflicting, and even oxymoronic ways, in which J.J. was represented and consumed in Medellín, I close this chapter by underlining the ontological plasticity of the mestizo subject.

Policing whiteness/constructing "Antioqueñidad"

Located on the Andean plateau in the Colombian northwest, the city of Medellín has been on the radar of the global north mostly due to its relation with drug-trafficking in the 1980s and '90s. The recent spectacularization of these calamitous times via TV series,

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[52] *Antioqueñidad* refers to a set of identity traits that have constructed the Antioqueño subject (more specifically, the one from the state capital Medellín, and its surrounding rural areas) as paradigmatically white mestizo, catholic, entrepreneurial, hardworking, ingenious, and practically exceptional. More than an issue of cultural identity, discourses of antioqueñidad have developed into constructing the *Antioqueño* as a race ("la raza Antioqueña). More recently, this ideology has coalesced into state-sanctioned celebrations such as "el Día de la Antioqueñidad"; a day in which said identity is celebrated. (see https://www.elcolombiano.com/cultura/por-que-celebramos-el-dia-de-la-antioquenidad-AA4763103)

movies, and the fetishization of figures such as Pablo Escobar has renewed the attention it received during the "war against drugs" days. Such narratives have overshadowed the city's importance in the Latin American culture industry.[53] While not as powerful as México City's, Medellín's music industry has been instrumental in promoting and funneling Latin American staples such as cumbia to the continent.[54]

Studies by Wade (2000), Santamaria Delgado (2014), and Ochoa Escobar (2018) have touched on the development of Medellín's culture industry. Elaborating on these works, I focus on the discursive formations that have constructed the paradigmatic local subject, the "Antioqueño" or "paisa,"[55] and how he dialogues with the listening habits afforded by Jaramillo. The concentration of the culture industry in Medellín above other Colombian cities has been linked to tropes rendering the Antioqueño as "naturally" industrious, entrepreneurial, and business-savvy. Along with this comes a series of traits inherent to the liberal man. That is, not only is he capitalistic (and, once again, the Antioqueño subject is intrinsically masculine), but also conservative, catholic, deeply rooted in family values, and patriarchal.[56] Much in the vein of Lisa Lowe's Liberal Man, at the core of these attributes lies the fact that the normative Antioqueño subject is white. Or, in this case, white mestizo. However, rather

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[53] It is worth noting, that this relevance continues today since Medellín has become one of the major epicenters of the reggaeton industry.

[54] For an extended study of the importance Medellín had in the national and transnational music industry, see Wade (2000).

[55] While the "Antioqueño" denomination is used to refer to people from the Antioquia state (of which Medellín is the capital) and people from Medellín and its surrounding areas in particular, "paisa" is loosely used to refer to people from these places as well as from the nearby states of Caldas, Quindío, and Risaralda. All of these were colonized by Antioqueños. While both of these categorization are mostly thought of as ethnic (that is, as a group of people that share a series of cultural traits), as I show below this denomination is heavily constructed on the basis of race.

[56] I explore the relation between masculinity, *música popular*, and J.J. in chapter three.

than "being" white, for the Antioqueño, whiteness has become an object (or better, a trait) of desire.

Whiteness has been systematically constructed and judiciously policed in the Antioquia region. In the 1810s, when Colombia was emerging as a republic, several towns were already settled in southern Antioquia. As Appelbaum (2016) has argued, by the 1850s, when scientific expeditions to study the incipient Colombian republic were deployed, the Antioquia territory was already considered a cohesive "region." These studies were paramount in building Colombia as, in the words of Appelbaum (Ibid.), a "country of regions." The expedition led by Italian Agustin Codazzi in 1850 made part of this effort. While the scientific data produced by Codazzi's team portrayed Colombia as racially heterogeneous and ethnically diverse, the scientists relentlessly rendered the country as a homogenous and predominantly white mestizo. Nowhere were such conflicting narratives as obvious as in Codazzi et al.'s study of the Antioquia state.

The expedition accounted for Antioquia's widely diverse demographics, praising the people in the northern Andean territories as "intelligent and hardworking" and—most importantly—white (Ancízar cited by Appelbaum 2014, 55), while describing the Afro-descendant and indigenous peoples in the lowlands as lazy and primitive. Concurrently, the expeditioners argued that the people of the Antioquia province constituted "a single group, with identical characters, inclinations, and customs" (Codazzi cited by Appelbaum, Ibid.). The oxymoronic quality of this narrative didn't constitute a mere fabrication of whiteness. On the contrary, it enclosed a eugenicist project. The expedition estimated that the undesirable traits of non-white populations would soon be absorbed and faded via miscegenation (i.e.,

mestizaje). Antioquia was thus made into a model province for the country, one inhabited by "white, civilized, and entrepreneurial" subjects (Ibid., 72).

These discourses were updated and further sedimented in the first decades of the 20th century. Having established Antioquia and nearby Andean territories as predominantly white and industrious, between the 1910s and '30s, some Colombian scholars considered these regions models of a nation yet to be. As Uribe Vergara (2008) has noted, the establishment of the race-concept as a valid sociological and biological category in some scholarly circles was influenced by eugenicist practices emanating from Argentina. Following pseudo-scientific theories inherited from the early colony, physicians such as Luis López de Mesa argued that even white communities living below "cold weather" were at risk of degenerating. This entanglement between race and geography was aimed to further establish predominantly white-mestizo urban centers (or better, cities that were constructed as such) like Bogotá and Medellín as prototypes of a modern nation in the making. López de Mesa saw potential in the high Andes regions because its topographic isolation kept their population in "better conditions" (Uribe Vergara citing López de Mesa 2008, 209).

To be sure, "better conditions" was López de Mesa's euphemism to commend these regions for being predominantly of European descent. Not only was the Antioqueño white, entrepreneurial, and living in the "ideal" climate, he was also conservative and upheld Catholic family values. By the 1920s, human "types" based on constructed regional differences that ranged from the phenotypic to the ethnic the geographical and beyond, were sedimented in the national imaginary. These regional "types" were eventually established as discrete "races." From this, monikers like "la raza Antioqueña" (the Antiqueño race)—that continues to be used nowadays—emerged. The antioqueñidad discourse is rooted in these

ideals. By tracing their historical construction, we better understand why, in the case of the Antioqueño, "the relation whiteness-capitalism remains to be a valid one," as Santamaria Delgado (2014) argues. The entanglement between mestizo whiteness, industriousness, and patriarchy is central in constructing the Antioqueño qua normative subject.

Being an industrial hub and hosting the majority of Colombia's music industry, Medellín has been simultaneously cosmopolitan and regionalist. As I have mentioned, it was through this city that racialized musics such as cumbia were funneled into the continent. The convoluted racial frictions inherent to such a dynamic has been studied at length by several authors.[57] However, J.J.'s *popular* aurality does not index the racialization inherent to Afro-derived or Afro-indigenous musics. It is precisely in this liminal racial space where I situate Jaramillo, that is, in the space of in-betweens were difference is enacted and erased. He didn't index the racialization of black mambo performers like Dámaso Pérez Prado. The racial formations that J.J. embodies are more subtle and harder to unearth.

His brownness, working-class origins, and his hedonistic lifestyle transpired to the *popular* aurality constructed around him. Thus, while J.J. performed boleros, a genre that—as I develop below—was considered to be a cosmopolitan and sophisticated one, he was never considered a worthy exponent of this genre. For the critics, his bolero style, which was traversed by his persona and *popular* aurality, didn't have the interpretative quality of the great boleristas. Therefore, Jaramillo didn't constitute an explicit disturbance to the city's white-mestizo normativity. Rather he mobilized dynamics that go with and against the grain of antioqueñidad.

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[57] I am referring to the studies by Wade (2000), Santamaria Delgado (2014), and Ochoa Escobar (2018).

Heladerías: Gendered spaces and intimate listening

Jaramillo's 1976 tour in Medellín tells us about an artist past his prime. Two years before his death and among rumors that his voice was deteriorating after decades of licentious living, Jaramillo wasn't performing at iconic venues like the Teatro Blanquita anymore. In what was likely his last visit to Medellín, J.J. did a series of performances in restaurants, bars, and similar venues. While Jaramillo's performances in these spaces speak of the state of his career during the late 1970s, they also coincided with the decline of the city's performance venues. As Santamaría Delgado (2014) has shown, from the 1940s to '50s, local radio stations hosted the most selected local and international talent in theaters. These shows, open to the public and that broadcasted live, were known as *radioteatros.*

In the mid-1960s, by the time Jaramillo first visited Medellín, radioteatros were gone, leaving a void in the local music circuit. Arguably, danceable musics such as cumbia and salsa were less impacted. Local clubs, discos, private parties, and similar spaces filled the void. It was the "non-danceable" musics that were in trouble. Furthermore, by the 1970s, with the advent of salsa and other sung-in-Spanish transnational genres (such as the Anglo-pop-infused balada), the repertoire performed by artists like J.J. was making its transition from "outdated" to "old school." It was at this juncture that smaller spaces with hospitality-oriented economies rose as surrogate venues for these genres.[58]

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[58] Private correspondace with Carolina Santamaría Delgado (May 23, 2019). On the matter, she shared with me this letter written by a reader and published by music journalist Carlos Serna in his column *Por la Radio*: "Medellín has had some philanthropists… I wish some of them would sponsor programs in the local universities to propitiate any source of income to the Colombian singers, *had it not been for the fact that some heladerías and social businesses have come up with strategies to put up live shows in order to attract more customers, many Antioqueño singers would have starved…*" (published in *El Colombiano* March 12, 1963, my emphasis)

Jaramillo's 1976 Medellín tour, prefaced by a profile in *El Colombiano* newspaper,[59] spanned March to July. Interviewed by music journalist Carlos Serna, J.J. succinctly talked about his background and artistic career. Per this interview, we know that he was settled in Caracas, Venezuela, at the time, the last city he resided in before his triumphal return to Ecuador. This illustrates Jaramillo's modus operandi throughout his performing career. He set residence in several Latin American cities like Caracas and México City. From there, he would travel to other major cities like Medellín, often booking regional tours in nearby areas. These tours would range from days to months. Thus, while he was probably settled in Medellín briefly, it is likely that he visited other Colombian cities in 1976.[60] According to advertisements in *El Colombiano* newspaper, J.J. performed a total of eleven times in Medellín that year.[61] Looking through the dates, we find an interesting pattern. He would sing two to four straight days in different venues, leaving a two weeks hiatus in-between. Being the hard-working artist he was and living mostly paycheck-to-paycheck, we can assume that J.J. was doing gigs in nearby places on these off-dates.

[59] "Julio Jaramillo siempre a tono con las canciones". *El Colombiano* March 3, 1976.
[60] On this matter, in conversation with collector Henry Martínez Puerta, he recalls seeing J.J. in the city of Manizales (a few hours' drive from Medellín) in 1976 during the city's annual fair. The Manizales fair takes place during the first or second week of January. Therefore, it is possible that J.J. was touring the country before his arrival to Medellín on March of that year.
[61] The exact dates are March 12 and 13; June 24, 25, 26, and 28; and July 10, 16, and 17.

18 EL COLOMBIANO Miércoles 3 de Marzo de 1976

medellín social

GRAN PESAR DEJA LA MUERTE DEL DOCTOR SANTIAGO GIRALDO GOMEZ

CONACED Y ADECOPRIA TENDRAN REUNION EXTRAORDINARIA

BODAS DE PLATA DEL CENTRO MEDICO CENTRAL

información de servicio

Aniversario del joven José Gabriel Moreno M.

Juan David Jimenez Ruiz

Cumplieron un año de casados

Julio Jaramillo siempre a tono con las canciones

25 años de trayectoria artística

JULIO JARAMILLO

Carlos E. SERNA S.

horoscopo

GABRIEL CALDERON ZULUAGA

Figure 17. “Julio Jaramillo siempre a tono con las canciones.” *El Colombiano*. March 3, 1976.

In Medellín, he performed in five venues; the restaurant Los Recuerdos, Heladería Soraya, a place called Patio Bonito (there is no further information of its nature in the advertisement), the restaurant Típico Los Guaduales, and the *estadero*[62] La Margarita. For his first date in Medellín on July 12, 1976, J.J. was announced in two venues; Heladería Soraya and the restaurant Los Recuerdos. This speaks of Jaramillo’s industriousness but also of the loose scheduling these venues must have had. None of the advertisements provides a time for the performance. Some of them do specify that there is a “no cover” policy, indicating that in

[62] *Estadero,* in this particular context, is a restaurant/bar that offers a variety of activities to middle-class consumers. These include live music and pool access. Located in the outskirts of Medellín, La Margarita was also a “public stable” of sorts, were patrons could see championship winning horses in action and even rent horses to ride with family and friends within the property. This sort of establishments are still common in Colombia.

these cases, income was made on food and alcohol consumption. One of these spaces, the heladerías*,* targeted middle-class women.

While in its literal translation heladería means ice cream shop, these places were more similar to a "soda fountain," that is, a public space where soft drinks and a limited amount of alcohol could be purchased and consumed in situ. Little research has been done on heladerías; among them is Santamaría Delgado's (2014). In her substantial study of Medellín's *música popular* scene in the 1940s and '50s, she considers the bolero a cosmopolitan music practice that wasn't at odds with the city's race, class, and gender normativities. Therefore, the radio industry targeted female audiences—housewives in particular—with radio shows that showcased this genre (Ibid., 195). These aural gendered spaces exploited an untapped niche market. They also set the precedent for the emergence of an analogous public space where "respectable" women could socialize and listen to the latest boleros: the heladerías.

The first heladerías emerged in the city in 1945. According to Santamaría Delgado (Ibid.): "they operated exclusively during daytime and had jukeboxes full of boleros and other family appropriate music genres… Married or single women could attend these places. These [spaces] gave women some autonomy outside the domestic space or, in the case of working women, [autonomy] from the heavily policed factory environment"[63] (197-198). The fact that married women could attend with their children further speaks of the reputable status these places held in a conservative city like Medellín.

[63] Santamaría Delgado (2014) explains that, towards the 1940s, women made most of the local textile industry workforce. While this gave urban middle-class working women certain level of financial and personal independence, they were highly policed in and outside the workplace. To a certain degree, heladerías extended these sort of semi-autonomous gendered spaces to the public sphere.

Heladerías started programming live music in the early 1960s.[64] Chronologically, this coincided with the demise of radio theaters. Heladerías thus filled the void in the live performance circuit targeting the normative Antioqueño household. J.J. held short residencies at Heladería Soraya in March and July of 1976. For the March residency, he was advertised to perform a "mano a mano" with his conational Olimpo Cárdenas (Fig. 18). The ad stated the duo would perform Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. It also claimed that this was the first time Cárdenas and Jaramillo would sing together in Colombia. [65] The 1976 bill was indeed appealing. Both singers were highly regarded in Medellín. Cárdenas was settled there since the 1940s. Thus, while J.J. had the international cache, Olimpo had the locals' preference. So much that, due to the fact they were both Ecuadorians and performed similar repertoire, Jaramillo was often presented as an "emulous" of Cárdenas in Medellín, a relationship I explore further in chapters two and four.

Aside from the headliners and the dates they were set to perform, the ad does not provide much information. It does give the name of the local duet (probably requinto and guitar) set to accompany them (Dueto Variedad), a phone number for reservations, and the location. Rather than providing an exact address, they simply stated the square in which the heladería was located: the Parque de Belén. This remains a fairly common practice. In Colombia, cities are designed in the "grid-style" inherited from Spain. Medellín, as is the case with most Colombian cities, has a main square located in its downtown and several smaller ones spread across the city. The later ones tend to be commercial areas within residential

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[64] Private correspondence with Carolina Santamaría Delgado, May 23, 2019.
[65] This was probably a marketing scheme. Jaramillo and Cárdenas had coincided in several occasions before 1976. In fact, the duo album Reunión en La Cumbre (Gathering on the Summit) was recorded for the Medellín-based label Sonolux in 1966. It is unlikely that they didn't perform the repertoire of that album during that visit.

neighborhoods. The Parque de Belén, where Heladería Soraya once operated, was located in a middle-class white-mestizo neighborhood.

Figure 18. “Heladería Soraya.” Advertisement. *El Colombiano*. March 12, 1976

Based on the little information we have on heladerías and the fact that J.J. was advertised to perform on the restaurant Los Recuerdos that same day, it is fair to assume that these performances had an early starting time, likely sometime in the afternoon. Venues like Heladería Soraya were typical across the city. They were located either in the downtown area (away from working-class cantinas and bars) or in commercial areas in middle-class neighborhoods like the Parque de Belén.[66] Gendered spaces like Heladería Soraya offered live entertainment in a “safe” environment. Rather than listening to J.J. on a jukebox while drinking to oblivion in a filthy cantina (or so the trope goes), middle-class Antioqueñas and their families could see him in a sanitized environment, having a soda in a public yet “exclusive” space.

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[66] I thank Carolina Santamaría Delgado for sharing her archival materials on heladerías in Medellín in the 1960s.

All in all, based on the location of these venues within the city, the kind of amenities they offered, and the type of advertisement they did, they catered to middle-class white-mestizo consumers. Contrary to tropes placing J.J. in sleazy cantinas (like the non-fictional El Rincón de los Justos), his musicking escapes stereotyping and clear-cut race and class distinctions. It is precisely by following him through these venues and across the three countries I have studied in this chapter, that we better understand how Eurocentric notions linking class, taste, music, and cultural capital that continue to be widely used fall way short as theoretical frameworks to understand the relation between music and otherness in Latin America. The sites J.J. performed at in Medellín in 1976 were attended by local middle-class white mestizos. These venues where public spaces were normative Antioqueño families could enjoy an evening of bourgeoise leisure.

To be sure, in Medellín tropes connecting J.J. with working-class cantinas, alcohol, and internal migration are readily available. A series of advertisements in local newspapers marketing Jaramillo's music as "música de amanecida" (music to drink until dawn), and which explore in chapter three, are particularly interesting and speak of the conflicting, and even oxymoronic ways, in which J.J. and his listener have been rendered in the city. This image certainly contrasts with the bourgeoise gendered listening practice of the heladería space. In this section, I have focused on these middle-class spaces to compare the *popular* subject that emerges from Jaramillo's archive in Ecuador and México with the heterogenous listening practices he afforded.

While tropes rendering J.J.'s musicking as masculine, drunk, working-class, and racialized continue to be pervasive, we see the complex ways in which his music moved across the continent. Concurrently, while I have focused in racialized spaces in Guayaquil (El

Rincón de los Justos) and México City (Teatro Blanquita), Jaramillo's listening practices in these cities were as diverse as the ones in Medellín. These three different spaces, at three different moments of Jaramillo's career, illustrate that, contrary to genealogies of *lo popular* aiming to render these urban *popular* sounds as racialized-classed commodities, their listeners were quite diverse.

Closing remarks: The aural geopolitics of the modern nation

Latin American intellectuals at the turn of the 20th century strived to demarcate a clear division between a rural and an urban aurality. In Guayaquil, México City, and Medellín, this acoustemological division presupposed a certain racial order—what I have called the mestizo geopolitical regime—that constructed the white mestizo qua normative subject and placed it in the major urban centers. During the first half of the 20th century, massive influxes of internal migrations from rural areas and into the cities unsettled these notions. According to Martín-Barbero (1993): "If the 1930s were important years in Latin America for the economic processes of industrialization and modernization, politically they were even more important for the 'irruption' of the masses in the cities" (156). What Martín-Barbero calls "the masses," I have called the *popular* subject, an interloper in the urban racial order.

Julio Jaramillo constitutes a locus that voices dynamics of internal migration, racialization, and inequality; what I have called the aural *popular* sphere. Spaces like the cantina El Rincón de los Justos and the Teatro Blanquita are geopolitical microcosms through which I have traced long-lasting genealogies of difference construction. The systematic erasure of the subjects of alterity whose very bodies have constructed these places as sites of

marginality, speaks of the regime of erased otherness that the mestizaje discourse presupposes.

In Guayaquil, I have unearthed the cholo at the center of Velasco Mackenzie's *El Rincon de los Justos*. The cholo embodies the dynamics of internal migration and urban displacement characteristic of the *popular* subject. In the Mexican carpa theaters, and its 20th century descendent the revista Mexicana*,* I have found the pelado (the low-class racialized urban dweller) who unveils how these influxes of racialized migrants unsettled the mestizo geopolitical regime. Furthermore, carpa theaters make the case of how the single signifier *música popular,* and its adjective form *lo popular*, were used to refer to both a certain subject that occupied these spaces and the mass-mediated entertainment that was offered in them.

Lastly, in Medellín, I situated J.J. at the white-mestizo, gendered, middle- upper-class heladería space. I have done so to unsettle tropes that index Jaramillo's aurality to brown, uneducated, and working-class populations, what the obituaries call "the popular sectors." Medellín stands an eloquent example of how mestizo whiteness has been yearned for, constructed, and policed across Latin America. The act of excavating through the archive to find Jaramillo occupying normative spaces like the heladería not only unsettles simplistic notions connecting sound, musical taste, race, class, and gender, but also the contradiction inherent to the mestizaje regime.

I conceive *popular* sites like El Rincón de los Justos or Teatro Blanquita as loci that unsettle the mestizo nation. The cantina and the *popular* theater were spaces in which the racialized, marginalized, and erased *popular* subject was voiced and made visible. Therefore, Julio Jaramillo, his musicking, and the listener he has afforded sit at the interstices of

hegemony, ripping through the cracks of the mestizo order. In the words of Martín-Barbero (Ibid.):

> Just at the time that the cities begin to fill with people due to both the demographic increase and the rural exodus, there was a crisis of hegemony produced by the absence of a class which could assume the direction of society. This brought the state in many countries to seek its *national* legitimacy in the masses. The maintenance of power was impossible without assuming in some way the vindication of the demands of the urban masses… With the formation of the urban masses, not only was there a quantitative growth of the popular classes, but the appearance of a new mode of existence of the popular (156-157, original emphasis).

The massive exodus of rural migrations that Martin-Barbero situates in the 1930s made these populations a force to be reckoned with. Martín-Barbero's nuanced theorization accounts for the complicated dynamics of hegemony/counter-hegemony mobilized by the emergence of this subject. I have explored these dynamics of sound, space, displacement, and power through J.J. In Jaramillo's case, such dynamics surface in the eclectic archive I have studied throughout this chapter. However, the construction of the *popular* subject as both subject of alterity *and* resistance was also advanced by media capital. In the next chapter, I trace Jaramillo's vast recorded corpus across the American continent. I consider the interlocked dynamics of production and consumption of his music to disentangle another genealogy of *lo popular.*

CHAPTER TWO

How Songs Travel: Mapping the *Música Popular* Industry

(written in collaboration with Henry Martinez Puerta)

-[reporter] Are you exclusive to any record label in particular?
-[J.J.] No, thank God; I record for the one who pays. Whoever lays it down
[the money] takes it [the recording] ("El que la pone se la lleva")
(Pérez Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978b, 107)

In the midst of what would be his last tour in the US, Julio Jaramillo was interviewed in New York City by Aníbal Vasconéz R., correspondent of the Guayaquil-based magazine Cine Radial. The interview, which took place sometime between late 1977 and early 1978 (a few months before Jaramillo's death), was compiled by Ecuadorian entertainment journalists Livingston Pérez Sernaqué and Francisco Romero Albán shortly after his demise in a series of commemorative fascicles. In the interview, we find a composed and restrained J.J. Similar to other profiles he gave to press across the Americas, his responses were short, almost laconic, with a polite yet concise tone. This was particularly salient when he was queried about his torrid and public romantic life and his fatherhood, topics that he consistently maneuver through or just sidestepped.

However, in this interview, Jaramillo was a bit more outspoken, even snarky, about other issues. Among them was the relationship he had with alcohol and his thoughts on his profession. Upon the question, "What song do you like to perform the most?" Jaramillo responded: "Look, I sing tunes because I get paid to do so, not because I particularly like any

of them. I do not have a predilection for any of them" (Pérez Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978b, 107).

Jaramillo's candidness in this interview puts forward a set of complex dynamics emerging in the media industry of his time. As the epigraph I use to open this chapter illustrates, for most of his career, he recorded for anyone who could afford him. J.J. charged 1,000 USD per LP, around twelve tracks (Pérez Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978b, 92). Back in the 1960s and '70s, this was a small fortune, especially taking into account the exchange rate. Many labels, and even privates,[1] were willing to pay this price. Jaramillo was a safe bet not just because he was a household name, but because his dexterity as a studio artist was well-known. By his own account, he was able to record an entire LP in two days (Ibid.).[2] On top of this, J.J. was a free agent for most of his career. He opted to waive his rights to future royalties, preferring to receive a flat rate instead. Because of this, Jaramillo was free to record with whomever and wherever he pleased. This was perhaps not a unique position, but one not many artists of his caliber held. Throughout his career, J.J. was outspoken and even proud of his independent artist status.

This way of interacting with the industry makes Jaramillo a strategic subject through which we can map and theorize what I call the *pre-neoliberal Latin American recording industry*. This regional industry was composed of actors that ranged from local family-owned record labels to transnational corporations. Importantly, these actors traded master recordings

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[1] Many legends and myths surround J.J.'s recorded corpus, one of them being that he produced several tracks for wealthy privates. Collectors in the jaramillista community have searched for these recordings with no avail this far.

[2] This asseveration has been continuously confirmed by both the archive and by musicians that worked with him. Unsurprisingly, J.J.'s efficiency in the studio generated rumors/legends among the *jaramillista* community that are hard to confirm or debunk. Among them, is that he recorded three full LPs in one day in Venezuela.

and licensing rights fluidly, thus making a heterogenous, decentralized, and deeply transnational industry. While multinational corporations like RCA Victor were instrumental in the earlier days of the Latin American recording business, smaller labels made out of local capital entered in the 1930s. This dynamic boomed towards the 1950s and '70s and decayed in the '80s and '90s when the turn to neoliberalism flooded most Latin American nations with foreign capital. This influx of corporate money shrunk and extinguished locally-owned businesses.

Jaramillo's recording career, starting in the mid-1950s with the recording of his first singles in Ecuador and ending in 1978 with his death, coincided with the most dynamic days of the regional recording industry. While there is no data available to argue that J.J. was the most recorded Latin American artists of his time, he would likely be at the top of such ranking. Here lies one of the issues this chapter tackles; that is, the lack of data that affords an understanding of this industry on a transnational scale.

Departing from J.J.'s substantial recorded body of work, this chapter—written in collaboration with Colombian record collector Henry Martínez Puerta and whom I introduce below—tracks Jaramillo's recorded corpus to map the transnational flows of Latin American musics that took place during the second half of the 20th century and the heterogeneous agents behind them. This chapter returns to the *popular* signifier and focuses on its "industry" genealogy; that is, *música popular* qua industrially produced and commercially distributed music. However, developing on my conceptualization of the *música popular* concept as a polysemic one, in this chapter, I also extend the theorization of the *popular* subject I developed in chapter one. I show how the genealogies of *lo popular* have overlapped and co-constructed each other in the histories of these media industries.

Jaramillo constitutes just a minuscule part of the vast pre-neoliberal Latin American recording industry. Contrary to essentialized accounts that draw a direct correlation between mass-mediated cultural products and processes of subjectivation, I suggest that figures like Jaramillo unsettle such a notion and invite us to account for the shared network of agencies constitutive of recording industries.

I begin this chapter by introducing Jesús Martín-Barbero's concept of mediation, a key analytical tool in this chapter, and the next one. Through it, I build a nuanced theorization that situates Jaramillo's mass-mediated music practice at the interstices of hegemonic discourses of media capital, race, and nation. I then introduce my collaborator in this chapter, record collector Henry Martínez Puerta. After reviewing Don Henry's life in collecting J.J., I share some thoughts on our work and my experience experimenting with collaborative ethnography. I then focus on the pre-neoliberal Latin American recording industry following Jaramillo's life on vinyl. I do so by considering three key stages in the mediation chain; producers, composers, and circulation.

The producer category encompasses recording labels and the persons behind them. Following Jaramillo vinyl across space and time, we map where and when particular tracks were recorded, traded, and reissued. We then focus on Venezuelan composer/businessman Antonio Rafael Deffitt Martínez. While J.J. recorded songs by hundreds of composers, his long-standing and fascinating artistic collaboration with Deffitt Martínez sheds light on how Jaramillo's repertoire articulated and voiced the *popular* subject. We close by focusing on the jukebox, considering it a technological agent key in the process of circulating J.J. The jukebox has become a symbolic signifier that embodies many of the traits that have constructed

Jaramillo's aurality as a *popular* one. I close this chapter by focusing on literary and scholarly accounts that connect J.J., the jukebox, and what I have called the aural *popular* sphere.

Media, *mediations,* and the music industry

The pre-neoliberal Latin American recording industry puts forward complex dynamics that intertwine sound, media capital, and difference. I deploy a theoretical framework that accounts for the shared network of technological and human agents that made this industry and its heterogeneous and decentralized modus operandi. To do so, I elaborate on Martín-Barbero's concept of *mediation* ("mediación"). Developed initially in *De Los Medios a Las Mediaciones: Comunicación, Cultura y Hegemonía* (1987), later translated as *Communication, Culture and Hegemony: From The Media To Mediations* (1993), Martín-Barbero's interdisciplinary work moves between philosophy, linguistics, and communication.

The author's intellectual project is substantial and ambitious, tracing a history of media and ideas spanning from the print to the television. Beginning in 19th century Europe, and moving chronologically until he lands in Peruvian soap operas in the 1980s, the scope of Martín-Barbero's substantial and analytically rich. Central to his *longue durée* of media and communication is theorizing the popular subject as a political one. What for 19th century orthodox Marxist was "the masses," Martín-Barbero, through insightful critique, elaborates into the Latin American popular subject.

Two thinkers are critical in Martín-Barbero's formulation: Antonio Gramsci and Walter Benjamin. Gramsci, Martín-Barbero (Ibid.) argues, unsettled orthodox Marxist conceptions of hegemony that conceive "social domination as simply an outside imposition without subjects of cultural action" (74). Martín-Barbero continues:

> …in Gramsci's view, one class exercises hegemony to the extent that the dominating class has interests which the subaltern classes recognize as being in some degree in their interests too. And the term 'in some degree' means, in this context, that hegemony is not a stable state but that it is being continually disestablished in a 'lived process' (Ibid.).

This non-static relation between hegemony and counter-hegemony is indeed one of Gramsci's significant contributions to post-Marxist thought. Perhaps less acknowledged are his ideas on popular culture. Gramsci, Martín-Barbero explains, understood "folklore as popular culture in the strongest sense of the term 'popular'" (Ibid.). For Gramsci, the term "popular" evokes a Marxist political subject of class struggle, and folklore denotes the expressive cultures of "the people." Once folklore is mediated through media technologies, it becomes "popular culture." This very process, embedded with the continuous Gramscian struggle for hegemony, is called mediation. Its subject is the subject of the "masses," the one whose "'conception of the world and life'.. is 'in opposition (implicitly, mechanically, objectively) to the conception of the official world… that has emerged historically'" (Ibid.).

Mediations have been historically reified in popular media such as the pamphlet, the cartoon, the graffiti, television, and, in our case, music recordings. However, Gramsci's popular subject has been historically enunciated in terms of class. This Eurocentric approach to the popular, I suggest, runs underneath Martín-Barbero's formulation. I elaborate on this intellectual corpus to propose a *popular* subject for whom media is a potential agent of both interpolation *and* counter-hegemonic discourse. A subject of alterity that—at least in the (former) colonies—has its foundation *not* in wage labor, but the process of classification of (human) life otherwise known as race.

If Gramsci provides Martín-Barbero with a political subject and an expressive culture at the interstices of hegemony, Benjamin opens up the possibility of conceiving the culture industry as "potentiality." Benjamin's ambivalent approach to mass-mediated culture is signaled across his heterogeneous corpus. It is perhaps more clearly articulated in the final passages of his seminal mechanical reproduction essay. Benjamin, Martín-Barbero observes, sees in "the fleeting tastes of popular culture, a belief in the 'possibility of liberation (of the popular) from a past of oppression'" (Ibid. 52). More than counter-hegemonic discourse, Benjamin sees possibility in the "fleeing tastes of popular culture." Benjamin's political and methodological shift thus sees in "the cultural experience of the oppressed… forms of resistance and a perception of the meaning of struggles" (Ibid.).

This certainly contrasts with Adorno and Horkheimer's account of the culture industry. For them, mass-mediated commodities are inextricably traversed by ideology and are thus weaponized by hegemonic powers. This effectively forecloses any form of agency on the consumers' side. It also presupposes a centralized and monolithic industry that is completely abstracted from the very subject it seeks to interpolate. Extrapolating these theories, and their privileging of "high culture," outside 20th century Europe set the stage for the racialization of expressive cultures. This was the case in their seminal culture industry essay when they shortly mention US jazz. Therefore, Adorno and Horkheimer's veiled cultural classism develops into a racism that can't find any value on the mass-mediated cultures of "the masses."

The concept of mediation affords a comprehensive analysis of the pre-neoliberal Latin American recording industry. As I show below, this industry emerged from distributed networks of agents and interests. How *música popular* was commercially circulated is far

from a foregone conclusion. Labels had a "trial and error" approach. Rather than the "Manichean" theorizations in which media industries establish cultural commodities, the labels I study were not setting trends or actively "designing" hits. Instead, I find a shared agency between industry, producers, consumers, and sound technologies for which we need to account.

While the genealogy of the *popular* I developed in this chapter alludes to its "industry" aspect, I also maintain and mobilize the *popular's* polysemic quality that I theorize throughout this dissertation. More specifically, I also consider the *popular* as an episteme build on alterity that was key for the commercial circulation of J.J.'s music. In other words, I conceptualize *música popular* as mass-mediated music and whose niche market was "the people." Following Martín-Barbero et al., in here I read alterity, but also potentiality. I argue that the act of mediating J.J. articulates overlapping dynamics of difference and empowerment. On the one hand, the *popular* subject qua subject of alterity is constantly reified by this industry. On the other hand, this subject is also voiced at a transnational scale through it.

