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The Chilean Guitarrón: The Social, Political and Gendered Life of a Folk Instrument

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The Chilean Guitarrón: The Social, Political and Gendered Life of a Folk Instrument

by

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my grandmother, Vera Jean Pinkerton, who took care to assign me my next research project in the weeks before her passing. I also dedicate this project to memories of Audrey Weissert, Caryll Weissert, Dorothy Czamanske and Grace Pearl Pinkerton.

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The Chilean Guitarrón: The Social, Political and Gendered Life of a Folk Instrument

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This dissertation explores the social life of the Chilean guitarrón: how a folk instrument embodies cultural meaning, becoming a site for the articulation of identities in tension. Since its "rediscovery" as a living rural tradition in 1950s Pirque, the guitarrón has drifted in and out of popular consciousness, impelled by the shifts in Chile's social climate to travel between the countryside, the urban stage, the university classroom and the church. Despite increased media presence and a dramatic rise in interest, the guitarrón remains poised on the edges of the national imaginary; it is not a central element of the "folklore" canon taught in schools, nor is it a household name. In this study, I argue that the guitarrón's relative national obscurity has allowed it less socio-political definition than other Chilean folk instruments: a symbolic ambiguity that has invited a convergence of contrasting ideological currents in the cultural spaces it occupies today. As each step into public arenas brings the guitarrón closer to a sanctioned spot in

Chile's folk iconography, the debates over origin and identity become more important to the individuals and institutions that are a part of the instrument's revival. Is it a sacred instrument, a regional tradition, or a political tool? With whom does greatest cultural authority rest: rural "cultores" [cultivators/folklore bearers], investigators, urban revivalists, or the new generation of players? As these questions are raised, it becomes clear that the guitarrón is a symbolic territory where religious, academic, political and local entities compete to stake their musical and discursive claims. This study will examine these contrasting facets of the guitarrón's meanings in the lives contemporary musicians.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction: The Social, Political and Gendered Life of a Folk Instrument

"The Chilean guitarrón. Musical heritage. Patrimony of Chile. Homage to the "great guitar": to citizen guitarrón with his surname of origin, this surname that he conserves for several centuries already. Guitarrón of *Pirque.* In his birth certificate can be read in three colors: nationality, Chilean. Chilean, yes, but with predecessors, and as all self-respecting Christians, he has a mother and a grandfather. His mother is poetry. His brothers, the guitarroneros. Let's let them be the ones to present our guest of honor. Presenting…the guitarrón…"[1]

"Introduction of the Guitarrón" from *El Guitarrón Chileno: Herencia Musical de Pirque,* Saavedra, Ulloa, Rubio S., Pérez & Rubio A. 2000)

This dissertation explores the social life of the Chilean guitarrón: how a folk instrument embodies cultural meaning, becoming a site for the articulation of identities in tension. Since its "rediscovery" as a living rural tradition in 1950s Pirque,[2] the guitarrón has drifted in and out of popular consciousness, impelled by the shifts in Chile's social climate to travel between the countryside, the urban stage, the university classroom and the church. Despite increased media presence and a dramatic rise in interest, the guitarrón remains poised on the edges of the national imaginary; it is not a central element of the "folklore" canon taught in schools, nor is it a household name. In this study, I argue that the guitarrón's relative national obscurity has allowed it less socio-political definition than other Chilean folk instruments: a symbolic ambiguity that has invited a convergence of contrasting ideological currents in the cultural spaces it occupies today. This "open" symbolic quality of the guitarrón makes it a particularly effective methodological tool for exploring competing discourses of cultural identity. As each step

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[1] "El guitarrón chileno. Herencia musical. Patrimonio de Chile. Homenaje a la guitarra grande. Al ciudadano guitarrón con su apellido de origen. Ese apellido que conserva desde hace ya varios siglos. Guitarrón pircano. En su certificado de nacimiento se lee en tricolor: nacionalidad chilena. Chilena, sí, pero con antepasados, y como todo Cristiano que se respete, tiene madre y tiene abuelo. Su madre es la poesía. Sus hermanos, los guitarroneros. Dejemos ahora que sean ellos mismos quienes presenten con su arte al homenajeado. Con ustedes, el guitarrón…"

[2] 27 km south of Chile's capital Santiago in the northern central valley.

into public arenas brings the guitarrón closer to a sanctioned spot next to the *cueca* (Chile's national dance) and the *huaso* (the Chilean "cowboy"), the debates over origin and identity become more important to the individuals and institutions that are a part of the instrument's revival. Is it a sacred instrument, a regional tradition, or a political tool? With whom does greatest cultural authority rest: rural "cultores" [cultivators/folklore bearers], investigators, urban revivalists, or the new generation of players? As these questions are raised, it becomes clear that the guitarrón is a symbolic territory where religious, academic, political and local entities compete to stake their musical and discursive claims. Drawing from both recent and more distant history, musicians, investigators and institutions represent the instrument through symbols that compliment their socio-cultural agendas. This study will examine these contrasting facets of the guitarrón's meanings in the lives and music of musicians today.

THE MUSICAL LEGACY OF THE MILITARY COUP

The guitarrón's rise in urban popularity coincides with the latter years of the dictatorship (late 1980s) and Chile's subsequent transition to democracy (1990 to present). After the coup of September 11, 1973, Chile underwent a violent transformation from a democratically elected socialist government to an authoritarian regime that imposed a neoliberal economic agenda. While Chile's economic "success" in relation to Latin American neighbors is often attributed to this fundamental shift, many believe it has also perpetuated what sociologist Tomás Moulian (1997) has called the ubiquitous "credit-card citizen" and a consumer-centered society (cited in Larraín 2001, p. 164). From this perspective, individual consumerism, as opposed to social alliance, has become a primary vehicle of expressing identity (ibid, p. 164). Social, cultural and artistic movements have been described as less dynamic than pre-dictatorship

predecessors (Collier and Sater 2004, p. 403), art seeming to echo the new urban terrain of McDonald's and shopping centers, or supplying diluted versions of previous socio-political rhetoric (Larraín 2001, p. 165). Against a backdrop of conspicuous consumption, folk and popular musical traditions have reemerged as an alluring avenue for exploring alternative dimensions of Chilean cultural identity.

