# "Your Sound Is Like Your Sweat": Miles Davis's Disembodied Sound Discourse

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In 1954, Miles Davis returned to New York after ridding himself of his heroin habit cold turkey at home in East St. Louis. With an image tarnished in the jazz press through association with the drug, a sound that had been described by Barry Ulanov as "feeble," and a career that Leonard Feather characterized as "slipping away from him," Davis sought to rebuild himself.[1] Boxer Sugar Ray Robinson (1921–1989) became the "hero-image" after whom Davis fashioned his new stance.[2] An amateur boxer in his own right, Davis idolized Robinson as both a fighter and a public figure: he actively began to embody Robinson's "cold" and "arrogant attitude," and he even trained at Robinson's gym (Silverman's Gym) and ate in his restaurant and bar.[3] Furthermore, in interviews throughout his life, Davis frequently mapped boxing techniques onto his discussions of musical performance, comparing the importance of style, practice, and rhythm between each.[4] In doing so, Davis implied a relationship between music and embodiment in which playing a musical instrument required physical engagement—and further, physical domination—like that of boxers.[5]

Davis's discussions of the moves and techniques of his favorite boxers went beyond those of a casual hobbyist, and his emulation of boxer Sugar Ray Robinson exceeded simple fandom. Gerald Early argues that Robinson was not simply a boxing hero to Davis, but rather played a formative role in Davis's construction of a "mythology of black masculinity" that relied on the physical embodiment of both discipline and pleasure.[6] The body played an important role in Davis's form of cool in the 1950s and 1960s, which Early describes as "a kind of black male existentialism that forged a moral code from the imperatives

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of the male body as it alternately functioned as a symbol of engagement and detachment, of punishing discipline and plush pleasure that operated cooperatively, not in conflict, if rightly understood. . . . The body was the cosmos, the root of all self-consciousness that mattered." Davis's embodiment of both Apollonian and Dionysian forms of masculinity is evident in a 1968 discussion with drummer and interviewer, Arthur Taylor. Taylor asked Davis, "Why do you go to the gymnasium so often, Miles?"[7] Davis responded, "I go to the gym to keep my body in shape, so I can hold notes longer, so my stomach will be flat and so I'll look handsome." Davis's answer spans the spectrum between the musical and the physical, the professional and the sensuous, indicating his preference for a variety of modes of embodied self-presentation. However, even as Davis boxed to keep himself "together, [his] body and [his] mind," his efforts played out in complicated and contradictory ways on the lives, bodies, and careers of those women with whom he came into contact.

Writers from W.E.B. Du Bois to Ta-Nehisi Coates have described the constant sense of embodiment black Americans live with. As Coates writes, "Our world is physical. Learn to play defense—ignore the head and keep your eyes on the body."[8] This particular form of embodiment—itself an imprint of slavery, colonialism, and violence—is part and parcel of what Frantz Fanon called "the black experience of living."[9] Likewise, cultural theorist Stuart Hall has argued that black musicians' performances necessarily include the body "as if it was, and it often was, the only cultural capital we had. We have worked on ourselves as the canvases of representation."[10] Davis was well aware of the embodiment of black lived experiences; in interviews throughout his life, Davis frequently talked about race and racism, maintaining a distinction between black music and white music that frequently hinged on "authentic" performances. But no matter how much Davis's self-image was rooted in the body, Davis also promoted his music through discourses of disembodiment, complicating the notion that black masculinity may only include two dialectical categories. Though the language of jazz criticism often revolved around racial binaries that hierarchically associated the body with blackness and the mind with whiteness, Davis simultaneously participated in discourses of physicality *and* disembodiment, explaining that his goal in boxing was to "keep myself together, my body and my mind."[11] In other words, Davis complicated racist dualisms between mind and body, emotion and intellect, cool and hot jazz, by maintaining the importance of blackness to his music while simultaneously placing his music within a normative narrative of disembodiment.

Davis's struggle between these bifurcated narratives—narratives that pit the mind against the body—and the social forces that supported them was mirrored in the signifier of sweat. In this article, I examine the public image of black jazz trumpeter Miles Davis to explore the relationship between his sound and his sweat outside these mind/body dualisms. To do so, I draw on theories of sweat proposed by critics Anthony Braxton and Roland Barthes, a comparison first discussed by Graham Lock.[12] Braxton and Barthes each posit that sweat

can be viewed by critics and audiences as either a sign of primitivism or a sign of intellect—the difference lies in *who* is sweating and who *views* them sweating. However, I argue that Davis complicated such binary interpretations of sweat and instead provided a model of how black musicians could refute intersecting race- and class-based stereotypes and create new spaces for black performance. These spaces simultaneously deconstructed categories of intellect and primitivism, allowing Davis to insist that blackness and intellect were not mutually exclusive.

As a mode of analysis, sweat offers a method of understanding intersections between race, class, gender, and sex in musical performances and promotional imagery. As a bodily secretion, sweat is part of a human experience that is nevertheless continuously mediated; what performers do with sweat—how it is presented, hidden, eliminated, or even flaunted—is deeply personal, making each critique of sweat inherently unique. In the consideration of sweat as an analytical method, I am aware of its potential to speak to musicians' performances across genres and identities. For example, I can imagine fruitful investigations of Ella Fitzgerald's sweat and handkerchief, particularly in conversation with Louis Armstrong, or James Brown's performance of "Cold Sweat" (1969), or, even further afield, Evgeny Kissin's 1997 performance of "La Campanella" at the Royal Albert Hall, in which sweat flies from his forehead and hair as he plays the étude by Franz Liszt. In its analysis of sweat, sound, and performance, this paper focuses on Davis, arguing that Davis's approach to sweat highlighted new avenues for black performance that countered persistent racist stereotypes—even while leaving sexist stereotypes intact.