Tracing the Latin American music industry

Over the last twenty years, there has been a steady albeit small rise in studies dealing with the Latin American recording industries of the 20th century. Importantly, all of these studies have been formulated from the geopolitical space of the nation-state. Although in one way or another, many works contain scattered information about Latin American recording industries, very few ones have performed detail cataloging work. The work of Pro Meneses (1997) in Ecuador, Franceschi (2002) in Brazil, and Cañardo (2017) in Argentina are

important exceptions. Given that categories like recording industry, media industry, entertainment industry, and the like are virtually omnipresent keywords in the literature, it is quite jarring to find how little work has been actively done on them. Thus, these keywords seem to circulate more as abstract entities than cohesive fields of study.

Arguably, this gap has a lot to do with the fact that there are little to none readily available archives to conduct this kind of research. *Música popular,* as I am theorizing it in this dissertation, falls within the cracks of what is considered national cultural heritage. As I show in the introduction, the discursive construction of these musics put them at the fringes of discourses of nation. While public archives in México, Colombia, and Ecuador house phonographic documentation that alludes to the "indigenous," the "traditional," and the "folkloric," almost none dedicated to *lo popular* exist. As several of my colleagues working on similar topics in Medellín have told me, performing archival research on recording labels is an ongoing endeavor that has proved to be challenging.[3] Thus, most of the reduced research that has been made on this topic has been performed in private archives. That proved to be right for me too. During my research, I came across a fascinating figure that turned out to be

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[3] In conversation with Colombian ethnomusicologist Carolina Santamaría Delgado, whose research focuses on Medellín's recording industry of the 1940s to '70s, she explained that record labels archives have been hard to work with. This for several reasons. As is the case with many local record labels across the Americas, the turn to neoliberalism either put many of these labels out of business, some of them were absorbed by multinational corporations. Archive-wise, that means that documentation has been simply lost, either because business closed or in the process of transitioning into new ownership. Importantly, in many cases, the influx of transnational capital was often directed towards purchasing catalogues of local labels to then eliminating them, thus opening the market for local subsidiaries of big labels. Additionally, the fast pace at which recording sessions work in those years made book-keeping very sketchy. For instance, in the case of Colombian label Discos Fuentes (arguably the most important one in the history of Colombia's popular music), a handful of receipts and invoices have survived. However, the information in them is minimal. The fact that research groups led by Santamaría Delgado, that focuses on the Medellín recording industry, are turning to newspaper archives is very telling. That being said, this line of research is active and I look forward to its outcomes.

essential for this investigation and that I introduce next. My collaborator in this chapter Henry Martinez Puerta: the collector.

The Collector

> *Naturally, his [the collector's] existence is tied to many other things as well: to a very mysterious relationship to ownership; also, to a relationship to objects which does not emphasize their functional, utilitarian value—that is, their usefulness—but studies and loves them as the scene, the stage, of their fate.*
>
> Walter Benjamin, *Unpacking my Library: A Talk About Collecting* (2005 [1931])

Throughout my research, I have come across and worked with record collectors repeatedly. Looking back, it does make sense that the music practices that I have been interested in have brought me to visit private archivists. My sustained interest in *músicas populares* has pushed me outside public archives. The first ethnographic encounter I had with these figures was in Monterrey, México, where I worked with local *sonideros* while I was studying the city's cumbia subculture. Inadvertently, one of them—Gabriel Dueñez, founder and owner of *Sonido Dueñez Hermanos*—became one of the leading figures through which I narrate "*la Colombia de Monterrey"* (Rubio Restrepo, forthcoming). For sonideros, records constitute both cultural and financial capital, their primary source of income, and the object that testifies the instrumental role they have played in the inception and development of *la colombia*. Collectors are more, much more, than their archives. They are an integral part of the collections they keep. Their stories are as important as the ones contained in the objects they collect. This takes me back to Walter Benjamin, his thoughts on the collector, and the relation they hold with their objects of desire.

In the case of the record collector, after years of curating and accruing records, these objects have acquired a Benjaminian authenticity. Much like Benjamin's obsession with his books, the act of collecting records, the devotion collectors have for them, and the worlds of knowledge that come with the years (decades!) they have invested, impregnate these objects with stories, memories. Or, as Benjamin mentions in his seminal Mechanical Reproduction (more recently traduced as Technological Reproducibility) essay: "It is this unique existence—and nothing else—that bears the mark of the history to which the work has been subject" (2008, 21). In *Unpacking My Library* (2005 [1931]), Benjamin eloquently points out that not only is the collector an intrinsic part of the collection, that these objects live in him, but also that "it is he who lives in them" (492). Authenticity, the mark of history burned in the object, lives in the objects themselves as much as in the collector. Therefore, authenticity emerges from the encounter of the technological agent (the record), and the human agent (the collector). This is what I call *the embodied archive*, the driving force behind this chapter.

Thus, when you have the opportunity to work closely with recordings in private archives, it is not only the information and authenticity inherent to these objects that opens up to the researcher, but the accumulated knowledge and the affective relation the collector has with them. This chapter was written collaboratively, although not in the traditional way. As I expand below, it is also—in the words of Jocelyn Guibault (2014)—"an experiment in storytelling." While I am the voice behind these words, most of the research for this chapter was performed in collaboration with my partner Henry Martínez Puerta.

Collecting J.J.: Henry Martínez Puerta "El Jefe"

Henry Martínez Puerta was born in Manizales, Colombia, in 1959. He became interested in Julio Jaramillo in his early 20s. Don Henry remembers seeing J.J. perform in Manizales in January 1976 as part of the weeklong Manizales city fair. This was the only occasion Don Henry saw Jaramillo. Two years before his death, and probably connected with the Medellin residency he did the same year, and that I reference in chapter one, this must have been among Jaramillo's last performances in Colombia. In a free concert sponsored by the local radio stations Radio Luz and Radio Sintonía that included other singers such as the Mexican Alicia Juárez, Don Henry recalls that "a singer surprised me, one that sang [that night]. I don't recall what song because I wasn't familiar with them. I wasn't a fan of that kind of music. What I do remember is that later on, I realized that that singer was J.J."

For Don Henry, a young man in his late teens back then, Jaramillo's music should have sounded somehow anachronistic. On those years, Anglo-infused pop-rock ballads in Spanish were in vogue. Shortly afterward, Don Henry began collecting. He started re-recording borrowed LPs into cassette tapes and then going through local record shops and street vendors. Eventually, he realized that the repertoire in the albums he had access to was reduced vis-à-vis J.J.'s entire corpus. He did so by listening to radio shows that played songs he didn't know and that he would ask about in local shops. Because those tracks were recorded and distributed abroad—the local shop keepers would tell him—they were hard to acquire.

Looking through record catalogs, Don Henry purchased his first non-Colombian records through local retailers. This was an expensive venture. Imported records cost almost

ten times the amount of nationally produced ones.[4] Catalogs continued to be essential in Don Henry's collecting career. Not only were these the vehicles through which he ordered previously unknown items, but record dealers in other countries would also use them to ask Don Henry for Colombia-made records for their clients. Once Don Henry acquired some of the commissions, he would trade them for J.J. albums.[5]

In 1986, Don Henry traveled to Ecuador. He tagged along with a street vendor that worked around his office, and that went there regularly to import merchandise. Don Henry traveled by bus, making several stops in a twenty-four-hour-plus road trip with the sole objective of purchasing records in Quito and Guayaquil. "There I got around 70 Julio LPs… I wasn't there to sightsee. No, it was more the excitement of being there, discovering a whole lot of J.J. stuff I didn't know about, of music that you didn't see around here and songs that I wasn't even aware of."

Don Henry continued to obtain new records through local vendors with international connections. A nomadic dealer that stopped in Manizales once or twice a month in the early 1990s and that imported records mostly from Venezuela was vital. This country was one of the most prosperous ones of Latin America during J.J.'s career. After Ecuador, Venezuela is

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[4] Don Henry recalls that in the early 1980s locally produced record costed around 60 Colombian Pesos (COP) and imported ones were 500 COP. Conversation with author, Dosquebradas, Colombia, August 5, 2018.
[5] This was the case in 2008. Being in México City's iconic Tepito market, and after a few hours of walking through its vastness, Don Henry came across some record shops where he found new additions to his collection. A record owner pulled out an old catalogue of Industria Nacional del Sonido, a now disappeared Colombian based label mostly active in 1970s and that is known for publishing underground local "psychedelic" rock. From that catalogue, the shop owner underlined the items he wanted and gave to Don Henry. After finding some some of them (cumbia and other related musics are the most desired ones), Don Henry was able to trade them for J.J. recordings. This trading culture in the collector and record dealer communities signals a political economy in which financial value is hard to assess and is often arbitrary. While most collectors don't seek financial value, dealers—who play a key role in the collector community—do. Often, dealers find such value by trading and moving across collecting communities with widely different musical taste. Although fascinating, these extended circuits of circulation are beyond the purview of this project.

likely the place where he recorded the most. While the dealer specialized in salsa, he reserved J.J. albums for Don Henry. Not being familiar with this repertoire and fearful that Don Henry wouldn't buy items he already had, he told the dealer, "not to worry, we'll work it out." It is not odd for collectors to own several copies of the same album. They use this surplus for trading, as back-up, or as gifts to fellow jaramillistas and aspiring collectors.

Don Henry's trip to México City in 2008 also proved worthy. This city was the hub of the Latin American media industry of Jaramillo's time. In there, he found some rare items there. However, it was widespread access to the internet at the turn of the millennium that revolutionized his collecting practice. Don Henry tells me that one of the first things he did once he had access to an Internet connection was googling "Julio Jaramillo." Even in the pre-social media era, J.J. blogs and forums were already available. Through these, he started to connect with collectors worldwide. While online forums, and Facebook afterward, have brought jaramillistas closer, it was auction sites like eBay and the more regional MercadoLibre that changed the game.

Experienced collectors often know the person selling the records and even who is bidding. Similarly to the street market, in these sites—whether in set-price or auction situations—the value assigned to these objects is often contentious and even arbitrary. Rare songs and albums (covers or "carátulas")—in that order—are the most desired. Experienced collectors are among the few that can catch inflated prices and bluffs. According to Don Henry, some records featuring J.J. in the cover don't even have tracks performed by him. This was particularly common in the months following Jaramillo's death, when unscrupulous labels—including pirate ones—trying to capitalize on the moment, pressed albums containing J.J. classics or songs unknown by him but performed by imitators. Inexperienced buyers pay

high figures for these seeming rarities only to realize that the voice album is not Jaramillo's, or not noticing at all.

Surrounded by records and sitting in front of Don Henry while we came back and forth between cataloging and collector stories, I realized that, even if time wasn't an issue, I could never come up with enough lines of questioning to grasp and do justice to the collector. In my final day, and noting how technologically savvy Don Henry is, I proposed him to make this chapter a collaborative endeavor. Having grasped my approach to the matter quickly, Don Henry accepted.

A few notes on telematic collaborative ethnography

I became aware of Don Henry during my preliminary research. After months of online browsing, digging through the few materials on J.J. available at the school's library, requesting a few others for purchase and through interlibrary loan, and using every academic search engine I was familiar with, I decided to do some searching on social media. It didn't take long to run into Facebook groups dedicated to J.J. After identifying some key contributors to these sites, I began contacting them. While some of them were welcoming from the start, others took a few days of back-and-forth correspondence (sometimes in hour-plus sessions) to open-up to me. In my conversations with them, once I mentioned that an essential part of my research had to do with Jaramillo's discography, a name kept popping-up: Henry Martínez Puerta. Fortunately, many jaramillistas are heavy social media users, and Don Henry was not the exception. Facebook and WhatsApp are the primary platforms through which organized fan clubs like the Grupo Cultural Julio Jaramillo, whose structure and

leading figures are based in Ecuador but whose members are spread across the Americas, stay connected.

Don Henry replied to my Facebook message almost immediately. After describing my working project once again, we began talking shop. While this was happening, I was in the process of scheduling the final stage of my fieldwork research to take place in the summer of 2018. Facebook became the medium through which I reached several of my local interlocutors. Due to time and funding constraints and the fact that I had already done archival work in Colombia the year before, my initial plan was to visit just Ecuador and México. However, I was having a hard time finding discographic archives and persons knowledgeable about Jaramillo's vast recorded body of work. Approaching this huge topic by myself would have been onerous. Don Henry told me that he was located in Dosquebradas, a small town on the outskirts of Pereira, the capital of the Risaralda state, and an area I am familiar with. Having been born in the nearby state of Caldas, I visited the area constantly as a child. The biggest surprise came when I asked Don Henry where he was from; the city of Manizales, my hometown. I believe this was key in building telematic rapport.

I decided to add Don Henry to my fieldwork schedule. We kept in touch over Facebook and WhatsApp. After moving some commitments and revising awarded fieldwork grant to redirect some funds, I was able to visit him in two consecutive weekends. In our first in-person meetings, I interviewed him. We talked about his taste for J.J. and his life as a collector (which I summarize above). We also began doing some preliminary cataloging. Although Don Henry has logged most items in his collection to FileMaker (a software used in offices to create and manage databases), my initial interest was tracing specific songs and

albums chronologically and geographically. That is, mapping when/where specific tracks were recorded, for which label, and when/where were they reissued and under what label.

This cartographic approach to his collection and J.J. work never occurred to him, Don Henry told me. He has concentrated most of his efforts on gathering recordings. In the process of doing so, Don Henry has amassed vast amounts of information on each of these objects. Therefore, simple questions such as “what is the song J.J. recorded the most?” brings together data that was previously scattered in his memory. The embodied archive emerges from this relation between the recordings and Don Henry’s embodied knowledge. Recordings from J.J.’s time hold a limited amount of information. Mere access to these objects is insufficient when looking for archival information beyond the aural.

Don Henry has something valuable and that most records do not have: names, dates, and anecdotes. As I elaborate below, referencing the date in which album was produced, the people involved in its production, and the place where it was recorded was hardly the rule in the music industry of Jaramillo’s time. On the contrary, names (aside from the featured artist/s), places, and dates are scarce. A lifetime of collecting, talking to others in the craft, researching, and listening has given archivists like Don Henry such knowledge, a knowledge hard to come across. Collectors then, as Benjamin says, live in their objects as much as their objects live in them. Don Henry offered me a way, a privileged one, into his archive and Jaramillo’s recorded oeuvre.

My conversations with Don Henry also brought up key theoretical insights for this project; namely, my perception of what constituted an album and how such differences illustrate broader issues regarding media industries. More specifically, Don Henry, other collectors, and many jaramillistas I have talked to think about Jaramillo’s recorded body of

work in terms of songs, as opposed to albums. In the process of hunting for J.J. rarities, discrete songs always have precedence over albums. That is, finding a previously unknown J.J. track has more value than discovering an unknow album containing known repertoire. This is illustrated by the fact that some collectors refer to albums as "carátulas" (covers), suggesting that for them, the vinyl per se (the album) is secondary to the individual songs it carries. This makes sense in the context of the Latin American music industries of the time. The number of J.J. albums made out of "original" tracks (i.e., songs specifically recorded for that album) is far surpassed by the ones made out by tracks recorded in different places, times and, very often, for different labels.

Being a child of the 1990s, I grew up in a globalized culture industry in which the Anglo-centric concept of the music album, the ten-plus track self-contained "musical work," was the standard format under which commercial music was circulated. This generational and epistemic difference was revealing to me and was an early sign of how differently the Latin American music industries of Jaramillo's time functioned. It also prompted the search for decolonial frameworks to account for these specific music industries. My interactions with Don Henry and the jaramillista community were instrumental in formulating the theoretical framework of this chapter.

Over the last two years, Don Henry and I have been meeting online via Facebook audio call. We work in sessions that can go up to three hours. In them, we discuss the best way to approach the research. We spend most of our time together cataloging and tracing songs. I log this information in digital spreadsheets and text files. At this point, my intention is not to catalog and document the entirety of Don Henry's collection. This would take years, more funding, and human resources. Rather, we look for strategic ways that would allow us to

get an understanding of J.J.'s recorded corpus and, by extension, of how this industry functioned.

Our working sessions would start with simple questions like "how can we begin mapping J.J.'s transnational recording career?" We would discuss the matter and eventually decide on a course of action. For the purposes of this chapter, we focused on albums containing groups of songs that were reissued identically (or fairly similarly) by several labels in different countries. This would lead us to the cataloging stage. Don Henry would pull the physical albums from his shelves, take pictures of the front and back cover, and the internal seal (where all the textual information is), and send them to me. I would then upload them into a spreadsheet (Fig 19). The two of us would extract what little information these had and add to each item extra information Don Henry had on them, the most important ones being dates, sidemen, and place of recording.

Figure 19. An example of a spreadsheet documenting the collaborative archival work developed by Don Henry and myself.

We complemented missing information based on other sources, such as the archival materials that have been compiled by myself and members of the jaramillistas community. At times, Don Henry would ask fellow collectors over WhatsApp or Facebook for information and documentation on albums he didn't have. He would relay this information to me orally. Therefore, Don Henry has also given me access to his network of collectors and Jaramillo enthusiasts.

Cataloguing Jaramillo's recorded corpus has been a challenging endeavor. As we explain below, for the better part of his career, J.J. didn't have an exclusivity contract and recorded for anyone that could afford him. Some have claimed he recorded between 8.000 and 9.000 tracks. Dedicated jaramillistas have debunked this number and have placed J.J.'s entire catalog in the 2.300 to 2.500 tracks realm. This amount is still astonishing for an artist that was active for twenty-odd years. Therefore, the archive Don Henry and myself have built represents a fraction of Jaramillo's actual recordings.

Other information that emerged during our conversations has also been central to other parts of this project. For instance, discussions we had regarding Jaramillo's most recorded song, what other singers popularized J.J.'s hits, and the state of his voice as his career advanced became central to the development of chapter four. The work Don Henry and I have developed for the last two years is thus not a collaboration in the traditional scholarly sense. The words you are reading are mine, yet the sources and methodological scaffolding supporting them are not just mine. This writing technique raises questions of agency, representation, and even accountability that I address briefly.

Playing with the ethnographic voice

In playing and experimenting with writing techniques, I have been inspired by Steven Feld's *Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra: Five Musical Years in Ghana* (2012) and Jocelyn Guilbault and Roy Cape's *Roy Cape: A Life in the Calipso and Soca Bandstand* (2014). However, unlike Feld's masterful work in which he mixes first- and third-person voice in a painstakingly detailed ethnography that introduces his readers to complex issues of race, circulation, transculturation, and cosmopolitanism that emerge in the Ghanaian jazz scene, or Guilbault and Cape's playful "four-hand" storytelling where narrative jumps back and forth between the authors letting us into Cape's fascinating life in music, in this chapter Don Henry is not the subject of anthropological inquiry, neither an interlocutor and nor my co-writer. Or better, he is all and none of those to a certain degree.

To paraphrase Benjamin, the materials we are working with live in him as much as they in him. His voice here is not just an expert one, but the voice of the archive. Following Ochoa Gautier's (2006) assessment that in Latin America, "the epistemological relation of studies in traditional and popular musics… occurs… between cultural policy, the multiple methodologies used to study traditional and popular musics and dispersed textualities embodied in different practices of writing about music—from journalism to fiction to written compositions to formal academic forms of writing" (809), I introduce the figure of the collector to such textualities.[6] By underlining the critical role Don Henry has played in the

[6] It is important to note that one of the main reasons why the record collector has not been credited—or even considered—as a relevant figure in academic circles, is precisely because their knowledge lives outside what Ochoa Gautier—following Ángel Rama—calls "the lettered city." That is, the collector's knowledge usually lives in their memory and orality. As always, there are important exceptions. Such is the case of Hernán Restrepo Duque (1927-1991), a Medellín born record collector, music journalist, writer, and music industry man, who through his various books and long-standing columns in the newspaper El Colombiano left an invaluable body of literary work that illustrates the importance of these multifaceted figures.

research and development of this chapter, I conceive him as a fundamental agent for the study of *música popular*. This collaboration thus brings the collector's embodied knowledge to the "lettered city" (Rama *dixit*). This certainly sets a potentially problematic relation since I am actively using the voice of someone who is not directly involved in the writing process. But in doing so, I propose the collector as an epistemic agent, in an attempt to de-center the (academic) researcher as—in the words of Ochoa Gautier (2016)—the "transcendental subject of knowledge" (120).

Throughout the next section, I use the first-person plural voice "we" to convey that the materials being used are a product of my collaboration with Don Henry, occasionally interjecting the first-person singular voice "I" in passages where I unpack, theorize, and build on said materials. Considering Don Henry's substantial collection and knowledge, in what follows, we focus on a fraction of his embodied archive, tracing, and mapping a small group of songs through time and space to explore J.J.'s truly transnational music practice and query issues of mediation, circulation, and alterity. "The phenomenon of collecting loses its meaning when it loses its subject" (2005 [1931], 491), says Benjamin. No one has a more intimate connection to the archive that the collector. When the collector fades, it is not just the collecting practice that is lost, a part of the archive fades with them as well.

Julio Jaramillo and the Pre-Neoliberal Latin American Recording Industry

Accounts by sidemen, record producers, composers, and sound engineers repeatedly confirm J.J.'s dexterity in the studio. He had a keen ear that allowed him to learn new repertoire quickly and record it efficiently. J.J.'s recording practice was as transnational as his overall artistic career. He recorded for tenths of companies in at least seven countries. His

albums were issued by even more labels in most American nations, including Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, México, Panamá, Perú, Uruguay, the US (and Puerto Rico), and Venezuela. Missing from this list are non-Spanish-speaking countries (Brazil being a fascinating exception), Central American countries that probably had a less developed media industry, and Cuba due to the fact Jaramillo's international success came after the Revolution.

In this section, we take a close look at Jaramillo's life on vinyl. We focus on three specific stages of the mediation chain: producers, composers, and circulation. To be sure, these three stages are far from discrete links. Instead, they overlapped and cross-pollinated. For instance, we show how record label owners were also composers and distributers, how composers were media industry men, and how some of these industry men were also chroniclers of their craft. Therefore, we use these three stages of the *música popular* industry as a way to organize the different temporalities songs went through in the process of going from compositions to recordings to being reproduced.

J.J. on vinyl

Julio Jaramillo began his performing career in the streets of his native Guayaquil. He did so as many other local artists. Since 1950, still a teenager, J.J. roamed the streets of the sector known as La Lagartera, where local musicians offered their serenading services. In 1952 he began performing in amateur shows for local station Radio Cóndor. As an aspiring singer, he would tag along with his brother Pepe. Two years older than Julio, Pepe was already an established artist by the time his younger brother was an incipient performer. After completing his primary education, Julio worked as a shoemaker and cabinetmaker as he tried

to build his name locally. His discographic debut came in the form of a political jingle for presidential candidate Carlos Guevara Moreno in 1952. Finally, circa 1955 and after introducing himself to local singer Fresia Saavedra, they recorded the *yaraví* “Pobre mi Madre querida” and the Ecuadorian *pasillo* “Mi corazón” for the local record label Cóndor, founded in 1952 by Alfonso Murillo García (Pro Meneses 1997, 114). The session took place at IFESA (Industria Fonográfica Ecuatoriana S.A.) studios, the only company capable of recording and pressing vinyl in Guayaquil (and likely in Ecuador) at the time.

The histories of these early music industries are illustrative of many others in the region. Towards the 1930s, the discographic market that until then was dominated by European and US corporations saw the first significant influx of local capital. Transnational companies were critical agents in pioneering recording industries across Latin America. For instance, the first recordings by Colombian and Ecuadorian artists took place in the 1910s in New York City for labels like Columbia (Santamaría Delgado 2007), and RCA Victor, Odeon, Decca, and Brunswick respectively (Pro Meneses 1997). On top of this, scouts working for the Victor Talking Machine Company recorded Colombian orchestras in situ as early as 1913 (Velásquez Ospina 2018). In the 1920s, Odeon and Victor established factories in Argentina (Cañardo 2017). Together with Brazil (Franceschi 2002), Argentina was probably among the firsts self-sufficient industries of the region.

As sound reproduction was established as a profitable industry, and with the advent of commercial radio, local entrepreneurs appeared in the scene. In Colombia and Ecuador, port cities like Barranquilla and Guayaquil had an edge. Their strategic position facilitated importing equipment. In Colombia, polymath Antonio Fuentes founded the first national label Discos Fuentes in 1934 (Wade 2000). In Guayaquil, Luis Pino Yerovi founded IFESA in

1936. A vinyl importer formerly, in 1942, IFESA started recording locally and pressing abroad. By 1946, IFESA handled the entire production (Pro Meneses 1997). This was the studio where J.J. recorded his first commercial singles with Fresia Saavedra in 1955.

However, Jaramillo's first break came with the Peruvian *valse* "Fatalidad," recorded for the label Ónix. This company and its owner José Domingo Feraud Guzmán (1891-1978), were instrumental in J.J.'s career. Feraud Guzmán was a fascinating figure himself. Similar to his Colombian counterpart Antonio Fuentes and to Venezuelan composer Antonio Rafael Deffitt Martínez (who I introduce below), Feraud Guzmán was not just an industry man. He was a composer, arranger, performer, businessman, and, in many ways, a visionary. He started as a music copyist in the 1910s, then becoming one of the first local makers and dealers of piano rolls. He produced the first rolls of Ecuadorian musics. He did so by hand, using a hammer and puncher (Pro Meneses 1997, 90). In 1916, Feraud Guzmán opened a music store in downtown Guayaquil where he sold player pianos and piano rolls, even exporting to Colombia, Perú, and the US (Ibid, 91). This symbiotic relation among music, creativity, early sound technologies, and savvy business mind encapsulates the ethos of many of the characters behind the local labels that emerged across Latin American in the 1930s and '40s.[7]

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[7] Another clear example is the aforementioned Antonio Fuentes. Not only did Fuentes found the first Colombian record label Discos Fuente in 1934, he also settled one of the first radio stations, La Voz de Laboratorio Fuentes, in the same year (Wade 2000, 41, 92). It is widely known by scholars, musicians, and industry people in Colombia that Fuentes was actively involved in all stages of production. From importing to overseeing the recording and pressing gear, to acting as producer, arranger, musician, sound engineer, and publicist. Some of Discos Fuente's most memorable bands such as Los Corraleros de Majagual and La Sonora Dinamita came out of Fuentes' mind. This was also the case for many of the technological and musical innovations that came from his label.

Feraud Guzmán ran his player piano business under the name Ónix, the same one that, after noticing a decline in the player piano market, he used for his record label. He eventually built the recording studio FEDISCOS (Fábrica Ecuatoriana de Discos) in the outskirts of Guayaquil in 1964. In 1955, a few months after J.J.'s duo with Saavedra was edited by the label Cóndor, Jaramillo made his solo debut for Feraud's Ónix. The circumstances of these sessions are of interest. In those days, another Ecuadorian singer by the name of Olimpo Cárdenas was gaining momentum. Sixteen years older than Jaramillo, Cárdenas was settled in Medellín, where he spent most of his life. Cárdenas rose to prominence performing mostly tangos—a genre particularly beloved in Medellín and its peripheries (see Santamaría Delgado 2014)—and mixing them with Ecuadorian pasillos, Peruvian valses, and boleros among others. His rendition of the valse "Fatalidad," by Peruvian composer Laureano Martínez Smart and originally recorded for the Medellín-based label Discos Victoria, was very successful. Seeking to capitalize on his fellow Ecuadorian international success, Feraud Guzmán tried to secure the licensing rights for Ónix with no avail. The Colombian counterpart was charging 150 USD per track (Pérez Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978a, 15), a steep bet for the incipient label.

Amid these developments, and aware that Jaramillo had a similar tone and vocal range to Cárdenas', Feraud Guzmán hired a young J.J. to do a session "imitating Cárdenas." To this, Jaramillo replied that he would "surpass him" (Ibid.). Besides "Fatalidad," these recording sessions included the valse "Alma Mía" by Peruvian Pedro Miguel Arrese, the pasillos "Tu Duda y la Mía" and "De Hinojos" by Ecuadorians Julio César Villafuerte and César Maquilón Orellana respectively, the bolero "Arrepentida" by the Mexican brothers Carlos and Pablo Martínez Gil, the pasillo "Hacia el Calvario" by Colombians Pablo Restrepo López (lyrics)

and Carlos Vieco Ortiz (music), and the boleros "Flores Negras" by Cuban Sergio De Karlo and "Nuestro Juramento" by Puerto Rican Benito de Jesús among others. In these sessions, Jaramillo was accompanied by the *requinto* of Rosalino Quintero, Juan "Chino" Ruiz, Sergio Bedoya and Carlos Silva Pareja in the guitars, and the percussionist Luis Alarcón "Cara de Haba" in the up-tempo tracks. Many of these musicians accompanied him in the upcoming years. Quintero's requinto became a distinguishable feature of Jaramillo's style.

J.J.'s serendipitous 1955 solo debut articulates several characteristics of the pre-neoliberal Latin American recording industry. The repertoire he performed was made up of boleros, Peruvian valses, and Ecuadorian pasillos initially performed by another Ecuadorian artist living in Colombia. This speaks of the fluid network of music transnationalisms that were already in place. To be sure, these songs were performed by many singers. On top of that, Ónix's failed licensing deal speaks of the dynamic quality of this transnational industry. Unable to purchase the mechanical rights of Cárdenas' hits, Feraud Guzmán opted for re-recording them with another performer. Finally, it was characters like Feraud Guzmán, in a liminal space between venture capitalist, musician, and music technologist, that made such industry possible in the first place.

The songs that Jaramillo borrowed from Cárdenas' repertoire were his first transnational hits. The bolero "Nuestro Juramento" became J.J.'s banner during the early stages of his career. The craze caused by his rendition of this song in Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile granted him the epithet "Mr. Juramento" (Mr. Oath) in the Southern Cone. These international tours were preceded by the repertoire he recorded in Guayaquil, and that was reissued by Argentinian, Uruguayan, and Chilean labels under Ónix licensing. That is, once unable to purchase the rights to tracks by an internationally acclaimed artist like Olimpo

Cárdenas, now Feraud Guzmán was selling the same rights to labels from across the continent. In his attempt to target a market unattended for in Ecuador, Feraud Guzmán and Ónix ended up launching what would become the most popular Ecuadorian singer of all time. While Jaramillo's first recordings shed light on his transnational practice, in what follows, we focus on his Uruguayan tour of 1959 and take a more detailed look at his early recording career.

South to north: The traveling voice

Between 1955 and 1959, J.J. continued to record singles for Ónix. He performed mostly in Ecuador. His first professional tour took him and guitarists Sergio Bedoya, Juan "Chino" Ruiz, and *requintitsta* Rosalino Quintero to Perú and Chile in 1957.[8] Jaramillo's visit was publicized with songs like "Nuestro Juramento." These tracks, originally released in a series of 78 rpm 10-inch and 45 rpm 7-inch side A/side B singles in Ecuador, were purchased from Ónix and reissued throughout Latin America.

In the late 1940s, Columbia (CBS) developed the 33 1/3 rpm 10/12-inch vinyl, otherwise known as the Long Play or LP, effectively launching the album era (Pro Meneses 1997, 32). However, this format wasn't standardized in Latin America until the mid-1950s. The LP had a significant impact on the regional industry. In the case of J.J., the singles he did for Ónix were licensed and edited as 12-song LPs by labels abroad. Such was the case of México's Discos Peerless, one of the major players in the *música popular* market. Circa 1959,

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[8] We say professional because he did a tour in Cali, Colombia in 1952, years before his recording career started. Taking place years before his was known artist, on this tour J.J. and his sidemen strived to make enough money to get by.

they edited the LP *Julio Jaramillo con Rosalino Quintero y Su Conjunto* (serial number LPL 326). The album, containing six tracks on each side, was a compilation of Jaramillo's 1955-1959 Ónix sessions. As stated by the stamp in the back cover "Una grabación Ónix prensada en México," Peerless acquired the licensing rights from Feraud Gúzman in Guayaquil. Albums like this one prefaced Jaramillo's Mexican debut that I analyze in-depth in chapter one.

Figure 20. Julio Jaramillo performing in Lima, 1957. From left to right, Sergio Bedoya (guitar), Juan "Chino" Ruiz (guitar), and Rosalino Quintero (requinto)
(from the Francisco Xavier Romero Muñoz collection)

Jaramillo's second international tour took him to Uruguay and Argentina in October-November of 1959. His arrival in Montevideo was triumphal. Received by a multitude of fans at the local airport and paraded through the city, J.J.'s idol-like treatment at age 23 had to do with a series of serendipitous circumstances. His arrival coincided with the launching of a

local broadcasting company avid for publicity.[9] This signals another instance of how the genealogies of *lo popular* overlapped in Jaramillo.

Similar to Jaramillo's Mexican debut that I explore in chapter one, his 1959 Uruguayan tour also illustrates the palimpsestic nature of *lo popular.* On the one hand, his early hits established him as a singer of "the people" of *el pueblo.* On the other hand, he successfully debuted in the transnational "popular media" (los medios populares). Jaramillo's grandiose welcoming to Uruguay and the enthusiasm with which the local radio, recording, and TV industry received him, speak of the symbiotic relation singer, audiences, and media had.

Aside from performing in Montevideo and Buenos Aires with great success, J.J. recorded for the Uruguayan label Antar, sometimes listed as Antar-Telefunken. Originally a local music publisher, Antar associated with the German radio and TV manufacturer Telefunken to become a music label. Since 1957 and until the late '60s, Antar specialized in recording Argentinian and Uruguayan artists. Per the internal label on one of Jaramillo's albums that states, "Grab. en el Uruguay" (recorded in Uruguay), and based on the artist's chronology, we know that he recorded the songs listed in Table 1. in this country during his 1959 tour. This is confirmed by the fact that in these recordings, Jaramillo is accompanied by Uruguayan band leader and guitarist Mario Núñez Iordi and his band.