In contrasting manifestations, folk music has long been integrated into socio-political and cultural transformations in Chile. *Nueva Canción* [New Song] protest music was a critical tool in bringing about the election of Salvador Allende in 1970, just as bucolic "folklore" ensembles projected the military junta's vision of Chilean identity. The military coup of 1973 deepened the already jagged and abysmal ideological rifts between Chileans of the right and left. The violent, authoritarian regime of Augusto Pinochet seized control of national media, imposing a singular political perspective and an enduring silence in the free exchange of ideas in public discourse. In musical spheres, the radio bombarded Chilean listeners with commercial "folklore" recalling *Música Típica* of the late twenties to the forties: elegant, unquestioning pastoral images of the countryside. The records of *Nueva Canción* artists, that had presented a searing critique of Chilean socio-political ills with *mestizo* genres and indigenous instruments, were forbidden. The folk musicians who had not fled the country were briefed, in no uncertain terms, on what forms of musical expression would and would not be tolerated (Varas 2005, p. 99). In the early years of the dictatorship, musicians who were committed to the evocation of a specific folk sound discovered that all outlets for their particular style of performance had disappeared.

Public protest and new musical expressions began to erode this social and cultural silence in the 1980s. In 1988 a public plebiscite voted Pinochet out of leadership. Although Chile officially returned to democracy in 1990, the subsequent years have been

dubbed “transitional” due to the lasting influence of the political, social and economic policies implemented under the dictatorship. Also, leaders of the military regime still retained prominent governmental posts, and Pinochet maintatined control of the armed forces. The past fifteen years have signaled important changes in Chile’s social climate, however. Recent events and legislation have stimulated more forthright dialogue across social, political and ideological divides. A “Mesa de Diálogo” [Table of Dialogue] organized by president Eduardo Frei in 1999, brought military officials and civilians together, resulting in the release of the whereabouts of the remains of a number of the “disappeared.” Before his recent death in December of 2006, Pinochet’s symbolic and political power had already faded tremendously in light of his international detainment, physical decline, and the revelation of financial scandals. Even his circle of adamant supporters began to recede. As early as 1990, President Patricio Aylwin had organized the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation. Although the report issued in 1993 detailed the human rights violations of the dictatorship and financial reparation was offered to the families of victims, the commission did not invite the testimony of the tens of thousands of individuals who were held and tortured by the military regime (Parson 2005, p. 105). The 2004 report of the Chilean National Commision on Political Prisoners and Torture addressed this issue more directly through extensive interviews with individuals willing to come forth and describe the circumstances of their detainment. The release of this information has provoked great surge of dialogue in the media and in society at large (ibid., p. 106). Although there are issues still in need of resolution, these recent dialogues are an indication that the lingering cloud of silence has dissipated, and that bridges have been extended across the rifts in Chilean social fabric.

Parallel to this renewed social dialogue, lesser-known forms of rural and urban folklore (or popular culture) have become vital expressive arenas for projecting visions of contemporary Chilean identity. Along with the *cueca brava*,[3] the guitarrón has enjoyed a marked rise in interest throughout the 1990s. Unfettered to one political extreme, this autochthonous instrument evokes unexplored layers of Chilean musical history. Unique to Chile, unlike rock or other international genres, it offers a path to a distinct local identity amidst a persistent bombardment of global trends and technology. While the instrument has principally attracted young middle-class men to its fold since the 1990s, its cultivation is not exclusive to this social sector. The guitarrón is intimately linked to the identity of other groups, not the least important of which is the community of rural musicians whose music made its urban revival possible. Since the late nineties the musicians of Pirque have organized, in collaboration with investigators and urban artists, to preserve the local, rural character of the guitarrón in its national projection. There are also musicians, in cooperation with officials of the Catholic Church, who maintain a campaign to adapt popular poetry and the guitarrón to evangelical purposes. In addition, urban artists--young and old--fuse the guitarrón with a politically charged identity of the *payador* (improviser of poetry) who sings the trials of the *pueblo* [people].

While specific styles and instruments can draw powerful lines of social distinction, folklore[4] is nonetheless a broad conceptual terrain with which diverse spectrum of Chilean society engages. With its flexible social identity, today's guitarrón—as part of Chile's folklore—unites performers and audiences from a wide range of social and political backgrounds. In this respect, the "life" of this Chilean folk

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3 "Wild" or "harsh" cueca. A style of performing this music and dance form associated with socially and economically marginalized urban populations. Consolidated as an urban expressive form in the late 19th century, its "golden age" was in the 1950s. It characterized by a faster pace, strident vocals, and more layered, varying rhythms than mediatized forms of rural cueca.

4 "Popular culture" and "tradition" are preferred terms for many musicians today.

instrument is not only a means of understanding contemporary social issues, but also a potential vehicle for dialogue between individuals of multiple and conflicting ideological perspectives. Its twenty-five strings, its unique form, its intriguing ornamentation, and its musical style are symbolic spaces for forging contemporary Chilean identities.

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF A FOLK INSTRUMENT

Organology, "Ethno-organology" or the Ethnography of Musical Instruments?

The title of my study echoes that of *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (1986), a multidisciplinary collection of essays edited by Arjun Appadurai. I am particularly influenced by his argument that, "…even though from a *theoretical* point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a *methodological* point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context" (Appadurai 1986, p. 5). Common anthropological understandings--i.e. that things are devoid of meaning apart from human action--divert investigational attention from their definitive historical paths where meaning is "inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories" (ibid., p. 5). With an awareness of the risks and benefits of "methodological fetishization"(ibid., p. 5), I consider this study to be a contemporary ethnography of a folk instrument. The guitarrón's form, style, and social trajectory constitute the conceptual window for a narrative that describes socio-cultural landscapes of contemporary Chile. Guided by the "life" of a musical object, this study aims to highlight the human experiences and ideologies that intersect in the instrument's physical and symbolic domains. Although I do not refute the notion that "things" are necessarily intertwined with human processes that give them meaning and movement, I also highlight how the open symbolic space—as well as the embodied meanings--of the guitarrón give impulse to human action.

"Organology" receives scant mention within the most recent New Grove article on current theoretical directions in "ethnomusicology" (Stokes 2001). This omission may indicate of a reticence to embrace the study of "things": a skepticism towards studies that depart from physical objects, as opposed to the human processes, concepts and activities that imbue them with meaning. The word may conjure up images of museum collections, tedious typological analysis or the classificatory and evolutionist schemes that frame the origins of comparative musicology. Nettl (2005) notes that some ethnomusicologists perceive organology as an integral part of the field, while others view it as a discrete, but related, discipline (p. 376). He points out that studies self-qualified as organological are most frequently systematic classifications, catalogues of a culture's instrumentarium, or specimen collections and analyses. Within ethnomusicology, on the other hand, inquiry centers on "ethno-organological"[5] questions that probe the role of a musical instrument in society and culture (ibid., p. 380).