For Davis to align blackness with intellect was a subversive move that counteracted the narratives critics wrote for Davis that described him primarily in terms of his bodily engagement with music, privileging and reifying a separation between body and mind.[13] As I argue elsewhere, midcentury jazz critics frequently described black jazz musicians in terms of their bodily engagement with music or ostensibly "primitive," rather than intellectual, approach.[14] These discourses of embodiment stem from problematic Cartesian dualisms between mind and body that flourished in the context of Western expansion and colonialism.[15] During this time, white European colonizers increasingly encountered, abused, and enslaved nonwhite indigenous peoples. Colonizers justified their actions through mind/body dualisms by arguing that to be of the body was to be nonhuman. These dualisms were mapped onto further epistemological distinctions, such as disembodiment versus embodiment, serious versus fun, and intellect versus physicality. Sociologist Simon Frith argues that such distinctions informed how critics and audiences alike understood the difference between white and black musicians and their music throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[16] Frith critiques what music historian Ted Gioia calls the "Primitivist Myth," a stereotype through which white jazz critics have described jazz as a primarily emotional, rather than intellectual, experience and have seen the jazz musician as "the inarticulate and unsophisticated practitioner of an art which he

himself scarcely understands."[17] However, as Hall reminds us, black popular culture, which at midcentury included jazz, is a site of "strategic contestation. But it can never be simplified or explained in terms of the simple binary oppositions that are still habitually used to map it out."[18] The dualistic approach taken by jazz critics is a simplistic interpretation that does not usually reflect reality.[19] As Antonio Damasio writes, "our minds would not be the way they are if it were not for the interplay of body and brain during evolution, during individual development, and at the current moment."[20] In other words, distinctions drawn from the mind/body binary do not tend to fit that binary. Davis's performances likewise belie the binary approach taken by many midcentury jazz critics. This paper focuses on this binary, not to reinforce a centuries-old, misguided method of categorization, but instead to focus on the ways in which Davis negotiated binaries that defined his reception and success.

In a 1986 interview with Ben Sidran, Davis equated his sound and his sweat, saying, in Sidran's transcription, "Your sound is like, it's like your sweat. You know, it's your 'sound.'"[21] When listening to the audio of the interview, one hears Davis pause to consider his analogy, explaining,

> But see your *sound* is—[*pause*]
> [*At a higher pitch*] Your sound is like-uh . . ., you know it's, it's like your *sweat*.
> [*Eats a potato chip*] You know your *sound*.[22]

The way Davis emphasizes "*sound*," by speaking at a higher pitch, louder dynamic level, and exaggerating the length of the vowel, makes it seem as though his "sound" oozes out of his pores in much the same way sweat does. How is sweat like sound, and what can Davis mean by describing his sound, unique to himself, as sweat?

In answering these questions, the theories of sweat proposed by critics Anthony Braxton and Roland Barthes, who each posit that sweat can be understood by critics and audiences as a sign of either primitivism or intellect, can be useful. The difference between each theory lies in *who* is sweating. Braxton argues that jazz critics, particularly (though not solely) white jazz critics, perceive sweat as a sign that African American jazz musicians are playing well, or working hard, whereas Barthes argues that sweat is a sign of intense thought, using the example of the white cast of the 1953 film *Julius Caesar*. Braxton's argument suggests that jazz critics likely considered Davis's sweat as a sign of physical effort or as a way of linking him to primitivist rhetoric. I argue, however, that Davis simultaneously complicated and reified such binary meanings of sweat by shifting the meaning of sweat from a sign of physical effort to a sign of mental exertion.

In his broad critique of jazz journalism, philosopher, composer, and saxophonist Anthony Braxton draws attention to sweat, arguing that black musicians' sweat acts as a signifier for hard work in the eyes of many white jazz

critics.[23] Braxton explains that the "reality of the sweating brow" describes the ways in which critics view certain jazz performances as "real."[24] In other words, Braxton argues that white critics view the presence of sweat as proof of effort through physical labor on the part of the black musician and therefore fulfilled critics' expectations for an "authentic" jazz performance. Braxton notes that the "reality of the sweating brow" emphasizes *how* the musician performs, what they look like, rather than *what music* the musician performs. Therefore, the music being played does not matter as much as the musicians' perceived emotional output. Essentially, "jazz musicians are simply supposed to sweat—if they are serious."[25] By asserting that jazz criticism has nothing to do with the "what" that is being played, that is, the actual music, but rather the "how," or the display of performance, Braxton argues that critics' perception of sweat is grounded in a primitivist conception of black jazz musicians.[26]

Braxton's theory of sweat recalls centuries of white fascination with the racialized Other in both pleasure and labor—in this case, white jazz critics' fascination with black jazz musicians. We might ask why critics and audiences expected so-called authentic performances, not only of jazz but also of black music more generally, to include sweat. With regard to nineteenth century blackface minstrelsy, Eric Lott argues that "whites get satisfaction in supposing the 'racial' Other enjoys in ways unavailable to them—through exotic food, strange and noisy music, outlandish bodily exhibitions, or unremitting sexual appetite."[27] For white audiences, sweat simultaneously infantilized and sexualized black bodies, in that sweat symbolized lack of bodily control and other bodily fluids, including semen and excrement. Lott draws upon the work of philosopher Slajov Žižek, who asks, "What are fantasies about the Other's special, excessive enjoyment—about the Black's superior potency and sexual appetite, about the special relationship of Jews or Japanese towards money and work—if not precisely *so many ways, for us, to organize our own enjoyment* [his emphasis]?"[28] For many white jazz critics and audiences in the 1950s, a black jazz musician's sweat signified access to the jazz life and its imagined vulgarities through a particularly masculine heterosexual lens; this jazz life might include the enjoyment of drugs, booze, and sex. Andrew Ross argues, however, that sweat is not simply about enjoyment; sweat also defines which bodies labor: "Sweat on the brow . . . [is] a comforting reminder to a white audience that labor exists, and is elsewhere, in a black body."[29] Said differently, black bodies labor and sweat as white minds observe. Ultimately, when considering Braxton, Lott, and Ross's work in tandem, black sweat was largely about white fascination with black bodies that both perform labor and experience pleasure from which white audiences are some distance removed.

Philosopher Roland Barthes offers a different meaning of sweat in his 1957 essay, "The Romans in Film." The essay is from Barthes's *Mythologies*, a collection of essays that postcolonial feminism scholar Chéla Sandoval argues were meant to "pose the question of how 'innocent' or well-intentioned citizens can enact the forms-of-being tied to racist colonialism."[30] "The Romans

in Film" takes Joseph L. Mankiewicz's 1953 film *Julius Caesar* as a case study critiquing the use of signs as spectacles. Barthes details the film's display of profuse sweat as a signifier for both "moral feeling," as opposed to a more primitive feeling, and "enormous physiological labour," explaining, "Everyone is sweating because everyone is debating something within himself."[31] Mapping both feeling and thought onto "a horribly tormented virtue," Barthes argues that "[t]o sweat is to think—which evidently rests on the postulate, appropriate to a nation of businessmen, that thought is a violent, cataclysmic operation, of which sweat is only the most benign symptom." In other words, sweat on white foreheads was a sign of white thought, intellect, and moral feeling (as opposed to a primitive emotional reaction), and because each was limited as the actions of white people, sweat was part of a broader rhetoric of white supremacy and racist colonialism.