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[9] Francisco Xavier Romero Muñoz—a member of the Ecuador based *Grupo Cultural Julio Jaramillo*—has posted a detailed investigation of this on his Facebook page *Julio Jaramillo Sin Fantasias.* The post here: https://www.facebook.com/notes/julio-jaramillo-sin-fantas%C3%ADas/julio-jaramillo-en-uruguay-por-la-radio-y-la-tv/1167030689994927/

Table 1. Songs recorded by J.J. in Uruguay in late 1959.

Song	Listed Genre	Listed Composer
Arpía	Bolero	D.R.
El amor de ayer	Valse	Luis Dean Echeverría
Botecito de vela	Cha cha chá	D.R.
No te vayas corazón	Bolero	N. Núñez *or* Víctor J. Arce
En mi delirio	Bolero	Ricardo Mora Torres
Por el bien de los dos	Bolero	J. Albino *or* José M. Mateo
Si Tu volvieras	Bolero	Julio Jaramillo
Deseo	Bolero	D.R.
Dicha, rumor y alegría	Bolero	D.R.
Súplica	Bolero	H. Sapelli, L. Etchegoncelhay
Naufragio	Bolero	H. Sapelli, L. Etchegoncelhay
Soledad	Cha cha chá	D.R.

The information in Table 1 results from a compilation of data found on a dozen albums issued in 10 countries and that we unpack below. Regarding the setlist itself, several things are worth noticing. First, while the titles of the songs are consistent in the reissues we cataloged, several of them appear under different names in other J.J. albums. For instance, "Botecito de Vela" is also found as "En un bote de vela," "No te vayas corazón" as "No te vayas," "Si Tu Volvieras" as "Si Volvieras," "Súplica" as "Súplicas" (plural), and "Dicha, Rumor y Alegría" as "Mis Dichas." Inconsistencies in the titles are relatively common. They often bring inexperienced jaramillistas and collectors to claim they have discovered previously unknown J.J. tracks. This speaks of an industry that, although widely fluid and cosmopolitan, was decentralized and far from being standardized.

The role of the composer and their juridical status in this industry is harder to assess. As shown by this small sample, within J.J.'s recorded corpus, authors were credited intermittently. Such are the cases of "Arpía," "Botecito de Vela," "Deseo," and "Dicha,

Rumor y Alegría." All of these appear as D.R. (Derechos Reservados) in all the reissues. Listing the composer as D.R. or D.R.A. (Derecho Reservado de Autor [all rights reserved]) was a well-known tactic of the industry of the time. It implied that the author was unknown, and thus no royalties were due. Whether the labels ignored the author or they used this as a loophole would be virtually impossible to know. What we do know is that all of the songs we mention above are credited to someone in other J.J. albums. "Arpia" is attributed to Mexican Carlos Crespo, "Botecito de Vela" to Puerto Rican Raúl René Rosado, "Deseo"—also listed as "Presentimiento"—has been reclaimed by Colombians composers Darío Corredor and Gustavo Fortich and singer/songwriter Tito Cortés, and "Dicha, Rumor y Alegría" to Mexican Homero Aguilar.

On top of this, composers even varied between reissues. "No te Vayas Corazón," which in most reissues is credited to N. Núñez, is attributed to Víctor J. Arce in the Mexican Peerless reissue. The same goes for "Por el Bien de los Dos" that is credited to J. Albino in most albums but to José M. Mateo in the Peerless edition. J. Albino, or Johnny Albino, was a popular Puerto Rican singer and composer. His rendition of "Por el Bien de los Dos" with his band Johnny Albino y Su Trío San Juan was a major hit in 1959, the same year J.J. recorded for Antar-Telefunken in Uruguay. This was likely a strategic move on Antar's management to capitalize on a hit coming from the northern territories. Whether they credited the track to Albino as part of a marketing campaign or out of ignorance is anybody's guess. The Uruguayan sessions also marked J.J.'s debut as composer with his bolero "Si Tu Volvieras." Though Jaramillo wasn't a prolific composer (he authored 30-plus songs by his account), he did record his compositions sporadically.

We notice important differences between this repertoire and the one Jaramillo did in Ecuador for Ónix in 1955-1959. While the latter was an eclectic mix of Peruvian valses, Ecuadorian pasillos—and other local genres—and boleros, the Uruguayan tracks are made out mostly by boleros, two cha cha chás, and just one valse. This speaks of the Pan-American lingua franca that the bolero was at the time. J.J.'s emphasis on bolero repertoire early in his career proved to be key in raising his transnational profile. Bolero became J.J.'s presentation card, particularly in places where he wasn't well-known. To be sure, bolero, valse, pasillos, and tangos continued to be the backbone of his music practice. To these, he added a wide array of local musics.

Based on Jaramillo's recorded body of work and on documentation that has been compiled by jaramillistas, we know that he signed a contract of exclusivity with Feraud Guzmán's Ónix in 1955 that lasted 6 to 8 years. While in those years, Jaramillo recorded profusely for other labels across the region, most of these albums either credited the recording to Ónix or listed him as an exclusive artist of this label. The exact nature of the deals between the labels is hard to assess. Based on testimonies by people working in the industry at the time, these were made on a case-to-case basis.[10] Put differently, there wasn't a standard licensing contract. The financial and commercial muscle of the agents involved in the transaction was key in the negotiation, as well as any ongoing business relationship they could have. Importantly, it was standard practice for labels to trade catalogs containing hundreds of tracks. Likely, deals were made not just on a money-basis. In-kind arrangements may have also been part of the business model.

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[10] Private correspondence with Carolina Santamaría Delgado, August 30, 2018.

During the early stages of J.J.'s career, albums were thus produced internationally under two broad legal categories; mechanical rights were purchased from Ónix, or labels would pay Ónix and credit it for recording its exclusive artist. The albums listed in Table 2 fall under the latter category. The lack of dates on them makes it hard to reconstruct the chronology of the releases. In doing so, we rely on other data, namely, place of recording, visual and textual information in the album, and the timeline of J.J.'s career. We have established that the tracks in these albums were recorded in Uruguay for Antar. Thus, it is likely that the first releases, composed by a 4-track 45 rpm single (45-055) and a 12-track LP (PLP 509), were made there.

The almost simultaneous release of a 12-track LP and a 45 rpm with singles from the same setlist was a common practice in the regional industry. There were several reasons for this. One, being a new format in the late 1950s, the LP required new gear to be played; this made it necessary to keep pressing 45s, especially for the average Jaramillo listener that had a lower purchasing power. Second, and connected to the first point, in a political economy that is similar to the current pay-per-track streaming model, 45s were cheaper than LPs. Several labels created subsidiaries that produced lower-cost LPs.[11] Third, the 45 rpm was used to preface and publicize the LP. Labels often curated 45s using a calculated mix of what they reckon were hits and less popular tracks on the B-side, hoping to monetize their entire catalog. Lastly, 45s were the standard format for jukeboxes. As I explain below, these machines were key technological agents in the circulation of *música popular*.

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[11] Such was the case of Discos Peerless' subsidiary *Eco* in México, and Discos Fuentes' *Delujo* in Colombia. In general, these budget editions contained less tracks (usually 10 as opposed to 12) and/or had a simpler visual presentation.

Table 2. Album reissues of the 1959 Uruguayan sessions.

Country	Title	Label and reference	Format
Uruguay	Julio Jaramillo Canta sus Favoritos	Antar, PLP 509	12-track LP
Uruguay	Julio Jaramillo con Mario Núñez su Conjunto y su rítmo	Antar, 45-055	4-track 45 rpm
Argentina	Canta Julio Jaramillo	TK, LD 90-074	12-track LP
Argentina	Julio Jaramillo con Mario Núñez su Conjunto y rítmo	TK, EP-54-200	4 track 45 rpm
U.S.A	Julio Jaramillo Volumen 1	Sol Records, 1201	12-track LP
Venezuela	Julio Jaramillo Volumen 6	Venevox, BL 53	12-track LP
Venezuela	Julio Jaramillo, Volumen 7	H.G., 7	12-track LP
Chile	Julio Jaramillo con Mario Núñez y su Conjunto rítmico	CRC, 3006	12-track LP
Puerto Rico	Más Éxitos de Julio Jaramillo: Julio Jaramillo con Mario Núñez y su Conjunto R.	Riney, 031	12-track LP
México	Botecito de Vela	Peerless, LD 521	12-track LP
Perú	Soledad con Julio Jaramillo	SonoRadio, LPL 1067	12-track LP
Ecuador	Barquito de Vela	Ónix, LP 60285	12-track LP

Argentina's TK followed this same model. Taking into account its geographical proximity, TK probably purchased the licensing rights from Ónix (via Antar) and edited their 45 rpm and LP shortly after its Uruguayan counterpart. Most covers from Antar and TK (Fig. 21, top row of the figure) used the same photo. This picture, depicting a fresh-faced J.J. and dated November 15, 1959, was also used in the cover of the Uruguayan entertainment

magazine Cine TV Radio Actualidad published on December 18, 1959.[12] Based on the fact that the Venezuelan, Chilean, and US (second row) editions use the same picture (in the Sol Records album, the image is in the back cover), they were probably pressed shortly after the ones in the Southern Cone.

Figure 21. Front covers of Jaramillo's reissues of the Uruguayan sessions of 1959. From left to right top to bottom: Antar, 45-055 (45 rpm); Antar, PLP 509 (LP); TK, EP-54-200 (45 rpm); TK, LD 90-074 (LP); Venevox, BL 53 (LP); H.G., 7 (LP); CRC, 3006 (LP); Sol Records, 1201 (LP); Riney, 031 (LP); Discos Peerless, LD 521 (LP); SonoRadio, LPL 1067 (LP); Ónix, LP 60285 (LP).

The similarities between the Venezuelan and Chilean albums (second row) are particularly salient as they contain the same setlist and the same front cover showing the picture mentioned above of Jaramillo, now on an easel as he is "painted" by a beatnik-looking artist. On the upper-left corner, there is also a photo of J.J.'s military service days. This indicates that labels traded not only audio materials; graphic design was exchanged transnationally as well. Furthermore, it is likely that more prominent labels pressed for

[12] I thank Francisco Xavier Romero Muñoz for this information.

smaller ones or that a single company pressed under different names. That seems to be the case for Venevox, one of Venezuela's major labels at the time, and the much smaller H.G.[13] At this point, it is impossible to establish, out of these three albums, which one was produced first, and thus, where was the cover illustration made originally and by whom. Nevertheless, this signals a widely dynamic and fluid industry.

The circulation of J.J.'s music in the northern territories was made mainly via New York City, Florida, and Puerto Rico. Such was the case of NYC-based Sol Records. In the back cover of the album, there are two columns of text, one containing a profile of J.J. in Spanish and its English translation next to it. The cultural references in the text make it evident that the blurb was initially written in Spanish. For instance, while the Spanish version, in a hyperbolic fashion, says Jaramillo would make "Arroz con Leche"—a children's song popular throughout Latin America—a hit, the English version substitutes this for "Rock-A-By-Baby." The English version also states that Jaramillo will surely go from Latin American to "Pan-American Hit." Furthermore, and even more telling, the English profile makes an English phonetic transcription of his name as "Hoo-lee-o Ha-rah-mee-llyo." This indicates that, contrary to the notion that these types of US records catered exclusively to Latin American communities, they were actively targeting non-Spanish-speaking communities as well.

The Puerto Rican, Mexican, and Peruvian albums (bottom row) were probably released afterward. The Ónix LP is an exception as it contains a date indicating it was pressed

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[13] Similar dynamics have been found by Wade (2000) in Medellín, Colombia. Such is the case of the label Zeida, then Codicos, and Lyra, then Sonolux. This changes responded mainly to changes in the partnerships. Interestingly, some companies pressed similar repertories under different labels simultaneously.

in 1996. This was way after Jaramillo's time and was an effort by Ónix's to keep circulating and monetizing their J.J. catalog. To be sure, all the albums mentioned above credit Ónix as the owner of the copyrights. We focused on these group of records because they carry a single group of songs whose recording is traceable to a specific place and time. However, smaller groups (or even individual tracks) from the 1959 Uruguayan sessions are scattered in tenths of other albums that were edited by several labels from across the continent.

The analysis we offered here comprises a fraction of Jaramillo's recorded body of work. It does, however, illustrate how these networks of music circulation functioned as well as the dynamic relation labels across the American continent had. Tracing the recordings J.J. did for Uruguay-based label Antar Telefunken, we have seen how vibrant the pre-Neoliberal Latin American recording industry was. Jaramillo recorded these tracks in the latter months of 1959. By the end of 1960, all of them have crossed the entire continent into the US. In its path to the northern territories, this batch of songs traversed seven countries and was published by the same amount of record labels. To reiterate, far from exceptional, these processes of mediated transnationalisms are the rule in Jaramillo's recorded corpus. Jaramillo albums and singles were produced and reissued across the Americas continuously.

After his exclusivity clause with Ónix expired, J.J. always opted to receive a flat rate for his recordings and waved any future royalties. This made his financial life unstable but also very profitable. Jaramillo's studio efficiency made him one of the most recorded artists of his time. Figures like Guayaquileño José Domingo Feraud Guzmán, Ónix's owner/president and a crucial agent in J.J.'s international success, were common in the pre-Neoliberal Latin American recording industry. These local polymaths traded master tapes with multinational companies regularly. This fragmented yet dynamic commercial circuit was vital in the

emergence of artists like Jaramillo. Not having (or choosing not to have) a media company sponsoring his career, he navigated this decentralized business model astutely.

Such productive recording practice required for a steady flow of songs. Composers were instrumental agents in this industry. In the next section, we focus on the long-standing collaboration between Jaramillo and Venezuelan Antonio Rafael Deffitt Martínez. We put in dialogue Deffitt Martínez's biographical account with our discographic archival work. I then move to show how this collaborative relation illustrates specific stages of the mediation process. More specifically, I show how the *popular* subject was mediated through J.J.'s recording practice.

How songs are born: J.J. and Deffitt Martinez

As we have mentioned, characters like José Domingo Fraud Guzmán in Guayaquil and Antonio Fuentes in Colombia were fundamental agents in the pre-neoliberal Latin American music industry. They bridged capital, sound technologies, circulation, and music-making. I consider their multifaceted roles acts of mediation through which *música popular* and the *popular* subject were simultaneously constructed, othered and re-appropriated, sounded and mobilized on a transnational scale. Such dynamics, I argue, can also be traced to the production stage. Understanding the way composers, sidemen, and singers interacted with the industry is critical to disentangle the fluid network of agencies (human, technological, and financial) that were in play. In this section, I focus on composer Antonio Rafael Deffitt Martínez (1916-2010) and his relation with Jaramillo and the *música popular* industry.

One of the most prolific composers of Venezuelan *música popular*, Deffitt Martínez was also a broadcaster, politician, music journalist, and entrepreneur. His multifaceted

practice left a heterogeneous archive. The booklet *Julio Jaramillo Una Canción y Deffitt Martínez* (1989) narrates the composer's first encounter with J.J. in 1962 in the city of Barquisimeto and their sustained artistic relation after that. Of particular interest to us are his accounts of the process of composing songs for J.J. and the ins-and-outs of the recording sessions. Besides a gifted singer and performer, Jaramillo had a very keen ear to incorporate songs that would fit his vocal style, and that would appeal to his listeners. He complemented bolero, tangos, pasillos, and valses, local genres that catered to local audiences.

As we show above, a significant portion of J.J.'s songbook derived from song catalogs of standard *música popular* repertoire. However, tracks also came from direct collaboration. Deffitt Martínez was one of several composers instrumental in making Jaramillo a genuinely local yet transnational artist. In the early 1960s, J.J. was yet to be a household name in Venezuela. Both him and Deffitt Martinez saw great promise in the other the minute they met. Deffitt Martínez, then the owner, head radio programmer, and part-time announcer of the Maracay-based Radio Girardot, seized the opportunity and signed Jaramillo to perform at his radio station. He also connected Jaramillo with venue owners in Maracay and Caracas.

Jaramillo was continuously touring across the continent. These short residencies in Venezuela—mostly funded by the clubs that hired him—allowed Jaramillo and Deffitt Martínez to sustain their collaborative relationship. According to Deffitt Martínez, many of the songs he composed from Jaramillo originated from what they call "motivos" (motifs). Motifs are short real-life anecdotes that Jaramillo would collect during his tours and pass to Deffitt Martínez. The composer would then make into songs by poetically reinterpreting the anecdote and composing the music. We reproduce a passage narrating this fascinating process:

The night before leaving for Caracas… he [J.J.] told me: Man… We haven't had time to discuss the songs we'll record. I brought some motifs from México; I'd like to tell you about them so you can set the lyrics and music… I was singing in a fonda [working-class bar/restaurant] in Monterrey, there was this girl [chamaca] with unbelievable eyes and body, she made such an impact on me that I invited her to my table on several occasions. Still, it was in vain, she wouldn't concede, she just smiled at me, but I saw other people sitting with her and drinking. One night, I offered her money to sit with me, she responded, giving me a dirty look, this has rarely happened to me before. ¿What do you think of the motif [motive]?... ¿Do you like it? ¿Can you sharpen it [le puedes sacar punta]?

Of course –I [Deffitt Martínez] replied. Next time we record, you'll have the track… I [J.J] will tell you one more [motif] for now… it's about this girl that was being besieged by every other man [at the fonda]; it looked like she was happy tending to them. One night she stood next to me and told me:

Mr. Julio… you're the only person that won't invite me [to your table]. ¿Do you dislike me?

Of course not, you just seem very busy.

Look sir—she told me—you can't imagine how much I suffer… Let me sit for a moment and I'll tell you about it… I'm like a clown, with a smile on my lips but with a broken soul… I was in high school and fell in love with a classmate, got pregnant, and my parents threw me to the street telling me I was a sinner. The boy also abandoned me. I left my town Veracruz and gave birth to the child who is now in the orphanage, so you can see, I'm here to earn the tamales.

I felt so much angst for the girl that I gave her a thousand dollars and she promised me she'd return to her home. ¿What do you think about this motif? Touching ¿Right?

Man, ¿Do you think you'll have around six songs ready to record by the end of the week?

I think so—I [Deffitt Martínez] replied. You'll have the other two motifs you gave me too.

The next day I wrote the lyrics to Muchachita de Bar [Bar Girl], arranged the music and record it on my portable recorded. Later on, I composed Pobre Diablo [Pity Fool]… (Deffitt González)

Within a week, Deffitt Martínez had six new tracks ready for Jaramillo to learn. The composer complemented the setlist with motifs of his own. For instance, thinking about a friend's daughter who was "quite liberated for the time," he wrote the song "La Gente Habla de Ti" (People are Talking about You) for the same recording session. The facility Deffitt Martínez had to produce songs in a short amount of time is admirable. Once he had the motifs, he would make them into poetic stanzas and build the melodic and harmonic accompaniment with guitar or piano. Deffitt Martínez would then teach the song to J.J., if they were in the same location, or record a demo in a cassette tape and send it to Jaramillo. On top of this, Deffitt Martínez was sometimes involved in the recording sessions, acting as an artistic director. In that case, he would choose the instrumentation, arrange the songs, and oversee the session.

The relation between J.J. and Deffitt Martínez in the composition process is fascinating. While we can't argue that they were co-writing these songs (at least under Eurocentric standards), there is an element of shared agency to it. Not only did Deffitt Martínez had a keen ear for composing melodies that would fit and showcase J.J.'s voice in terms of contour, phrasing, and vocal range, but the topics and scenes (i.e., motifs) that Jaramillo gave him were instrumental in building rapport with his *popular* audiences. As Jaramillo said: "I like my style because I enjoy being with *the people* [el pueblo]" (Ibid, emphasis added). The interest he had in the stories of *el pueblo*, turning them into songs, and circulating them in vinyl brought him even closer to "the people" and made him a beloved *popular* artist (un artista popular). The feedback loop wherein these stories (motifs) are collected by him, made into a song, and then circulated back to el pueblo illustrate how, as I have argued, his music and figure constructs, articulates, and mobilizes the *popular* subject.

The recording process matched the pace at which Deffitt Martínez composed these songs. Adding to others that have testified about Jaramillo's sharp ear and musical memory, Deffitt Martínez narrates that a couple of run-throughs were enough for him to learn new tracks. In one occasion, after showing the songs to Jaramillo using a guitar in his hotel room, "on the road [to the recording studio] I hummed the songs [a second time] and once again when the guitarist arrived, I was in awe for the quality of the retentive ear of this phenomenon of *popular* song" (Deffitt Martínez, emphasis added). According to Deffitt Martínez, the guitarists took longer than J.J. to learn the songs. Once in the studio: "We began at three p.m. and ended at seven; an extraordinary time for six tracks" (Ibid.).

The session took place in Caracas at the Gonzalito studio. Instead of recording for a label, for this session, Deffitt Martínez paid the studio time, the musicians, and Jaramillo's flat rate out of his pocket and then offered the tracks to interested parties. That is, Deffitt Martínez was the composer, artistic director, and investor of his venture. He opted to sell some of the songs J.J. recorded plus other compositions by him performed by different singers to the local subsidiary of RCA Victor, who released them as side A/B-side 45 rpm singles. By Deffitt Martínez' account, the deal worked as a consignment of sorts. That is, he left the master tapes to RCA Victor, expecting they would press the 45s on an on-demand basis, giving him a cut of the sales.

Realizing that none of the songs was being marketed, Deffitt Martínez retrieved the master tapes one year afterward. On his way home, he stopped to have some drinks with friends. Among them was Radio Continente's personality Adolfo Martínez Alcalá who, curious about the tapes Deffitt Martínez was carrying and after listening to them, copied J.J.'s rendition of the Ecuadorian pasillo "Porque Lloran Tus Ojos." Soon enough, the song became

a national hit. RCA Victor sold the 1.000 copies they had in-stock in no time and the head of the label called Deffitt Martínez to renegotiate the deal. Pointing out RCA Victor's previous lack of faith, Deffitt Martínez licensed them just the single and took the rest of the tracks to another label to produce an LP.

Figure 22. Julio Jaramillo receiving a gold record from Venezuelan record label Discomoda, Venezuela, 1968. (from the Francisco Xavier Romero Muñoz collection)

This story is traceable through J.J.'s discography. 45 rpm singles of the 1962 Venezuelan sessions that include "Porque Lloran Tus Ojos," "Sufre y Llora," and "Solo una Más," among others, were indeed edited. Furthermore, several of these tracks were reissued by local subsidiaries of RCA Victor in México and Colombia. On top of this, the LP *Julio*

Jaramillo y A.R. Deffitt Martínez compiling all the tracks from these sessions was published by Venezuelan label Fonógrafo. The overwhelming success of "Porque Lloran Tus Ojos" brought Deffitt Martínez to telegram J.J.—then touring in México and the US—to come urgently to Venezuela to seize the momentum. The song, Deffitt Martínez said, "was being broadcasted by radio stations throughout the country, it was hard to find a jukebox without it, the people [*el pueblo*] embraced it as their favorite song." (Ibid.) The two of them would continue to collaborate over the years in a mutually beneficial artistic relation.

On the one hand, Deffitt Martínez had one of the most sought after *popular* voices performing his compositions. On the other hand, Jaramillo had as a close collaborator a widely productive composer who knew his voice in detail, and that provided him with songs on a regular basis. Such was the case when, during a recording session for Venevox, J.J. found himself a couple of tracks short of completing an LP. He called Deffitt Martínez, asking him if he had "something for him." Right away, the composer dispatched a cassette tape containing a demo to the studio.

Characters like Deffitt Martínez in Venezuela and Feraud Guzmán in Ecuador are illustrative of the fascinating figures behind Jaramillo's career. They are also central agents in the pre-neoliberal Latin American recording industry. As we have shown, they were present in most of the mediation chain. Not only did Deffitt Martínez wrote songs for Jaramillo based on the stories he collected from different countries, he also arranged, produced, and, at times, even commercialized them. He would become a constant presence in Jaramillo's career. When asked about why he performed so many songs by Deffitt Martínez, J.J. explained:

> It's quite simple… Deffitt and I know each other very well, I perform his tunes because he gets me [yo lo interpreto porque él me interpreta]. He makes songs that I want to give to my audience, *he feels as much as I do that the people*

> *suffer a lot* [la gente del pueblo sufre mucho]*, which is why they go to bars that have jukeboxes* [traga-monedas] *to look for the track that will make them forget and mitigate the anguish that haunts them permanently. I tell my brother my anguishes, my concerns, my romances, my joys… I open my soul so he can read from my book; he translates into music and poetry the anguish I feel for not being able to remediate the pain of the others in ways no one has been able to* (Ibid., emphasis added).

These poetics of marginality are, I suggest, at the center of Jaramillo's status of *popular* singer. It is not just J.J.'s brownness and working-class origins that created an affective connection between him and his listeners. Such a connection also emanated from the meta-narratives present in his repertoire. The feedback loop between "the people" qua listener and "the people" qua represented subject in these songs are constitutive of the mediation process. Departing from Jaramillo's "sorrows and joys" (the ones he collected as he traversed the continent and met with "the people"), the songs Deffitt Martínez composed for Jaramillo articulate and voice a nameless subject, a subject that is no one and the many; the *popular* subject.

The process of making songs into vinyl passed through human (composer, singer, studio musicians) and technological (tape, studio, radio, jukebox) agents. This process of representation, traversed by this distributed network of agencies through which the *popular* subject is articulated, voice, othered, and circulated, is what I, following Martín-Barbero, call mediation. Deffitt Martínez's account takes us through several stages of the mediating process. Similar to many of the fascinating figures behind the pre-Neoliberal Latin American music industry, he is present in much of the mediation chain.

By Jaramillo's own account, one mechanical agent stands at the center of the process of circulating his music, the jukebox. This machine was essential in sounding Jaramillo across the Americas. The jukebox has developed into a profoundly symbolic apparatus in the history of

música popular. The jukebox, cantina, and *popular* subject triad is found across the Jaramillo archive. J.J.'s figure has been instrumental in coalescing these mechanical, spatial, and human entities. Focusing on the circulation stage of Jaramillo's music, we close this chapter by considering this triad.

The ever-present voice: *Rocolas,* cantinas, and the aural *popular* sphere

The jukebox is a symbol found across academic studies and literary renditions of *música popular.* Together with the cantina, this venue and the sound machine in it have become the stereotypical geographical and aural space of the *popular* subject. As I show in chapter one, in Velasco Mackenzie's non-fictional cantina El Rincón de los Justos, the jukebox constitutes the entity through which J.J. is sounded and convened to the marginal and racialized neighborhood of Matavilela. Following these literary constructions, primary sources directly linking Jaramillo to the jukebox and the cantina, and academic literature connecting this machine to countless studies of *música popular,* in this section, I consider the jukebox a crucial technological agent in the pre-Neoliberal Latin American recording industry. More specifically, I allude to the jukebox's symbolism to query issues of music circulation and to argue that this machine signals another stage of the mediation chain.

Jukeboxes go by different names in Latin America; *vellonera, sinfonola, traga-niquel, piano,*[14] or anglicized versions of the companies that manufactured them like *rocola/rokola* (Rock-Ola) and *Wurlitzer,* among others. These machines began spreading throughout the

[14] According to Santamaría Delgado (2014) and Velásquez (2018), in Medellín *piano* or *pianola* (player piano) was used interchangeably to refer to jukeboxes. This has to do with the fact that player pianos were the first coin-operated sound technology available in the city. Once the acoustic instrument was replaced by the jukebox, the name remained.

Spanish-speaking Americas since the late 1930s. Albeit expensive, business-owners across social strata in cities like Medellín (Santamaría Delgado 2014, 150) and Guayaquil (Moscoso 1999, 37) acquired the novel device. The jukebox was a strategic investment for cantinas, billiard rooms, cafes, and similar male-dominated public spaces. Not only did the machine generate a steady income, but it allowed to preserve better the fragile vinyl (especially the older 71 rpm). On top of that, and most importantly, the jukebox gave the customer/listener more agency over his soundscape.

As illustrated by Deffitt Martínez's account, in an era were the Latin American media industry was still reasonably decentralized, artists like J.J., that worked alongside the major media conglomerates, had to build their name on a country by country, and even city by city, basis. Local radio was an indicator of how ingrained an artist was within a specific geopolitical space was. However, for an artist like Jaramillo, the jukebox was perhaps a more precise thermometer. Being featured in these machines that possessed a limited capacity[15] constituted incontrovertible evidence that he was reaching *his* audience; el pueblo.

The decentralized nature of the jukebox illustrates the shared network of human and technological agencies that I have disentangled and studied throughout this chapter. In the case of J.J.'s Venezuelan hit "Porque Lloran Tus Ojos," Deffitt Martínez remarked that "it was hard to find a jukebox without it, the people [el pueblo] embraced it as their favorite song" (Deffitt Martínez). Furthermore, Jaramillo mentioned how "the people [la gente del pueblo] go to bars that have jukeboxes [traga-monedas] to look for the track that will make them forget and mitigate the anguish that haunts them permanently" (Ibid.). Following the

[15] Depending on the make, model, and year, the capacity of the jukeboxes oscillated between 12 discs/12 tracks in the earlier models (1930s to '40s), to 100 discs/200 tracks in the early '60s.

singer's death, hundreds of Venezuelan jukeboxes were crowned with black bows (Pérez Sernaqué and Francisco Romero Albán 1978a, 8).

The significance of the jukebox is also found in Ecuadorian literature featuring Jaramillo. Guayaquileño poet Fernando Artieda (1945-2010), echoes Velasco Mackenzie's literary rendition of marginal Guayaquil in El Rincón de Los Justos and its aural *popular* sphere. Artieda's poetic eulogy Pueblo Fantasma y Clave de J.J. (1990) narrates the moments following Jaramillo's death:

> It was like they were offering death-by-delivery
> Because all of the sudden al the *rockolas* went on
> In [the cantinas] "El Pollo Loco," in the "Chuzo Engreido," in the "No the Agüeves."
> And the man's voice [la voz del man] came in
> Through the windows, through the leaks in the ceilings, through the fences.[16]

In Artieda's account, jukeboxes come alive to announce J.J.'s death, becoming a cacophonous requiem. Jaramillo's hits are played throughout Guayaquil's cantinas by his followers. The aural *popular* sphere comes alive through the mechanical voice that mourns its human self. The jukebox-cantina dyad became the locus from which the voice of the departed emanates, flooding the entire city. J.J.'s aurality broke in "through the windows, through the leaks in the ceilings, through the fences," resounding throughout his city. Jaramillo monetarily makes Guayaquil a *popular* cantina.

This mechanical requiem epitomizes the *aural* popular sphere. Guayaquil's mestizo order was momentarily transgressed by the jukebox funneling the voice of the deceased

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[16] "Y fue como si anduvieran ofreciendo la muerte a domicilio/Porque de pronto se encendieron las rockolas/En "El Pollo Loco," en el "Chuzo Engreido," en el "No te Agüeves"/Y la voz del man entro asi con todo/Por las ventanas de las casas, por las goteras del techo, por las rendijas de las cañas separadas."

singer. This necro-vocality unveils the power of the aural. The voice of the departed, inscribed in microscopic vinyl creases, is invoked and thus resuscitated by grievers in cantinas across the industrialized city. This mournful moment is also a moment of rupture, a break (Moten *dixit*) in Guayaquil's normativities. Jaramillo's cacophonous mechanical requiem voices his listener, the *popular* subject, rendering their marginality audible.

As in Velasco Mackenzie's account in *El Rincón de Los Justos*, were the only exchange between the marginal Matavilela and normative Guayaquil results in the death of the racialized other, Artieda's rendition of Jaramillo's passing develops into an exchange between these two sides of the modern metropole. In this case, it is the aural *popular* sphere that takes over Guayaquil's soundscape in a powerful, albeit momentary, sonic intervention to the unequal city.

The connection between the jukebox and Jaramillo was so strong that towards the 1970s, a music practice by the name of *rocolera* music emerged. Making an explicit connection to the *rocola*, and by extension to the cantina space, this practice is, according to Wong (2014), "a style of urban popular music meant for listening and coping with heartbreaks caused by feelings of despair and betrayal" (96). The jukebox stands at the center of the rocolera phenomenon. The repertoire that pioneered this music practice was found in cantina jukeboxes since the 1950s. Jaramillo, and his good friend, Puerto Rican bolero singer Daniel Santos, constitute the very foundations this repertoire. Wong (Ibid) describes them as:

> …two charismatic singers whose songs, lifestyles, and reputations as bohemians and womanizers won them followers in many Latin American countries. They are both seen as *gente del pueblo* (people from the lower classes) who never forgot their humble origins and remained loyal to their people. They both became legends that articulated stories of success, irreverence, and transgression of societal values. Although many people identify them as *rocolera* singers and their songs were indeed played on

> *rocolas* and in cantinas, they must be seen as forerunners of a style of music that was still in its infancy (104, original emphasis).

To be sure, rocolera is not a music genre. Instead, it is a category that groups bolero, Peruvian valse, Ecuadorian pasillo, and tango. Its cohesiveness emerges from the strong connection these musics have with the jukebox, the cantina space, as well as its perceived social function as music "the people" (predominantly men) listen to cope with—in the words of Wong—"heartbreaks caused by feelings of despair and betrayal." As I develop further in chapter four, the rocolera phenomenon is also illustrative of the power Jaramillo's voice had to traverse different music genres and cross-pollinate each other.

Wong coincides with Ecuadorian sociologist María Eugenia Moscoso (1999) in situating the emergence of rocolera music in the context of massive internal migrations starting in the late 1960s. These migrations were composed predominantly by racialized, mostly Amerindian and mestizo peasant populations, moving from rural areas to the urban centers (the cholo subject I analyze in chapter one) and triggering an urbanistic boom in cities like Quito and Guayaquil. For Moscoso (Ibid), this demographic phenomenon brought the "rocolization" (rocolización) (25) of the country. Its emergent subject is the "rocolero," which for Moscoso is "…the man of the streets, of the marginal classes that is willing to exteriorize his feelings and afflictions" (39).