Although often avoiding an organological label, instrument-centered studies that combine performance analysis with methodological orientations akin to Appadurai's have provided some of the most illuminating ethnomusicological studies of musical meaning in recent years. Along with constituting a point of entry for many ethnomusicologists into musical cultures, instruments have also provided the methodological paths to emic understandings of musical and social systems (Zemp 1979, Berliner 1979, Turino 1983, 1984, Schechter 1991), music and ritual (Schechter 1991, Grebe 1973), conceptual changes between rural and urban instrumental practice (Turino 1993), the preservation or transformation of social values (Waksman 1999), music and gender (Qureshi 1997, Dawe 2003), and the deconstruction of Western classificatory schemes and conceptions of instruments (Kartomi 1995, Mendível 2002). Eloquent

[5] Term coined by Nettl (2005).

studies such as the aforementioned have clearly articulated the value of using musical instruments as a tool to explore social and cultural processes, altering the nature of contemporary classificatory systems and organological studies.[6]

Over the past three decades, studies of musical instruments within ethnomusicology evidence a variety of analytic approaches. Some address more symbolic or functional concerns, while others advance agendas of disciplinary self-inquiry. The bulk of these studies, however, acknowledge the power of an instrument to impact the lives of its players and listeners: to inform ritual belief and practice, to innovate style, and to reaffirm or challenge cultural and musical concepts. While a focus on social context has come to overshadow purely descriptive studies of musical instruments, physical and historical detail is by no means absent, or of secondary importance, in contemporary studies. Details of construction are essential to understanding meanings that define social roles and ethnic identity. Through a scrupulous description of the *kultrún*, María Ester Grebe shows how this Chilean drum's structure symbolizes indigenous *Mapuche* cosmovision and is understood as an extension of female shaman's voice (1973). Likewise, Regula Qureshi (1997) describes how the North Indian sarangi--made of leather and wood, gut and metal—physically embodies the contradictions of its earthly and divine cultural associations. It is not only the sound of the instrument, but its shape that carries symbolic weight and realizes social effects.

Cultural meanings of instruments also impact societal understanding of gender, ethnicity and nationhood. In Crete, Kevin Dawe (2003) argues that male-dominated lyra ensembles perpetuate a "poetics of manhood" that reflect and shape social values (p. 280). He also argues that images of the lyra, whose pear-shaped form evokes both

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[6] Although the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* entry on "Ethnomusicology" does not discuss organology, Libin's discussion of "Organology" expresses the importance of integrating scientific and cultural perspectives of each field in the study of musical instruments (Libin 2001, p. 657)

Western and Eastern influences, become icons of ethnicity for the island, actively invoked in the national construction and international projection of identity. Also related to gender, Hélène La Rue (1994) has examined how use and possession of musical instruments reinforces proper class behavior and female social roles in 16th to 18th century England. As Stokes describes in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music* (1994), gender is a symbol of social and political order. Controlling gender identities is thus a means of societal control. While he argues that music and musicians are frequently implicated in the disruption of this order, they participate equally in its perpetuation. While highlighting the revolutionary potential of the electric guitar, Waksmann's study (1999) emphasizes how the instrument has repeatedly contributed to the reproduction of traditional gender roles.

In reading ethnographic studies of instruments, we also understand how these "things" shape the course of musical traditions and the lives of the musicians and ethnomusicologists that play them. Berliner, Qureshi, Waksmann, for example, discuss their personal attraction to the Shona *mbira*, the North Indian *sarangi*, and the electric guitar, respectively. By understanding how an instrument moves them to action and by registering local reactions to their interest, they are able to explore the meanings of these instruments' shapes and sounds that either allure or repel the individuals they study. Qureshi describes how her decision to play an instrument historically associated with courtesan singing was seriously questioned. Her ethnography of the sarangi probes how this association, viewed negatively by middle-class audiences, has caused contemporary musicians to alter performance practice, eliminating ornaments that recall courtesan style. In studying *The Tabla of Lucknow* (1988), Kippen explores the relationships of the musicians in instrumental *gharanas*, exploring how one's position of social and musical power is impacted by instrument, skill level, and political maneuverings. Although not

exclusively determinant, a musical instrument plays a large part in the enactment of social identities, including that of the ethnomusicologist in the field.

Not only have cultural studies of musical instruments highlighted relationships between musical meaning, performance practice and identity, but they have also contributed to current threads of disciplinary self-reflection. Margaret Kartomi's cross-cultural and comparative study on classification systems (1990) offers insight into Western systems and the corresponding understandings of musical instruments they reveal. As she points out, it was not until the 1960s that we began to look for native systems of classification and understandings of what an "instrument" is. Only recently has music scholarship begun to understand instruments as ever changing and multiple in nature, rather than fixed, static objects. Julio Mendívil (2002) applies such an approach to his study of the *charango,* challenging the dominant voice of Western musicological "truths" as opposed to popular myths that represent the instrument. While the historical approach maintains discursive "authority" on the topic, Mendível engages in a critique of such studies. He shows how the imposition of bounded categories on this instrument (i.e. the assumption of one type with a fixed set of physical traits) has generated a musicological understanding of the charango that differs little in its myth-like quality from popular discourse. Both discourses are shaped by social agendas and compete for discursive authority, one appealing to indigenous authenticity and the other to academic authority. In a similar fashion, my study of the guitarrón's places conflicting popular and "official" narratives[7] of the guitarrón identity on equal ground.

Kenneth Dawe (2003) has recently called for "The Cultural Study of Musical Instruments" to strive for integration of the historical/technical and the ethnographic. He describes how musical instruments inhabit an "intersection of material, social, and

[7] Present study included.

cultural worlds where they are as much constructed and fashioned by the force of minds, cultures, societies, and histories as axes, saws, drills, chisels, machines, and the ecology of wood" (Dawe 2003, p. 275). Although my study is weighted towards ethnographic description and musical analysis, I also incorporate details of history, construction and form that are part of discourses of identity. In general, however, I frame these descriptions within the context of performance, highlighting the extra-musical messages they carry. For this reason, I refrain from calling this study organological; my discussion draws primarily from participant/observation research, performance analysis and interviews, as opposed to deep acoustical examination or classificatory analysis of the instrument. Through further research and collaboration with investigators from other fields, I hope to improve the integration of both organological and ethnomusicological methods in the future.[8]

In contrast to the studies described here, my discussion of music and meaning will focus on the power of an instrument's symbolic ambiguity. On one hand I will highlight the experiences of the rural musicians of Pirque whose sustained cultivation of the guitarrón provided the musical material for its urban revival. On the other, I will compare their experience of the guitarrón with those of urban musicians who came to the instrument without prior knowledge of its specific cultural identity. Two factors contribute to what I call the open symbolic space of the guitarrón. First, it is one of Chile's lesser-known folk instruments. Many contemporary urban guitarrón players describe their first encounter with the physical instrument or with its recorded sound as a moment of magic, surprise, or enchantment:

[8] Pamela Fuentes and Leonel Rivas, graduate students in sound engineering at the Universidad Vicente Pérez Rosales, realized an investigation into the guitarrón's acoustic properties in 2004. Specifically, they researched the differences between instruments strung with metal strings and those strung with nylon.