For Barthes, sweat was a sign of profound thought, whereas for Braxton's jazz critics, sweat was a sign of the absence of thought and thus signified an authentic jazz performance. As jazz scholar Graham Lock argues, tongue firmly planted in cheek, such "logic" in jazz commentary "evidently rests on the postulate, appropriate to a nation of former slave owners, that thought is a dangerous, subversive activity best prevented by excessive physical labor, of which sweat is only the most reassuring sign."[32] Importantly, Barthes invokes socioeconomic class categories to qualify his interpretation of sweat; after all, he refers to a "nation of *business*men"—men whose work is not physical, and who wear white collars, unmarred by sweat and dirt. Though Lock's focus is on the racial distinction between Barthes's and Braxton's theories of sweat, he implicitly demonstrates the interconnectedness of race with class through his parallel statement, "a nation of former slave owners."

Ultimately, the interpretation and meaning of sweat as a sign depends on *who* is sweating and who *views* them sweating. Barthes is analyzing a film made mostly by white Americans, about white people, and largely for white Americans (though the film won awards outside the United States). Braxton is analyzing a field in which black musicians are in the majority, but a field in which black musicians are described by white critics for publications that are largely for white audiences. In a 1954 article in *Esquire* titled "The Cool Generation," jazz writer Arnold Shaw described performers who play "new jazz," or cool jazz, listing the white musicians Gerry Mulligan, George Shearing, and Dave Brubeck as representatives. Shaw called the new jazz "listening jazz," and explained that "everything seems to be in reverse": "Instead of noise, there's studied quiet. Instead of applause, there's thoughtful admiration and appreciation. Instead of sweating, gyrating performers, there's a group of placid 'thinking' musicians."[33] For Shaw, cool jazz, supposedly performed nearly exclusively by white musicians and packaged as "thinking" jazz, was marked by the absence of sweat and the presence of thought. Reversing Barthes's argument, to sweat was not to think, but rather represented direct evidence of the inescapability of the natural, the physical, the body.

Shaw's later discussion of a "thermal switch" from hot jazz to cool jazz further highlighted the fact that "hot" jazz, associated largely with black musicians, required sweat, whereas cool jazz, associated largely with white musicians, produced no sweat. The genre names themselves imply what the relationship between the music and sweat should be. Although black musicians were expected to sweat in order to reveal emotional output, Braxton argues that white jazz critics largely understood that white musicians could demonstrate their emotions in various ways.[34] For white musicians, critics discerned no "one size fits all" method of displaying effort.

However, white jazz critics were not alone in reifying mind/body dualisms. Braxton argues that some black jazz musicians and critics, after repeatedly hearing about their supposedly innate sexuality and primal nature, either subconsciously or strategically adopted parts of these stereotypes and replicated these normative assumptions in their own narratives. Often, such replications by black musicians were transformed into a positive spin on the mind/body dualism. For example, bassist, composer, and bandleader Charles Mingus attributed a lack of sweat—and therefore effort—to white saxophonists Paul Desmond and Lee Konitz in his autobiography, *Beneath the Underdog*. Mingus invents a conversation about the hardness and softness of saxophone reeds with tenor saxophonist Lucky Thompson, in which Thompson ostensibly explains that white musicians do not understand the effort involved in playing the saxophone like a black musician: "It takes effort is what they mean. Work. They don't like to sweat. The white man ain't satisfied till they take all the human element out."[35] Mingus, speaking through Thompson, argues that sweat is a *human* element—one that white musicians choose to deny. By asserting that sweat is a normal human by-product, Mingus turns white musicians—those who do not sweat—into jazz's racial Others, privileging the relationship between jazz, work, and sweat as uniquely African American.

Dizzy Gillespie also deployed stereotypes of sweat by using cool musicians' perceived lack of sweat to deauthenticate cool jazz, writing, "Musically speaking, the cool period always reminded me of white people's music. There was no guts in that music, not much rhythm either. They never sweated on the stand, Lee Konitz, Lennie Tristano, and those guys. This music, jazz, is guts. You're supposed to sweat in your balls in this music."[36] Though Gillespie and Mingus would surely debate the idea that their own view of jazz as consisting of guts and sweat came from white jazz critics, reading them through Braxton's lens provides further insight into the pervasive use of the label "cool jazz" as an indication of race and an embodied notion of authenticity. Gillespie, like Shaw, offered white cool musicians as examples of sweatless musicians, insisting that sweat was necessary for authentic jazz. For his part, Konitz denied that sweat was a visual signifier essential to an authentic jazz performance while simultaneously using it to place himself within a visual canon of jazz authenticity, exclaiming, "But I sweat sometimes, too!"[37]

Gillespie's comment that jazz is music defined not only by sweat but also by the mingling of sweat with male genitalia, further roots gender alongside race and class in discourses of jazz authenticity. Such an assertion makes clear the relationship between sweat, race, perceived authenticity, and gender, combining sweat with strength, power, and bravery in a perspective that considered authentic jazz to be exclusively masculine and heterosexual. Like race, sweat acted as a signifier for masculinity, in that white cool musicians' supposed lack of sweat symbolized femininity. For example, in 1955 Ralph Gleason connected a defining feature of jazz, swing, with gender, stating that the Dave Brubeck Quartet "didn't swing for me and was lacking a certain, shall we say, masculinity."[38] Often, musicians and critics evoked stereotypes regarding sexuality in order to question musicians' masculinity. This was the case when hard bop pianist Horace Silver described cool jazz as "faggot-type jazz," further equating it with "jazz with no guts," a comment that recalls Gillespie's similar belief that cool musicians like Konitz and Tristano lacked guts. In an era in which white cool jazz musicians generally received much more commercial attention than most black musicians, whatever their genre, black musicians often promoted definitions of authenticity through embodied discourses of race, gender, and sexuality. In doing so, Guthrie Ramsey suggests that bebop musicians seeking status as performers of complex music were able to assert their own musical ability by relying on legacies of Western classical narratives that assigned genius to men.[39] As David Ake writes, "Given the extreme marginalization of the African American male during the 1950s, it should come as no surprise that some musicians would be reluctant to let go of one of their few domains of perceived power."[40] Therefore, to highlight the significance of sweat to jazz, as I argue Davis did, specifically defined black musical expression as male and heterosexual.