These acts of recontextualization (Ochoa Gautier *dixit*) render a "rocolero" *popular* subject that is racialized, working-class, masculine, and open to externalize his emotions only in the cantina space, drinking alcohol, and to the mechanical voice of the jukebox. Rocolera music*,* Moscoso continues, is thus characterized "for being pitiful and querulous and because

it is consumed by the popular sectors [sectores populares] is also known as lumpen music [música lumpen]" (Ibid).

The jukebox is a powerful technological agent in these discursive formations. In it, ideas of sound, marginality, race, class, and masculinity converge to produce the rocolero. While the idea of rocolera music and the rocolero subject develops from the fact that the repertoires that pioneered this umbrella genre—such as J.J.'s music—were found in jukeboxes since the 1950s, the symbolism of the jukebox emerges from its social function. As I have argued elsewhere (Rubio Restrepo, forthcoming), it wasn't until the 1980s that sounds reproduction technologies became affordable for racialized working-class Latin American populations.

In the case of Monterrey, Mexico, figures like the *sonidero,* the selector that rents their gear and cumbia collections to animate celebrations, emerged since the 1950s to give access to music to marginalized communities. The jukebox fulfilled a similar role. It provided access to recorded music for populations that couldn't afford a turntable and couldn't purchase Jaramillo's latest hits. However, contrary to the Mexican sonidero, who is the primary agent behind the music selection, the jukebox puts forward a more decentralized soundscape, thus making the shared network of agencies that makes music circulation even more dynamic. The fact that J.J. is so deeply entrenched in stories of jukeboxes across the Americas, and that he is a seminal figure in the rocolera music phenomenon, testifies his status of *popular* singer.

Closing remarks: Media industries, mediations, and the embodied archive

In studying the pre-neoliberal Latin American recording industry, I have engaged with a wide array of archival materials, from chronicles to newspapers and recordings. However, it

was the memory of the collector and the affective relation he holds with his archive, which unraveled Jaramillo's life on vinyl. The figure of the collector symbolizes the fluid exchange between technological and human agents I have studied in this chapter. Knowledge emerges from the relationship of the collector to his vinyl. This is what I have called the embodied archive.

The media industry of Jaramillo's time sheds light on the shared network of agencies that make media industries. I have proposed three broad stages of the mediation chain to theorize the Jaramillo's recording practice; producers, composers, and circulation. As figures like José Antonio Feraud Guzmán in Ecuador and Antonio Rafael Deffitt Martínez in Venezuela show us, these are far from being discrete categories. Instead, they overlap and cross-pollinate. I conceptualize these stages as different temporalities that the aural traverses in the process of metamorphosing from the oral (the motif) to the mechanical voice (the jukebox). In between, there is a wide array of technological and human agents mediating J.J.'s vocality and, by extension, the *popular* subject. Following Jesús Martín-Barbero, I have posited that these acts of aural mediation sit at the interstices of hegemony. That is, they go with and against the grain of the aural politics of the mestizo nation.

I have argued that the shared network of agencies constitutive of the pre-neoliberal Latin American recording industry simultaneously articulates, others, and voices the *popular* subject. The collaborative relation between Jaramillo and Deffitt Martínez illustrates how there was, in fact, a feedback loop between the represented and the listening subject. This process of self-identification is central to Jaramillo's *popular* aurality. Amid his hectic life, J.J. was keen on singing the "angsts" and "joys" that he collected from the people as he toured the continent. By mediating these real-life stories, he voiced them into the collective

imaginary. And it is perhaps this yearning to see themselves, to be voiced, that runs underneath both the *música popular* industry and Jaramillo's success. As Martín-Barbero (1993), in dialogue with French philosopher Edgar Morin, writes:

> The political impotence and social anonymity in which the great majority of people live makes them yearn for a larger ration of daily fantasy as a kind of supplement-complement to their everyday existence. This, according to Morin, is the real *mediation*, the function of a medium, which mass culture fulfils day by day: the communication between the real and the imaginary. (56, original emphasis)

The historical anonymity of the *popular* subject is constitutive of the mestizo nation. Rendering these bodies as equal yet racialized ones is at the core of this regime of faux homogeneity. As Martín-Barbero, via Morin, tells us, the act of rendering this anonymity intelligible is at the core of the mediation. J.J. is an aural locus where the *popular* subject is rendered audible. In some cases, this representation has to do with the actual, with representing lived marginality. At times, and as show on the next chapter, it also has to with the fantastical, with imagining the desirable, the libidinal.

It is in these worlds of the actual, the possible, and the imaginary that I meet with Benjamin and Martín-Barbero. In the case of the *música popular* industry, the imaginary doesn't necessarily have to do with the utopian. J.J. is not voicing the *popular* subject outside marginality. Rather, it is the act of making its otherness intelligible that sits at the core of the mediation. This act of representation sheds light on the histories of double-otherness, of racialization and erasure, that the "the people," the constructed listeners of the *popular* singer, have endured. And it is this potentiality, this cautious optimism perhaps, what runs underneath this chapter. In Jaramillo's aurality, the line between the real, the mediated, and the possible collapse.

CHAPTER THREE

Mothers and Sons/Whores and Lovers: Gender and Race in *Música Popular*

In his poem, Pueblo Fantasma y Clave de J.J., Guayaquileño poet Fernando Artieda (1945-2010) depicts the moments surrounding Julio Jaramillo's death. He describes a city in turmoil, incredulous, both alive and dead to the news of its idol's fading, a ghost town. Guayaquil's downtown is filled by cholos coming from the peripheral mangroves. These marginal bodies parade J.J.'s corpse through the city. In the poem's last passage, Artieda narrates how, on February 9, 1978, Jaramillo's town was "…like it was another and not this Guayaquil, the widowed and orphan city that had lost at the same time its son and its lover."[1] Jaramillo's motherland (la madre patria) was mourning its prodigal son and lover.

J.J.'s eroticized relation with his motherland is traversed by the gender dynamics he embodied. Jaramillo's hypermasculinity was at the forefront of his mediated figure. The 27 children he left, the many women he was with, and his partying lifestyle are recurring themes in the archive. He was indeed the lover. But, how was he the child? What media representations account for J.J. as the symbolic son? The answer may reside in what I call his "mother's repertoire." Growing up in the Colombian Andes, it was common for my family to listen to Julio Jaramillo during mother's day.[2] I can vividly recall my uncle singing over

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[1] "…como si fuera otra y no esta Guayaquil, la ciudad viuda y guáchara que había perdido al mismo tiempo su hijo y su machuchín."

[2] Most Spanish-speaking American countries celebrate Mother's Day in May. Most do so on the month's second Sunday (Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Honduras, Perú, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, and Venezuela), and others on May 10 (El Salvador, Guatemala, and México).

Jaramillo's "Los Versos a Mi Madre" (Verses to My Mother) to my grandmother as he knelt. This gesture, both heartfelt and whimsical, encapsulates the close relation J.J. continues to hold with this date.

While having repertoire dedicated to the mother is not something unique to Julio Jaramillo, the close relationship he holds with the mother figure and mother's day is far from coincidental. On a practical level, this has to do with the fifty-odd songs dedicated to the mother Jaramillo possesses in his songbook.[3] J.J. continues to be an integral part of the mother's day marketing machinery. For *música popular* radio stations, Jaramillo is a staple in the commemoration of this date. Similarly, for many Latin American families—such as mine—Jaramillo's mother repertoire constitutes the aural backdrop of this celebration. Since his heyday, Jaramillo's songs celebrating the mother have made part of numerous compilations whose formats range from LPs to online playlists. J.J. was a constant figure in mother's day LP compilations.[4] He continues to be a staple in YouTube and Spotify "día de la madre" playlists.

This friction between the son and the lover runs deep in Jaramillo's figure, and *música popular* more broadly. In this chapter, I work through this friction to analyze the gender politics of *música popular.* Considering Jaramillo's recorded corpus, literary renditions, and other primary sources, I query the ideas of "man" and "woman" put in motion in Jaramillo's music and figure. I focus on the gender tropes that emerge from this archive. More

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[3] The entire list can be found in Appendix 1. I thank my collaborator Henry Martínez Puerta for this information. It is important to note that cataloguing Jaramillo's recorded corpus is an ongoing endeavor. Therefore, this list is by no means final and is based on the archive known to us to this date.

[4] For instance, El Colombiano newspaper informed in several occasions that LPs commemorating mother's day and that included Jaramillo were being edited ("Por la radio". *El Colombiano.* May 24, 1971; "Por la radio". *El Colombiano.* May 4, 1983).

specifically, and returning to Jesús Martín-Barbero's concept of mediation, I am interested in analyzing how discourses of gender, race, and masculinity are mediated in these sources.

Borrowing from a growing corpus of masculinity scholarship emerging from Latin American social sciences, I use the concept of *hegemonic masculinity* to theorize the discourses in this heterogeneous archive. Hegemonic masculinity alludes to the tropes that make the Latin American macho and that include homophobic, misogynist, and patriarchal behaviors that are often grouped under the broad signifier *machismo.* I argue that Jaramillo's mediated masculinity was an integral part of his stardom. The composers, writers, and journalists I deal with in this chapter are mostly men. It is astonishing to see how, in these texts, Jaramillo was developed into an archetypal macho. These modes of hegemonic masculinity, I argue, function within the parameters of fantasy. Put differently, Jaramillo's mediated hypermasculinity developed into a locus through which women, alcohol, and money were symbolically consumed. Along with these masculine fantasies, constructions of the gendered body that are traversed by misogyny also emerge from these mediations.

This chapter engages with mediated accounts of J.J.'s life to query the hypermasculine figure that emerges from them. I am interested in unpacking how the mediations of masculinity Jaramillo afforded mobilize certain discourses of gender, race, and masculinity. That is not to say that Jaramillo's hypermasculinity was a mere construction. He indeed married several times, dransk heavily, had dozens of children, and countless partners. Alimony-related suits, accusations of domestic abuse, and even of being involved with underaged women were also made public. I focus on how these events are circulated by the media, and not on analyzing Jaramillo as a moral agent, in order to analyze the mediates discourse that constructs a certain idea of masculinity in Latin America.

I start by providing an overview of scholarship that has brought important insights into how men perceive and live manhood in Latin America. I contrast the nuances brought by these works with the tropes Jaramillo mobilized, particularly in the 1960s and '70s through his mass-mediated persona, and to this day through his repertoire. I then consider how women are constructed in the archive and by whom. While women are constitutive of the Jaramillo archive, most of these representations have been made by masculine journalists, composers, and writers.

The gender politics of *música popular* I read through the Jaramillo archive are overwhelmingly (and unsurprisingly) heteronormative. This chapter embraces this binary relation in a theoretical and structural level. That is, not only do I presume a clear differentiation between the categories man and woman, but I also use these to articulate this chapter. The first half of this chapter considers how women are constructed through the masculine gaze and what masculine tropes develop from these representations. Focusing on songs by women composers in Jaramillo's repertoire, I explore how these female voices nuance the gender constructions of their male counterparts. I then focus on the male subject. I do so by querying Jaramillo's hypermasculine figure and how are these tropes mobilized in homosocial spaces. I close this chapter by exploring how ideas of fatherhood dialogue with J.J. hypermasculinity.

Un-doing the Latin American macho

Studies of masculinity in the Spanish-speaking Americas are fairly recent. It wasn't until the late 1980s that scholars in the region began focusing on male identities (Viveros Vigoya, 2003). Latin American masculinity studies have developed from feminist thought and

thus have actively considered issues of power and otherness. According to Guttman (2003), "More than was true in the United States, studies of men-as-men in Latin America were usually framed by feminist theories of gender oppression… in Latin America there has been a more unambiguous adoption of critical feminist lenses for understanding men-as-men within general paradigms delineating power and inequality" (5). At the core of this literature, and this chapter, is not prescribing what masculinity is, but rather the discourses that make it. Ethnographic research has overwhelmingly shown that men and masculinity are widely heterogeneous site- and historically-specific categories traversed by issues of ethnicity, race, class, and nationality.

Guttman's (2007 [1996]) ethnographic work has been seminal to this literary corpus. Focusing on Santo Domingo, a working-class neighborhood in México City (a "colonia *popular*" or *popular* neighborhood in his own words), Guttman's project follows two main lines of inquiry. First, he nuances postulates emanating from some feminist theorists that presuppose the existence of an homogenous masculinity and its further status of dominant ideology. He writes: "the notion of a unitary maleness, whether conceived of as national or universal in character, is wrong and harmful" (21). As Guttman's work in the Santo Domingo community shows, masculinity is heterogeneous and contingent on a wide set of circumstances. Therefore, any assumptions made of an archetypal Latin American, Mexican, or even Santo Domingan masculinity are unsustainable.

Second, Guttman argues for the capacity of the *popular* classes to develop ideas of masculinity. In this particular, he debunks Bourdieu's appreciation that "popular culture" is incapable of constructing "emergent cultural practices" beyond what "elite domination" dictates (23). In other words, Guttman's ethnographic work compellingly shows that

alternative notions of masculinity do emerge from *popular* communities. Ideas of fatherhood, homosocial and heterosexual relationships, alcohol consumption, domestic violence, and sexuality, are not just diverse within Santo Domingo, but many of them go against the grain of tropes that render the Latin American macho as emotionally detached, homophobic, and misogynistic.

The work of Viveros Vigoya (2001, 2003) in Colombia has offered similar insights. She has done comparative work between sites with contrasting racial and ethnic formations. Focusing on the city of Armenia, a predominantly white-mestizo town in the Colombia Andes, and Quibdó, the capital of the Chocó state were most of the Afro-Colombian population is concentrated, Viveros Vigoña has shown how diverse ideas of masculinity can be within the same nation-state. Broadly speaking, while for men in Armenia, masculinity is highly predicated on their capacity to provide to their families, in Quibdó, manhood is more attached to their ability to pick up women. Instead of theorizing these contrasting views using racial tropes, Viveros Vigoña considers that these perceptions of masculinity are traversed by cultural and financial differences between these towns. The fact that Armenia is a deeply catholic city and that Quibdó (and the Chocó state overall) is located in one of the poorest and most relegated regions of Colombian plays an integral part in these discursive formations. For Armenian males, ideas of masculinity are traversed by the moral paradigms derived from Catholicism and the economic privilege inherent to living in an economically stable white-mestizo region. This makes the ideal of being a "provider" more affordable. Quibdoseños, lacking such financial stability, reaffirm their manhood engaging with many women.

The work of Fuller (2001, 2003) in Cuzco, Perú, and Olvarría (2001) in Santiago, Chile, has further illustrated the heterogeneity of Latin American perceptions of masculinity.

In this academic corpus, the relation men have with women (sexual partners in particular), and children are central to how maleness is lived and negotiated. Similar research has been performed on Guatemala (Bastos 1998), Medellín, Colombia (De Suremain and Acevedo 1999), and Venezuela (Ferrándiz 2003), among others, with similar results.

The great majority of these works have focused on working-class masculinities.[5] Importantly, most of its authors use the adjective *popular* (i.e., *popular* neighborhoods, *popular* classes, *popular* males) to refer to the subjects of their study. This resounds with my theorization of the *popular* subject as a predominantly masculine, working-class, and racialized urban-dweller. This ethnographic scholarship has compellingly de-constructed the tropes that make the Latin American male.

From hegemonic to *mediated* masculinities

The masculinity studies academic corpus has focused on problematizing the tropes that make the Latin American macho. However, little research has been done on the tropes themselves. In other words, if ideas of Latin American hegemonic masculinity do exist and they continue to influence how we imagine *popular* working-class men, then what are these, and how are they mobilized? Guttman (2003) uses the term hegemonic masculinities to differentiate between "normative and practical manifestations of masculinity" (3). Practical manifestations of masculinity are the heterogeneous and site-specific ones I review above that are the center of this scholarship. Normative manifestations of masculinity allude to traits such as "homophobia, machismo, and misogyny" (Ibid.). The normative Latin American male

[5] An important exception is the work of Archetti (1999), who has provided a more holistic view of how masculinity functions across social strata in Argentina.

subject is thus the one that performs and polices heteropatriarchy. Such policing is relational. It implies upholding gendered bodies as subaltern ones (misogyny) and punishing non-normative ones (homophobia).

I suggest that J.J.'s repertoire and public figure are fertile loci to explore ideas constitutive of the Latin American macho during the second half of the 20th century. Developing from the masculinity studies corpus, this chapter explores some of the tropes that make normative masculinities. Considering how such ideas are actively (re)produced by mass-media, I put in dialogue this academic corpus with Martín-Barbero's (1993) mediation concept that I develop in chapter two. I have defined mediation as the process in which expressive cultures of "the people" (the *popular* subject in my theorization) become "popular culture" (*música popular*) once they are funneled through mass-media. Importantly, I situate acts of mediation at the interstices of hegemony. That is, as agents of subjectivation *and* resistance, othering *and* re-appropriation, silencing *and* voicing.

In the particular case of discourses of masculinity of *música popular* vis-à-vis mediation, I show how discourses of hegemonic masculinity are actively mobilized through Jaramillo's repertoire and his media representations. I situate the gender politics in the Jaramillo archive in a liminal state between trope and actuality. That is to say, that, although not completely congruent with how gender is "lived," these narratives are nonetheless anchored in hegemonic discourses. The representation of women through the masculine gaze is at the core of these acts of mediation, and thus of the gender politics of *música popular*.[6]

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[6] This is not to say that feminist and queer interventions to Latinx and Latin American popular musics do not exist. Such interventions have been compellingly theorized by scholars like Aparicio (1998) and Vargas (2002).

These male-dominated discursive formations develop into fantastical, if not caricatured, depictions of both the masculine and feminine body.

Women are omnipresent figures in J.J.'s repertoire and mediated life. Ideas of normative masculinity emerge from the relation men have with women. These relational discursive formations also reify and circulate certain tropes of the gendered body. I theorize these archetypes as the self-less body and the hyper-sexualized body. Focusing on the figure of the mother and the lover, I show how the gender politics Jaramillo mobilize render women as either bodies-to-be-worshiped or bodies-to-be-consumed.

I focus on three types of primary sources: lyrics, interviews, and literature. In most of these documents, the masculine gaze is the point of enunciation from which women are rendered. Jaramillo recorded songs by hundreds of composers. While the great majority of them were men, female composers are also an integral part of his repertoire. As I show in the next section, this repertoire unsettles the gendered tropes that pullulate Jaramillo's repertoire.

The literary depictions of women in the Jaramillo archive deserve special attention. Throughout this dissertation, I have considered novels, short stories, and poems that feature Jaramillo's music and figure. I return to these materials and focus on the representations of gender that emerge from them. Stressing the masculine place of enunciation from which these renditions were made, I show how Jaramillo's hyper-masculine figure develops into a locus of masculine fantasy.

Constructions of the gendered body

Gender tropes are common in *música popular* (and popular music more broadly). In the Latin American context, these have been studied by scholars like Aparicio (1998) and

Archetti (1997, 1999) in regards to salsa and tango, respectively. These studies query the ways in which the gendered body has been depicted as the object of sexual and/or romantic desire through the masculine gaze. Jaramillo is no exception to this rule. There is an overrepresentation of the female body in his songbook. However, as I mentioned before, he does stand out due to the sheer amount of songs he has dedicated to the mother. This has made him a staple in exalting this figure. This is a dynamic that reaches its epitome each May with the celebration of mother's day across Latin America.

Not unlike the distributed network of agencies through which the *popular* subject is constructed and represented and that I theorize in chapter two, the renditions of women in *música popular* also emerge from acts of mediation. That is to say that neither are the discourses through which the mother is rendered formulated and circulated entirely by the media industry, nor are they emerging in *popular* communities and then circulated by the media. Rather, it is at the very intersection of these two that these archetypes are mobilized.

In what follows, I focus on two particular gendered archetypes that emerged from the Jaramillo archive: the mother, which I theorize as the self-less body, and the lover, the hyper-sexualized body. I query these discursive formations considering lyrics, interviews, and literature. Instead of being a mere narrator or proxy in these narratives, J.J. stands at the center of these construction race, gender, and sexuality. I also intersect these masculine tropes with repertoire by female composers Jaramillo recorded. As I show, these female voices complicate the essentialized renditions of gender that emerge from the masculine gaze.

The selfless body

Out of the fifty-odd Jaramillo songs dedicated to the mother, the majority are odes to her. In many ways, these songs convey very specific ideas of normative motherhood. At the core of these is the figure of the *madre abnegada* (selfless mother) whose body and emotions are secondary to, and even an extension of, those of her children. Jaramillo's relation to his own mother was an active part of these discursive formations. Apolonia Laurido Cáceres, also known as Doña Polita, raised her children by herself after her husband's death. Juan Pantaleón Jaramillo Erazo passed in April 1941, when the Jaramillo brothers, Julio and Pepe, were 5 and 7 years old, respectively. Ms. Laurido worked as a nursing assistant to support her family.

During J.J.'s heyday, and especially after his demise, the Ecuadorian entertainment press took an interest in Ms. Laurido. In several of these interviews, she is presented as Apolonia Laurido Viuda de Jaramillo. Instead of taking their husband's last name, married women in many Latin American countries traditionally keep their maiden name and take the appellative "de" (literally "of") added to that of her husband's as their second last name (i.e., Laurido *de* Jaramillo). In the case of widows like Ms. Laurido, the appellative "de" is preceded by the word "viuda" ("widow of"), thus maintaining their married status for the rest of their life. Almost four decades after her husband's passing, Ms. Laurido was still presented as the widow of his children's father. This further reified her image of mother and (widowed) wife.

Doña Polita became a mediatic motherly symbol in Ecuador. In May 1977, she was proclaimed "Madre Símbolo de los Artistas" (The Artist's Motherly Symbol) in Guayaquil (Pérez Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978a, 16). This symbolic act, celebrated a few months

after Jaramillo's grandiose return to Ecuador in 1976, further established Ms. Laurido as the mother of the country's prodigal son. After living abroad for over two decades, Julio's sustained absence became a matter of public interest, even raising rumors that Doña Polita was left destitute while her son traveled the continent, engaging in all sorts of excesses. The act of inquiring Julio on whether he abandoned his aging mother signaled towards broader issues. Embedded in these critiques were overlapping ideas of gender and nation. In a way, the press was rendering Jaramillo not just as his mother's absent child, but also the *motherland's* (la madre patria). Ecuador's and Doña Polita's prodigal son was back after more than two decades of absence. These two gendered bodies, responsible for reproducing the nation's subjects, were disrespected by J.J. The fact that Julio abandoned Doña Polita *and* Ecuador constituted an affront that needed to be righted.

Jaramillo himself commented on this issue through his repertoire. The song "Para Ti Madrecita" (To my Mother), sometimes titled "A Mi Madre," composed by him, constitutes a coded apology to Doña Polita. The piece starts with an open guitar chord followed by Jaramillo reciting a short dedication: "Con todo cariño, dedico este valse a mi querida madrecita" (With love, I dedicate this valse to my dear mom). Narrating in the first person, the lyrics ask for the mother's forgiveness for leaving her behind for "chasing another love."

(Con todo cariño dedico este valse a mi querida madrecita)	(With all of my love, I dedicate this valse to my dear mom)
Loco por un amor me alejé de tu lado *Madrecita querida cuanto te hice sufrir* *Todo el sabor de lagrimas probaste en tus labios* *De tus ojos que vertieron por darme mi existir.*	*I drifted away from you following a crazy love* *My dear mother I made you suffer so much* *All those tears that you tasted on your lips* *Coming out from those eyes that wept to give me life.*

Yo quiero que no sufras, yo quiero que no llores	*I want you neither to suffer nor cry*
Y que en tus oraciones me des tu bendición	*I want you to bless me in your prayers*
Quiero estar a tu lado madrecita de mi vida	*I want to be by your side my dear mother*
Y que tu honda herida te pueda calmar	*So I can heal this deep wound*
Yo sé que en este mundo hay una sola madre	*I know there is only one mother in this world*
Y no hay quien la compare en su noble misión.	*I no one can compare to her noble mission.*[7]

After falling to the deviousness of another woman and realizing his mistake, the man returns to his mother's side, hoping to redeem himself by devoting himself to her. This narrative, in which the son's absence is exculpated inasmuch as it is not his fault but the "other woman's," is fairly common in Jaramillo's "mother's repertoire."[8] The song reaches its climax in the chorus when the son declares: "I want to be by your side, my dear mom. So I can heal this deep wound. I know there is only one mother in this world, and no one can compare that noble mission." A clear differentiation between a gendered de-sexualized selfless body and an oversexualized treacherous one emerges. The mother's selflessness is thus ultimately repaid by the repentant son through his presence. However, blame is allocated to another gendered body,

On June 9, 1978, four months after his son's death, Ms. Laurido was interviewed by Ecuadorian journalists Livingston Pérez Sernaque and Francisco Romero Albán as part of the

[7] *Para Ti Madrecita,* composed by Julio Jaramillo, performed by Julio Jaramillo. A version of the song can be found at: https://youtu.be/EscyoTHY4y0
[8] Similar narratives are found in songs performed by Jaramillo like Allá, Carta a mi Madre, Castigo de Dios, Rosario de mi Madre, Mi Grito, and Pobre mi Madre Querida.

three-fascicle compilation commemorating Jaramillo. The conversation began with a categorical demand from the interviewers: "Doña Polita: You will help us write JULIO JARAMILLO'S true story… the real one!... there are so many stories around" (Pérez Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978a, 32). To this, she responded, "I will tell all the truth about my Julio… the truth, with his virtues and defects… because Julio, like every man, had its virtues and defects" (Ibid.). These two middle-aged men were demanding an elderly woman the truth regarding her son. Doña Polita, in an effort to protect "her Julio," prefaced her responses by pointing out that her son's "virtues and defects" were those of every other man.

The fact that these constructions were to be validated by Ms. Laurido, Jaramillo's self-less body, brought the myth of J.J.'s hypermasculinity closer to reality. From the beginning of the interview, these unequal gender dynamics put Doña Polita in a position to defend his son's memory. Ms. Laurido was arguing that Julio's shortcomings were representative of normative masculinity. The exchange was further complicated by the fact that the agents asking (demanding) this information were men themselves hunting for the latest scoop of J.J.'s personal life to add it to his macho figure.

After doing a chronological overview throughout J.J.'s childhood and his life before he became a successful artist, the interviewers focused on his personal life. They opened this section by asking, "How old was Julio when he first got in trouble because of women?" [¿A qué edad tuvo J.J. su primer problema de faldas?]. From that on, the interviewers proceed to bombard Ms. Jaramillo with questions regarding Julio's relation with women and the children he had with some of them in different American countries. After asking if she knew all of Julio's former partners and the children product these relationships, Doña Polita pointed out: "Every time, when Julio told that he was pursuing this or that women, I went to their homes. I

warned them about what they were about to do… but they never listened… they got involved with my son, knowing what would happen" (Ibid., 38)

Pérez Sernaqué and Romero Albán closed the interview by inquiring Ms. Jaramillo on her relation with Julio during his long absence from Ecuador. When asked about rumors that Julio had forgotten all about her, Ms. Laurido emphatically responded: "Falsehoods! None of my children ever forgot about me and everything I own, I owe to them" (Ibid., 39). Pushing further, the interviewers asked her why she didn't own a house, to which she answered: "I never wanted a house of my own." Throughout the interview, a performance of the self-less body was demanded by the male journalists. Doña Polita was putting her body in the line (figuratively and physically) to defend his son's memory. Her categorical response that she "never wanted a house in the first place" redirected the attention of this matter from Julio to her. The importance that house ownership has vis-à-vis mother-son relationships cannot be understated. In Latin America, this constitutes a powerful symbol indicating men are fulfilling their duty of taking care of their aging mother. Ms. Laurido's response, triggered by the interviewers' question, argued that it was her that didn't want a house in the first place, thus relocating the blame to her selfless body.

The abrasive tone of the overall interview mobilized the gender dynamics that make the selfless body. Bombarded by accusations made by two men that rendered her son as a terrible person, Ms. Laurido responded by defending her beloved Julio. The act of excusing Julio's torrid romantic life, his many marriages, accusations of child neglect, and even domestic violence didn't necessarily mean she condoned her son's behavior. Instead, I suggest that the interviewers were inquiring about Doña Polita's motherhood. Ms. Jaramillo

mediated status of motherly symbol in Ecuador puts forward broader issues. These men were, in fact, inquiring about how selfless Ecuador's mother was.

What are exactly are the traits that make the selfless body? Such depictions run deep in Jaramillo's mother's repertoire. Consider the song "Los Versos a mi Madre" (Verses to my Mother), which I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter:

Mi madre es un poema de blanca cabellera *Que tiene a flor de labios un gesto de perdón* *Cuando tras larga ausencia regreso ella me espera* *Me abraza como a un niño, me besa con pasión.*	*Mi mother is a white-haired poem* *That has a gesture of forgiveness in her lips* *Every time I come back after a long absence* *She hugs me like a child, she hugs me with passion.*
Mi madre es pequeñita igual que una violeta *Lo dulce está en su alma, el llanto en el adiós* *Es dueña de mis sueños, aunque no soy poeta* *Los versos a mi madre, me los inspira Dios.*	*My mother is small like a violet* *Sweetness in her soul, weeping in farewell* *She owns my dreams, and although I am not a poet* *God inspires, the verses to my mother*
Que linda que es mi madre que suerte es tenerla y que dichoso al verla, feliz en el hogar	*How beautiful is my mother, how lucky I am to have her and how blissful I am to see her happy at home*
(Radiante de alegría, al lado de sus hijos, cuidando sus nietitos. Qué santa que es mi madre. Bendícela, sí, bendícela Señor)	(Radiant with joy, by her children, taking care of her grandchildren. What a saint my mother is. Bless her Lord)
Mi madre es una rosa de pétalos ajados *Que guarda su perfume muy junto al corazón* *Viviendo nuestra angustia no se lo que ha llorado* *Por eso al mencionarla me embargo de emoción.*	*My mother is rose of aging petals* *She keeps her perfume close to her heart* *Living our anguish I don't know how much she has wept* *That is why I am overtaken by emotion when I mention her.*[9]

[9] *Los Versos a mi Madre,* composed by Alfredo De Angeils, Roberto Arrieto, and Alejandro Mariscotti, performed by Julio Jaramillo. A version of the song can be found at: https://youtu.be/w1iEy5d5Dqs

A staple during mother's day, this song is arguably one of Jaramillo's most memorable hits. The piece is illustrative of several traits inherent to the mother figure, and that theorize as de-sexualized body, gendered labor, absolution, and canonization. Physical descriptions are fairly common in this repertoire. They tend to depict aging and small bodies. Mothers are "white-haired poems," "small like a violet," and a "rose of aging petals." The figure of the decaying yet beautiful flower is a trope used to further render these bodies as fragile ones. Yet, mothers carry the most crucial labor; caregiving, emotional support, and taking care of the household. This is a labor that is systematically erased due to its gendered nature. In other words, selfless bodies don't work. They performed unwaged labor, such as tending the household and taking care of the emotional health of their children. As Jaramillo's recitative voice tells us in between verses, she is "radiant with joy, by her children, taking care of her grandchildren." Therefore, the mother's space is the domestic space, and the zenith of her existence is the act of reproducing (and even re-reproducing) life.

The mother figure is also absolutory. She even forgives the ultimate offense, being abandoned by her children after pursuing another woman. This is a trope surprisingly common in this repertoire, and that is often accompanied by the infantilization of the son: "Every time I come back after a long absence, she hugs me like a child, she hugs me with passion." This signals a regression to a child-like state. Along with her redeeming quality, the mother's emotional labor is contingent on her children's. She cries her children's sorrows, lives their anguishes, and feels their joys. Her emotions are secondary to those of her progeny. All these attributes make the mother a revered saint-like figure. Jaramillo himself says as much when he recites: "What a saint my mother is. Bless her, Lord." Arguably, these were the attributes the interviewers were demanding Doña Polita to perform. Ms. Laurido was first and

foremost Julio's mother and the grandmother of his children. She protected her son's memory with her selfless body.

This saint-like depiction comes as no surprise. As Guy (1997) has observed, the mother figure in the predominantly Catholic region that is Latin America is closely aligned with that of the Virgin Mary; a de-sexualized yet reproductive body whose pain is contingent to that of her only (and masculine) child. Jaramillo's song "Hacia el Calvario" (Towards the Calvary) illustrates this parallel:

Señor, mientras tus plantas nazarenas
suben hacia la cumbre del calvario,
Yo también cabizbajo y solitario
voy subiendo a la cumbre de mis penas.

Lord, while your Nazarene feet
Climb to the summit of Calvary
I to crestfallen and solitary
climb the summit of my sorrows

Tú para redimir los pecadores
cargastes con la cruz, mártir divino,
Y yo, por un capricho del destino
cargando voy la cruz de mis dolores.

To redeem all the sinners
you carried the cross, divine martyr,
And I, due to a whim of destiny
carry the cross of my pains

Siquiera en tu agonía silenciosa
tienes oh sin igual crucificado
Una dulce mujer cerca a tu lado;
la Inmaculada Madre Dolorosa.

At least in your silent agony
you have, oh peerless crucified
A sweet woman by your side
the immaculate sorrowful Mother

Yo que perdí desde que estaba niño
mi santa madre que, tan buena era
Contéstame maestro cuando muera
¿quién cerrará mis ojos con cariño?