> I faced an enigma really, a beautiful instrument…the first time [I heard guitarrón], I can tell you little because I have a very vague memory, something very magical, this instrument that had a sonority different from the guitar, much fuller (J. Pérez de Arce, personal communication, August 2005).[9]
>
> ...when I heard it sound for the first time, it seemed to me that I had always heard it…that I had it inside (M. Sánchez, cited in Matte 2005).[10]
>
> ...when I heard *canto a lo poeta* with Chilean guitarrón…it was a sound that got to the deepest part of my heart…I felt it in my skin. I felt called to play this instrument (M. Chaparro, personal communication, August 2005).[11]
>
> Very small I heard the sound. I don't remember well if it was on a recording somewhere or in some television program. I don't know, but the sound was stuck inside me (F. Améstica, personal communication, April 29, 2005).[12]

Unlike the guitar, the accordion or the charango, the guitarrón has an unfamiliar form, sonority and history. There is a "magic" in the guitarrón's sound, however, that connects with something internal. Without negating the aesthetic power of the guitarrón's form and sound, I believe that the magic of these first encounters also lies in deeply ingrained understandings of folklore as raw material for the artistic elaboration of cultural identity. A lack of precise socio-cultural references--beyond notions of pertinence to folklore, tradition or popular culture--produces a strong desire to understand the history and function of this unique Chilean instrument. The guitarrón offers a path to reimagine self and nation in the highly malleable symbolic space of an unknown folk instrument. I do not mean to discount the guitarrón's concrete history of diverse social and political

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9 "Me enfrenté a una enigma en realidad, un instrumento muy lindo…la primera vez, poco te puedo decir porque tengo un recuerdo muy vago, una cosa muy mágica, este instrumento que tenía una sonoridad distinta a la guitarra, mucho más llena."

10 "…cuando lo escuché sonar por primera vez, me pareció que siempre lo había escuchado… que lo llevaba adentro."

11"…cuando escuché el canto a lo poeta con el guitarrón chileno… fue un sonido que me llegó a lo más hondo del corazón…en la piel lo sentía. Me sentí llamado a que yo tenía que tocar este instrumento."

12 "Muy niño escuché el sonido. No recuerdo bien si en una grabación o en alguna parte, o en algún programa de televisión, no sé pero el sonido quedó grabado adentro mío."

applications or disregard distinct forms of exposure to the instrument (within the context of rural ritual, or familial inheritance). Rather, I wish to emphasize that urban musicians' engagement with the instrument's history is frequently second to a confrontation with the inviting mystery of uncharted reaches of Chilean culture. Although rural guitarrón players have long-standing conceptual connections between the instrument and their local community, they are also aware of the instruments' symbolic power in other arenas. In the process of exploring the guitarrón's past, musicians strategically invoke different aspects of the instrument's history, guided by concepts of folklore as they sculpt a public image. My dissertation will explore how individuals and institutions of diverse social, political and spiritual orientation compete in this process of creating a contemporary identity for the guitarrón. Before introducing the instrument itself, the following section will discuss folklore and authenticity, concepts that are central to current representations of the guitarrón.

Folklore and Authenticity

The concept of "folklore" did not spring from the discourse of the "folk"; it was molded in elite academic and artistic circles that bore witness to processes of modernity that highlighted the social, ethnic, and economic divides between rural and urban classes. Folklore was the privileged sight of the authentic: the unaffected and genuine cultural expressions of "the people" that stood unsullied beyond the bounds of modern, industrial culture. While originally a term of scientific and artistic classes, "folklore" has firmly settled in popular and rural discourse through its application, education, revival and investigation. It has been absorbed by alienated middle classes combing the countryside in search of cultural identity (Blaustein 1993), as well as rural musicians who contest or assimilate the folkloric "framing" of their music by official discourse (Mendoza 2000). Understandings of folklore and authenticity are critical in shaping guitarrón performance.

My study explores the social, ethnic and gendered weight of "folklore" that affects articulation of musical authenticity in Chile. As individuals debate progressive and conservative applications of the guitarrón tradition, discourse revolves around conflicting and complimentary invocations of the identities of rural *cultor* and urban artist.

In her incomparable unpacking of "authenticity" in all of its historical dimensions, Regina Bendix (1997) says that she will be happy if her work contributes in some way to the elimination of the term and its "promises of transcendence" from contemporary discourse (p. 7). She notes, however, the tenacity of language, and its tendency to outlast the theories that attempt to overcome it. Furthermore, a deconstruction of the concept cannot "simply invalidate the search for authenticity. This search arises out of a profound human longing, be it religious-spiritual or existential, and declaring the object of such longing nonexistent may violate the very core around which people build meaningful lives" (Bendix 1997, p. 17). In Latin America, as elsewhere, the concept clings with ferocity to the discourses surrounding folk music and popular culture (Turino 1993, Bigenho 2002, Romero 2001, Mendoza 2000, Rowe & Schelling 1991). My discussion of folklore and authenticity will examine several case studies from South America**.** From Chile, I will consider two studies that outline specific artistic identities that emerge within folk music performance in the 1960s and 1970s. On one hand I want to highlight the conflicting understandings of term that emerge; it is perceived as empowering, degrading, dangerous and innocuous by different groups. On the other hand, I want to explore how these multiple understandings of folklore and authenticity shape musical and discursive styles.

Thomas Turino's 1994 monograph looks at panpipe ensembles in Peru, describing important conceptual differences between rural and urban musicians regarding musical authenticity. The latter, in their attempt to faithfully reproduce a "traditional" sound,

generate a new musical practice that differs fundamentally in organization, composition and performance aesthetic from the rural figures that inspire them. This rural sound is critical to the expression of a community identity tied to rural roots within an urban soundscape. While notions of "tradition" compel these urban musicians to pursue sonic fidelity, rural ensembles strive to cultivate a unique style, even if this means incorporating innovative musical transformations.

In the "majeño" dance tradition in the department of Cusco, on the other hand, Zoila Mendoza (2000) explores how authenticity is tied to a performer's embodiment of power, prestige and masculinity both in ritual and in daily life. She also highlights contrasting concepts and applications "folklore." For some it is an elite conceptual frame that robs rural music and dance genres of their potential for resistance. As her research uncovers, however, identifying their own music and dance as "folkloric" inspires a sense of local pride and empowerment for many groups of performers.

In *Debating the Past* (2001), Raúl Romero considers the music of the Mantaro Valley in Peru. Central to his discussion is the presentation of a regional "nationalism" that emerges from discourse and performance. He describes a sense of authenticity that revolves around local identities as opposed to elements of previous official national imaginaries. In relation to "folklore," he also notes important conceptual distinctions: 1) between the solo artist and the anonymous tradition singer, and 2) between "folklore" (professional ensembles) and *música costumbrista* ("customary music" or traditional music of rural origin). Most importantly, he indicates that people take aesthetic pleasure in recurring debates of authenticity about local genres and identities.