Gillespie's belief that sweat signified authentic jazz is evident when he immediately distanced Davis, whom Gillespie had earlier acknowledged as the leader of the cool jazz movement, from the white cool jazz musicians described above. Gillespie argued: "Miles wasn't cool like that anyway. Miles is from that part of St. Louis where 'blues' comes from. Just part of his music is played like that, cool. They copped that part—the cool—but let the rest, the blues, go, or they missed it."[41] Although Gillespie never described Davis's actual sweat, Davis's relationship with the blues allowed him to access the authenticity of the "reality of the sweating brow." Likewise, Braxton discusses Davis's relationship to the "reality of the sweating brow" only briefly, writing that Davis was an exception to the "reality of the sweating brow," because his involvement in cool was only temporary and therefore not integral to his musical career.[42] Amiri Baraka further explored the contradiction of Davis as a cool musician with which Gillespie and Braxton seem to have struggled. Baraka explained that while Davis was cool, a kind of cool that black Americans in the 1950s "valued," Davis also exhibited a "coolness like the Congolese described, a fire hotter than heat."[43] While Baraka lauds Davis's role as a cool jazz innovator, and blames white West Coast musicians for its subsequent transformation into

"white mood music," he uplifts Davis by connecting Davis to a deep fire within, so hot that it radiated coolness, so hot that, perhaps, visible evidence of sweat could be irrelevant. Despite the seeming conflict that Gillespie and Braxton had regarding Davis as a "cool" leader, thanks to the *Birth of the Cool*, many musicians and critics like Baraka saw Davis as the cool movement's leader, even while he continued to release hard bop albums on Prestige and even though he would go on to spearhead other jazz movements largely unrelated to cool, such as jazz fusion and electronic jazz.

Davis was hyperaware of the image he presented, including his stage mannerisms and appearance—much of which can be connected to his views on sweat. As Davis's biographer John Szwed comments, "Throughout the 1950s, Davis continued to develop a set of distinctive stage gestures, tilting his head to one side, or rocking his head left or right; pressing a forefinger underneath his ear; wiping his tongue with his fingers to dry it; or removing sweat from his brow with a sweep of one finger, flicking it to the floor."[44] Davis acted out these ritualized mannerisms only between tunes, when the band was not playing, or as he walked off stage during another musicians' solo, when cameras frequently were no longer focused on him; therefore, these moments were rarely caught on film. However, such mannerisms can be seen in a television appearance by Davis and his "second great quintet" on the Steve Allen show on September 10, 1964.[45] After playing the second tune of the night, "So What," Davis quickly flicks the sweat from his forehead eleven times, as if removing each bead individually. The sweat is only visible on Davis's forehead, the only place from which the audience can see Davis remove sweat.

Davis often refuted claims that his on-stage actions were a put-on, an act of performance. In a 1962 interview with *Playboy* magazine writer Alex Haley, Davis explained that he often walked offstage midsong to avoid "detracting" from his bandmates' solos: "Why I sometimes walk off the stand is because when it's somebody else's turn to solo, I ain't going to just stand up there and be detracting from him. What am I going to stand up there for? I ain't no model, and I don't sing or dance, and I damn sure ain't no Uncle Tom just to be up there grinning."[46] However, Davis did not quickly smear the sweat off his face with his sleeve in a hurried gesture between phrases of his solo, nor did he swipe his open hand, or the back of his hand, over his face, drying it on his pants, as other musicians might have. He did not wear fewer layers beneath his suit or loosen his tie when it was warm; in fact, the number of layers he wore likely prevented audiences from seeing his sweat seep through his suit jacket. Davis even changes suit jackets on the Steve Allen show, demonstrating a particular level of care to the ways in which he appeared in his clothing. While Davis denies any overt performative impulse, his decisions to dress in full suits, sometimes with a sweater, often with a vest, and including either a tie or cravat, and to wipe his face in a highly distinctive gesture, are evidence of the careful and performative calculations he made with regard to his image—particularly with regard to his sweat.

Whereas Louis Armstrong would have wiped his face with his handkerchief, ever ready for such occasions, Davis maintained his distance from the lowbrow stereotype in which he saw Armstrong participating and instead reinterpreted it into a new, highly personalized, highly performative ritual. As Szwed argues, Davis's early experiences with the Andy Kirk band had demonstrated to Davis the importance of sweat as an outward display of effort in jazz performances. Szwed describes how musicians in the band were "challenged by an audience that cheered them on like athletes, with cries for them to 'work.' These were ritualized events where sweat was a visible sign of commitment and soul and the musicians playing until they dropped."[47] These experiences gave Davis early exposure to the stereotypical connection between black jazz performance and physical labor that Braxton describes.

For Davis, stereotypical connections between black lived experience, legacies of embodied labor, and sweat linked black performance to Uncle Tom caricatures. Davis was acutely aware of stereotypical images of black performers and how critics would connect his sound to their assumptions, and he constantly worked to distance his own image from it. Throughout his autobiography and in various interviews, Davis made note of the "Uncle Tom" image, beginning in recollections of his childhood: "I didn't like the name Buckwheat because I didn't like what the name meant, what it represented, that stupid *Our Gang* bullshit image white people had about black people. I knew *I* wasn't like that, that I came from people who were somebodies and that whenever anybody called me by that name they were trying to make fun of me."[48] In 1961, Davis recalled a conversation in which his mother asked why he could not "maybe just wink" at his audience. Davis responded, "What do you want me to do, stand up there showing my teeth, clowning and tomming?"[49] In an unpublished interview with Quincy Troupe, Davis acknowledged the link critics made between the seemingly "naturally gifted" black jazz musician, as represented by Louis Armstrong, and labor: "Lotta critics during the forties and thirties and stuff, they just figured that black people smiled like Louis Armstrong and just picked up the trumpet and these instruments and they just started playing 'em with feeling and stuff, you know? Soul, you know. Like they were picking cotton one day."[50] Davis later admitted to Troupe that he, like Gillespie, eventually came to understand that he and Armstrong were of different generations with different backgrounds, but that when Davis was younger, he did not understand that difference. Davis "didn't feel like smiling to no white person" because it would be read as Uncle Tom behavior. Other musicians likewise noted how Davis's performance approach contrasted strikingly with Armstrong; for example, saxophonist Carl Grubbs explained to Farah Jasmine Griffin and Salim Washington, "We were not trying to be like Pops. Nobody wanted to be that guy sweating with the handkerchief. We wanted to be musicians because of people like Miles. Miles was hip. The music was hot and he was clean."[51]