Since I was a child I lost
my sainted mother that was so good
Answer to me master, when I die
who will tenderly close my eyes? [10]

The song compares Jesus' agony as he climbed Mount Calvary with the pain of a motherless life. Even though Jesus suffered unimaginably to redeem our sins, he still had solace on the fact that the Virgin Mary was by his side: "At least in your silent agony, you

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[10] *Hacia el Calvario,* composed by Carlos Vieco and León Safir, performed by Julio Jaramillo. A version of the song can be found at: https://youtu.be/of-8RYUkM88

have… a sweet woman by your side, the immaculate sorrowful Mother." Having this gendered untainted body with him, made agony more bearable to Jesus. This is not the case for the narrator, who is motherless and in misery. These hyperbolic poetics illustrate how paramount the figure of the mother qua selfless body is in this repertoire. This track also shows the figure at the core of these discursive formations of motherhood. The Virgin Mary's is the selfless body, the epitome of the mother figure.

The feedback relation between Doña Polita's public motherhood and his son's "mother's repertoire" illustrates how gender tropes emerge from acts of mediation. In other words, neither was Ms. Laurido abiding to the discourses of the selfless body that exist in J.J.'s repertoire nor was the repertoire documenting her motherhood. Instead, the trope emerges from the feedback loop between these two. The interviewer's insistence on querying on Ms. Laurido's relationship with her son and her son's partners was another link on these chain of mediations of gender and motherhood. A second gendered archetype emerges from these discursive formations, what I call the oversexualized body.

The oversexualized body: Ventriloquizing race and gender

In chapter one, I theorize the dynamics of race, class, and migration inherent to the *popular* subject. Considering Jaramillo's eulogies (Guayaquileño writer Jorge Velasco Mackenzie's novel *El Rincón de Los Justos* in particular), I briefly pointed to the gendered relations that also emerge from these literary renditions. Rather than exceptional, these intersectional axes of difference construction are concomitant with the dynamics of alterity J.J. articulates. Similarly to Velasco Mackenzie's novel, Quiteño writer Raúl Pérez Torres'

(1941-) short story *Rondando Tu Esquina* sheds light on the gender discourses built around/through Jaramillo.

Like his Guayaquileño counterparts, Pérez Torres' work has focused on Ecuador's *popular* subject. The compilation *En La Noche y en La Niebla: Cuentos* (1986) earned him international accolades.[11] Part of this volume, the short story *Rondando Tu Esquina* (Lurking Around Your Corner), is dedicated to J.J. and takes its title from an eponymous *tangolero*[12] hit recorded by him in 1965. Narrating from a male perspective, the song portrays a man lurking around his female love interest's house as he yearns for them to reunite. Pérez Martínez short story takes place shortly after Jaramillo's death. Spinning on the song's title, it depicts a dialogue between Emilia—a woman formed inline (lurking around the deceased's corner) as she waits to see Jaramillo's remains—and a nameless narrator. Situated in the non-fictional space common in literary renditions of Jaramillo's death, *Rondando Tu Esquina* traverses a fine line between fact and fiction.[13]

The text puts forward complicated issues of representation. On top of the act of portraying urban marginal subjects through the gaze of educated white mestizos (something I also explore in chapter one), Pérez Torres adds another layer by narrating and—most importantly—ventriloquizing a *popular* gendered subject. Unlike most literary renditions of Jaramillo's death, *Rondando Tu Esquina* offers an account of the singer though a

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[11] *En La Noche y En La Niebla* earned Pérez Torres the prestigious Premio Casa de Las Américas in 1980, an accolade awarded by Havana-based institution Casa de las Américas.

[12] *Rondando Tu Esquina* was composed by Argentinians Enrique Cadícamo (lyrics) and Carlos José Pérez de la Riestra (music). *Tangolero* is a term commonly used during Jaramillo's time to refer to bolero versions of tangos. Carlos José Pérez de Riestra's (aka Charlo) original version of Rondando Tu Esquina is indeed a tango. Jaramillo's 1965 rendition is a bolero. This type of musical arrangement was fairly common in the pre-neoliberal *música popular* industry and it further illustrates the transnational popularity bolero had a the time.

[13] Thousands persons reportedly lined up for hours on February 10, 1978 outside Guayaquil's municipal coliseum to catch one last gaze of the deceased idol (Pérez Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978a, 8).

(ventriloquized) female voice. Emilia, the protagonist, awaits to see Jaramillo's body while reminiscing about their long-lasting sentimental relationship. As she recalls different scenes of their torrid romance, another voice interjects, telling her (perhaps reminding her) that it is all a fantasy, that Emilia in fact never met J.J.:

> Where are you love, I will wait for you because it is not true that you died pal, nightingale, rocolero, it is not true that you have abandoned me in this slum of melancholy where your voice enters through all the leaks in the cantina. Lier. Bird from the ghetto…
>
> *…This is what you think zamba while you stand in line for the second time to see his face, now empty of joy or sorrow… ¡Enough! the morocho said and it is useless that you wait his return… That's right zambita, this spring can't be un-sprung. Break your heart. Laugh. Resign yourself* (89-90, original emphsis).

The appellatives used to describe Emilia, mostly by the nameless narrator but also by herself, include *zamba, mulata,* and *negra*. All these are categories of racialization traceable to the colonial *casta* system (Martínez 2008) that express different types of race mixture. From *negra* (black African) to *zamba* (black African and Amerindian), and *mulata* (black African and white European), these denominations are gendered by the author by alluding to their Spanish female endings (-a). J.J. is also racialized by the narrator as he calls him "morocho," a euphemism used mostly in white-mestizo areas to refer to dark-skinned persons. He is a also a "rocolero," a depiction that, as I explore in chapters two and four, connects Jaramillo's vocality to the jukebox (the rocola) and the marginal cantina space. This gendered and racialized depiction of Emilia is complemented by a series of tropes characteristic of the *popular* subject. In the midst of her recount, she drinks heavily, smokes, and curses at Jaramillo.

Pérez Torres mythologizes Jaramillo's mediated virility through Emilia's voice. She asks herself, "what would have been of myself, what would have been of this black and

dejected body should you had not penetrated it through all its orifices… what if I never heard you sing, or grab the guitar like you grabbed me later on… [ni coger mi guitarra como luego me cogiste a mi]" (91) "Coger" works here as a pun. While in Spanish it translates to "to grab" or "to take," in its more colloquial meaning "coger" is also translatable to "to fuck." Jaramillo's phallus thus turns into a symbolic one. It is not only Jaramillo's phallus that Emilia yearns but also his symbolic one in the form of his guitar and voice. A relation of subalternity emerges from the oversexualized gendered body (Emilia) and the desired body (J.J.). Not only is Jaramillo's body the one that penetrates, but it is *he* that has the faculty to engage with various female bodies.

All in all, Pérez Martínez (the author), builds a multi-level fantasy where sexually passive ready-to-consume women await for their macho. Emilia reminisces about his deceased "morocho," a relation that—as the nameless narrator tells her and the reader repeatedly—never existed. That is, the author is not just sensationalizing Emilia's desires; he is also mocking them due to its fantastical nature. Emilia's oversexualized, racialized, and desiring body epitomizes tropes that render Jaramillo as an artist predominantly consumed—aurally and libidinally—by these subaltern bodies.

Pérez Torres' depiction of Emilia's gendered, racialized, and subaltern body, I suggest, unravels his own desires or, at least, normative perceptions of masculine desire. To dispose of a gendered body, to have it yearn for the male phallus epitomizes imaginaries of normative masculinity. By ventriloquizing Emilia, the author is letting a glimpse to the locus of masculine fantasy Jaramillo has afforded. Emilia is not only J.J.'s whore, but the *zamba* men yearn to own, penetrate, and discard. Having considered these unequal gender relations,

in the next section, I query how the work of female composers fit in J.J.'s gender politics.

Unsettling gender tropes

Several songs of Jaramillo's substantial repertoire were composed by women. He recorded tracks by female artists such as Ema Elena Valdelamar[14] (1925-2012), a Mexican bolero composer whose work has been performed by countless artists. He also performed Peruvian valses by Peruvian Leonor García[15] (1923-2010), a prolific composer of this genre. The same goes for Puerto Rican Luz Celenia Tirado[16] (1928-). J.J. even recorded a song by his last wife, Nancy Arroyo[17] (1978-).

Contrary to the close singer-composer relation I analyze in chapter two, the compositions by these women Jaramillo performed were part of the broader *música popular* catalog. Thus far, I haven't found sources indicating that J.J. collaborated closely with female composers. It should be noted, however, that Jaramillo's recording career was launched by the female singer Fresia Saavedra in 1955 when they recorded the tracks "Pobre mi Madre Querida" and "Mi Corazón" for Guayaquil-based label Cóndor.

Due to the gendered nature of the Spanish language, it is common to switch gender roles of *música popular* songs depending on who is performing them. That is, male nouns are switched to female and vice versa. This put forward interesting gender relations. I focus on the valse "No La Llames" (Don't Call Her) by Leonor García to query the gender dynamics that emerge from this repertoire. García was born in Lima, Perú, in 1923. She was a singer

[14] For instance, the song Devuélveme el Corazón
[15] Déjala que se vaya and No la Llames, both of which I analyze below.
[16] Una Tercera Persona, Tu No Sabes Querer, and Perdóname Este Amor.
[17] The song is titled Quería Conocerte.

and prolific composer of valses. Originally written from a female point of view, the gender roles of the song were reversed in Jaramillo's rendition.

(Llora corazón, llora, pero no la llames)	(Weep heart, weep, but don't call her)
No la llames que no vale la pena *No la llames ni llores por su amor* *Mi vida fue un martirio una condena* *Por fin te liberaste del dolor*	*Don't call her, it's not worth it* *Don't call her and don't cry over her love* *My life was martyrdom and pain* *You have finally broken free from the pain*
Y si acaso volviera arrepentida *No hagas caso, ni siquiera la nombres* *Llorar no es privilegio de mujeres* *Porque he visto llorar a muchos hombres*	*And in case she comes back regretful* *Don't listen to her, don't even mention her name* *Crying is not the privilege of women* *I've seen many men crying*
Y si el silencio de la alcoba te traiciona *y oyes su voz que dulcemente a ti te nombra* *No la llames aunque la hayas querido* *porque mató tu amor con el olvido.*	*And if your bedroom's silence betrays you* *and you hear her sweet voice calling your name* *Don't call her event if you loved her* *Because she killed your love with oblivion.*[18]

Contrary to the dominant relation that I theorize above as the selfless body and the hypersexualized body, "No La Llames" portrays a much more nuanced account of gender relations. Let us remember that, from a female point of view, the song advises a woman not to call the man. After making her life "martyrdom," her former lover does not deserve to come back, regardless of how much she may miss him. The reversal of the song's gender roles makes the man the "martyr." Although this heartbreak narrative is common in *música popular,* the man-woman power relations of this song do signal an intervention. Instead of disposing of the gendered body or punishing it (either physically and symbolically, both not uncommon narratives in *música popular*), "No La Llames" calls "not to call her." The

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[18] *No la Llames,* composed by Leonor García Safir, performed by Julio Jaramillo. A version of the song can be found at: https://youtu.be/4kmfjDoji14

implication, though subtle, is crucial: gendered bodies are not servile ones. They have the capacity to act, inflict pain to the man, and move on.

"No La Llames" has been performed by female singers like Peruvian Edith Barr (1936-) and Spaniard Dolores Pradera (1924-2018) under the title "No Lo Llames." To reiterate, the switch in the article (i.e., "la" to "lo") reverses the gender roles of the lyrics. Interestingly the passage "Crying is not the privilege of women, I've seen many men crying" remains the same regardless of the singer's gender; that is, both male and female singers sing it identically. Sung from a male perspective, this passage—written by a woman—implies that men can cry over a broken heart, a "privilege" thought to be exclusive to women. However, sung from a female perspective, it implies that it is men that cry should they try to reconcile. This masculine fragility represents an intervention to normative roles in *música popular.*

Similar gender dynamics emerge from Leonor García's valse "Déjala Que Se Vaya" (Let Her Go). Similarly to "No Lo Llames," this song puts forward less unequal power relations. Sung from a male perspective, the lyrics call men to let women go. Not only does the song underlines women's capacity to inflict emotional pain, but it also stresses the capacity men have to exteriorize these feelings. As I show below, in normative *música popular* narratives, masculine emotion is generally something that happens in homosocial spaces and along with alcohol consumption. In "Déjala Que Se Vaya," masculine bodies are the ones rendered as disposable: "She wouldn't listen to my tears and pleadings, vanity blinded her." This diametrically opposes writer Raúl Pérez Torres' treatment of Emilia's disposable body.

Déjala que se vaya y no la llames
no la llames aunque esté sufriendo corazón
Aunque tu alma se quede triste en la desolación
pero déjala que se vaya y no la llames

Prefiero estar sufriendo sin su amor
y no sufrir su burla de maldad
Mis lágrimas y súplicas no quiso oír
cegada estaba por la vanidad

Sus pasos nunca más podré escuchar mas
tengo que aceptar la realidad, corazón Pero
déjala que se vaya y no la llames
que algún día ya las pagará.

Let her go and don't call her
don't call her even if your heart is suffering
Even if your soul is left in sorrow and in desolation
let her go and don't call her

I rather suffer without her love
and not suffer her evil mockery
She wouldn't listen to my tears and pleadings
vanity blinded her

I won't be able to listen to her steps no more
but I have to accept reality, love
Let her go and don't call her
she will repay some day.[19]

What we see in these two songs is a de facto act of ventriloquizing J.J. Both of these songs by Leonor García were written from a female point of view initially. The gender roles depicted by García are much more nuanced compared to normative narratives made by men. Once these roles are switched, Jaramillo unravels convoluted dynamics of gender voicings. In García's female account, men inflict pain, women suffer but move one. Once Jaramillo's performance reverses this relation, he is the one that suffers and moves on. As a result, the masculine body is narrated as a vulnerable one. Female composers are indeed a minority in Jaramillo's repertoire. However, some of his major hits were composed by artists like García, Ema Elena Valdelamar, and Luz Celenia Tirado. In line with Jaramillo's transnational practice, these composers were from different parts of the continent and contributed with different music genres to J.J. repertoire.

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[19] *Déjala Que Se Vaya,* composed by Leonor García Safir, performed by Julio Jaramillo. A version of the song can be found at: https://youtu.be/y6XHRRTLiqk

“Mi madre es mi Novia”: Desire and the selfless body

While seemingly at odds, the limit between the selfless and the oversexualized body is permeable in Jaramillo’s repertoire. Looked through the gaze of hegemonic masculinity, as the oversexualized body is considered vis-à-vis motherhood, and the selfless one vis-à-vis reproduction, a liminal construction of the gendered body emerges. When gendered bodies are considered as reproductive ones, the mother figure stands as the archetype of an ideal partner. A clear example is found in the song “Yo Tengo Una Novia” (I Have a Girlfriend), also called “Mi Madre es Mi Novia” (My Mother is my Girlfriend). The lyrics touch on the four tropes of the selfless body I theorized previously; de-sexualized body, gendered labor, absolution, and canonization.

De un mundo de santos Dios quiso legarme un ángel divino virtuoso y amado Un ángel hermoso para que me guíe porque seré bueno o porque soy malo,	*From a sainted world God wanted to give me a divine and virtuous angel I love A beautiful angel to guide me when I’m good or when I’m bad*
Lo cierto es que llevo su imagen bendita jugando dulzona en mi pensamiento Tan solo un instante de mí no se aparta su voz cariñosa por doquier la siento	*Truth is I carry her blessed image sweet and playful on my thoughts It never leaves me even for an instant her loving voice I feel everywhere*
Yo tengo una novia no hay otra más buena, si son de sus labios no hay besos más grandes Si tardo en la cita sonriente me espera, besando mi frente porque llegué tarde	*I have a girlfriend there’s no other like her if they come from her lips no other kisses compare If I am late to a date she waits with a smile she kisses my forehead because I’m late*
Yo tengo una novia eterna y sincera más noble y más pura jamás va a engañarme Por ella gustoso la vida yo diera porque ella no miente, porque ella es mi madre.	*I have an eternal and sincere girlfriend she's noble and pure and will never deceit me I would happily give my life for her because she doesn’t lie, because she is my mother*

Que digan los sabios si hay algo más bello,
si hay algo en la vida, que empañe tus galas
Dichoso de aquel que llorando un quebranto
encuentre reparo al calor de tus alas

Let the wise men say if there's something more beautiful
if there's something in life that'd tarnish her beauty
How lucky are those who weeping a sorrow
find solace under her wings

Oh madre querida tu nombre venero
sin él cuántos hijos perdieron el rumbo
Con el dos amantes se dicen te quiero
con él en los labios se deja este mundo.

Oh dear mother I venerate your name
without it many children has lost their way
With it lovers say I love you
we leave this world with it on our lips.[20]

Signaling towards the first two (de-sexualized body and gendered labor), the song opens describing a "virtuous and divine angel" sent by God. This untainted body, wordy of veneration ("oh dear mother, I revere your name"), is the moral compass of the child ("without you, many children have lost their way"). She is also absolutory ("if I am late after a date she welcomes me with a smile and kisses my on my forehead.") That is, she forgives the man's absence after being with another woman. While most of the song describes the traits of an idealized gendered body, towards the end, the lyrics state the specific role of this woman; the mother-girlfriend: "I have an eternal and sincere girlfriend, so noble and pure she will never deceive me. I would gladly give my life for hers, for she doesn't lie, for she is my mother." At the cores of this narrative is the fact that the mother-girlfriend will never trick the child-boyfriend.

Thusly, the oversexualized body does *not* become the selfless one. Instead, the mother figure, reproductive yet de-sexualized, absolutory, and subaltern yet deified, stands as the archetype of an ideal(ized) partner. This construction echoes with the eroticized relation that

[20] *Yo Tengo Una Novia,* composed by Hector Marco Roberto Pezoa and Diego Centeno, performed by Julio Jaramillo. A version of the song can be found at: https://youtu.be/V2jb0u1wowg

emerges from Fernando Artieda's poem in which J.J. is Guayaquil's son and lover. The man-mother-girlfriend triad is at the core of these discursive formations. The mother figure constitutes the ruler under which the girlfriend is measured. If the girlfriend fails to match the mother's selflessness, the man returns to the ever-absolutory mother.

Having analyzed how the gendered body is rendered through the masculine gaze, I now move on to consider how ideas of masculinity are mediated in the Jaramillo archive. In the next section, I turn to the masculine figure and focus on how issues of sexuality, homosociality, and fatherhood are constructed in the Jaramillo archive and how these dialogue with how masculinity is lived in Latin America.

The limits of hegemonic masculinity

Julio Jaramillo's stardom and further mythification was inextricable linked to his status of transnational womanizer, impregnator, and bohemian. This is not to say that he made press headlines every other week. As I have mentioned, even during his zenith, he remained a fringe figure. Not having the muscle of the transnational media machinery behind him, J.J's popularity was particularly dependent on his nomadic artistic practice, the impact he had in the sites he was currently touring in, and thus the unpredictable taste of the listeners. This makes particularly salient the fact that, when he was covered by the press, his figure was often attached to hypermasculine tropes.

As I show in chapter one, such tropes are readily available in Jaramillo's obituaries. In these memorializations, Jaramillo was first portrayed as "the voice," "America's Nightingale," and, right afterward, his personal (mis)deeds would be brought up. These

included the 27 children he had with different women across the American continent,[21] how he squandered his money, and the licentious and "bohemian" lifestyle he lived. In a moralistic fashion, most of these obituaries posited, or at least implied, that all these behaviors led Jaramillo to his untimely death in destitution.

As is the case with the representation of gender relations I analyze above, Jaramillo's hypermasculinity emerges from his repertoire and mediated figure. The conjunction of these mobilize overlapping ideas of what Guttman calls (2003) "normative and practical manifestations of masculinity" (3). On the one hand, Jaramillo's mediated figure emerges as a site of masculine fantasy through which heteronormative hedonism is experienced. This signal normative manifestations of masculinity such as engaging with many sexual partners, expending on alcohol and partying, and being desired by women. In other words, the capacity men have to engage in excess without consequences, what I call the hyper-capable body. On the other hand, the printed media attacked J.J. for these same behaviors and their potential consequences. The fact that he squandered all this money, that his voice and artistic career declined due to his lifestyle and, most importantly, that he was a negligent father and son became prominent markers through which Jaramillo's demise was narrated.

Towards the end of his life, the issue of Jaramillo's fatherhood became a matter of interest to the press. The amount of children he left scattered across an entire continent spoke of J.J.'s virility. While this indeed substantiated Jaramillo's macho status, it also evidenced his shortcomings as a father-figure. As scholarship on Latin American masculinities has

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[21] This numbers are a rough average based on the obituaries that did include numbers. Some simply stated Jaramillo "left a numerous family behind." In reality, the exact amount of children Jaramillo left is still unknown. Jaramillistas consider them to be around 29 (the amount Jaramillo himself acknowledged in life), most of them with different women. However, persons claiming to be Jaramillo's children do appear once in a while.

shown, fatherhood (not just reproduction) stands as the most important trait of being a man. Concomitantly, to be a neglectful father represents the downfall of manhood. Based on this literary corpus, I close this section by arguing that the locus of masculine fantasy that Jaramillo affords finds its limit in the issue of fatherhood.

The hyper-capable body

In July 1976, the Ecuadorian entertainment magazine Revista Estrellas published an article titled "¿Dónde Están los Millones de J.J.?" (Where are J.J.'s Millions?).[22] In four pages, the piece shortly commented on Jaramillo's triumphal return to Guayaquil and then moved to speculate on where J.J.'s money could have gone. The implication was that Ecuador's shiniest star was now living in misery. The article summoned many of the anecdotes surrounding J.J.'s extravagant lifestyle, the astronomical fees he charged in México during his heyday, and how he expended his income as quickly as he earned them. "J.J.'s millions," the article suggested, were spent in drinking, partying with friends, and women; what the media often referred to as his "bohemian lifestyle."

A few months afterward, Revista Estrellas interviewed Jaramillo.[23] Citing the aforementioned article, the interviewer asked J.J. whether he was aware of it and, most importantly, where all his millions were. Cavalierly, he responded that he deemed in very poor taste that the magazine was inquiring about his private life. Keeping a playful tone, Jaramillo continued: "I have my millions here, and here, and here." The interviewer expanded

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[22] "¿Dónde Están lo Millones de J.J.? *Revista Estrellas,* No. 108, August, 1976.
[23] This interview was reproduced in one of the three-fascicle volume *Julio Jaramillo Su Vida Completa* (see (Pérez Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978b, 92-99)

on Jaramillo's visual cues by adding: "he touched three parts of his body to indicate that his millions are to be found in [los tiene en] women, drinks and cash." Likely, Jaramillo touched his crotch, belly, and pants pocket. J.J.'s snarky gesture confirmed his status of normative macho. While reports dealing with his romantic (mis)deeds were not rare, the singer himself rarely commented on these events. However, for this one time, Jaramillo was actively participating in the construction of his own legend.

Adding to the mediations performed by written media via newspapers and magazines, the poem *Pueblo Fantasma y Clave de J.J.*, which I opened the chapter with, touches on several ideas that make discourses of normative masculinity. Part of the many memorizations of J.J. and written by Guayaquileño journalist/poet Fernando Artieda (1945-2010), the poem reifies many of the tropes that make J.J. He is portrayed as the singer of the "people" ("el pueblo"). "Cholos,"[24] whores ("putas"), "negras," and similar lowlifes descended from the peripheral areas to downtown Guayaquil to mourn the *popular* idol. Jaramillo's hypermasculinity is also mythologized in the text:

> The whores pulled out coins from their worn-out purses and inserted them into the Wurlitzers' slot to listen: "No puedo verte triste porque me mata, tu carita de pena mi dulce amor…"
>
> They commented and even cried
>
> And Alfredo the faggot [el maricon Alfredo] had to drag them "Come on ladies, let's get to work, stop screwing around, it's not like the man was your husband![25]

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[24] For more on the "cholo" subject, see chapter one of this dissertation.

[25] "Las putas sacaban monedas de sus chaucheras trasnochadas y las metían en las ranuras de las Wurlitzer para escuchar: 'No puedo verte triste porque me mata, tu carita de pena mi dulce amor…'/Y comentaban y algunas hasta lloraban/Y el maricón Alfredo tenía que estarlas arreando: 'Ya pues señoras a trabajar déjense de pendejadas, ni que el hombre hubiera sido su marido!'"

After learning the news, prostitutes pull coins out of their "worn-out purses" and, in an act of grief, insert them into the brothel's jukebox to listen to Jaramillo's hit "Nuestro Juramento." Similarly to his colleague Raul Pérez Torres (the one who ventriloquizes Emilia's racialized-gendered body in his short story *Rondando Tu Esquina* which I analyze above), for Artieda, J.J. also emerges a site of masculine fantasy. He is a husband-like figure for the whores who, like Emilia, never met Jaramillo. This lack of physical intimacy does not foreclose the intimate relationship they have built with J.J. through his voice and his mythical manhood. The whores, the bodies to-be-penetrated, mourn Jaramillo as if he was their partner. Though physically, these women are bodies-to-be-consumed, they remain emotionally faithful to Jaramillo. This is perhaps the ultimate masculine fantasy Artieda is portraying, owning the whore's emotions.

This libidinal economy runs deep in Jaramillo's figure. J.J.'s phallus resides at the very center of this mediation. In his poem, Artieda farewells "el zorzal" (the thrush), "the lyrical," "the artist," the "superfly" (el superbacán), *el pinga de oro* (golden dick). Jaramillo's *pinga de oro,* reifies his status of transnational macho: the womanizer, the penetrator, the impregnator; the hyper-capable body. Desire is at the center of Artieda's fantastical account. Men aspire to be a *pinga de oro.* Women, more specifically, racialized-classed women, desire Jaramillo's golden phallus. As the oversexualized bodies Artieda and Pérez Torres depict tell us, Jaramillo's golden phallus is both real and symbolic. His golden dick physically penetrates the countless women he was with. It also aurally penetrates the marginal gendered bodies that yearn for him.

However dominant the macho may be, the performance of emotional fragility is another ever-present trope in *música popular.* Homosocial spaces have been paramount in the

construction, policing, performance, and reification of masculine tropes. The cantina is a key locus through which notions of hegemonic masculinity have been mobilized in Latin America.

The soundscape of homosociality

Providing an overview of studies of masculinity in Latin America, Viveros Vigoya (2003) situates homosocial spaces in-between the public working sphere and the private domestic sphere. These are loci where men can share their private life in an "impersonal" and "coded" perspective (42). Bars, in particular, are sites where men engage in a "performative experience expressed through controlling alcohol consumption, managing the physical space of the bar, and producing a positive public image of themselves" (Ibid.). This performative control of the homosocial environment, I suggest, speaks of "practical" rather than "normative manifestation of masculinity" (Guttman, 2003). Put differently, the act of policing oneself in homosocial environments signals a "concrete" performance of masculinity. In contrast, the act of *losing* control speaks of a "normative" expression of masculinity. I suggest that it is precisely the lack of control, the excess (not the moderation), that is at the center of performing hegemonic masculinity in homosocial spaces.

By nature, homosocial normative (read predominantly heterosexual) spaces like the cantina exclude women and/or place them in a position of servitude, sexual or otherwise (from the *salonera* [waitress] to the prostitute). In Jaramillo's lyrical corpus, the cantina emerges not so much as a space of competition, but as a place of masculine camaraderie. Therefore, cantinas are spaces in which men can engage in behaviors that would be rendered as un-manly in other scenarios, namely, showcasing their emotions. Unsurprisingly, there is

an overrepresentation of the cantina space in *música popular.* As I show in chapter one, this is also the case for J.J.[26] Jaramillo is often invoked in cantinas; alcohol, over-sexualization of the gendered body, misogyny, and the like are readily available tropes.

In Jaramillo's repertoire, cantinas are spaces of emotional surplus, a masculine haven where man can be emotional. The homosocial nature of this space is central to this construction. Cantinas are places where male competition can be momentarily paused, giving place to emotionally supportive relationships. The figure of the "deceitful" woman is at the core of these discursive formations. She is the one triggering this surplus of emotions. Importantly, this catharsis is only possible with copious amounts of alcohol. This is a trope that many of Jaramillo's songs, and his own mediated figure, mobilize.

Consider the song "Licor Bendito" (Holly Liquor), a bolero by Cuban composer Otilio Portal.[27] Tropes connecting the cantina space to alcohol consumption, emotional surplus, heartbreak, "bad" women, and homosociality are readily available. "Licor Bendito" was recorded in duo with Jaramillo's Ecuadorian colleague Olimpo Cárdenas[28] for the Medellín-based label Sonolux in 1966 and was included in the LP *Reunión en La Cumbre* (Gathering on the Summit).

Licor bendito, que quitas los pesares	*Holly liquor, that takes my sorrows away*
Que alegras corazones, y matas el dolor	*That cheers our hearts, and kills the pain*
Te necesito, cuando me encuentro triste	*I need you, when I feel sad*
Eres fiel compañero, en mi soledad	*You're my loyal companion, in my solitude*

[26] See my analysis of the novel El Rincón de los Justos on chapter one.
[27]This was one of J.J.'s biggest hits in cities like Medellín, Colombia, ranking in top 10 lists in that city for almost a year between July of 1966 and March of 1967. "Por la Radio". *El Colombiano,* July 1, 1966; "Por la Radio". *El Colombiano,* March 6, 1967.
[28] Born in the Ecuadorian province of Vinces, Olimpo Cárdenas (1919-1991) was one of a handful of singers with which J.J. collaborated. I develop on Cárdenas' relation with J.J. in chapters two and four.

Licor, grato licor, eres el dios en mi dolor	*Liquor, comforting liquor, you're the God in my pain*
Cuando estás cerca de mí Alegras mi corazón Porque mi vida sin ti Ya no la puedo vivir.	*When you're nearby You cheer my heart Because I can't live My life without you anymore.*[29]

Homosociality tropes are clearly articulated throughout Jaramillo's hit single. The alcohol-heartbreak-homosociality triad constitutes a common trope in this repertoire. Alcohol is portrayed as a holy elixir, a god-like entity that heals the singer's (and listener's) sorrows. This and his male companion are the only true friends in a world solitude. Far from being an isolated topic, such overdramatic narratives run underneath Jaramillo's figure, the bohemian, heartbroken man that seeks comfort in a bottle in the cantina.

Record labels have actively capitalized on these discourses. Entire LPs have developed form these tropes. Jaramillo's album *En la Cantina* (At the Cantina) (Fig. 23), recorded with his Puerto Rican friend Daniel Santos, continues to be one of Jaramillo's most popular ones nowadays. Recorded circa 1968 in Lima, Perú, the album's theme is clearly outlined in its title and cover. The album is further situated by an introduction. In it, an announcer states that the recording was made secretly during an informal meeting between the two singers and close friends. It is unclear whether the meeting and recording was staged or not. Nevertheless, the album is not a bootleg recording as both Santos and Jaramillo commercialized editions of it with different labels.

[29] *Licor Bendito,* composed by Otilio Portal, performed by Julio Jaramillo and Olimpo Cárdenas. A version of the song can be found here: https://youtu.be/c00kmti-vmU

The front picture shows Santos and Jaramillo sitting at a table—presumably in a cantina—with two bottles of liquor, a few glasses, and a pack of cigarettes. Santos, with his eyes closed, holds a half-empty glass close to his mouth as if he was about to take a sip. Jaramillo holds on to a bottle (literally fulfilling the Latin American aphorism "estar abrazado a la botella" [to cling to the bottle]) while attentively listening to his friend. The demeanor of both singers, their disoriented gazes, odd postures, the close hug between them, and Santos' untucked shirt, clearly aims to depict an average couple of drunk friends sharing their romantic griefs and healing them with alcohol.

Figure 23. Album Cover, "Daniel Santos y Julio Jaramillo: En la Cantina."
(from the Henry Martínez Puerta Collection)

The setlist of En la Catina includes titles such as "Triste Borracho" (Sad Drunk), "Una Copa Más" (One More Drink), "Copas Llenas" (Full Glasses), "En la Barra" (At the Bar),

"En la Cantina" (At the Cantina), and "Soy Vagabundo" (I am a Bum). The figure of the "bad" woman is at the center of this repertoire. The former selfless body, now turned into deceitful one, is the agent triggering this chain of events. She is the cause of this surplus of emotion that can only be outpoured in a homosocial setting and "eased" by alcohol. Throughout the album, Jaramillo and Santos converse with each other in-between songs, often emphasizing a drunk speech pattern. By doing so, Jaramillo is actively taking part in the sedimentation of the cantina trope.

Fatherhood and the collapse of the macho

The amount of songs Jaramillo dedicated to the father figure in his repertoire pales compared to the ones dedicated to the mother. In contrast to the exaltation of the mother figure, fatherhood is barely represented in *música popular*. This resounds with Jaramillo's mediated figure. The type of relationship J.J. had with his children varied. For instance, he was close to the one he had with his last wife, Nancy Arroyo. On the contrary, he was estranged from the children he had with his first wife, Maria Eudocia Rivera (Pérez Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978c, 163). Certainly, the fact that his descendants were scattered across an entire continent, that the relationship he had with many of their mothers was short-lived, and that J.J. was constantly on the move created less than ideal conditions to build an emotional bond.

This didn't seem to bother Jaramillo. When asked about the nature of the relationship with his children, he claimed that he had met all of them and that he was always "keen to have a drink or a smoke with them" should the opportunity present itself (Pérez Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978b, 99). Furthermore, J.J. pointed out that it was important for him that all

of his progeny met so that "[one of the] males [varones] wouldn't lay eyes on one of the girls [nena] and engender an antichrist" (Ibid.). These responses are illustrative of Jaramillo's view on fatherhood. On the one hand, to "have a drink or smoke" signals more to the kind of homosocial environment I analyze above than to a normative parenting scenario. On the other hand, the differentiation he made between his male ("varones") and female ("nena") children sets a clearly defined gender relation. The male, the "varón" (not a child anymore), is the one with the capacity to engage with the girl, the infantilized "nena." Although absent, Jaramillo, the de facto patriarch, felt the responsibility of avoiding this incestuous encounter, an encounter that, following his own lived experience, could only be initiated by the "varón."