By following a Bolivian folk music ensemble in local, regional and international performance circuits, Michelle Bigenho (2002) synthesizes three principle understandings of authenticity that influence performance practice and guide audience

expectations: 1) experiential, or "felt," 2) cultural-historical, or "represented," and 3) unique, or "exchanged" authenticity (p. 16). Experiential authenticity is related to one's perception or enjoyment of an event, separate from questions of history and origin. Cultural-historical authenticity articulates legitimacy through concrete ties of inheritance or links to rural "sources." Unique authenticity is the exchange value of one's music within professional arenas of folk music performance, as determined by invocations of experiential and cultural-historical authenticity.

In a similar fashion to the studies outlined above, my consideration of the guitarrón will examine how concepts of "tradition" shape performance style, how "folklore" is used to express or suppress social distinctions, and how debates over authenticity are a significant part of competition for resources and recognition. Musicians express integrity through pertinence to artistic, social, political and spiritual lineages, striving to carve a space within divisive discourses that place different requisites on the role of the contemporary guitarronero and singer. Within these musical circles, aesthetic proximity to rural style and the political or "apolitical" character of one's music become important means of identification. Before introducing the guitarrón and its specific history, I will briefly explore models of urban music "de raíz folclórica" [of folkloric root/origin] (González 1998b) whose discourses of authenticity have influenced understandings of appropriate applications of folklore in Chile.

Considering urban applications of folk music in relation to socio-political context, Juan Pablo González (1996) compares *Música Típica, Neofolclore* and *Nueva Canción*. *Música Típica*, born in the late twenties, was crafted as a modern rendering of Chilean folk forms. In nightclub, restaurant and radio performance of *música típica,* the identity of the professional "folklore" artist was consolidated. The costuming of música típica musicians evoked the elegant, land-owning *huaso,* as opposed to his laboring peasant

counterpart. While some perceived *música típica* as a politically neutral and positive musical vision of Chile, others understood it to be a pernicious and conservative symbol of the nation that excluded lower class and indigenous voices. Within urban popular musics based on folk genres, *Música Típica* held sway from the late twenties through the 1950s. *Neofolclore* emerged in the 1960s, drawing repertoire from "projection" groups that were dedicated to investigating rural repertoire and diffusing traditional solo repertoire in an ensemble format. Like the projection groups, *Neofolclore*-ists attempted to differentiate themselves from the *huaso* stereotypes of *Música Típica* groups. They were not, however, striving for a "pure" representation, or a close approximation, of rural sound. In fact, their highly cultivated harmonies and choral arrangements received critique from traditionalist circles for excessively altering rural material. *Neofolclore*, although short-lived, laid the musical groundwork for *Nueva Canción,* an artistic movement that would further expand the expressive bounds of folk music interpretation and engage with pan-American musical mediums and political discourses. In addition to embracing more international musical influences, *Nueva Canción* musicians highlighted the social marginalization of the "other" (rural, indigenous and working-class populations) in politically charged songs. As rendered by *Nueva Canción,* folklore became a genre for listening, not for dancing, and new meanings and social functions emerged out of performance practice. In stage positions, posture, poetic language and costuming, groups like *Inti-Illimani* transmitted their identity as serious artists who were deeply immersed in national and international politics. Aided by the staging expertise of Victora Jara, protest singer and theatre director, they presented a carefully crafted performance of what they wished for in society. Artistic sophistication and social application, more than sonic fidelity to a rural sound, became the measure of authenticity for *Nueva Canción* artists.

In a related fashion, Rodrigo Torres (2004) examines the musical repertoire of Violeta Parra, considering how her style and performance practice offered a specific model of artistic authenticity in the 1950s and 1960s. Born in the rural south, Violeta's family was frequently uprooted as social and political changes affected her father's work opportunities. Upon moving to Santiago in her teens, she first became a singer of national and international popular genres working in restaurants and bars. In the early 1950s, a time when rural Chile was feeling the definitive pressure of urbanization and industrialization, she abandoned stylized and stereotypical folk images to embody the identities of the *cantora campesina* (rural female singer) and the *poeta popular* (popular poet, modeled after the male singers and guitarroneros of Pirque). Through visual and musical analysis, Torres describes her incorporation of rural modes of dress, speech and performance. Her artistic transformation gave momentum to a process of installing a new vision of popular culture in Chilean society at large: a symbolic space where she and others would articulate utopian visions of social change. In sparse, unadorned songs, her "unrefined" voice transmitted a new authenticity in an empathetic and deep representation of rural culture.

While the aesthetics of Violeta Parra's song and *Nueva Canción* are related, I want to highlight the distinction in Violeta's more intimate physical and musical embodiment of the *cultor*. Her artistic production is dominated by solo and small ensemble performances where melodies are rendered in unison. Her harmonic language, although innovative, draws heavily from the modal progression of rural song (Torres 2004). *Nueva Canción* artists such as *Inti-Illimani,* although sharing a similar ideological invocation of the "other," are more stylistically open, exploring sophisticated layered harmonies, composing instrumental works that incorporated classical techniques and engaging more closely with a pan-American musical language (González 1996). As

opposed to many *Nueva Canción* artists, Violeta Parra was part of traditionalist circles in the 1950s in which rigorous study and faithful representation of rural genres was the measure of artistic worth. Although her later creations move beyond these restrictive bounds, her style maintains a proximity to a "traditional" aesthetic of stark arrangements, transparent textures and repetitive figures. In the performance of guitarrón, we will see a similar distinction between *cultor* aesthetics (emphasizing the reproduction of a rural sound) and artist aesthetics (linked to social, spiritual or political discourse).

Although the distant history of the guitarrón may remain shrouded in mystery for years to come, its trajectories from the late nineteenth century until today are multiple and fascinating. From rural festivities, to red-light districts, to Catholic liturgy, the guitarrón has participated in contrasting social milieus. As diverse as its contexts are the individuals that make up today's community of performers: academics, urban professionals, students and rural musicians that represent a wide range of political, spiritual and ideological convictions. Furthermore, each individual negotiates and projects in the guitarrón his own history of associations with "folklore" and "authenticity." After a brief introduction to the form and function of the instrument, the following section will take a look at the history of the guitarrón against the backdrop of socio-political transformations in Chile and the study of folklore.