Unlike Armstrong's performances, which Davis at times associated with Uncle Tomism, and those of the Kirk band, Davis's later performances were

more closely related to Barthes's disembodied, white-collar conception of sweat than to Braxton's embodied explanation of sweat as racialized stereotype. Szwed notes this shift, writing, "There was an unmistakable intensity about Davis's playing, but it was not bodily."[52] Szwed goes on to quote saxophonist George Coleman, who worked with Davis in the 1960s, as explaining that "Miles used to sweat profusely—but it was not so much physical energy as it was mental energy. There was lots of concentration." Jazz writer John Palcewski, writing in 1969 for *Cavalier* magazine, also connected Davis's sweat to intense thought, just as Barthes interprets the actors in *Julius Caesar*: "His playing was incredibly intricate, but he gave the impression that he expended no effort. The only sign of tension or pressure was on his forehead. It was completely covered with gleaming sweat in spite of the club's air-conditioning."[53]

Leonard Feather's 1958 book, *Jazz: An Exciting Story of Jazz Today*, captured an image of Davis's sweat-streaked face, which accompanied an interview with Davis regarding his leading role in the conception of cool jazz. Sweat streams down Davis's face; his facial muscles are tight with the exertion it takes to perform the trumpet. But Davis seems unfazed by the sweat, instead staring unflinchingly forward in a look of deep intensity. Palcewski's comments denied any overt connection between Davis's sweat and his active body, but rather places the sweat solely on his forehead, a reminder that Davis's exertion stems from the mind. Indeed, Davis kept his body very still in his performances, positioning it in the characteristic S-shaped slump that became an iconic part of his branding with Columbia Records beginning in 1960.[54] Davis's posture yielded an air of interiority, which, like his muted, vibratoless sound, critics such as Leonard Feather and Derrick Stewart-Baxter called "introverted."[55] Therefore, just as the sweat on Davis's face signaled deep mental concentration, Davis's still body likewise indicated an alternative to the explicit physicality critics often associated with black performers and suggested the image of an "artist" that bears similarities to David Ake's discussion of Bill Evans. However, Davis's posture lacked the rigidity of most trumpeters from the European classical music tradition, whose torsos would likely be straight, with elbows out in a triangle featuring the trumpet at the peak. In other words, Davis's posture emphasized the possibility that deep concentration could exist outside the European classical music tradition.

Let us return to the quote from the Davis-Sidran interview that opened this case study. Davis said,

> But see your *sound* is—[*pause*]
> [*At a higher pitch*] Your sound is like-uh…, you know it's, it's like your *sweat*.
> [*Eats a potato chip*] You know your *sound*.[56]

This quotation was preceded by a discussion of sound that began with Davis's experiences in St. Louis:

> Sidran: How come nobody can get *your* sound? It's, it's, it's a simple . . . *gesture*, it *seems*. But it is very [Davis: They—] difficult.
>
> Davis: *I* have my own sound, because . . . when I—when I was like this [*gestures with his hand low to the floor*] my trumpet instructor—I *loved* the way he sounded, his sound, you know. He was *black* and he used to play with Andy Kirk, and he played . . . in the *low* register like . . . Harold Baker and . . . you know I just *leaned* toward that—*cor*net sound. You know like Nat Adderley plays cor-cornet [Sidran: mmhmm]? But it's just a "*sound*."[57]

In tying his sound to his St. Louis influences, Davis describes it as a culmination of his unique perspective and past experiences. Davis also attributed his sound to St. Louis in the following passage from his autobiography:

> But my real main man during those first days in New York was Freddie Webster. I really liked what Freddie was doing on the horn then. He had a style like the players from St. Louis, a big, singing sound, and he didn't play too many notes or play those real fast tempos. He liked medium-tempo pieces and ballads a lot, like I did. I loved the way he played, that he didn't waste notes and had a big, warm, mellow sound. I used to try to play like him, but without the vibrato and "shaking about the notes."[58]

Webster's influence on Davis's playing is clear—even if Davis would ultimately create a disembodied version of Webster's sound, stripped of the vibrato and "shaking" that could tie the sound to the movement of Davis's lips, face, and hands. Davis's sound was his own because of the musical influences he incorporated, which ranged from St. Louisan Harold Baker and Freddie Webster, whom Davis argues played similarly to St. Louis musicians, to Lester Young, Clark Terry, and Billie Holiday, all of whom were black, to white singers and actors such as Frank Sinatra and Orson Welles. Davis did not claim that sound was sweat in a physical, laborious way, flowing forth naturally from the body.

Instead, Davis claimed sound and sweat as a personal expression, one influenced by a person's unique environment, which for Davis included blackness and disembodiment—but not the bodily labor Braxton argues white critics assumed of black musicians. Rather, both sound and sweat were the momentary physical by-products of years of development and mental acuity. Though sound and sweat were a part of Davis's visible body, he did not mean for either sound or sweat to signify any bodily presence to his music. Rather, Davis insisted that black lived experience could include discourses of disembodiment. Through sweat, Davis was able to claim a uniquely African American relationship to his

sound, even while he largely undermined what Braxton argued was the traditional view of sweat by presenting it as a sign of mental concentration rather than physical exertion.

In doing so, Davis deconstructed class-based narratives that assumed a more "authentic" relationship between the blues and physical labor. Throughout his career, Davis sought to distance his performances from any hint of "Uncle Tomism," which meant maintaining a distinction between his performances and the type of experience required to create an authentic blues performance. For example, in a 1972 interview between Davis and Leonard Feather for *Penthouse*, Davis stated, "You don't know how to play better just because you've suffered. The blues don't come from picking cotton."[59] For some critics, Davis's middle-class upbringing may have distanced him from intersecting classed and raced notions of blues authenticity, but Davis asserted that the blues did not rely on a low socioeconomic class tied to physical labor. In one passage in the Troupe transcript (edited for the autobiography), Davis described a Juilliard music history class from the late 1940s in which a white woman taught the class about the blues. Davis recalled, "She said, 'Black people was sad, and they picked cotton all day and they was sad and that's where the blues come from. And they were poor.' (laughter). My hand was up like this. 'Black people, I'm from St. Louis, and my father didn't pick no fucking cotton and shit and I didn't wake up sad one morning and just wake up and play the blues. It was more to it than that.'"[60] Importantly, in his denials of the relationship between the blues and work, Davis never denied the assumed relationship between the blues and blackness, or the blues and feeling, asserted by those around him. Instead, Davis disrupted his music teacher's normative narrative of the blues and a monolithic definition of blackness that included classist stereotypes rooted in embodied labor that produced sweat. In order to maintain a uniquely black relationship with the blues and jazz without becoming associated with Uncle Tom stereotypes, Davis had to remove them from their embodied and primitivist discourses. Davis transformed these negative stereotypes, refashioning them with new ideologies through his musical and sonic production, ultimately expanding conventional assumptions about the blues, sweat, class, and black lived experience.