However lighthearted and humorous the comment may have been, Jaramillo's views on fatherhood fell way outside the precepts of "lived" masculinity in Latin America. Studies like those of Guttman (2007) and Brandes (2003) in México, Viveros Vigoya (2001, 2003) in Colombia, Olavarría (2003) in Chile, and Ferrándiz (2003) in Venezuela, have debunked the idea that, among *popular* communities, masculinity is first and foremost linked to the male's capacity to procreate. Rather, as Viveros Vigoya (2003) observes, "fatherhood represents the attainment of adult status and constitutes the most important experience in men's lives" (37). This, I suggest, is where the masculine fantasies mobilized through Jaramillo collapse. If fatherhood is considered to be the pinnacle of manhood, then Jaramillo was less than a failure. My point, once again, is not to underline Jaramillo's personal shortcomings. Instead, I am more interested in analyzing the "limits" of the discourses of hegemonic masculinity mobilized through his figure

The underrepresentation of the father figure in Jaramillo's repertoire—and in *música popular* more broadly—speaks of how, in the *popular* imaginary, the mother constitutes the

cornerstone of the normative family. However limited, these representations do exist. Some are quite negative. For instance, the bolero "Limosna de un Hijo" (Alms from a Son) narrates the story of a sick and decayed beggar knocking at the door asking for a piece of bread.

Madre, en la puerta hay un hombre *pide un pedazo de pan* *Esta enfermo, muy enfermo* *quiere lo deje pasar*	*Mother, there's a man at the door* *he's asking for a piece of bread* *He's sick, very sick* *he's asking me to let him in*
Me dice que el es mi padre *y un beso me quiere dar* *Madre, por que me dijiste* *que yo no tenia papa*	*He tells me that he's my father* *and that he wants to give me a kiss* *Mother, why did you tell me* *that I didn't have a father*
Hijo mío el es tu padre *y siempre te lo negué* *Por que el día en que tu naciste* *con otra mujer se fue*	*My son he is your father* *and I always hid him from you* *Because on the day you were born* *he left with another woman*
Pero si tu no te opones *y lo quieres perdonar* *Dale el beso que te pide* *dile que puede pasar*	*But if you're not against it* *and you want to forgive him* *Give him the kiss he's asking for* *tell him that he can come in*
Señor, yo no tengo padre *hace mucho que murió* *Tome el pan que usted me pide* *y que lo perdone Dios*	*Sir, I do not have a father* *he died a long time ago* *Here's the bread you're asking for* *and may God forgive you*
Y si vuelve a tener hambre *no se deje atormentar* *Recuerde que en esta puerta* *tendrá un pedazo de pan*	*And if you're ever hungry again* *do not worry* *Remember that in this door* *You'll have a piece of bread.*[30]

In the song, the beggar knocking at the door claims to be the son's father. The mother confirms this and says that he left them for another woman shortly after the son was born.

[30] *Limosna de un Hijo,* composed by Basilio Villareal, performed by Julio Jaramillo. A version of the song can be found at: https://youtu.be/PuaTBhwigcU

Regardless of the mother's urge for them to reconcile, the son claims his father is dead and closes the door. Contrary to the mother's selfless body, the once hyper-capable body is now a failed father-figure. The son (a male himself) opposes the mother's absolutory nature by refusing to forgive the man. The son thus denies the father the most important aspect of masculinity, fatherhood. The act of mediating masculinity through Jaramillo's figure let a glimpse of a larger issue, namely, the threshold between the fantastical masculine constructed through J.J.'s figure, and its "practical" manifestations.

To account for this, let us remember the literary corpuses I have put in dialogue: masculinity scholarship, *música popular* lyrics, and literary renditions of J.J. made by men. Firstly, masculinity studies have overwhelmingly shown that, in *popular* communities, fatherhood is the most significant aspect of manhood. Fatherhood does not allude only to reproduction. Supporting, raising, and educating the children product of it are far more important. In fact, failing to fulfill these duties is widely perceived by Latin American working-class men as a sign of a failed manhood. Secondly, Jaramillo's lyrical corpus exalts the mother figure as the most prominent one in the normative family unit. Compared to the number of songs dedicated to their male counterpart, the father, the selfless body, is the paradigmatic family-figure. Not only is the father barely represented, but some of these representations are very negative. Finally, in novels, short stories, and poems, Jaramillo's hypermasculinity is consistently and repeatedly enunciated and reified. He is the lover, the symbolic and physical phallus. He is the stud that left 27 children scattered in the continent. He is also Doña Polita's and Guayaquil's son. However, he is never the father. In other words, in these literary works that exalt Jaramillo's masculinity, his fatherhood is obviated.

The complete erasure of Jaramillo's fatherhood in these literary renditions, and the overrepresentation of the mother figure in the lyrical corpus, illustrates the limits of J.J. qua locus of masculine fantasy. Jaramillo's polemical mediated fatherhood is at odds with how masculinity is lived by *popular* listeners. In order to sustain the fantasy he affords, fatherhood needed to be expunged from the narrative. While this was exactly what the Ecuadorian male writers that exalted Jaramillo's hypermasculine figure did, this was not the case for the press, once he died, J.J.'s non-normative fatherhood was publicized in obituaries published across the Americas. Jaramillo's most fantasized attribute, his hyper-capable body, became the very demise of his masculinity.

Closing remarks: Mediating gender in *música popular*

In this chapter, I have considered the archive generated by and around Julio Jaramillo to query the gender politics of *música popular.* The heteronormative and patriarchal discourses that emerge from it come as no surprise. Broadly speaking, while women are rendered as either desexualized or oversexualized bodies, reproductive or gratifying, canonized or to-be-consumed, men appear as hyper-capable yet vulnerable ones that are prone to deceit. This sets up an oedipal relation. On the one hand, the mother emerges as the ideal(ized) gendered body. On the other hand, a constant libidinal reflect exists in men, a constant return to a child-like state that signals a regression impulse. The male's idealized version of the gendered body is the mother figure, and as such, she must have the ideal traits of the selfless being: de-sexualized body, gendered labor, absolution, and canonization.

The great majority of the Jaramillo archive have been generated by men. The gender politics the emerge from it are, therefore, product of a masculine gaze. Therefore, in this

chapter, I have consider how men render women, but also how men render masculinity. In the archive, Jaramillo is constructed as *the* hyper-capable male. His masculinity constitutes a hegemonic one in many ways, one that follows the tropes the make the Latin American macho. The act of mediating J.J. is at the kernel of these discursive formations. Press articles, literary renditions, albums, and songs are loci through which these notions of masculinity are imagined, fantasized, and desired by men.

However, the songs by women composers in J.J.'s lyrical corpus signal important interventions to discourses of normative masculinity and hegemonic gender relations. In them, we find narratives in which agency is relational. This, according to the insights brought by masculinity scholarship as well as my own perception, represents a much more nuanced representation of how gender is actually negotiated and lived in the region. This overlapping, and often contradictory, accounts of the same phenomenon lie at the heart of the mediation. While masculine hegemonic voices are, in fact, overrepresented in the Jaramillo archive, the idea of mediation denies such a thing as a totalitarian narrative. Instead, mediations are representative of the heterogeneity inherent to the subjects being represented. That is to say, that, however hypermasculine most mediations of J.J. were, counter-hegemonic voices cannot be foreclosed.

CHAPTER FOUR

Voicing the *Popular*: Julio Jaramillo's Vocality

"Play some Julio" is a phrase I hear when my extended family gets together. Writing this several thousand miles away from where most of my family is, this sounds like a distant yet common request nowadays. J.J.'s voice makes part of the diverse soundscape I grew up with. Together with Julio, we listen to rancheras, tango, salsa, merengue, and cumbia, among many others. This musical collage is relatively average for people of my parents and grandparents generation across Latin America. In retrospect, it is interesting that, in the context of this repertoire, my family and I associate most artists with particular music genres. For instance, when someone asks for some Carlos Gardel, the assumption is that the moment is ripe for some tangos, milongas, or foxes. The same goes for Vicente Fernández or Javier Solís. This implies that some rancheras are in order. Some cumbias and porros by Lucho Bermúdez or Pacho Galán. Maybe some Lucho Gatica boleros. So on and so forth. This acoustemic correlation between genre and singer did not apply for J.J.

It didn't strike me until I was in my early 20s, already in the middle of an undergraduate music program, that asking to "play some Julio" makes the issue of genre secondary. As I pursued formal music education, my ear was being trained to identify certain aural markers and index them to particular categories, genre being one of the primary ones. However, my family and I may play J.J., whether from a CD, a flash drive, and even catching him on the radio, the music genre he is singing is not as important. The important thing is that

someone wants to listen to Julio. That is, listen to his voice. Therefore, growing up with J.J.'s voice around me, I never realized the vast array of musics that I was listening through him.

Without knowing it, I was listening to tangos, Peruvian valses, foxes, Ecuadorian pasillos, and many more. Without J.J., I probably wouldn't have listened to some of these genres. Still, was I listening to all these musics? Doesn't the fact that I wasn't rendering them under the genre category foreclose my ability to "know" them? Arguably, the idea of music genre is one of the most basic categories we are taught to engage with music. This is particularly true for mass-mediated musics. The genre category is fundamental in the circulation and marketing of musics. This is as true nowadays as it was for the industry of J.J.'s time. However little information Jaramillo's albums have, annexing a genre to each song is one of the most consistent pieces of information these objects carry. As I develop below, in the context of *música popular* (and popular music more generally), genre constitutes one of the primary categories through which we render music audible. Therefore, what does it mean that, to my ears, the matter of music genre was secondary in J.J.s voice?

In this chapter, I perform a close analysis of J.J.'s vocality. To do so, I return to the three genealogical strands that run underneath this dissertation: alterity, nation, and industry. As I have shown in chapters one and three, dynamics of racial, gender, and class are sounded and constructed through Jaramillo's voice. Chapter two explores the importance music industries have in the process of mediating these representations. Finally, Jaramillo's local yet transnational music practice affords the site-specific and transnational analytics I have advanced throughout this dissertation. This chapter takes a more detailed look at the aural geopolitics of J.J.'s vocality.

I posit that Jaramillo's eclectic vocality dialogues in complicated ways with the loaded signifier that is the music genre category. Developing from Ochoa Gautier's (2014) study of the aural politics of 19th century Colombia, I consider the singing voice a fertile ground to listen for overlapping dynamics of power and resistance. I begin with a discussion of music, genre, nationalism, and media. Tracing how these have entangled since the turn of the 20th century is central to understand how I situate J.J.'s vocality in discourses of music, genre, and nation.

I use the concept of vocality to mobilize an acoustemological framework to query the relationship between sound and power vis-à-vis the singing voice. I explore Jaramillo's vocality in two registers. First, I listen in detail to his voice. I do so by analyzing three tracks representative of his eclectic vocality: the Peruvian valse "Fatalidad" (recorded in Ecuador circa 1956), the tango "Jornalero" (recorded in Venezuela in 1962), and fours versions the bolero "Nuestro Juramento" (the first one recorded circa 1956 in Ecuador, the second one in the late 1960s in Venezuela, the third one circa 1973 in México, and the fourth one circa 1976 in Ecuador). Considering specific vocal markers in these songs, I show how J.J. traversed this heterogeneous repertoire while building an idiosyncratic vocal identity. I offer the concept of *the fluid voice* as an analytical tool that accounts for Jaramillo's capacity to engage with a wide array of auralities while retaining a distinct vocal identity. I suggest that Jaramillo's fluidity was vocal and geopolitical. Through J.J.'s fluid voice, heterogeneous histories of sound, difference, and disruption are sounded.

After providing a brief historical overview of the music genres that I analyze through Jaramillo's voice, I argue that through his vocality, the genre category becomes secondary, or what I call deferring genre. I focus on the close relationship genres like the Ecuadorian pasillo

and the Peruvian valse hold with nation discourses, the cosmopolitan quality of bolero, and the geopolitical liminality of tango. The aural-geopolitical indexicalities inherent to each of them, I suggest, are central to their discursive constructions. Once funneled through Jaramillo's fluid voice, these indexicalities fade. To account for this fluidity, I show how Jaramillo moved skillfully through these music styles.

The case of bolero is particularly interesting. Although it was a Pan-American and cosmopolitan music practice, different aesthetic practices existed within the same categorization. These distinctions were traversed by racial undertones. I focus on how Jaramillo navigated different bolero aesthetics, and thus its racial connotations. I surface the aural techniques he used to establish himself in the transnational music market through this genre. I also return to the case of *rocolera* music in Ecuador, an umbrella genre pioneered by Jaramillo and that groups musics that were central to his repertoire, as one that clearly illustrates his fluid voice.

In the second section, I listen to those that have listened to J.J.'s vocality. Unearthing from the archive the few literary accounts that exist of Jaramillo's voice, I inquiry why it was consistently rendered as a *popular* one. To do so, I put in dialogue journalistic and literary accounts. Resounding with my theorization of the *popular* subject, I show how Jaramillo's status of *popular* singer developed from racialized perceptions of his body and voice. Lastly, focusing on specific passages of the literary renditions of Jaramillo I analyze in chapters one and three, I explore how and why some Ecuadorian masculine writers portrayed Jaramillo's voice as sexually deviant. I conclude this chapter by working through the friction between these overlapping accounts of gender and sound.

Music (trans)nationalisms, genre, and the modern Latin American state

Starting in the 1910s, the mass-mediation of local musics like tango in Argentina (Castro 1999, Cañardo 2017), Ecuadorian pasillo in Ecuador (Pro Meneses 1998, Wong 2012, Rodríguez Albán 2018), and Peruvian valse in Perú (Borras 2012 [2009]), among many others, played an integral part in indexing these repertoires into discourses of nation. The establishment of recording industries in Latin America was concomitant with the process of industrialization and internal migrations that, starting in the 1930s, sedimented and unsettled the mestizaje regime. The aural geopolitics of mestizaje came hand in hand with the mechanical circulation of local musics.

Arguably, for the first actors in the recording industry, transnational corporations like RCA Victor and Columbia that controlled the early Latin American recording industry (late 1910s to '30s), recording local musics was a strategy to expand their catalogs, diversify their market, and target new customers.[1] With the entrance of local capital into the recording business (roughly starting in the mid-1930s), national subjects became active agents in the mediation process.

The nation has not been the only agent mobilizing the genre category to further its interests; media industries have also played a central role in these discursive formations. As we show in chapter two, this fluid network of musical transnationalisms puts these media industries at the interstices of hegemony. What I have called the pre-neoliberal Latin American recording industry goes with and against the grain of hegemonic discourses of musical nationalism. Music genre was the locus where the acoustemological struggle to

[1] For studies of early recording industries in Latin America see Pro Meneses (1999), Franceschi (2002), Velásquez Ospina (2018), and Cañardo (2017).

circumscribe *música popular* took place at the turn of the 20th century. At the core of these debates was an ethno-racial project that aimed to establish the white mestizo qua normative subject. Therefore, the act of indexing music genres to geopolitical spaces is traversed by the long-lasting histories of difference construction that have been constitutive of the Latin American nation. This is what I call *the politics of aural disciplining*.

Julio Jaramillo, by the hand of figures like José Domingo Feraud Guzmán and his Guayaquil-based label Ónix, is at the center of these convoluted narratives of sound, power, and media capital. For instance, he performed genres deeply entrenched in the music-nation dyad like the pasillo, which has been officially declared Ecuador's "national music,"[2] and the Peruvian valse. He also performed tango, a genre that, although continues to be closely identified with Argentina, it has gone through a process of internationalization since the beginning of the 20th century (Collier 1986, Castro 1999, Cañardo 2017). Finally, most of his recorded corpus and transnational career was built on bolero repertoire, a genre that since the 1930s emerged as a Pan-American music practice (Sanatamaría Delgado 2014). On top of these, there are tenths of other genres he recorded, some deeply local and others that speak of a world order in course to globalization.

By traversing genres with diverse geopolitical indexicalities, J.J. built a cohesive yet heterogenous vocality. Jaramillo's vocal fluidity, I argue, defers the idea of genre and thus

[2] J.J. has been a central figure in the process of indexing the pasillo to the Ecuadorian national imaginary. In fact, in 1993 the Ecuadorian state declared October 1, Jaramillo's birthday, as the "Día del pasillo ecuatoriano,". Interestingly, Jaramillo recorded a reduced amount of pasillos. He recorded far more boleros for example. In fact, his brother Pepe performed pasillos exclusively and as important performer in the history of this music practice. The fact that Jaramillo was chosen as the symbol through which the pasillo has been "nationalized" by the government, further shows how both state and media have been central in the construction of musical nationalisms.

signals a performative disruption to the politics of aural disciplining. Deferring alludes to the capacity J.J. had to give precedence to his vocality over the genre being performed. This does not imply that the aural markers that index certain sounds to certain geopolitical spaces vanish. Instead, I suggest that they become secondary to Jaramillo's *popular* voice. I listen in detail to J.J. to trace the vocal tactics he used to traverse so fluidly these diverse acoustemological formations.

Fluid voicings and the politics of aural disciplining

Much of the scholarly debates regarding music and nationalism in Latin America have used a holistic approach to the aural. That is, they have focused on the conjunction of musical components (i.e., instrumentation, rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic structures, repertories, etc.) that make a certain genre.[3] However, little attention has been given to the voice and how it fits in these acoustemological formations. The singing voice, I argue, has been fundamental in the politics of aural of disciplining. Media industries were central agents in this process. By producing, recording, and circulating certain vocalities and rendering them as representative of certain music practices, they sedimented a series of aural markers as representative of specific geopolitical spaces.

In *música popular,* vocality is a fundamental agent in the construction of genre. As I show below, aural markers such as diction, rhythmic phrasing, timbre, and register are central

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[3] A fascinating example is the accordion, an instrument that, after arriving to America in the late 19th century, became deeply entrenched with local music practices in Colombia, the US-México border, and Argentina among others (see Simonett 2012). With the turn to multiculturalism starting in the 1990s, indigenous instruments also entered this discursive formations. Such is the case of the flute-like gaita in Colombia and its connection to cumbia and Colombian national identity (see Ochoa 2016).

to the stylistic construction of, for instance, a tango singing voice or particular bolero aesthetic. In order to be considered proper exponents of a given genre, performers generally have to adhere to such markers. The question becomes, how does a singer become successful within the confines of the aural markers specific to each genre? Furthermore, how does an eclectic vocality such as Jaramillo's dialogue with the politics aural of disciplining?

The politics aural of disciplining police both the oral and the aural. Broadly speaking, orality refers to the speaking voice. Diction, enunciation, accent, and elocution are some of the disciplines that regulate it. Aurality alludes to non-verbal sounds. For our purposes, the aural has to do with instrumentation, rhythmic, melodic and harmonic structures, instrumental techniques, and the overall stylistic markers that make a certain genre. As I show below, the ways in which the aural (broadly speaking, instrumental accompaniment) overlaps with the voice are fundamental in the process of circumscribing a certain genre and rendering the singing voice.

The aural and oral coalesce in the singing voice, thus making it a fertile ground to query the aural politics of the mestizo nation. As Ochoa Gautier (2014) has argued, since the 19th century, the process of disciplining racialized voices into "proper modes of voicing" (17) has been fundamental in the construction of the Colombian nation. Eloquence, for instance, was one of many Eurocentric disciplines Enlightened elites used "to produce a desired political idea of the person" (18). Put differently, vocality is an aural locus through which the national subject has been interpellated. Focusing on 19th century Colombia, Ochoa Gautier shows the ways in which racialized vocalities were disciplined, "immunized" as she calls it, and made into civilized ones.

Expanding on her argument, I suggest that what constitutes a "proper mode of voicing" is contingent on geopolitical space. That is, a disciplined voice sounds different vis-à-vis the nation from which such policing is enforced. In this chapter, I consider acoustemes like diction (or accent more colloquially), rhythmic phrasing, and timber (i.e., instrumentation) as aural markers that allude to (un)disciplined aural practices. The fluid voice is an analytical tool that alludes to J.J.'s capacity to step in and out of these "proper modes of voicing." By performing a wide array of music genres, engaging with vocal markers vernacular to them, mobilizing these markers to further his interpretative skills, and establishing an identifiable vocal identity, Jaramillo built an idiosyncratic vocality that resounded with an entire continent. Therefore, the fluid voice theorizes Jaramillo's capacity to traverse and transgress the aural politics of the mestizo nation.

In what follows, I listen in detail to J.J.'s voice to unearth the aural markers that make his voice a fluid one. I do so by focusing on three recordings that are representative of his career. I begin with the Peruvian valse "Fatalidad," his first hit. His conational Olimpo Cárdenas previously recorded this track. Contrasting the two versions of the song, I analyze Jaramillo's voice during the early stages of his career. I also query why, out of these two similar renditions of "Fatalidad," it was Jaramillo's that became more transnationally successful. I then move to the tango "Jornalero." In it, I hear a more mature voice. Focusing on J.J.'s rhythmic phrasing and diction, I show how his fluid vocality stepped in and out of a disciplined tango voice.

I conclude by analyzing four versions of the bolero "Nuestro Juramento," Jaramillo's most memorable hit. Tracing each version chronologically, I show how he blended different interpretative approaches to bolero that were popular in his time. In a calculated way,

Jaramillo astutely navigated different bolero aesthetics to maximize his transnational impact. Through this case study, I also analyze the state of his voice throughout the twenty-odd years of his career. Dialoguing with sources that I have found in the Jaramillo archive and in my fieldwork that argue that J.J.'s voice declined towards the end of his life, I analyze what aural markers could account for this perception. I close this section by providing a brief historical overview of the music genres I analyze through J.J.'s voice. I suggest that once funneled through his fluid vocality, the politics aural of disciplining are disrupted.

The fluid voice

Julio Jaramillo performed a wide array of music genres. This versatility was by no means something unique to him. As I explain below, several of his colleagues had similar performance practices. He did, however, mobilize this eclectic aesthetic practice on a transnational scale with great commercial success. Astutely, J.J. balanced music genres that were essential in his repertoire—namely, Peruvian valse, Ecuadorian pasillo, tango, and most importantly, the transnational and cosmopolitan bolero—with more local ones that he would pick up as he toured the continent. He recorded *foxes* in Argentina, *joropos* and *gaitas* in Venezuela, and *boleros rancheros* in México, among many others. On top of that, and seeking to stay with the times, in the 1970s, he recorded a few pop-infused ballads and even some rock-n-roll tracks.

Finding a voice: Valses and the incipient singer

Jaramillo recorded his first commercial solo tracks in 1956. Among these was the Peruvian valse "Fatalidad," by Peruvian composer Laureano Martínez Smart. This song was recorded for Guayaquil-based label Ónix, and it became one of Jaramillo's first hits. José Domingo Fraud Guzman—Ónix's owner—had a particular interest in this song. Circa 1955, Olimpo Cárdenas, an Ecuadorian singer based in Colombia, recorded a version of "Fatalidad" for the Medellín-based label Victoria with great commercial success. Cárdenas was already a well-known artist, particularly in Colombia. After failing to secure the reproduction rights from its Colombian counterpart, Feraud Guzmán, having a keen ear that heard in Jaramillo's voice some of Cárdenas', hired J.J. to record his version. This vocal similarity, I show below, has to do primarily with their range. Some have also argued that their timbres are alike.[4] Jaramillo was an incipient artist back then. He got by performing serenades and working part-time jobs. This was J.J.'s first significant break. According to several accounts, Feraud Guzmán asked Jaramillo to imitate Cárdenas' voice as closely as possible, to which Jaramillo replied that he would "surpass it."

Along with other songs from those 1956-59 sessions, "Fatalidad" became Jaramillo's presentation card in Ecuador and abroad. Feraud Guzmán, a savvy businessman and creative mind, was trying to capitalize on the international success of Cárdenas. On top of "Fatalidad," Feraud Guzmán asked Jaramillo to record other tracks that Cárdenas had previously

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[4] The issue of the similarity between Cárdenas' and Jaramillo's vocal timbre is interesting. Casual listeners of this music do confound their voices. As I show below, part of this has to do with how similar their repertoires, arrangements, and tessitura were. However, in my fieldwork I found that this is not the case for avid Jaramillo listeners. Jaramillistas, collectors in particular, are often dismayed by these asseverations. This doesn't necessarily has to do with the quality of their voices, that is, comparing Cárdenas' voice with J.J.'s doesn't signal some sort of insult. Rather, to their ears, their voices are clearly different.

popularized.[5] While several artists covered many of these songs, Jaramillo's renditions used the same instrumentation and, importantly, virtually the same arrangements of Cárdenas'. This was an astute move on Feraud Guzman's part. Unable to pay what Victoria was asking for Cárdenas' hits, he opted to make his own for a fraction of the price. By hiring a voice he deemed similar to Olimpo Cárdenas', accompanied by the same instrumentation and arrangements, Feraud Guzmán was seeking to produce hit records whose rights he would own, based on a proven formula. Ónix's product far surpassed the original, at least commercially.

The close relation between Jaramillo's and Cárdenas' vocality was crucial for Julio. Their nationality and similar repertoire brought the Mexican media to introduce J.J. through Cárdenas, who was already known in the country before Jaramillo's 1960 debut.[6] In Colombia, J.J. was even presented as an "emulous" of Cárdenas.[7] This begs the question of why, out of these two artists with similar repertoires, arrangements, and—according to some—even similar voices, Jaramillo was the one that rose to transnational stardom? I have partially answered this question in the previous chapters. Part of it has to do with J.J.'s drive, his will to live on the road, his extraordinary recording skills, and the hyper-masculine figure built around him. Nevertheless, it also has to do with his vocality and how his fluid voice traversed sonically and geographically an entire continent.

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[5] These include the vals "Alma mía" by Peruvian Pedro Miguel Arrese, the pasillos "Tu duda y la mía" and "De hinojos" by Ecudorians Julio César Villafuerte and César Maquilón Orellana respectively, the bolero "Arrepentida" by the Mexican brothers Carlos and Pablo Martínez Gil, the pasillo "Hacia el calvario" by Colombians Pablo Restrepo López (lyrics) and Carlos Vieco Ortiz (music), and the boleros "Flores negras" by Cuban Sergio De Karlo and "Nuestro Juramento" by Puerto Rican Benito de Jesús among others

[6] "Exitos: Por Raúl Alvarado Ortiz." *El Porvenir.* April 21, 1959; "Exitos: Por Raúl Alvarado Ortiz." *El Porvenir.* June 21, 1959; "Observatorio: Por Severo Mirón." *Sucesos Para Todos.* April 3, 1963.

[7] "Julio Jaramillo siempre a tono con las canciones." *El Colombiano* March 3, 1976.

Listening to Jaramillo's rendition of "Fatalidad" vis-à-vis Cárdena's, we find a young artist pursuing his vocal identity. Both versions are indeed similar. One of the main differences is the song's tonality. Cárdenas' version is in Gm, while Jaramillo's—having a higher tessitura—is in Am. Cárdenas' 1955 rendition shows a seasoned artist with an established vocal identity (the version I am using for analysis can be found at https://tinyurl.com/yaq2ous8). His style is particularly influenced by the vocal aesthetics of tango. Having lived most of his career in Medellín, a city with a particular taste for this genre (see Santamaría Delgado 2014), Cárdenas established his name through tango repertoire. Hence, Cárdenas, an Ecuadorian singer, was mobilizing tango aural markers to perform a Peruvian "national" music. Such influence is particularly evidenced in his rhythmic phrasing. In the first eight bars (0:18-0:26 in the recording) shown in Fig. 24, Cárdenas syncopated the words "deslumbrante," "rememoro," and "instante" (bars 3-4, 6-7, and 8, respectively). The first two anticipate the harmonic rhythm. This gives a fluid and recitative quality.

Figure 24. . First 8 bars of Olimpo Cárdenas' "Fatalidad"

The first eight bars of Jaramillo's 1957 version (https://tinyurl.com/y7hg9wd2) in Fig. 25, show a more uniform rhythmic phrasing (0:18-0:26 in the recording). The dotted eighth note-sixteenth note in the words "de celaje" and "rememoro," (bars 3 and 6) provide a slightly

syncopated feel to an otherwise rigid phrasing. As I show below, Jaramillo, an active listener of tango himself, developed his rhythmic skill as his career advanced.

Am E7 Am

Noc - tur - - no de ce la - je des - lum - bran - - te

5 E7 Am

Tu encan - - to reme - me moro a cada ins - tan - - te

Figure 25. First 8 bars of Julio Jaramillo's "Fatalidad"

This distinction between Jaramillo's early style and Cárdenas' more developed one is more noticeable on bars 25-28 (0:43-0:48 on both recordings). Cárdenas' performance (first system of Fig. 26) is rhythmically flexible and much more difficult to transcribe. In bars 26-27, he momentarily stepped out of a strict sense of pulse, creating a *rubato* feeling. Contrast this with Jaramillo's version (second system of Fig. 26) that has a square feeling. These differences, while objectively small, let a glimpse of how artists with such similar artistic practices and audiences strived to build a vocal identity. The fact that the time-marks for each of the versions are virtually the same (i.e., on both of them bar 25 of the verse hits at 0:43) shows the extent to which tempo, structure, and the overall arrangement was taken from Olimpo Cárdenas' version. Jaramillo strived to distance himself vocally as much as possible from his peer within the strict boundaries that Feraud Guzmán, the producer/owner of Ónix, gave him.

25 D7 rubato Gm
mi - no Y,an - gus tia - do___ pa - ra siem pre te - e per - di

25 E7 Am
mi - no y,an - gus - tia - do pa - ra siem - pre te per - dí

Figure 26. Comparison between bars 25-28 of Olimpo Cárdenas' (first system) and Julio Jaramillo's (second system) "Fatalidad"

Likely, most of the credit for the arrangement of J.J.'s version goes to Feraud Guzmán. Aiming to capitalize on Cárdenas' success, he virtually copied the most salient features of the arrangement made in Medellín for Discos Victoria. Among the most important of these was the introductory melody played on the requinto, known as *punteo* or *estribillo* (0-0:18 on both versions), that is repeated in the bridge. These instrumental passages are key in *música popular.* Aside from the lead voice, they constitute the most identifiable feature of a given song. Still, Jaramillo's version was much more successful than Cárdenas', which was a hit on its own right. On top of Jaramillo's mediated persona, the quality of his voice and his unique timbre and high tessitura set them apart from most *popular* singers of his time.

21 Cm Gm
An - que,a cia - go,el des ti - no Div - vi - dió nuest - tro ca
25 D7 rubato Gm
mi - no Y,an - gus tia - do___ pa - ra siem pre te - e per - di

21 A7 Dm Am
Aun - que acia - go,el des - ti - no di - vi - dió nues - tro ca -
25 E7 Am
mi - no y,an - gus - tia - do pa - ra siem - pre te per - dí

Figure 27. Comparison between bars 21-28 of Olimpo Cárdenas' (first and second systems) and Julio Jaramillo's (third and fourth systems) "Fatalidad."

Jaramillo's sharp ear and his ability to hit pitches clearly and consistently were central to his success. Even in his early days, J.J. showed great vocal dexterity. He had a great facility to learn new repertoire and adapt to different instrumental accompaniments. Most importantly, he consistently showcased these skills in the recording studio. Consider the passage in Fig. 27. For Cárdenas' version (first and second systems), the E4 on bar 23 is the highest pitch on the track. Alluding to tango aural markers, he slides into this note, and, although he does hit it, his tuning is sketchy. The same goes for the D4 on bar 25. Given that Jaramillo's version is in Am, his highest pitch is an F4 (bar 24). He does not slide into the note and instead hits it with precision. He repeats this gesture on the E4 on bar 25. This ability to be precise pitch- and rhythmic-wise, and his capacity to quickly learn new repertoire, was one of the main reasons record labels across the continent hired Jaramillo.

Likely, J.J.'s clearly articulated melodic and rhythmic vocal style in his first studio gigs developed from his eagerness to prove his vocal capacity. Such vocal precision is perhaps more evident on bars 25-27 of Fig. 27, when the dominant chord kicks in. Cárdenas struggled to hit the sharp sixth degree of the dominant (B/D^7) that underscores the Mixolydian sonority of the passage. Melodically, the transcription of this passage is an approximation, as Cárdenas tuning does not fit the tempered scale at times. Jaramillo, on the other hand, performs this chromatic passage with great clarity, articulating each of the pitches and thus outlining the harmony much more clearly. The difference between the dominant/Mixolydian (C# over E^7, bars 25-26) and tonic/minor (C over Am, bar 28) sonorities comes through much clearer. Jaramillo continued to develop his vocal style rapidly as he recorded different music genres, in different countries, and with various ensembles.

In this early stage of J.J.'s career, we hear a talented yet inexperienced singer. One of Jaramillo's most notable attributes at this point was his tuning, something that he would capitalize on throughout his entire career. The subtle variations of Jaramillo's rhythmic phrasing vis-à-vis Cardenas' suggest that the former was starting to develop these interpretative skills. Cárdenas was by then a seasoned tango performer. He mobilized these aural markers to record other repertories, something that J.J. would soon start doing as well. However, it is also likely that J.J. was intentionally avoiding to imitate Cárdenas' style. Jaramillo's answer to Feraud Guzmán that he would "surpass" his colleague's version indicates that developing a sense of vocal identity was essential for the incipient singer.

J.J. managed to give the audience a glimpse of his gifted musicianship even within the aesthetic constrains that Feraud Guzmán put on him. He would develop his rhythmic skills soon enough. Having a keen ear, a talented voice, and a remarkable musical memory, Jaramillo listened avidly to others in his craft. He studied his colleague's vocality and funneled these influences through his fluid voice.

An ever-expanding vocality: Tango phrasings

By the 1960s, J.J. was touring the Americas relentlessly. Venezuela was a particularly good place for him. Back then, this country had a booming economy with far less competition than entertainment hotspots like México. In several interviews, Jaramillo pointed out that he made "all the money he wanted" in Venezuela. After establishing his name locally in the early 1960s with the help of local musicians/businessmen like Antonio Rafael Deffitt Martínez,[8] J.J.