INTRODUCING THE GUITARRÓN

To come face to face with the guitarrón is a striking experience. It is an instrument that assaults your senses, filling your eyes and your ears. Its unique form and sound stir infinite questions of both distant origins and local evolution, and the possible meanings of its peculiar shape and decorations. The twenty-five strings of the guitarrón are distributed in five groupings of five, six, four, three and three. Although this

grouping is somewhat standard today, there are several common variations.[13] The remaining four strings are grouped in pairs that extend from the bridge to pegs on each side of the neck where the fingerboard meets the body of the instrument. Called *diablitos* [little devils], these strings are tuned to triads of the guitarrón's tonic and dominant chords and are struck at cadence points throughout performance. Instruments from the "golden age" of guitarrón making (approximately 1850-1870) exhibit a proliferation of inlaid decorations, particularly in the four corners of the body and at the base of the fingerboard (Manuel Dannemann, personal communication, 2005). The guitarrón of this era is never without *puñales*, which splay in an arc from the bridge in a scimitar-like shape. Coin, button, mother of pearl, wood or ink decorations form geometrical shapes, patriotic symbols, crosses, or animals. While similar in shape to a contemporary classical guitar, these instruments are often smaller, with a narrow waist and a deeper body. The neck is wide and the peg head is long to accommodate all twenty-five strings. The bridge is often large and wide to distribute the tension of so many strings. Older guitarrones had

Figure I.1: Golden Age Guitarrón (Collection Archivo Andrés Bello, Universidad de Chile). Photograph by the author.

[13] 55533, 55443, 33333, 22222

movable frets made from metal or gut and braided together [*chapecao*]. Sonically the instrument is very resonant and deep; three of its string groupings possess multiple octaves (combining gut/nylon, metal and wound strings). Chapter One will describe the guitarrón's form in more detail and Chapter Four will address more recent sonic and structural changes.

CANTO A LO POETA

Although the guitarrón has accompanied dances such as the *cueca* and the *polca*, its primary musical home continues to be the accompaniment of sung poetry, *canto a lo poeta*[14] (also called *poesía popular* or *verso*). Both canto a lo poeta and the guitarrón are arenas dominated by male musicians. Lenz, in his studies, counterposed the world of secular entertainment (lighthearted *cuecas* and *tonadas*) with the "serious" cultivation of the "heavy" themes of popular poetry (1919, p. 521). Although perhaps too absolute in his divisions of these musical worlds, his masculine characterization of popular poetry holds true even today. While there are, and have been, female poets and guitarrón players,[15] the field is dominated by male performers.

Although its stylistic boundaries are ever expanding, the guitarrón remains most strongly associated with canto a lo poeta which encompasses both the sacred and secular repertoires of *canto a lo divino* [song to that which is divine/song to the sacred] and *canto a lo humano* [song to that which is human/song to the mundane]. A variety of poetic structures are employed, but the most common are the *cuarteta* (cuatrain) and the *décima espinela* (ten line stroph in abbaaccddc rhyme-scheme of octosyllabic lines). These décimas are combined together to form *versos* of four to six strophes. In canto a lo poeta,

14 Some texts also use a spelling reflecting rural pronunciation, "canto a lo pueta."

15 Including Rosa Araneda, Violeta Parra, Cecilia Astorga, Gloria Saavedra, Myriam Arancibia and Ingrid Ortega.

these strophes are often *encuartetado* or "glossed," meaning that each line of a unifying cuarteta is used as the final line of each of four décimas that make up the verso. Chapter One will provide a detailed explanation of this style in conjunction with the early history of urban poets and guitarrón players.

The poetry of canto a lo poeta is delivered with *entonaciones* (melodies with which the octosyllabic lines of the verses are entoned). Guitar or guitarrón accompanies the entonación with its corresponding *toquío* that provides harmonic and rhythmic support. There is a large repertoire of entonaciones that varies significantly from region to region, as well as from musician to musician. Chapter Two will consider specific examples of entonaciones and toquíos, describing how singers and musicians define their musical identity through style and ornamentation. Chapter Three will describe contemporary performance practice in canto a lo divino, and Chapter Four will address canto a lo humano, in particular the revival of poetic duels and the cultivation of the *encuentro* format.

FOLKLORE, CHILEAN IDENTITY AND THE GUITARRÓN: A BRIEF HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

As Nettl describes, "folk music" has important emotional associations that are tied to social, ideological and political distinction (2005, p. 358). In this historical retrospective, I will highlight the applications of both the guitarrón and "folklore" in Chile that are the groundwork for contemporary constructions of identity. My application of the term "folklore" is very broad, although the word is problematic in contemporary use. In Chile, as in other Latin American countries, "folklore" is often used to refer to music and dance forms, as opposed to the more precise "folklore musical." While folklore can be used to designate any kind of performance related to rural traditions (staged or "authentic"), many musicians avoid the term because it

conjures up images of commercial and recreational ensembles that promote rural stereotypes. "Popular culture" and "tradition" are common replacements to evade the historical and ideological baggage of "folklore." The latter terms are also more inclusive of expressive practices of marginalized urban classes. "Folklore" remains current in popular usage, however, and I use this term to connect contemporary visions of popular culture and tradition with their conceptual legacy from the history of folklore studies and performance in Chile.

At the outer limits of the Spanish empire, wedged between mountain, ocean, and desert, Chile's unique cultural identity is often attributed to a history of physical isolation. Difficult to reach by land or sea, colonial Chile was often the last of the settlements to receive settlers, goods, or news from Europe. For many scholars, this "island" experience has explained the retention of archaisms and the development of unique linguistic and cultural traits (González 1998a, Collier & Sater 2004). Marked by early miscegenation, a large *mestizo* population quickly grew, although a large percentage self-identified as Spanish. The agricultural society that developed in central Chile consolidated profound social divisions between a land-owning elite (European, Creole, and mesitzo) and a laboring mestizo and indigenous population. Tremendous estates divided Chile's central valley from colonial times to the mid-twentieth century, and the *patrón* (land-owning rural elite) and the *inquilino* (tenant farmer) continue to be important figures in the national imaginary. Although definitive historical sources are lacking, the guitarrón, or its European relative is assumed to have reached the southern cone in the hands of soldiers, bards, settlers or missionaries during conquest and colonization (1540-1810). While Collier and Sater (2004) outline a proto-nationalism that emerged from the character of colonial social categories, an active discourse on Chilean national identity did not emerge until after Independence in the early 19th century

(p. 25). The formal separation from Spain initiated an exploration of alternative social, political and cultural models in which Anglosaxon-inspired visions competed with myths of origin invoking romanticized indigenous identity (Larraín 2001, p. 85). The tension between external and internal cultural models remains a central axis of discourses of Chilean identity today.