However, although Davis exerted considerable control over his public image, critical interpretations of that image were out of his hands. Consider critic Richard Williams's account, from his 1993 book, *Miles Davis: The Man in the Green Shirt*, in which he discusses Davis's collaborations with white orchestrator and arranger Gil Evans: "[Gil Evans] could structure music that was delicate without being effete, that could sing of the blues without needing to drench itself in sweat. Against that background, Davis could begin the true evolution of a voice that had found little room to grow within the brisk technical rigor and repetitive formal routines of bebop."[61] For Williams, it was Evans, not Davis, who could write blues "without needing to drench itself in sweat."

Despite Williams's interpretation, Davis's contribution to a sweatless blues is evident. Consider, for example, Davis's performance of "All Blues" on the Steve Allen show. In that performance, Davis and his quintet performed the song roughly 50% faster than the *Kind of Blue* (1959) recording, making the rhythm section's ostinato accompaniment seem frantic and drawing greater contrast with Davis's unhurried, muted melodic line. While pianist Herbie Hancock breaks with the pattern to offer a more traditional comping style in the solo sections, Ron Carter continues to play the repeated bass line throughout. Even as Davis removes his Harmon mute for his solo, the pace of his improvised melodic line largely maintains a slower rhythmic feel than Carter's relentlessly fast bass pattern through Davis's held notes and frequent rests between licks. The physicality required to perform Carter and Hancock's busy accompaniment lines is difficult to ignore, particularly in comparison with Davis's lyrical, vibratoless melodic line and solo. In other words, Davis's performance suggests a physically effortless approach to the blues, one that owes more to the mind than to the body, but that uses the body (its placement, positioning, and sweat) to make that argument.

Throughout this paper I have worked around a contradiction in the way in which Davis complicated the binary between embodiment and disembodiment—namely, that Davis at times simultaneously reinforced the same Cartesian dualisms that he also contradicted. While, as I argue, Davis contradicted mind/body dualisms that prevented black musicians from being considered to be intellectual, he did so while relying on particular aspects of those dualisms that benefitted him. In other words, Davis used the symbol of sweat to contradict Cartesian dualisms by insisting that intellect and black musical production were not mutually exclusive. However, in doing so, Davis privileged a symbol of intellect linked to an image of upper-class, white, heterosexual masculinity, thereby reinforcing mind/body dualisms related to class, gender, and sexuality. Davis was particularly invested in disrupting the assumed intersections of class, race, and embodiment; however, he was less invested in disrupting the intersections of class and embodiment than he was in extracting his sound from the resulting stereotypes.

Perhaps Davis's complex and often abusive relationships with the women in his life best demonstrate his at times contradictory adoption and rejection of Cartesian dualisms. As Hazel Carby argues, Davis carved a path for himself that both upheld normative gender distinctions and roles, while simultaneously contradicting them—depending on how they suited Davis's image and sound.[62] For example, it suited Davis to drawn on patriarchal and hierarchical gender distinctions to reinforce a stereotypical notion of masculinity through violence against and subordination of women (notably, Frances Davis and Cicely Tyson). But, as Carby and Griffin note, it also suited Davis to freely explore alternative modes of masculinity in his music, including musical intimacy, vulnerability, and interdependence. As Farah Jasmine Griffin writes, Davis's "coolness did not extend to his relationships with women, which could be quite

abusive."[63] Griffin explains further that "[t]he man who could be cool and confident, and who could play with the openness and vulnerability that Miles did, was a complex, bold, and pioneering version of midcentury masculinity."[64] It was simply a "bold and pioneering version of mid-century masculinity" that continued to rely on hierarchical gendered dualisms. In other words, as Carby explains, "To see women as 'bitches,' to relegate them to a service role, and to treat them with violence was the way to forge the bridge of male intimacy and to protect it from the danger of being considered unmasculine in conventional terms."[65] Despite his performance against certain gendered musical stereotypes that understood lyricism and soft sounds to be feminine and high, fast, and loud sounds to be masculine, Davis nevertheless also contributed to stereotypical sexist stereotypes, thus shoring up his own masculinity.[66] Although Davis's music challenged 1950s conventions of masculinity, and his image, symbolized through his sweat, challenged racist stereotypes of black musicians as primitive and thoughtless, Davis also retained dualistic gender roles that privileged creative expression as masculine.

By using sweat as a symbol of thoughtfulness and of mental energy, Davis not only accessed a mode of whiteness that suggested that whites were the only beings capable of intense thought, but also he accessed modes of *male* whiteness; after all, it was not women's brows that dripped with sweat in the scene in *Julius Caesar* described by Barthes. Davis's sweat indicated that his labor was of the mind more than the body; but importantly, his use of sweat as a symbol of mental energy, one that granted him access to the privileges of intellect typically associated with white masculinity, contributed to a context that continually rendered the labor of jazz women invisible. However, as Zora Neale Hurston writes in her 1926 short story, "Sweat," black women's labor—and indeed, their sweat—often supports and uplifts their male partners.[67] Hurston's protagonist, Delia, is hardworking and supports herself and her abusive, cheating husband, Sykes, by washing white people's clothes. Delia's sweat is crucial to her identity as the caretaker and breadwinner for Sykes; her sweat symbolizes her superior economic status over Sykes. When she insists on the visibility of her sweat, exclaiming, "Mah sweat is done paid for this house and Ah reckon Ah kin keep on sweatin' in it," her husband retaliates through violence, choosing her greatest fear (snakes) as his weapon. Hurston's use of sweat as a symbol of hard labor performed by black women provides an alternative and intersectional view of sweat and serves as a reminder that the symbols of sweat Braxton and Barthes discuss are exclusively masculine. But however evocative this story of black women's sweat and labor in the early 20th century, it nevertheless represents the image of sweat Davis seemed to be operating against: sweat as labor of the body, sweat as labor of the poor and working class, and sweat as labor of women. According to Carby, Davis sought "freedom *from* a confinement associated with women, and freedom *to* escape to a world defined by the creativity of men."[68] For Davis, the sweat of the brow could be a symbol of a traditionally white masculinity and could thus represent freedom from ste-

reotypes of black musicians as Uncle Tom figures, or as feminized or impotent, or as low-class—stereotypes he fought hard against throughout his career.