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[8] For an extended discussion of the relationship between J.J. and Feraud Guzmán, see chapter two of this dissertation.

kept coming back to Venezuela to perform and record. He would eventually settle there for extended periods. Circa 1962, Jaramillo recorded a few Argentinian tunes for the Venezuela-based label Fonodisco. Rumor has it that in these sessions, J.J. was accompanied by Astor Piazzola's orchestra. While this claim hasn't been substantiated, it is likely that, instead of Piazzola being part of the session, the producer hired a few musicians from Piazzola's band while they were touring in Venezuela.[9]

Be that as it may, the ensemble supporting Jaramillo in these tracks are seasoned tango performers. I focus on the song "Jornalero" (Laborer) by Atilio Carbone (https://tinyurl.com/y6wm36m5).[10] The instrumentation includes bandoneon, piano, double bass, and violins. Chilean singer Pepe Aguirre previously popularized this track. Importantly, and contrary to J.J., Aguirre specialized in Argentinian music, mostly tango, milongas, and foxes. In tune with the "tango-canción" (tango-song) style (see Santamaría Delgado 2014, 128), the arrangement of Jaramillo's version begins with an instrumental verse. In the version of "Fatalidad" I analyze above, Jaramillo's rhythmic phrasing is uniform and contrasts with Olimpo Cárdena's more flexible tango-infused delivery. In "Jornalero," we hear a much more mature Jaramillo. In this track, we find a performer with the capacity to engage with the aural markers of different genres while retaining his vocal identity.

Based on the fact that the aforementioned Pepe Aguirre previously covered several of the tangos Jaramillo recorded, it is likely that the arrangement of J.J.'s version of "Jornalero" was inspired by Aguirre's. However, Jaramillo's performance is idiosyncratic. Focusing on

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[9] This speculation came out several times during my conversations with different members of the jaramillista community.

[10] The lyrics of this song are indeed interesting. Some have called Jornalero a "tango proletario" (proletarian tango). It should be noted that topics of this kind are exceptional in Jaramillo's repertoire.

his rhythmic phrasing and diction, we can hear how Jaramillo's vocality was developing. Borrowing from tango aural markers, his rhythmic phrasing was more playful. He was also engaging with specific local diction markers and vernaculars that I analyze below. Transcribing J.J.'s phrasing to staff notation is futile due to the non-quantizable nature of his performance. Instead, to develop my analysis, I number the stanzas and add time marks for each of them.

1.1 (0:24) *Trabaja y trabaja semanas enteras*	*He works and works week-through*
1.2 (0:28) *tirando la fragua, golpeando el cincel*	*blowing the forge, hitting the chisel*
1.3 (0:32) *Hoy cumple veinte años de dura tarea*	*It's been twenty years of this heavy duty twenty years suffering in the*
1.4 (0:37) *veinte años de yugo en el mismo taller*	*same shop.*
2.1 (0:41) *Recibe amarguras como recompensa*	*Bitterness is his reward*
2.2 (0:45) *hasta el desahucio, por su vejez*	*until he's ousted, to his old age*
2.3 (0:49) *Este es el premio que muchos reciben*	*The same reward many receive*
2.4 (0:54) *premio que brinda el instinto burgués*	*the prize that the bourgeoise instinct gives.*
3.1 (0:58) *Jornalero,*	*Laborer,*
3.2 (1:01) *a juzgar por lo que he visto*	*judging by what I've seen*
3.3 (1:04) *a juzgar por lo que he oído,*	*judging by what I've heard,*
3.4 (1:06) *la verdad voy a decir,*	*I'll tell you the truth,*
3.5 (1:08) *que es amargo cuando dice un holgazán:*	*it's bitter when an idler tells you:*
3.6 (1:14) *si te gusta bien y si no te vas.*	*take it or leave it.*
4.1 (1:18) *Caballero,*	*Gentleman,*
4.2 (1:22) *que mirás como al descuido*	*that gaze carelessness*
4.3 (1:24) *a esos hombres tan honrados*	*to those honest men*
4.4 (1:26) *que te han hecho enriquecer*	*that has made you rich*
4.5 (1:29) *La nobleza no permite este refrán:*	*Nobility doesn't allow to say:*
4.6 (1:34) *si les gusta bien y si no se van.*	*take it or leave it.*
5.1 (1:40) *Aquellos que solo ambicionan dinero*	*Those who only aspire for money*
5.2 (1:44) *se creen inmortales clase superior*	*believe to be immortal and superior*
5.3 (1:48) *A pobres y humildes que lo enriquecieron*	*To those poor and humble that enriched them*
5.4 (1:53) *perdiendo su fuerza y la juventud.*	*losing their strength and youth.*
6.1 (1:57) *Pensá caballero que tarde o temprano*	*Think gentleman that sooner or later*

6.3 (2:01) *nos llega la muerte y es sin excepción* *death comes to all of us*
6.3 (2:06) *en el otro mundo somos todos iguales* *in the next world we're all the same*
6.4 (2:10) *el pobre y el rico ante nuestro señor.* *poor and rich in front of our lord.*[11]

Picking up on the fermata left by the ensemble, in the word "trabaja," Jaramillo extends the "ba" syllable of the word "trabaja" (i.e., tra-baaaa-ja) at 1.1. He then establishes the tempo when he repeats "trabaja" by accenting each syllable without elongating any of them. This gesture prologues the ensemble's *a tempo* entrance. Relying on the accompaniment's pounding two-beat tempo, J.J. extends and contracts his rhythmic phrasing in-between stanzas. For instance, at 1.2. the way he articulates one syllable per pitch in the word "semanas" (se-ma-nas) contrasts with the melismatic contour of the second syllable of the word "enteras" right afterward (en-teeee-ras). This playful style, switching suddenly and often in-between sounds that are clearly articulated pitch- and rhythmic-wise, and syllables that are elongated and melismatic, are key tango vocal markers. This is a vocal style pioneered by referents like Carlos Gardel since the 1920s (Coller 1986, 156; Santamaría Delgado 2014, 140).

Jaramillo, an avid listener of tango himself (Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978b, 95), used this vocal technique throughout the track. In stanza 1.3 ("Hoy cumple veinte años de dura tarea"), he sings the first half of the stanza more regularly. He sustains the pitch on the "ho-" and slightly slides downwards from the "a-" into the "-ños" syllables (hooooy cum-ple ve-inte-a \ ños). The second half of the stanza has a more rubato feeling. The first four

[11] *Jornalero,* by Atilio Carbone. Performed by Julio Jaramillo, c. 1962.

syllables are more articulated and fast (de du-ra ta-). The fifth one ("-re-") has an extended melisma that resolves suddenly into the "-a" (-reeee-a).

Together with the rhythmic-melodic aspect, diction is perhaps the other most salient aural marker of tango's vocal style. Broadly speaking, non-Argentinian singers often allude to the speech inflections from that country, especially the "porteño" (from the Buenos Aires port) accent that Gardel popularized.[12] Contrasting Jaramillo's diction in "Jornalero" with Pepe Aguirre's (https://tinyurl.com/y6vs48ro), we find interesting nuances. Aguirre, who was Chilean, purposely mobilized tango aural markers by vocalizing on a thick porteño accent. In stanza 1.1, Aguirre silences the letter -s at the end of the word "enteras" (0:55'' on the audio) to the point it becomes inaudible. Molding the -s into the back of the mouth, whether in-between or at the end of a given the word, is stylistic of the porteño accent. He does the same in the word "años" (1:01). In contrast, Jaramillo clearly enunciates the -s in "enteras" (stanza 1.1, 0:24). He does so delicately and swiftly.

In the word "años" (stanza 1.3, 0:32), Jaramillo de-emphasized the -s even more but without throwing it into the back of the mouth like Aguirre does. Jaramillo does, however, pronounce the muted -s in the word "gusta" (stanza 3.6, 1:14) that marks a climatic point of the first chorus. Interestingly, right afterward, in the chorus repetition, he hits the muted -s even harder in words like "mirás," "descuido," (stanza 4.2, 1:22), and "hombres" (4.3, 1:24). This gives more expressivity, and perhaps a more porteño character, to the second chorus.

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[12] Note that I am not referring to the vernacular particular to the tango-canción known as *lunfardo* (see Coller 1986, 20). Rather, I am talking about the diction (accent more colloquially) artists like Gardel established as an aural marker of the genre and that has continued to influence tango singer in Argentina and abroad.

The pronunciation of the words "ll" and "y" in porteño accents is particularly identifiable and is another salient tango aural marker. Broadly speaking, while in most Spanish-speaking places, these letters are pronounced very articulately (similar to a "y" thrown at the front of the mouth for English speakers), porteño accents smooth and elongate them producing a "sh"-like sound. Consider Carlos Gardel's rendition of the tango "Yira, Yira" (https://tinyurl.com/y8wu87oj) and the way he pronounces words like "fallando" (0:19), "yerba," "ayer" (both at 0:25), "yira" (1:08), and "ayuda" (1:21). In "Jornalero," Jaramillo slips in and out of the porteño ll/y, at times within the same stanza. In stanza 1.4 ("veinte años de yugo en el mismo taller," 1:37), he pronounces an attenuated porteño -y in "yugo." Right afterward, he uses a more articulated yet slightly muffled -ll in the "taller." The same goes for the word "Caballero" in the chorus (stanza 4.1, 1:18), and "aquellos" (5.1, 1:40).

Molding diction and quoting vernacular from particular regions were subtle, yet strategic aural markers used by J.J. These were most common on genres with a strong connection to particular countries. Such is the case of tango in Argentina, Peruvian valse in Perú, and Ecuadorian pasillo in Ecuador. Jaramillo used similar vocal tactics in many of his recordings. For instance, he used Mexican vernacular in songs he recorded there and Peruvian slang in Peruvian valses.[13] Incorporating acoustemes embedded in the music-nation dyad to his fluid vocality was an astute and strategic move he used to further his transnational career.

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[13] For instance, in the song Ay Mexicanita (Dear Mexican Girl), one of the 30-plus songs he composed, Jaramillo uses adjectives from Mexican vernacular to describe the beauty of Mexican women. These includes "chaparras" (short) and güeras (blondes). Additionally, he also uses inflections often heard of in Mexican accents. Such is the case of the passage "pos qué le pasa usted" where "pos" alludes to the word "pues." Similarly, in the Peruvian valse Troqui Moqui (sometimes spelled Troki Moki), he utters the phrase "valsecito criollo" ("criollo valse") in-between verses, a very local way to refer to this genre.

This proved to be a successful strategy. It transmitted a sense of intimacy to the listeners he was targeting.

J.J.'s fluid voice stepped in and out of these vocal markers. The case of bolero, a genre that was produced and consumed across the Americas, is particularly interesting. Often, he would mobilize local aural markers for boleros he recorded in, or for, a particular country (such is the case of the *boleros rancheros* he recorded in México). This was not the case for his major hits, which had a more Pan-American audience. The case of the song "Nuestro Juramento," to which I move next, illustrates Jaramillo's cosmopolitan vocality.

The rise and fall of "Mr. Juramento": Bolero and the transnational connection

Towards the end of his life, J.J. was asked why he had a more transnational impact than his older brother Pepe. He responded: "I managed to record, since my early years, boleros and valses, while my brother dedicated himself to the pasillo, and the pasillo has a restricted area of impact" (Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978b, 96). The aural geopolitics of Jaramillo were smart and strategic. Shortly after recording a few boleros in the 1956-59 Ónix sessions in Guayaquil, he realized that this genre was his ticket to an international career.

The bolero "Nuestro Juramento" (Our Oath), by Puerto Rican Benito de Jesús, stands as J.J.'s most memorable hit. The overwhelming success of the rendition he did for Ónix had earned him the moniker of "Mr. Juramento" (Mr. Oath). This song would remain with Jaramillo for his entire career. According to J.J., "Nuestro Juramento" "opened the doors of many countries to me" (Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978b, 107). The song even followed

him beyond his demise; a 1980 posthumous biopic produced in México was titled after it.[14] J.J. recorded at least nine versions of "Nuestro Juramento" for different record labels across the continent. Aside from the importance of the song itself, this illustrates the significant impact bolero had in the Latin American entertainment industry of the 20th century.

As Santamaría Delagado (2014) has argued, by the 1930s, the bolero was emerging as a Latin American musical lingua franca (Ibid., 175). It was established in the American continent mainly through the region's two major media industries, México and Argentina. Though Afro-Cuban in its origins, the bolero syncretized with all sorts of local sounds shortly after it left the island.[15] By the 1940s, this genre was the most dominant force in the Latin American music market. However, even within the same genre categorization, there were important nuances. According to Santamaría Delgado (Ibid.):

> …a tension between a racialized Caribbean bolero and a whitened Mexican one emerged. Such tension is manifested in a differentiation between accompaniment formats and types of vocalization. Its rhythmic aspect and the usage of different types of vocalization (either more operatic or more Afro-Antillean) emerged as prominent musical markers of this distinction (15).

Among the most prominent figures of the Mexican style were trios like Los Panchos, with which J.J. shared the stage several times. Their basic instrumentation consists of two guitars, that play different voicings of the harmony, and one requinto that plays melodic passages and countermelodies. Minor percussion (maracas and/or bongos) is often added. Trio musicians usually wear matching suits and ties. The Afro-Antillean sonority has a larger instrumentation. This includes brass (mostly trumpets) and, importantly, bigger percussion

[14] *Nuestro Juramento.* Dir. Alfredo Gurrola, 1980.
[15] For an overview of the history of bolero see Torres (2002).

sections (timbales, congas, scraper, and/or bongos). Format-wise, and in contrast to the Mexican style, Afro-Antillean boleristas tend to be soloists (i.e., frontmen backed by an orchestra).

While vocal style is unique to each artist, broad differences exist between the Mexican trio and Afro-Antillean vocality. For trios, roles are determined by vocal register. The lead tenor (also known as *primera voz* or first voice) sings the top melodic line. Two more voices (*segunda* and *tercera voz* or second and third voice) harmonize underneath. Similar tessitura between the singers allows for close harmonic arrangements that move in parallel. The second and third voices occasionally provide backgrounds in the form of sustained hummed pitches or simple variations of the main melody. Due to the constant parallel motion, the rhythmic phrasing of trios tends to be uniform and with little syncopation. Trio singers sing on a very controlled and crooning voice, with a smooth and "velvety" character. This has prompted scholars—like Santamaría Delgado above—to call this style "operatic."

Singers in the Afro-Antillean style, such as Puerto Rican artist Daniel Santos (a good friend of J.J.), perform mostly as soloists. Rhythmically, they tend to have a playful and syncopated style, switching swiftly between *a tempo* and *rubato* phrasing. Contrary to trios, for which style depends a great deal on the vocal arrangements and how well the three voices blend, singers in the Afro-Antillean are much more idiosyncratic in their vocal timbre and overall style. Register-wise, artists like Santos sing in a lower register vis-à-vis trios. Similarly, the vocal projection of singers in the Afro-Antillean style is more open. This allows them to switch between different ways of projecting their voice. Singers like Santos transition from a more "open" chest voice to a nasal one abruptly and often. Arguably, for the solo singers of Jaramillo's time, developing and showcasing these idiosyncrasies was one of the

most crucial aspects in the process of building a successful career. As I have shown in my analysis of J.J.'s vocality, these vocal markers included establishing identifiable rhythmic and melodic phrasing, pitch treatment, diction, and note articulation, among others.

While Jaramillo performed a wide array of boleros with different compositional styles, diverse arrangements/orchestrations, and from numerous composers, "Nuestro Juramento" was one of the few tracks that he recorded throughout his entire career. The track sheds light on how Jaramillo strategically capitalized on both the Mexican trio and Afro-Antillean bolero trends. I focus on four of the total of eight versions he recorded.

These four versions provide an overview of the evolution of Jaramillo's voice through the genre he performed the most. They also coincide with four stages of Jaramillo's vocality that I show in Table 3. These stages stem from conversations I had with members of the jaramillista community.[16] The first period takes place from the late 1950s to early '60s in which we hear a younger voice, and that coincides with the version of "Fatalidad" I analyze above. The second stage shows a more developed voice—a "polished voice" (voz fina) in the words of collector Henry Martínez Puerta—and it goes from the mid-'60s to early '70s. This stage coincides with the time he recorded the tango "Jornalero." In the third period, Jaramillo shows a more mature and developed voice. It took place roughly between 1971 and 1974. For many jaramillistas, these years were Jaramillo's vocal zenith. And finally, a period of decline

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[16] My preliminary research showed that the quality of Jaramillo's voice became a topic of interest during his later years and shortly after his death. During my fieldwork, and in conversation with different members of the jaramillista community, I asked for their thoughts on the matter. The great majority of them agreed that J.J.'s voice did declined during his last 2-3 years. Pushing further, I inquired on whether they thought J.J.'s voice went through different periods of development. The categorization I am proposing here compiles these conversations and my own take on the matter.

between 1975 until he died in 1978 in which his voice deteriorated, probably due to his hectic lifestyle and advancing illness.

Table 3. Four versions of Nuestro Juramento/four stages of Jaramillo's voice

Recording year/country/label	Stages of J.J.'s voice
Circa 1957/Ecuador/Ónix	"Young voice;" late 1950's/early '60s,
Late 1960s-early '70s/Venezuela/Fonograma	"Polished voice;" mid-'60s to 1970
Circa 1973/México/Orfeón	"Mature voice;" 1971 to 1974
Circa 1976/Ecuador/Angelito	"Declining voice;" 1975 to 1978

The most salient differences between the fours version of Nuestro Juramento are tonality and instrumentation/arrangement. Version one and two are in Bm and showcase a slightly higher tessitura. Version three is in B♭m, and version four is in Am. While it is not uncommon for aging singers to experience a decrease in their high register, it is important to note that J.J. passed at age 42. Losing his upper register was particularly impactful for him since this was one of his more memorable vocal markers.

Version one (https://tinyurl.com/yaklcdkw) has a trio instrumentation (two guitars and one requinto) with minor percussion (maracas and bongos). This orchestration was, according to Jaramillo, the one he liked the most for his voice (Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978b, 96). This instrumentation, plus Jaramillo's crooning style with sustained notes over high pitches using lots of vibrato (i.e., words like "llorar" at 0:59, "tristeza" at 1:39, and "amor" at 2:02), falls more within the Mexican trio sonority. Version two (https://tinyurl.com/ya23h3tx) has virtually the same instrumentation, but it adds a muted trumpet that is showcased in the introductory melody. This constitutes a clear reference to the Afro-Antillean style. The addition of a cowbell in the bridge section (1:20) overlaid by countermelodies on the trumpet

further alludes to this sonority. While the trumpet remains the most salient instrumental voice of version two, the requinto also plays an essential role in the form of countermelodies (i.e., 0:22, 0:30) and instrumental interludes (2:22). The overlapping between the trumpet and the requinto at 2:30 and 3:10 signals the interlacing between the Mexican and Afro-Antillean sonority.

Version three (https://tinyurl.com/ybvvch7j) is still based on the trio instrumentation. However, it ditches the trumpet and includes a larger percussion section with bongos, timbales, and güiro (scraper). The addition of a bass guitar gives more body to the track. Overall, compared to the other versions, this one sounds better rehearsed and more produced. Recording-wise, the sound has excellent quality, is well mixed, and mastered. The instrumentation of version four (https://tinyurl.com/ycvc83m8) is loosely based on the original one; trio (two guitars and requinto), minor percussion, percussion (maracas and timbales) and bass guitar. This was likely a move on the Ecuadorian label Angelito to recreate the song's original version to capitalize on Jaramillo's return to his country in 1976.

The way we perceive Jaramillo's recorded voice is influenced by all the agents that factor in these recordings, from session performers to studio space, engineers, and gear. It is telling that several jaramillistas consider that version three showcases Jaramillo's more "mature" voice. It is no coincidence that this is the one that sounds better, not just because of how the voice was performed and recorded, but because the overall track was produced more judiciously and has better sound quality.

Nevertheless, specific vocal markers of Jaramillo's vocal evolution do exist in these four versions. The rhythmic and melodic phrasing is fairly similar across them. Being a singer of "the people" (a *cantante popular*), Jaramillo was eager to perform his hits the way his

listeners remembered them. The nuances between these versions are much more subtle. Three aspects of J.J.'s vocal evolution stand out; ornamentation, range, and projection.

Ornamentation-wise, one of Jaramillo's most salient vocal markers was his combined use of melisma and wide vibrato. These were vocal techniques that he deployed from the beginning of his recording career and that he perfected over the years. Consider stanza 2.2 below. The melody in this passage is an arpeggio of the dominant chord (1-3-5-7♭-8/V^7). The "-ar" syllable in the word "llorar" hits the climatic pitch of the passage. In version one (0:58), showing a less experienced voice, Jaramillo rushes to slide into this pitch (F#4 in this version). In version two (0:59), he extends the previous pitch and delays the melodic resolution of the stanza. He uses much more vibrato on this occasion, arguably to give more expressivity to the interpretation. The phrasing is very similar to version three (0:58).

However, his vibrato is more controlled in this occasion, and throughout this entire version, making the overall rendition more vocally compelling. This illustrates how, in what I have categorized as the third and better stage of his voice, Jaramillo had greatly developed the control of his voice, thus furthering his interpretative skills. In version four (0:58), he delays the melodic resolution even further, barely hitting the high pitch. The combination of his high register, extended melisma, and wide vibrato became a clear marker of his vocal identity.

1.1 No puedo verte triste porque me mata	*I can't see you sad because it kills me*
1.2 Tu carita de pena, mi dulce amor	*Your sad face, my sweet love*
1.3 Me duele tanto el llanto que tu derramas	*The crying hurts so much that you spill*
1.4 Que se llena de angustia mi corazón	*That my heart is filled with anguish*
2.1 Yo sufro lo indecible si tu entristeces	*I suffer the unspeakable if you sadden*
2.2 No quiero que la duda te haga llorar	*I don't want doubt to make you cry*
2.3 Hemos jurado amarnos hasta la	*We have sworn to love each*

muerte
2.4 Y si los muertos aman, después de muertos amarnos mas

other to death
And if the dead love, after death we will love each other more

3.1 Si yo muero primero, es tu promesa
3.2 Sobre de mi cadáver dejar caer
3.3 Todo el llanto que brote de tu tristeza
3.4 Y que todos se enteren de tu querer

If I die first, it's your promise
On my corpse drop
All the crying that comes out of your sadness
And let everyone know about your love

4.1 Si tu mueres primero, yo te prometo
4.2 Escribiré la historia de nuestro amor
4.3 Con toda el alma llena de sentimiento
4.4 La escribiré con sangre, con tinta sangre del corazón.

If you die first, I promise you
I will write the story of our love
With all the soul full of feeling
I will write it with blood, with ink blood of the heart.[17]

Regarding vocal projection and range, J.J. barely hit the high pitches on version four of "Nuestro Juramento." As the systematic lowering of the song's tonality shows, Jaramillo struggled over the years to stay in his memorable high register. Stanzas 3.1 and 4.1 ("Si yo muero primero, es tu promesa/Si tu mueres primero, yo te prometo") mark the lyrical and melodic climax of the song. The melody of this passage is built over the ♭VII^7 chord (1-3-5-7♭). The 7♭ is the highest pitch of the song. Fig. 28 shows the total range of the four versions and the aforementioned ♭VII^7 chord over which stanzas 3.1 and 4.1 are built. While in versions one, two (1:20 and 1:50 for both), and three (1:21 and 1:52), he slides into the 7♭ smoothly (G4 and G♭4 respectively), in version four (1:19 and 1:51) he doesn't even reach it. Instead of hitting the F4 (in parenthesis in Fig. 28), Jaramillo sings an E4. By his early 40s, Jaramillo had lost at least a major third of his high register.

[17] *Nuestro Juramento,* by Benito de Jesús. Performed by Julio Jaramillo.

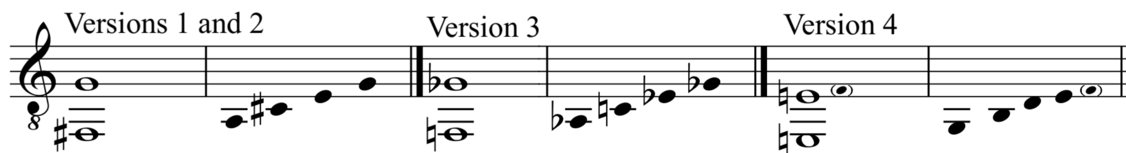

Figure 28. Total vocal range and VII7 chord sang in stanzas 3.1 and 4.1 in four versions of Julio Jaramillo's "Nuestro Juramento"

Collaborators that worked with J.J. during his last years agree that his voice wasn't the same. Ecuadorian composer Abilio Bermúdez noted how on those 1975-77 recordings, as well on live performances he did in those days, his voice was declining due to a "liver affection" (Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978b, 21). On top of this loss of range, we hear a decline in Jaramillo's projection. Consider the stanzas mentioned above of versions three and four. While in version three, we hear a bright and robust voice, version four has a weakness to it, as if Jaramillo was gasping for air to sustain his high notes.

Aside from illustrating the evolution of Jaramillo's voice during his career, these versions of "Nuestro Juramento" also evidence the vocal strategies Jaramillo used to blend the Mexican trio and Afro-Antillean bolero sonorities. Besides the instrumentation and arrangements—something that likely depended on the network of agencies I consider in chapter two—Jaramillo astutely shaped his crooning timbre into a "rhythmic" style. Scholars like Santamaría Delgado (2014) have argued that the musical distinctions between these two bolero trends put forwards broader issues of race. Broadly speaking, while the Mexican trio sonority indexes a whitened and more sophisticated aura, the Afro-Antillean sound, with a more present rhythmic section (congas, bongos, timbales, and the like)—and the primitivist

tropes that go along with this—and darker-skinned singers, alludes to a more racialized aurality (Ibid., 15).[18]

Figures like Jaramillo unsettle this distinction.[19] How he entangled these musicalities, and by extension, the dynamics of race and space they mobilize, illustrate Jaramillo's vocal and geopolitical fluidity. Rather than signaling a white-mestizo or Afro-Caribbean aurality, Jaramillo's vocality falls in a racial space of in-betweenness that I have theorized as *popular*. He voices the alterity of a subject whose very otherness is erased and subsumed under the mestizaje regime. Jaramillo, therefore, signals a *popular* vocality. The music genres constitutive of Jaramillo's repertoire further illustrate the overlapping dynamics of race, space, nation, and media capital he embodied and voiced. I close this section by offering a brief historical overview of some of these genres and how they coalesce on Jaramillo's fluid voice.

Deferring genre: Vocal transgressions

The music genre category has been central to acoustemological constructions of *música popular*. Music genre qua acoustemological place-holder has been a powerful and highly efficient device to transmit huge amounts of information. Aural cues enclose loaded politics of identity, race, and space. For instance, a tango vocalization may evoke the Argentinian nation-state. The same goes for the Ecuadorian pasillo and the Peruvian valse in

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[18] For studies on the relation between whitening and music in Latin America see Wade (2000) and Hernández Salgar (2007).
[19] J.J. was by no means the only singer of his time with this kind of aesthetic practice. Olimpo Cárdenas had a similar one but with less international success. The Chilean Lucho Gatica did rise to transnational acclaim. However, unlike Jaramillo, Gatica focused primarily on bolero repertoire (see Party 2018).

regard to their respective geopolitical spaces. Similarly, different bolero sonorities may index cosmopolitan sameness or racial otherness.

What does it mean when the acoustemological division holding these categorizations become secondary? In other words, can indexicality be deferred? I argue that in Jaramillo's fluid voice, it can. The tracks analyzed above shed light on the broader issue of his eclectic repertoire. I have focused on a handful of the genres J.J. performed. Per the information included in his albums, he recorded more than fifty different genres.[20]

A historical analysis of the genres that were staples of Jaramillo's repertoire shows how far back these dynamics of aural transnationalisms go. The case of tango, bolero, Ecuadorian pasillo, and Peruvian valse, and how they cross-pollinate through Jaramillo's voice, invite us to consider how media, nation, and sound have intertwined since the beginning of the 20th century. Figures like Jaramillo problematize the aural politics of disciplining that have circumscribed music practices to nation-states. In what follows, I offer a brief overview of these music genres and their relation to media industries and discourses of nation. I conclude this section by elaborating on how Jaramillo disrupts these disciplined auralities.

Exploding in the late 1920s/early 1930s with icons like Carlos Gardel and Libertad Lamarque, tango became widely popular across the American continent. Importantly, and similarly to the bolero, tango was circulated in the Americas through the radio, recording, and film industry (Collier 1986, Castro 1999). Gardel and Lamarque starred in several films. While in the collective imaginary tango continues to be closely attached to Argentina and, to a

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[20] I include an entire list of this in Appendix 2. I thank my collaborator Henry Martinez Puerta for working with me on this.

lesser degree, Uruguay, it is performed by artists from across the world. For instance, Chilean Pepe Aguirre—who I mention in my analysis of the tango "Jornalero"—specialized in tangos. The same goes for Jaramillo's conational Olimpo Cárdenas, who, although performed different genres, built his name on tango repertoire. This was particularly true for the Colombian region of Antioquia and its capital Medellín, where Cárdenas lived most of his life.[21]

Towards the mid-1940s, the bolero, in its different variants, was the dominant sound in the Pan-American media industry (Santamaría Delgado 2014, 177). Both tango and bolero were sponsored by the most powerful media industries of the region in the 20th century: Argentina and México. In the 1950s, for a transnational artist like Jaramillo, these genres were vital in their process of internationalization. México was also a significant player in funneling other genres from Afro-Cuban descent like mambo.[22] As I show in the introduction, that mambo was a deeply racialized yet widely popular *música popular.* The fact that the Mexican industry was simultaneously circulating whitened music practices like the bolero trio, and black sounds like the mambo, further illustrate the convoluted dynamics of race and sound present in the pre-neoliberal Latin American music industry.

The Ecuadorian pasillo began an active process of nationalization in the 1920s and '30s. Product of the dynamics of a rising modernization taking place across the region, such

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[21] In the specific case of Colombia, tango was particularly popular in Medellín (where Cárdenas lived most of his artistic career) and its surrounding areas. The fact that Gardel died tragically on a plane accident in this city in 1935 was a key event that further established the taste for this music in the city (see Santamaría Delgado 2014, 130).

[22] Importantly, both tango a bolero were deeply intertwined with the film industry of the time. The fame of tango stars like Gardel's and Libertad Lamarque came hand-in-hand with feature films they started in. These films, showcased many of these artist's hits. Similarly, it was common for Mexican bolero trios like Los Panchos and mambo artists like Dámaso Pérez Prado to do cameos in Mexican films (see Crespo 2013).

processes were advanced by the state and the nascent local recording industry (Wong 2012, Rodriguez Albán 2018). Most of the first recordings of Ecuadorian music deemed as "national music" were pasillos recorded by local artists. These were initially made abroad and later on in Ecuador (Pro Meneses 1997). To this day, the act of performing pasillos indexes discourses of nationalism and national identity. Jaramillo, being the most internationally successful Ecuadorian singer of the 20th century, performed a limited number of pasillos. On a personal level, this may have to do with certain intimacy he had with this repertoire. On a commercial one, this was a strategic move that allowed him to connect to his Ecuadorian audiences, both local and diasporic. This was particularly significant for Jaramillo when he toured abroad, especially in Canada and the US, where he performed in cities with numerous Ecuadorian migrants.[23]

The relation between the Peruvian valse and Ecuador is long-standing. As Rodríguez Albán (2018) has shown, the Peruvian valse (or *valse criollo*) has been performed and consumed in Ecuador since at least the 1950s (Ibid., 252). The case of Guayaquil (Jaramillo's hometown) is of particular interest. Being a port city and the country's dominant economy, Guayaquil saw the rise of the local recording industry. It is also the southernmost city in Ecuador and is thus geographically close to Perú. Therefore, the closeness Guayquileño musicians hold with the Peruvian valse is not just aural but also geographical. An anecdote from one of Jaramillo's former sidemen better illustrates the close relationship between the Peruvian valse and Guayaquil.

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[23] Jaramillo performed in cities like New York, New Jersey, Washington D.C, Los Angeles and Montreal among others. A short documentary on Jaramillo's 1971 performances in Los Angeles and a subsequent US tour can be found at: https://youtu.be/hQ4EEjj-xnU. For more on Ecuadorian music in the context of diasporic communities, see chapter seven of Wong (2012).