Jorge Larraín (2001) characterizes the 19th century as a period of "oligarchic" modernity in which democratic forms of government were established after Independence, but excluded the participation of a large part of the population (p. 83). The country sustained an export-based economy, and industrialization was still several decades away. Although not always implemented in practice, Enlightenment discourse emphasizing liberty, racial equality, science and education held sway (ibid., p. 84). As Larraín's qualification of this period suggests, the structure of Chilean government was in the hands of a powerful ruling elite whose identity was also consolidated during this time. In the late nineteenth century Chile experienced economic growth as grain export begins to take a more prominent place in the international market. This expansion of agricultural business further distanced Chilean society from the liberal ideals it officially espoused, as exploitation of tenant farmers perpetuated a quasi-feudal system (ibid., p. 91). While racist conceptions of the indigenous as "barbarians" persisted, the Araucanian identity as a bold warrior was invoked in the construction of a superior Chilean mestizo who combined the best of the Germanic Spanish populations and the best of the American indigenous (ibid., p. 95). Despite attempts to engage with exterior models of modernity in order to transcend former colonial culture, new visions of Chilean identity had to engage with old values that persisted in practice.

In the late 19th century the consolidation of a Chilean middle class with viable political force began. This was also the "golden age" of popular poetry. The large,

printed sheets of *lira popular*--sold on the streets, at markets and at train stations—expressed a plurality of ideologies, although voices aligned with rural and working class Chileans predominated. The poets' verses echoed the concerns of the day, narrating the events of the War of the Pacific with Bolivia and Peru, opining on the overthrow of Balmaceda in the civil war of 1891, promoting concerns of budding social movements of the left, and decrying the injustices of the oligarchy and hypocrisies of the Catholic church ("Unión de Poetas…" 1954**,** Salinas 1992, Navarrete 1998, Dannemann 2004**).** These poets and their guitarrones were no strangers to "popular" circuits of social diversion in Santiago and outlying rural areas. In homes, taverns, *fondas*[16] and brothels, it was the prized companion of many musicians. The "sonoro instrumento" [sonorous instrument] accompanied the melodic strains of dueling poets, lofty or bawdy topics of canto a lo humano, but also the devotional verses of canto a lo divino.

The conclusion of the oligarchy's complete dominance in Chilean government coincides with international crises of modernity in the first half of the twentieth century: two world wars and the dramatic disruption of global markets (Larraín 2001, p. 96). This period of international social and economic upheaval saw the rise of a politically potent middle class and the forging of an anti-oligarchic national identity that highlighted mestizaje and local Chilean identities. This was a period of working class organization, and the formation of Chile's communist and socialist parties. Questions of social inequity come to the fore in political discourse. At a time where a variety of "indigenismos" characterized nationalist discourses elsewhere in Latin American, a comparable movement did not exist in Chile (ibid., p. 103). This discursive void may be attributed to the absence of an indigenous empire equivalent to the Aztec or the Incas, or

16 Large tents that were centers of social diversion and festivities, particularly popular at the turn of the century.

perhaps to the very recent "pacification" of the Mapuche (1883) that had established Chilean rule of the southernmost reaches of the continent (ibid., p.103). Barr-Melej (2001) argues, however, that literary *criollismo*[17] expanded the bounds of Chilean national identity, similar to *indigenismo* movements elsewhere. As the middle class began to realize more prominent roles in art and government, rural Chile became the symbolic space for and "emerging nationalist imagination" where the mestizo and the peasant horseman (*huaso*) figured strongly (Barr-Melej 2001, p. 10).

The first years of the twentieth century also saw the official organization of folklore studies in Chile by German philologist Rodolfo Lenz. During this time several important studies were published documenting the guitarrón's use in Santiago and outlying rural areas (Lenz 1919, Lizana 1912, Vicuña 1912). While progressive social ideals emerged from studies of folklore, it was a discourse marked by acute awareness of ethnic and class difference (see Chapter One). In relation to the guitarrón and popular poetry, Lenz was obliged to defend his serious study of a "popular" (urban middle and lower class) as opposed to truly "folkloric" (rural or indigenous) realm of practice. From the work of these folklore scholars emerge the first definitions of "folklore" in the country; it is both a scientific tool for ethnologists and a cultural object embodying the "spirit" of the people (and thus, raw material for artists).

Although often classified as a period of progressive decline in popular poetry, it is important to note that several poets of the lira were deeply involved in the organization of the working class in the first decades of the twentieth century. Luis Emilio Recabarren, leader of the Chilean communist party (founded in 1912), encouraged popular poets to infuse their verses with a new spirit in opposition to feudal servitude and religious

[17] While *criollo* was a term to denote individuals of Spanish lineage born in Chile, it also is used to reference things that are "native" or to evoke rural Chile.

authority. Poets embraced the causes of the labor movement, advocating democracy and a dedication to progress ("Unión de Poetas…" 1954, p. 40). Worldwide economic depression after 1930 paved the way for the 1938 triumph of the "Popular Front," a political coalition giving middle and lower-class citizens a voice in national government (Larraín 2001, p. 103). This victory signaled the political downfall of the oligarchy, the incorporation of the middle class in to the government, and the initiation of processes of industrialization as a path to economic recovery (ibid., p. 103). As newly created government agencies set the country on a firm road of industrialization, there was deep debate about modern, anti-oligarchic Chilean identities (tied to *criollismo*) and conservative articulations of an inherent "Hispanic" identity (ibid., p. 108).

Class distinctions were well articulated in Antonio Acevedo Hernández's 1933 book, *Los Cantores Populares Chilenos* [Popular Chilean Singers]. His book offered an impassioned narrative extolling the cultural riches of Chilean popular culture. His descriptive anecdotes also presented a scathing social critique of Chile's upper class that scorned the lower class musical and poetic expressions that could give vitality to a national identity. Due to their negligence, these folk traditions—a veritable treasure trove of Chilean creative genius—had already begun to disappear. The guitarrón, in his estimation, was a musical gem already condemned to oblivion. Unbeknownst to Acevedo and others, the guitarrón had found a lasting home among rural musicians of a rural area just to the south of Santiago. Beyond a rich description of the character of rural and urban popular poetry, Acevedo demonstrated the segregated realms of music along class lines.

After World War II, Chile became a more inclusive democracy. The period between 1950 and 1970 was marked by increase industrialization, consumption, higher employment, expanded educational opportunities, and urbanization. The expansion of

radio and the arrival of television began to influence the shape of modern values as a mass culture market develops (Larraín 2001, p. 110). Large sectors of the population still remained outside the reach of the economic, social and technological benefits of Chile's modernization, however (ibid., p. 109). In rural to urban migration a substantial and social marginalized population grew on the edges of Chile's urban centers. (ibid., p. 110). An intense focus on modernization began to overtake discussion of cultural identity; academic discourse focused on culture as it pertains to social and economic development, borrowing heavily from North American theory and practice (ibid., p. 112).