Davis was a "cool" musician in virtually every sense of the word—in music, presentation, and style—and he certainly wore a cool mask that concealed a complex inner life. Many aspects of Davis's performing personality appeared effortless at midcentury, including his approach toward the audience, his wardrobe, and the musical sounds emanating from his trumpet. But his sweat indicated not only that he expended effort but also where that effort took place. Davis's sweat collected on his brow, a visual reminder that although he appeared to expend little physical effort, his mental energy was, as Baraka suggests, burning hot. Davis's sound, which he rendered and framed as "thoughtful" and "concentrated," became known for its cool, vibratoless, lyrical tone, which by many accounts (including his own) gave him room to think and provided an answer to long-asked questions about the relationships between black lived experience, labor, and the body.[69] For Davis, sound, image, embodied presence, and narrative were all united in an intersecting effort to extract the meaning of his music from the primitivist racialized stereotypes in which they were rooted. Davis's labors allowed him to cultivate a new way of understanding black male musical expression that could simultaneously recognize feeling, disembodiment, and blackness—an approach that challenged, but ultimately did not completely dismantle, traditional mind/body dualisms.

## Notes

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1. Leonard Feather, "Poll-topper Miles Has Been at a Standstill Since Back in 1950," *Melody Maker*, February 23, 1952, 4; Barry Ulanov, *Metronome*, May 1953, 24.
2. Miles Davis, *Miles, the Autobiography*, ed. Quincy Troupe (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 174.
3. Ibid., 183.
4. See further: Alex Haley, "Miles Davis: A Candid Conversation with the Jazz World's Premier Iconoclast," *Playboy*, September 1962; Don DeMicheal, "Miles Davis: Jazz's Picasso Puts It in Black and White," *Rolling Stone*, December 1969; Art Taylor, "I Don't Have to Hold the Audience's Hand," in *Miles on Miles: Interviews and Encounters with Miles Davis*, ed. Paul Maher Jr. and Michael K. Dorr (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2009), 35–44.
5. Davis is not the only jazz musician to find a correlation between boxing and jazz; for example, saxophonist Steve Coleman compares the timing, rhythm, and improvisation required for boxing to his own performances. Steve Coleman, "The Sweet Science: Floyd Mayweather and Improvised Modalities of Rhythm," *M-Base*, 2015, http://m-base.com/essays/the-sweet-science/
6. Gerald Early, "The Art of the Muscle: Miles Davis as American Knave," in *Miles Davis and American Culture*, ed. Gerald Early (St. Louis, MO: Missouri Historical Society, 2001), 6.
7. Taylor, 36.
8. Ta-Nehisi Coates, *Between the World and Me* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2015), 33.

9. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2008 [1952]), 89–119.

10. Stuart Hall, "What Is This 'Black' in Black Popular Culture?" in *Black Popular Culture*, ed. Gina Dent (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1992), 27.

11. Davis, 184.

12. Graham Lock, *Blutopia: Visions of the Future and Revisions of the Past in the Work of Sun Ra, Duke Ellington, and Anthony Braxton* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

13. Davis, 184. For further information regarding critics' privileging of Davis's body and image over his music in their narratives of him, see: "Black Hawk, S.F.," *Variety*, May 3, 1961, 77; Bill Coss, "Village Vanguard, N.Y.," *Variety*, March 8, 1961, 67; Bill Coss, "Village Vanguard, N.Y.," *Variety*, July 17, 1963, 74; "Davis, Miles," *Metronome*, June 1960, 43; Barbara J. Gardner [Barbara Gardner Proctor], "The Enigma of Miles Davis," *Down Beat*, January 7, 1960; Joe Goldberg, "Miles Davis," in *Jazz Masters of the 50s* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1983 [1965]), 63–69; B. Green, "Famous Last Words," *Jazz Journal*, October 1960, 1; Max Jones, "Miles is Taking a Chance," *Melody Maker*, October 9, 1960, 8–9; Land, "Concert Review: Miles Davis Quintet," *Variety*, February 19, 1964, 61; Humphrey Lyttleton, "Miles Davis in England: Boor or Businessman?," *Metronome*, December 1960, 53; "Miles Davis Wows 'Em at Vanguard," *Billboard*, November 21, 1960, 17; Martin Williams, "Miles Davis: Conception in Search of a Sound." *Jazz* 4, no. 9 (1965): 8–11.

14. Kelsey A. K. Klotz, "Racial Ideologies in 1950s Jazz" (PhD diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 2016).

15. See further: René Descartes, "Part IV" in *A Discourse on the Method*, trans. Ian Maclean (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 28; Susan McClary and Robert Walser, "Theorizing the Body in African-American Music," *Black Music Research Journal* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1994), 75–84; Mariana Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

16. Simon Frith, "Rhythm: Race, Sex, and the Body," in *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 123–144.

17. Ted Gioia, "Jazz and the Primitivist Myth," in *The Imperfect Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 36.

18. Hall, 26.

19. Indeed, even the concept of cool jazz, a genre of which Davis was a leading figure at midcentury, reflects how messy the distinctions between mind and body, intellect and feeling, and embodiment and disembodiment often were—even if cool jazz was used by many jazz critics to shore up distinctions between white and black jazz musicians. As Robert Farris Thompson and Joel Dinerstein have argued, West African conceptions of cool revolved around an individual's ability to keep both their mind and body cool—to remain composed—to better promote social stability. Whereas white/Anglo concepts of cool emphasize repression of one's emotions in order to better focus the rational mind, Thompson and Dinerstein argue that West African conceptions of cool focus on equilibrium, balance, silence, and order to project "serenity of mind *and* mastery of the body" (Dinerstein). For Dinerstein, musicians such as Lester Young and Miles Davis embodied a combination of white/Anglo cool and West African cool, in which cool served as a symbol of self-mastery, aesthetic excellence, and community, and also offered a method of resistance toward and protection against a predominantly white mainstream culture that failed to grant social equality and justice to black Americans. As such, black Americans have used cool as a strategy spanning the mind/body dualism for centuries.

20. Antonio Damasio, *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain* (London: Penguin Books, 1994), xvi.

21. Ben Sidran, "Talking Jazz," in *The Miles Davis Companion: Four Decades of Commentary*, ed. Gary Carner (New York: Schirmer Books, 1996), 192.

22. Ben Sidran, "Miles Davis Talking Jazz," *Ben Sidran*, January 30, 1986, http://bensidran.com/conversation/talking-jazz-miles-davis.

23. For Braxton, the "white jazz critic" was a useful rhetorical figure used to examine the broader story of jazz as often written by white jazz critics. However, Braxton often drew a distinction between the "white jazz critic" and particular white jazz critics who often explicitly countered primitivist narratives in their work, including Nat Hentoff and Martin Williams. My own use of the phrase "white jazz critics" is meant to largely evoke the same rhetorical figure Braxton did, while still acknowledging the work of particular white jazz critics whose work critiqued racist ideologies; indeed, later in the article, I draw extensively on white jazz critics such as Leonard Feather, John Palcewski, Derrick Stewart-Baxter, and (from a later era) John Szwed who actively wrote against the mind/body dualisms deeply engrained in jazz criticism.