In conversation with Guayaquileño guitarist/requintista and singer Ricardo Prado, he recalled how he learned to play the valse "properly." Prado performed with Olimpo Cárdenas for many years. He was also J.J.'s sidemen on his last U.S. tour in 1977. In 1956, way before that and still a teenager, Prado traveled to Tumbes, a coastal city in northern Perú, a few hours' drive from Guayaquil. Once in the town's square, he played some Ecuadorian pasillos in his guitar with great success. A local passerby asked Prado if he knew how to play "our valses," to which Prado—with the cockiness of youth—responded that he certainly could. After playing a few bars, the listeners told him to stop. According to Prado, the Peruvian listeners commented: "This asshole was shitting all over the music" ["Este güevon está haciendo mierda la música"].[24] They told Prado that they would bring someone that knew how to play the valse. Prado was surprised when he saw a barefooted local hawker coming, carrying a tray with fish. He continues:

> He [the guy with the tray] asked me to play a valse.
>
> '–No, you fool, that's not how you play, what are you doing?'
>
> He washed his hands, dried them thoroughly, and then grabbed my guitar. What a beast! That guy was a monster! A filthy bum. A tremendous artist with no shoes. That's when I learned that the properly-played valse has to be *bordoneado,* using the lower ones; the 4th, 5th, and 6th [strings of the guitar]… And he told me, 'learn how to play it; you'll see that when you learn what I've taught you, you'll never forget me.' And I do remember him, and that was more than 40 years ago.[25]

To be clear, monikers like "monster" and "beast" are superlatives Prado used to commend the artistry of his humble colleague. Prado's anecdote illustrates the close relation

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[24] Ricardo Prado, interview by the author, Guayaquil, August 23, 2018.
[25] Ibid.

the Peruvian valse have had with Ecuador, Guayaquil, in particular. A local version of this genre called *Ecuadorian valse* has cross-pollinated with its Peruvian counterpart.[26] The rendition of "Fatalidad" that I analyze above is an active part of this story. By the time J.J. recorded his version, the song had already been versioned by his conational Olimpo Cárdenas for Medellín-based Discos Victoria with great success. As I have mentioned, Jaramillo's rendition was based on Cárdenas' arrangement. Rosalino Quintero, an Ecuadorian requinto player and an essential collaborator throughout Jaramillo's career, was hired by Guayaquil-based Ónix as musical director for the session. Quintero recalls that, in the process of developing the arrangement, he aimed to provide the song with a sonority "in between the Peruvian and the Ecuadorian vals."[27]

Figure 29. Julio Jaramillo (center) and Ricardo Prado (right). United States. October, 1977. (from the Ricardo Prado collection)

[26] For a more detailed study of the valse in Perú see Yep (1993) and Borras (2009). For the development on the valse in Ecuador see Wong (2012) and Rodríguez Albán (2018)
[27] "Fatalidad," *El Universo*. October 7, 2014. Accesed on April 8, 2020. (https://www.eluniverso.com/vida-estilo/2014/10/03/nota/4062266/fatalidad)

The cross-pollination between tango, bolero, Ecuadorian pasillo, and Peruvian valse was so fluid that, towards the 1970s, they eventually emerged as a single entity in Ecuador, an umbrella genre called *rocolera* music (Wong 2012, 97). While J.J. is not considered to be a *rocolero* artist, he is nonetheless acknowledged as one of its direct precursors (Ibid., 103). To be sure, the rocolero/a appellative is used predominantly among Ecuadorian communities. Nevertheless, the rocolera phenomenon does illustrate the power of both Jaramillo's fluid vocality and of the most symbolic apparatus through which his voice circulated: the *rocola* or jukebox.[28]

Resounding with my theorization of the *popular* subject and with Jaramillo's *popular* voice, the emergence of *rocolera* music in Ecuador was concomitant with massive internal migrations that took place in Ecuador in the 1960s (Ibid., 96). While the rocolera appellative is unique to Ecuador, similar phenomena exist in places like Colombia, Perú, Chile, and Puerto Rico (Ibid.; Rodríguez Albán 2018, 42). Jaramillo's vocality is found in many of these repertoires.[29] These umbrella genres are systematically associated with the homosocial cantina space, working-class man, alcohol, and heartbreak.

Listening in detail to Jaramillo's voice, I have shown the ability he had to perform a wide array of genres from across the Americas. I have also analyzed some of the vocal tactics he used to do so. The ability J.J. had to perform this eclectic repertoire while retaining a sense of vocal identity speaks of his vocal dexterity; I have called this the fluid voice. The case of rocolera music (and the different iterations that exist of this umbrella genre in other countries)

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[28] For an extended discussions of the jukebox, J.J., masculinity, and rocolera music, see chapters two and three of this dissertation.
[29] Such is the case of *cebollera* music in Chile, *cantinera* music in Perú, or simply *música popular* in Colombia. Julio Jaramillo is a constant presence in these umbrella genres.

further illustrates the power of Jaramillo's vocality. In his voice, and as the case of rocolera music illustrates, the acoustemological division that the genre category presupposes becomes secondary. Such stories are not unique to J.J. Rather, as Ricardo Prado's anecdote shows, Jaramillo embodies and voices long-lasting cycles of transculturation that have unsettled regimes that have systematically circumscribe certain sounds to particular geopolitical spaces.

The act of deferring genre constitutes an act of sonic and epistemic disruption. By engaging with a diverse range of musicalities and by funneling them through his fluid voice, Julio Jaramillo unsettled the disciplining of knowledges that the genre category presupposes. Furthermore, Jaramillo's fluid vocality mobilizes broader dynamics of othering and resistance. The genealogies of *lo popular* that I have unraveled throughout this dissertation, become knowable/audible through his voice. J.J.'s *popular* vocality is the locus where the *popular* subject emerges.

Interestingly, Jaramillo's voice is also rendered as a *popular* one in scholarship, press, and literature. Having listened to Jaramillo in detail, I now turn to written accounts of J.J.'s voice. In the process of creating meaning around Jaramillo's voice, what Ochoa Gautier (2006) calls recontextualization of sound, the authors I analyze below have sedimented the tropes the make Jaramillo's aurality a *popular* one. In this archive, I find overlapping discourses of exaltation and otherness.

Recontextualizing the *popular* voice

Few descriptions of Jaramillo's voice exist. All of them are relatively short and scattered across a wide range of literary genres, from essays to short stories and chronicles. While it is indeed curious that the very thing on which J.J.'s fame was predicated on is

scarcely dealt with, this comes as no surprise. On the one hand, this speaks of the understudied figure Jaramillo continues to be. While colleagues/contemporaries of Jaramillo, such as Lucho Gatica and Daniel Santos, have received some scholarly attention,[30] Jaramillo continues to be overlooked.[31] On the other hand, it also has to do with the challenges writing about sound presupposes, its constructed ineffability, what Stern (2003) has famously called "the audiovisual litany."

Unsurprisingly, these recontextualizations of J.J.'s voice intertwine sound and difference. In this section, I consider textual depictions of Jaramillo's vocality. This act of double-listening puts forward broader issues. As the theorization of the *popular* subject I have advanced throughout this dissertation has shown, Jaramillo embodies a subject that falls in and out of alterity, one that is othered and erased, voiced and yet un-enunciated. More than an "immunization of the voice" (Ochoa Gautier 2014)—that is, the process of disciplining non-normative voices into the mestizaje regime—in Jaramillo's vocal archive I find overlapping narratives of alterity and adulation.

I read these narratives in two registers. First, the depiction of Jaramillo's voice as a "sad" one that expresses a *popular* sentiment, a "voz del pueblo." Second, his "howling" or "moany" vocality that, I suggest, signals overlapping dynamics of gender and sound that render Jaramillo's voice as a deviant one.

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[30] For the case of Lucho Gatica see Donosos Rojas (1992) and Party (2018). For Daniel Santos see Sánchez (2000) and Ramos and Santos (2015).

[31] Jaramillo has been briefly mentioned in studies of Ecuadorian music like those of Wong (2012) and Rodríguez Albán (2018). Aside these, a few short biographies and anthologies of J.J. have been published in Ecuador. Such is the case of Díaz (1998) García (2006), Cortázar and Valdivieso (2012), and Serrano Sánchez (2012).

"Sad" inflections and *popular* voicings

Two main attributes consistently appear in the few written description of J.J.'s voice; its *popular* sensibility and its "sadness." These depictions are also readily available his the obituaries, such as the one found in the opining of chapter one. For instance, Jaramillo's obituary in *El Colombiano* newspaper commented that J.J.'s "now gone sad voice…filled with tears more than a million Colombians…"[32] This relation between Jaramillo's vocality and sadness is perhaps better encapsulated by Guayaquileño writer Jorge Velasco Mackenzie's (the author of El Rincón de los Justos) moniker of "cantatriste," partially translatable to "the one who sings sad," or the "one that sings sadness."

What continues a sad voice? Or better, what makes Jaramillo's voice prone to auralize the most bitter aspects of the human condition? This relation, I suggest, emerges from J.J.'s identification with *lo popular,* with "the people." Consider Ecuadorian historian Jorge Núñez Sánchez's (2008) account. Reflecting on why J.J. became an idol across the Americas, he writes:

> Without a doubt, it was due to his sweet and warm voice, out of the people's heart [salida del corazón del pueblo], full of deep and human resonances and rich melodic nuances. In the most genuine tradition of our popular culture [de nuestra cultura popular], Jaramillo's voice was not the product of a dedicated vocal education, but the product of the popular sensibility [fruto de la sensibilidad popular]… A cantina voice, like the ones many men in our land have [como la de tantos hombres en nuestra tierra]. A voice made to express tenderness and sadness, not joyful rhythms (26-27).

For the author, Jaramillo's voice possesses a "popular sensibility." Said sensibility stems from J.J.'s marginality. That is, it is the singer's brownness and working-class

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[32] "Cantor," *El Colombiano,* March 2, 1978.

background manifested in his lack of formal music education, which makes his voice a *popular* one. This untamed vocality sounds the "people's hearts" (el corazón del pueblo). Pepe Jaramillo, J.J.s brother and a professional singer himself, echoes this notion: "I believe his way of singing was the way the people sang… he sang from the soul, and the people felt it like that… he didn't have any previous preparation, no school…what God gave him he retrieved to the people [lo revirtió al pueblo]" (Pepe Jaramillo cited in Díaz 1998). All these attributes make Jaramillo, in the words of Nuñez Sánchez, the voice "of many men in our land." J.J. voices the anguish of the Latin American subaltern.

Jaramillo himself thought so too. As I show in chapter two, he commented that the rapport he had with Venezuelan composer Antonio Rafael Deffitt Martínez, his long-time collaborator, developed from the fact that the composer felt "as much as I do that the people suffer a lot [la gente del pueblo sufre mucho]" and that he could translate "into music and poetry the anguish I feel for not being able to remediate the pain of the others in ways no one has been able to" (Deffitt Martínez 1989).

J.J.'s "sad" vocality thus emerges not just from the songs whose lyrical content narrates and articulates the *popular* subject. His subalternity is central to this discursive formation. Jaramillo is not just voicing a space of erased otherness. He is placed in this place of double-negation. He is the erased *popular* subject constitutive of the mestizo nation. Furthermore, this aural space of difference, what I have called the aural *popular* sphere, is a predominately masculine locus. In both of Jaramillo's and Nuñez Sánchez's accounts, "the people," la gente del pueblo, emerge as a masculine entity. Nuñez Sánchez situates J.J.'s vocality in the cantina, the quintessential masculine space. Jaramillo's is a cantina voice that constitutes the aural backdrop on which masculinity's fragility can be expressed. This

racialized, classed, and masculine overtones make Jaramillo's voice one of "sadness" and "tenderness."

In this short passage, Nuñez Sánchez condenses many of the tropes of race, space, and gender I have traced throughout this dissertation. Much in line with my theorization of the *popular* subject, for the author, Jaramillo auralizes a masculine marginality present across the Americas. Jaramillo voices an erased alterity, one that is simultaneously sounded and silenced. It is perhaps this act of being othered and erased, this double-negation, that makes Jaramillo's a "sad" vocality. Nuñez Sánchez's allusion to J.J.'s "tender" vocality puts in motion a different set tropes. This may be the voice that celebrates and idolizes the mother, the self-less body, the voice of the child-lover I theorize in chapter three.

In these accounts, the aural markers of Jaramillo's voice derive from his marginal body and the marginal bodies of those who he represents. In other words, rather than alluding to defined oral/aural features, Velasco Mackenzie, Nuñez Martínez, and J.J.'s brother Pepe, mobilize otherness as an intrinsic feature of Jaramillo's voice. The direct correlation between aurality and alterity is at the core of these recontextualizations.

The discursive formations built around Jaramillo and his voice are overwhelmingly heteronormative and masculine. However, deep in the archive, there are voices that go against the grain of this notion. This recontextualization of Jaramillo's voice unsettles his hypermasculine figure. I close this section by working through this friction.

The deviant voice: Howls and moans

In chapter three, I focus on Ecuadorian male writers Fernando Artieda, Jorge Velasco Mackenzie, and Raúl Pérez Torres to show how, in their work, J.J. develops into a site of

masculine fantasy. In these texts, race and gender are mobilized to epitomize the marginality of the cholo. For these authors, Jaramillo's intimacy with the Ecuadorian subaltern is paramount. The graphic nature of their narrative, describing scenes of violence, misogyny, and sexual assault, is central to their style and to the process of reifying J.J. as an aural figure of otherness.

In a similarly graphic way, an obscure part of these literary corpus has unsettled J.J.'s hypermasculine persona. These narratives developed from a specific event of Jaramillo's life that entangle vocality, gender, and sexuality. I open this section by offering a summary of the rumors that afforded this narrative. I then move on to show the discursive formations that developed from it. My interest does not lie in inquiring about the historical truthfulness of these stories. Instead, my aim is to surface how specific mediations of Jaramillo, the quintessential macho, attacked him through the very agent on which his figure was built: his voice.

Jaramillo left Ecuador in 1960. Though he returned sporadically to perform and visit friends and family, he didn't settle back in his country until 1976. It was rumored that J.J. left escaping the family of an underaged woman he had sex with. The sudden departure of Jaramillo triggered all sorts of speculations. The most polemical one being that the brothers of the woman raped Jaramillo in retaliation. Deviously mixing facts, gossip, and fiction, in *El Rincón de los Justos* Jorge Velasco Mackenzie (1983) fictionalizes the event. He narrates it through the voice of Erasmo, a former sideman and friend of J.J.:

> Blanca Rosa left with you following your ephemeral lights; she eventually came back and left with someone else, because truth be told she liked to escape with artists that sang to her without underwear, like you did the first time when you engendered in her the first of your twenty-seven children… [we would perform in Guayaquil] before they made you pay for that broken vagina [ese

> virgo roto], that pussy smashed on the edges [esa concha partida en los bordes] that drove you away from the city for good, from the theaters in which they heckled you when your voice was fine, all because of those rumors saying that the brothers of Blanca Rosa have avenged her, that they have wretched you from behind viciously [te habían hecho infeliz por detrás con saña], hoping that you would end in the same hole she did after a poorly done cure (148-149).

A character by the name of Blanca is a constant presence connecting the literary worlds of these Ecuadorian writers. The name Blanca likely alludes to Blanca Garzón, a woman that persons close to Jaramillo have argued was his most beloved partner and with which he had two children. A well-known singer and dancer in Guayaquil's entertainment scene, her relationship with J.J. became the gossip of the town. Blanca Garzón passed a few years after Jaramillo left Ecuador in 1960. A fictionalized Blanca is continuously invoked by Velasco Mackenzie, Artieda, and Pérez Torres. As the quote above shows, for Velasco Mackenzie, Blanca Rosa is the underaged women Jaramillo had sex with. Emilia, the racialized woman Pérez Torres ventriloquizes in the short story *Rondando tu Esquina*, mentions Blanca as one of J.J.'s many sexual partners. Finally, in his poem *Pueblo Fantasma y Clave de J.J.*, Artieda alludes to Blanca Garzón as a famous prostitute Jaramillo was involved with. Blanca thus developed into a misogynistic place-holder for these authors.

The sexually violent scene described by Velasco Mackenzie is traversed by his masculine gaze. We can see how the narration puts the blame on Blanca for following J.J.s "ephemeral lights." It also debunks the story, arguing that he left Ecuador not escaping the shame of being raped by another man, but the heckling that developed from this rumor. In other words, the narrator of the scene, a friend and former sideman of J.J. mentions the rumor (and by doing so reifies it) and denies it immediately. For these authors, the act of being penetrated makes of Jaramillo's body, and by extension, his voice, an aberrant one.

Different versions of this event, in fact, circulated in Ecuador. In an interview made a few months after J.J.'s death, his mother lamented how these malicious rumors followed him throughout his life: "The said lots of things… things of the idols!... Don't you see how far they took it once, to cast doubt on my son's manhood!" (Sernaqué and Romero Albán 1978a, 38). Note that Doña Polita, Jaramillo's mother, did not offer specifics on the incident at hand. Instead, she referred to how the haters were putting his son's "manhood" into question. The sensible nature of the event is further illustrated by the cryptic ways in which it is mentioned in this interview and throughout the archive.

The fact that the masculinity of the quintessential macho was put in question became a matter of interest for Velasco Mackenzie's colleague Raúl Pérez Torres (1986). In his short story *Rondando tu Esquina*, he develops on these narratives when Emilia, a woman that fantasizes with being Jaramillo's lover as she awaits to see the singer's corpse, mentions:

> And now that all the rocolas [jukeboxes] of the world, rocolero [jukebox man], are embellished with a black ribbon, and that your howls [alaridos] are coming out of them, your horrible two-sexed voice [tu horrible voz de dos sexos] that allowed the entertainment media to defame you and sweep you from the manhood that you stuck on me like a knife, like a stake… (100).

The "defamation" Emilia refers to is J.J.'s alleged rape. As Emilia—ventriloquized by Pérez Torres—says, the entertainment media used this rumor to "sweep the manhood" out of Ecuador's proverbial macho, the country's "golden dick" (*pinga de oro*), in the words of Fernando Artieda. The aberration that Pérez Torres reads in this episode is aurally manifested in the singer's "horrible two-sexed voice." J.J.'s deviant voice was an aural marker of his "wretchedness."

Interestingly, both Velasco Mackenzie and Pérez Torres rush to amend J.J.'s masculinity. Velasco Mackenzie portrays the story as a rumor. By graphically depicting how these lies were the product of a vengeance designed to make him "pay for that broken vagina," Velasco Mackenzie immediately reaffirms Jaramillo's manhood. His colleague Pérez Torres does so too. Emilia calls these stories defamations and comments on how the manhood from which the singer was being divested is the same one he stuck on her "like a knife."

What aural markers did Pérez Torres, or the media, hear that could account for this chain of sexual violence? He posits that Jaramillo's "howls" (alaridos) are the aural manifestation of his "wretchedness." Following a long-lasting genealogy of colonial ways of listening in which the howl is indexed to a sub-human aurality (Tomlinson 2007, Ochoa Gautier 2014), Pérez Torres renders Jaramillo's voice as a deviant one. This aberration develops from J.J.'s non-normative body and two-sexed voice product of the alleged rape. Therefore, this fictionalized accusations mobilized primitivist tropes to de-humanize J.J. His howling voice indexes Jaramillo's penetrated and deviant body.

However, the layers of representation in Pérez Torres' narration are convoluted. The author is simultaneously reifying this event and discrediting it. He is annexing a rumor that actually circulated in Jaramillo's days to his literary world. Pérez Torres' mediation of J.J., like those of his colleagues, traverses a fine line between exaltation and otherness. By reproducing and sensationalizing these gossips, these writers are echoing the voices that did accuse Jaramillo of being sexually abused. This accusation aimed to divest Jaramillo's from his most valuable assets; his manhood and his voice. Rather than sympathizing with J.J., these critical voices shamed the alleged victim. The chain of sexual aggressions surrounding this

story clearly illustrates the hypermasculine, misogynistic, and homophobic discourses surrounding J.J.'s figure.

Listening through the archive to those who have recontextualized Jaramillo's voice, I have found different discursive formations. While my theorization of Jaramillo's voice as a *popular* vocality is informed by the genealogies of *lo popular* that I study in this dissertation, for the voices in the archive, his status of *popular* singer develops from his brownness and working-class origins. These two accounts are not at odds. Quite the opposite. Jaramillo's embodied alterity is sounded through his voice. He voices the *popular* subject and, by doing, his voice disrupts mestizaje regime.

Closing remarks: Vocality, alterity, and disruption

Julio Jaramillo's voice and figure served as a hub through which auralities and ways of being from across an entire continent encountered. Hence, to listening to Jaramillo is to listen for the heterogeneous and ever-fluid dynamics of difference construction and resistance that I have theorized in the previous chapters. Astutely, J.J. navigated different genres and, by doing so, he pulled together stories of difference and resistance scattered across an entire continent. Jaramillo's voice is the aural locus where the *popular* subject emerges. Where it is constructed, othered, and erased.

At difference points of this dissertation, I have used Fred Moten's idea of the "break" to signal the instances in which J.J.'s aurality signals a disruption to the mestizaje regime. However, in Jaramillo, otherness and disruption overlap. I have listened in detail to his voice to unearth particular aural markers that make of his voice a fluid one, one that traverses and, at times, transgresses the aural politics of the mestizo nation. Others hear in J.J. alterity,

sadness, and howling deviancy. All the listeners I analyze above render Jaramillo's voice through the marginality it indexes. His sad vocality is the voice of marginality. His howling voice is the sound of his rumored wretchedness of his un-manliness. Even for sympathetic voices, J.J.'s voice and figure is simultaneously exalted and othered. Like the *música popular* category, J.J. is an acoustemological site of struggle.

Figure 30. Julio Jaramillo performing at Radio Caracas Televisión. Caracas, Venezuela. Circa 1968
(from the Francisco Xavier Romero Muñoz collection)

EPILOGUE

Scattered Stories of Sound and Power

In the novel *El Rincón de Los Justos*, Jorge Velasco Mackenzie (1983) builds a non-fictional literary world around Matavilela. Located in downtown Guayaquil, this soon to be gentrified neighborhood is a microcosm of the urban alterity constitutive of the Latin American metropole in the second half of the 20th century, and to this day. The unnamed cholos that inhabit Matavilela are the *popular* bodies on which Guayaquil's development feeds. Among them is Erasmo, a furniture varnisher, or *charolador,* and a former guitarist and friend of Julio Jaramillo. In the early 1950s, before J.J.'s transnational career started, J.J. and Erasmo would roam the streets of Guayaquil looking for serenading gigs, drinking, and loitering.

Erasmo is also the person leading the transition of Matavilela from downtown Guayaquil to the mangrove swamps in the city's outskirts. Cannibalized by the development machine, these cholos are being pushed outside the metropolitan area, of the formal economy, and of the progress that the modern state promised. Progress indeed came, just not for them. Matavilela's marginality is constitutive of the booming city. As if it was an act of retribution, the internal racialized migrant populations that disrupted the mestizaje regime at the beginning of the 20th century were now being persecuted outside the city they built. Their subalternity was unwanted, it exposed the necropolitical cycle that made Guayaquil.

J.J. is the cholo that made it out of Matavilela. Had it not being for his voice and adventurous spirit, he would be squatting the peripheral mangroves to build a new house along his friend Erasmo. Instead of making a house out of board scraps, zinc roof tiles, and dirt floors, Jaramillo is now the aural backdrop of Matavilela. Erasmo, Matavilela, and Guayaquil are just one dot in the histories of alterity and disruption Jaramillo brought together through his voice. The story of Matavilela is the story of many *popular* communities across the American continent, many for whom Jaramillo sang for and about.

Media was the agent through which J.J.'s voice and figure reached the entire continent. Vinyl, radio, jukeboxes, press, magazines, and literature mediated Jaramillo and connected the dots between Matavilela and its peers. The stories of alterity constitutive of the mestizaje regime that were scattered across the Americas met and were sounded through Jaramillo. The agents mediating J.J.'s *popular* practice and body were thus simultaneously reifying his otherness and making it visible. This is the nature of the mediation process.

Shortly after J.J.'s demise, his friend Erasmo reminisced about their time together. He pondered about those who accused Jaramillo for being a sellout, for leaving Ecuador following the riches of the transnational media industry. "I know you weren't [RCA] Victor's loyal dog, Columbia's Columbus" (147) Erasmo says. J.J. wasn't a sellout. He wasn't a colonized body that spread the neocolonial disease of media capitalism to his kind. He was a hustler. He was a trickster. He played the system as much as the system played him. The networks they used to extract value from Jaramillo were the same ones he used to get paid. In the process of doing so, J.J. spread his *popular* voicings through the Americas, representing and giving voice to a subject of double-otherness. These are the same networks I use to listen

to him through space and time and to think about the bodies he embodies, the ones he voiced, the (un)enunciated entity called "the people," *el pueblo*.

Julio Jaramillo and the genealogies of *lo popular*

The acoustemological struggle for the ontology of *música popular* that began at the turn of the 20th century runs deep in J.J.'s *popular* practice. Since the early 1900s, intellectual and political elites across Latin America advocated and policed music practices that would be representative of the modern nation. Departing from colonial ways of thinking in which whiteness and Eurocentric music practices constituted the model of a civilized aurality, some of these intellectuals posited that a carefully constructed process of racial and aural miscegenation was to be the sound of modern state, of a proper *música popular* practice. Oscillating between whiteness and indigeneity, but never towards blackness, some of them turned to rural music practices as a source of nationalistic cultural capital, others argued for developing a local music practice through the aesthetic precepts coming from Europe, where the model of what constituted a civilized republic originated.

These debates about music, race, and nation were soon disrupted by the rising media industry. Mobilizing the signifier *música popular* to commercialize musics that fell within the precepts of what some of these elites were arguing for, and others that were at odds with the *popular*-nationalistic, the recording and radio industries further complicated the acoustemological struggle for lo popular. At the core of these debates was the establishment of the ethnic markers and racial formations that made the Latin American mestizo nation. The *música popular* signifier is traversed by all these forces. While over the 20th century, the white mestizo was established as the normative citizen of the nation, the discursive formations

built around *lo popular* dialogued in complicated ways with hegemonic ideas of music and nation.

In the 1950s, when Julio Jaramillo debuted as a *popular* singer, the music practice he embodied fell in a place of in-betweenness. He was rendered both as a nationalistic and a transnational singer. Like his constructed listener, Jaramillo's was a racialized body that was subsumed under the faux homogeneity of the mestizaje regime. J.J.'s eclectic and nomadic artistic practice mobilized the palimpsestic nature of *música popular*. Astutely, he navigated the pre-neoliberal Latin American recording industry. He recorded and performed from Argentina to the US singing to *el pueblo*, collecting their stories, recording them and feeding them back to his listeners.

His sexually charged mediatized figure was spectacularized as a marker of his otherness. Jaramillo's brown body became a locus of moral admonishment and heteropatriarchal fantasy. On the one hand, his mediated figure intersected with his brownness and *popular* background to render him as a hedonistic and immoral man. On the other hand, this life of excess developed into a site of masculine fantasy. The construction of particular, and often misogynistic, ideas of women as de-sexualized or oversexualized bodies were at the core of these relational construction of men and women.

All these discursive formations emerged from acts of mediation. Jaramillo exploited the decentralized nature of the recording industry of his time. He recorded for whoever could afford his flat rate. J.J.'s artistic career was highly profitable and unstable. He was a music laborer, living paycheck to paycheck. Rather than tying himself to a company, and even to a specific country, he played the system, jumping from place to place, being neither here nor there. This is the reason why his mediated figure is scattered in archives across Latin

America. It is also the reason why he is such a cohesive yet heterogenous locus in which diverse racial formations, gender constructions, musicalities, and ways of being meet and dialogue.

J.J.'s voice is the aural locus where these scattered stories of sound and power coalesce. The site-specific and comparatively methodology I have used throughout finds in Jaramillo's vocality its connective thread. His nomadic life, eclectic artistic practice, and exceptional vocal skills allowed him to traverse the continent musically and geopolitically. By doing so, he disrupted the aural geopolitics of the mestizo nation and voiced the *popular* subject in a transnational scale.

It is important to underline that some of the sources rendering Jaramillo's voice as a *popular* one, and that I have analyzed here, were written in the 1980s, 90s, and 2000s. This evidences how the dynamics of alterity, nation, and industry that I have traced to the early 1900s continue to regulate notions of *lo popular.* The exact concept that *música popular* names continues to be complex and elusive. However, starting in the 1980s, the advent of neoliberalism brought crucial changes to the music industry. With the flood of foreign, mostly US, capital, the decentralized Latin American industry became homogenized. Many of the local labels J.J. recorded for were put out of business, absorbed by multinational companies, or dramatically shrunk. Concurrently, the transition from a mestizo to a multicultural state marked crucial changes on the racial formations that made the Latin American nation and, by extension, of national and *popular* auralities.

I leave the study of the dynamics of the multicultural state and neoliberal media industries for future studies. Preliminarily, and as I have argued elsewhere (see Rubio Restrepo 2020a), the multicultural-neoliberal moment does not signal a departure from the

inequality that is constitutive of the Latin American nation, and world capitalism more broadly. The coloniality/modernity axis stands. Instead of erasing otherness, the neoliberal media industry mediates and commodifies racial difference, a process of circulation mostly controlled by Euro-American or white-mestizo agents. I suggest that the radical discursive shifts of the Latin American state from erasing otherness to showcasing it, from the mestizaje to the multicultural regime, is directly related to the ideological contradictions that pullulate the mestizaje ideology, some of which J.J., and the *popular* subject he represented, voiced so eloquently. Nevertheless, as Martín-Barbero tells us, there's not such a thing as a hegemonic culture industry. To foreclose the ruptures inherent to mass-mediated expressive cultures would be to "de-eventualize" (Foucault *dixit*) history.

APPENDIX 1

Julio Jaramillo's "mother's repertoire"

Song Title	Listed Music Genre	Listed Composer/s
A mi Madre	Valse	Julio Jaramillo
Adios Madre Querida	Corrido/ranchera	Pedro Lemus
Allá	Guajira	Ricardo Mora Torres
Amor de Madre	Valse	Daniel Igreada
Ausente de mi Madre	Pasillo	Benilde González
Canta Pajarillo Canta	Bolero	Peter Dellis, Aldo Legui
Carta a Mi Madre	Bolero	Bobby Capó
Castigo de Dios	Bolero	D.R.
Consejo de Oro	Bolero	Arquimedes Arci, Agustín Maglady
Corazón de Luto	Balada	Texerinha
Corazón de Madre	Tango	José Macías
Cuando Era Mía Mi Vieja	Bolero	Pascual Mamone, Juan B. Tiggi
Dos Medallitas	Bolero	Nelson Navarro
El Perdón	Bolero	Aldo Legui
El Retrato de Mamá	Bolero	Maruja A. Talero, Carlos A. Russo
Rosario de Mi Madre	Valse	Mario Cavagnaro
Encargo Que No Se Cumple	Pasillo	Marco Tulio Idrobo
Este es el Retrato	Valse	Paco Noguera, Ipólito Benedetto Oneca
Felíz Cumpleaños Mama	Valse	I. Vanolo
Hacia el Calvario	Pasillo	Carlos Vieco, León Safir
Lo Que mi Madre me Enseñó	Pasillo	Orlando London
Los Versos A Mi Madre	Valse	Alfredo Dangeils, Roberto Arrieto, Alejandro Mariscotti
Madre	Bolero	Francisco Pracánico, V. Cervetto
Madre Cariñito Santo	Pasillo	Gonzalo Moncayo

Madre como te quiero	Valse	Javier Torres Navarro
Madre de los Cabellos de Plata	Bolero	Juan Solano Pedrero/Alejo León Montoro
Madre hay una sola	Bolero	Agustín Bardi, José de la Vera
Madre Mía	Pasillo	Francisco Paredes Herrera
Madre Querida	Valse	Valentin Carussi
Madre sin Hijos	Valse	Aldo Legui, Alfredo Monar
Madrecita	Bolero	Pablo Herrera
Madrecita Humilde	Valse	Aldo Legui
Madrecita Ideal	Valse	Ramón Galves A.
Mi grito	Bolero	Nelson Navarro
Mi Madre es Mi Novia/Yo Tengo Una Novia	Valse	D.R.
Mi Madrecita	Bolero	Aldo Legui
Navidad sin Madre	Villancico	Firmo S. Rincón
No Niegues a tu Hijo	Bolero	Conchita López F.
Oh Pintor	Valse	Antonio Rafael Deffit Martínez
Para ti Madrecita	Valse	Sergio Bedoya
Pobre mi Madre Querida	Yaraví	Alberto Guillén Navarro
Pobre mi Madre Querida	Valse	José Bettinotti
Que Dios No Lo Permita	Valse	Paco Nogue, Reinaldo Giso
Quiero Verte Madre	Pasillo	Carlos Alberto Rubira Infante
Tres Cariños	Bolero	Lino Marcos, Enrique Garcia Satur
Tres Esperanzas	Tango	Enrique Santos Disépolo
Yo Debí Enamorarme de tu Madre	Bolero ranchero	José Alfredo Jiménez

APPENDIX 2

List of music genres Julio Jaramillo recorded*

Song Title	Listed Music Genre
Nuestro Juramento	Bolero
Ódiame	Vals Peruano
Sombras	Pasillo
Adoración	Bolero Son
Allá	Guajra
Amanecer Tuyero	Pasaje Llanero
Amor en Budapest	Fox
Amor sin Ley	Estilo Criollo
Ay Mexcanita	Porro
Brisas del Torbes	Bambuco
Busqué tu Olvido	Vals pasaje
Chica Linda	Pasacalle
Colorcito de Sandía	Corrido
No Me Amenaces	Ranchera
Jornalero	Tango
Cuando Ya No Me Quieras	Guranía
Destino Cruel	Porrito
El Barloventeño	Golpe pasaje
Por qué Me Has Abandonado	Polka
Botecito de Vela	Cha cha chá
Ni se compra ni se vende	Pasodoble
María Dolores	Bolero Moruno
La Luz	Parranda
Mire comadre mire	Tonada/pasaje
Quién Tiene Tu Amor	Balada
No Quisiera Querete	Bolero cha
Ojos Azules	Tonada
Pobre Mi Madre Querida	Yaraví

* This list is based on the music genres listed on the records.

Sé Que te Voy a Perder	Huapango
Muñeca de Loza	Vals argentino
A lo macho, Cenizas	Bolero ranchero
Tres esperanzas	Tango-bolero
Un telegrama	Fox
Que Culpa Tengo Yo	Balada-rock
Falso Juramento	Rock
Mujer Merideña	Vals Venezolano
Escucha esta Canción	Bolero Rítmico
Peridición	Boero cha cha chá
Maribel	Bolero Mambo
Ven Pa'l Rinconcito	Son Montuno
Llorar Llorar	Zamba/samba
Llora Corazón	Pasaje Lamento
Selección	Rock Lento
A la Ingrata	Danzante
Sin un Consuelo	Tonada Ecuatoriana
Mi Negra no Quiere Amores	Cumbia
Navidad sin Madre	Villancico
Zulia Querido	Gaita Venezolana
Cariño nuevo	Paseo Vallenato
Abril en Portugal	Canción Portuguesa
Una Rubia que Vive en la Luna	Vals-canción
Sonia	Balada
Serenata	Canción Llanera
Rosario	Porro
Rosa de Abril	Canción vaquera

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