24. Anthony Braxton, *Tri-axium Writings: W3* (Lebanon, NH: Frog Peak Music, 1985), 297. "Black creativity" is Braxton's term for any form or genre of music, art, drama, etc. that demonstrates a uniquely African American heritage. As a musician and composer, Braxton was associated with the jazz avant-garde, a genre of jazz of which Davis was none too fond. Davis explained in his autobiography that the music did not seem revolutionary, that he did not like what Don Cherry and

Ornette Coleman were playing, and that it seemed like "a lot of notes being played for notes' sake" (Davis, 250–252). Though the extent to which Davis appreciated Braxton's music is unclear, I refer to Braxton here not as a musician or a composer, but, like Barthes, as a cultural critic.

25. Ibid., 299.

26. That Braxton himself believed in jazz as an intellectual endeavor, as opposed to critics' portrayal of jazz as a music of the body, is evident in his use of the term "serious," which implies jazz's art status, rather than music for entertainment.

27. Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 148. Lott also connects myths of black regression with fun, arguing that, in addition to food, music, and sexual appetite, this was another "vehicle of fantasy." Examples of this commonly placed blacks within the nursery, through "nonsense in songs and puns or tirelessly absurd physical antics. Minstrelsy's stump speeches reached back to long-prohibited pleasure in nonlogical modes of thinking and speaking, or simply to the child's helplessness before its bodily demands" (143). Similarly, sweat could be understood by audiences and critics to signify childlike physical activity.

28. Slajov Žižek, "Eastern Europe's Republics of Gilead," *New Left Review*, September-October 1990, 57.

29. Andrew Ross, *No Respect: Intellectuals and Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 85.

30. According to Sandoval, Barthes believed semiology "would provide an apparatus for challenging supremacism in all its forms—that it would challenge identity itself as it energized the Western colonial project." Chéla Sandoval, "Theorizing White Consciousness for a Post-Empire World: Barthes, Fanon, and the Rhetoric of Love," in *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, ed. Ruth Frankenberg (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 86–87.

31. Roland Barthes, "The Romans in Films," in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1957; New York: Hill and Wang, 1972\), 27.

32. Lock, 276.

33. Arnold Shaw, "The Cool Generation," *Esquire*, May 1954, 41, 100–104.

34. Braxton, 298.

35. Charles Mingus, *Beneath the Underdog*, ed. Nel King (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1971), 160.

36. Dizzy Gillespie, *To Be or Not to Bop*, with Al Fraser (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979), 360.

37. Andy Hamilton, *Lee Konitz: Conversations on the Improviser's Art* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 30.

38. Ralph Gleason, "Perspectives," *Down Beat*, April 6, 1955, 18.

39. Guthrie Ramsey, "Making the Changes: Jazz Manhood, Bebop Virtuosity, and a New Social Contract," in *The Amazing Bud Powell: Black Genius, Jazz History, and the Challenge of Bebop* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013), 121–144.

40. David Ake, *Jazz Cultures* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 82.

41. Gillespie, 360

42. Braxton, 299.

43. Amiri Baraka, "Miles Later," in *Digging: The Afro-American Soul of American Classical Music* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 10.

44. John Szwed, *So What: The Life of Miles Davis* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002), 195.

45. Miles Davis, 1964 episode of the *Steve Allen Show*, private video, Institute of Jazz Studies, University of Rutgers-Newark, Newark, NJ. The "second great quintet" included Wayne Shorter, tenor saxophone; Herbie Hancock, piano; Tony Williams, drums; and Ron Carter, bass.

46. Alex Haley, "Miles Davis: A Candid Conversation.".

47. Szwed, 19.

48. Davis, 19.

49. Marc Crawford, "Miles Davis: Evil Genius of Jazz," *Ebony*, January 1961, 72.

50. Miles Davis and Quincy Troupe interview transcripts, August 18, 1986, Quincy Troupe Papers, Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, NY.

51. Farah Jasmine Griffin, *Clawing at the Limits of Cool: Miles Davis, John Coltrane, and the Greatest Jazz Collaboration Ever* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2008), 4.

52. Szwed, 199.

53. John Palcewski, "*The* Miles Davis: A Semi-Affectionate Reminiscence," in *Miles on Miles: Interviews and Encounters with Miles Davis*, ed. Paul Maher Jr. and Michael K. Dorr (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2009), 51.

54. Benjamin Cawthra, *Blue Notes in Black and White: Photography and Jazz* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 163.

55. Leonard Feather, "The Trumpet in Jazz," *Down Beat*, January 23, 1958, 16; Derrick Stewart-Baxter, "Miles Davis," *Jazz Journal*, November 1956, 7.

56. Sidran, "Miles Davis Talking Jazz."
57. Sidran, 192.
58. Davis, 62.
59. Leonard Feather, "Miles Smiles," in *The Miles Davis Companion: Four Decades of Commentary*, ed. Gary Carner (New York: Schirmer Books, 1996), 118.
60. Miles Davis and Quincy Troupe interview transcripts, May 4, 1989, Quincy Troupe Papers, Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, NY.
61. Richard Williams, "The Conception of the Cool," *Miles Davis: The Man in the Green Shirt* (New York: H. Holt, 1993), repr. *The Miles Davis Companion: Four Decades of Commentary*, ed. Gary Carner (New York: Schirmer Books, 1996), 55.
62. Hazel Carby, *Race Men* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).
63. Griffin, 255.
64. Ibid., 9.
65. Carby, 156.
66. As Pearle Cleage writes, such a contradiction in Davis's presentation and music results in a contradiction in what audiences are willing to accept from Davis as both musician and man. Pearl Cleage, "Mad at Miles," in *Deals with the Devil and Other Reasons to Riot* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1993), 36–43.
67. Zora Neale Hurston, "Sweat" (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997).
68. Carby, 138.
69. Leonard Feather once asked Davis how the cool era began, and Davis answered by describing his sound: "Well, for one thing I always wanted to play with a light sound, because I could think better when I played that way." Leonard Feather, *Jazz: An Exciting Story of Jazz Today* (Los Angeles, CA: Trend Books, Inc., 1958), 27; Repr., Leonard Feather, "Miles and the Fifties," *Down Beat*, July 2, 1964, 47; Alex Haley, "Miles Davis: A Candid Conversation."