The mid-twentieth century was also an important period for musical folklore research. In 1943 the *Instituto de Invetigaciones Folklóricas* [Institute of Folkloric Investigation] was created at the University of Chile**,** later reorganized as the *Instituto de Investigaciones Musicales* [Institute of Musical Investigation] in 1947. It is also important to note that the creation of these institutions coincides with the Reformist government's *Plan de Chilenidad* [Plan of Chilean-ness] to design a nationalist education for the public school system (Barr-Melej 2001, p. 230). Under the auspices of musical institutions, historians, composers, musicologists, folklorists, anthropologists, composers and performers united their efforts to document and project Chilean folk music. Composers such as Pedro Humberto investigated indigenous music and evoked their sounds in his classical compositions. Margot Loyola, a formidable singer, integrated a career of fieldwork, performance and teaching. Along with broadcasting a refined, yet more culturally informed musical vision of rural Chile, she created the choral *conjunto* that remains a popular folk ensemble format to the present day. Landmark musical studies were also produced during this time period, including Pereira Salas' *Los orígenes del arte musical en Chile* (1941). These institutes were not only academically oriented, but also strove to project Chilean musical folklore on a national level through concerts,

conferences, educational texts, and recordings. Folk music studies maintained, however, the distinct scientific and artistic thrusts similar to the Chilean Folklore Society of the early twentieth century: metaphors of folklore as the spirit of the people and a cultural artifact for scientific examination.

A strong Hispanicist gaze also informed the consideration of mestizo repertoire of the central region. As Carlos Lavín expressed in a 1955 organological essay, unique folk instruments such as the *rabel* and the *guitarrón* "honorably represent the European proliferation of string instruments form the lower Middle Ages and the Renaissance" (p. 10).[18] Chilean survivals were notably more "orthodox" and "authentic" in construction than physical examples elsewhere in Latin America (ibid., p. 10). His essay also explored popular music's infiltration into folk traditions, later echoed in Dannemann's critique of *pseudofolclore* (1975). Cultural-historical authenticity was central to academic investigation of folklore in the mid-twentieth century.

Folklore activities of the mid-twentieth century also brought together urban and rural groups in collaborative performance and projection endeavors. In 1954, intellectuals, laborers and agricultural workers organized the National Union of Poets and Singers of Chile. This organization created the first national gathering of popular poets which, among other goals of preservation and revival, also resolved to "inspire through popular poetry the people's struggle for democracy, for peace, for well-being and for national progress in all classes" ("Unión de Poetas…" 1954, p. 22).[19] Rural musicians and urban investigators united behind the concept of folklore as the spirit of the nation, and moreover as a vehicle for social transformation. While this concerted revival effort

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[18] "…representan honrosamente la proliferación europea de instrumentos de cuerda de la Baja Edad media y del Renacimiento."

[19] "Impulsar por medio de la poesía popular las luchas del pueblo por la democracia, por la paz, por el bienestar y por el progreso nacional en todos los órdenes."

sparked increased poetic production, the guitarrón was included in name only, coupled with popular poetry as a symbol evoking both the Chile's glorious past as well as a utopian future of equity for all socio-economic classes ("Unión de Poetas…" 1954; Acevedo Hernández 1933). While physical examples of the guitarrón remained, and there were musicians who attempted to recreate a performance style,[20] it was generally assumed that its true sound and technique would never be known again.

Around the same time as this historic conference, the guitarrón was rediscovered as a living tradition in the department of Puente Alto.[21] In 1953, performer and investigator Violeta Parra began her study of the instrument with Isaías Angulo of Puente Alto. She interviewed guitarroneros and singers throughout Pirque, most of whom were rural laborers (*inquilinos*) on the large agricultural estates (*fundos*) of the area. On guitar, she recorded several albums with the label Odeón that featured their repertoire. A team of investigators from the University of Chile, led by Raquel Barros and Manuel Dannemann, also realized extensive investigation of the guitarrón, publishing their results in 1961. While Violeta's investigation[22] uncovered the intricacies of musician's performance practice and social relations, Barros and Dannemann's study was a more systematic presentation and synthesis of the instrument's history, poetry, music and contemporary players.

Parra, Barros and Dannemann all engaged in their work with a sense of folklore's social and national application. Parra described how one singer broke a vow of musical silence when she told him that "the country needed his songs" (1979, p. 9). Barros and Dannemann noted in their research a widespread awareness of the legendary paya of the

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[20] Raúl de Ramón of the folk group *Los de Ramón* performed guitarrón in a very guitar-like style, and stringing the instrument with high-pitched thin strings.

[21] This area includes the modern day municipality of Pirque (part of the greater Metropolitan Region) and the *comuna* of Puente Alto (now part of Santiago).

[22] Posthumously published in 1979.

Mulato Taguada and don Javier de la Rosa as "clear proof of a type of folkloric unity, root of social cohesion, that could have beneficial repercussions in a national sense of awareness." (1969, p. 2). [23] The underlying concept was that of folklore as a national good; it belonged to everyone. It was a raw material which--framed or transformed--could serve scientific, social or nationalistic ends. Collaboration between rural and urban musicians produced not only an exchange of music and cultural artifacts, but a confrontation of aesthetic and conceptual worlds that resulted in what Juan Estanislao Pérez later called a rural "toma de conciencia" [realization] of local musical practice as an object of national value (Chamorro 1983, p. 12).

During the 1950s and 60s the guitarrón occupied distinct social and political circles, it was an object of academic interest, an historical symbol, a musical resource for political groups both right and left. On one hand the guitarrón was at the heart of institutionalized efforts to consolidate a national identity through folklore (Barros & Dannemann 1961; "Contra-punto…" 1969). With a high-pitched sound similar to a *tiple*, it could also be heard in the folk-inspired compositions of Raúl de Ramón, a performer whose ensembles had stylistic affinities with earlier *músic típica*. One the other hand, the cadence and poetry of the guitarrón infused the socially critical compositions of Violeta Parra that influenced the character of the subsequent *Nueva Canción* [New Song] movement in the late 1960s. The *Nueva Canción* musicians in turn were part of the artistic movement whose efforts in support of the *Unidad Popular* [Popular Unity] helped to bring about the election of socialist candidate Salvador Allende in 1970.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the folklore "boom" continued. Folk music more than ever became explicitly linked to political discourse and youth culture. The sense of

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[23] "prueba evidente de un tipo de unidad folklórica, raíz de cohesión social, que bien puede repercutir beneficiosamente en una toma de conciencia patria"

folkore as a symbolic tool for social activism reached unprecedented strength in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In this process, Patricio Manns (1977) has cited Violeta Parra's role as a conceptual and artistic bridge to the spirit of early popular poetry. Her compositions helped to propagate the artistic role adopted by *Nueva Canción* musicians who aspired to be the voice of the people. University-age Chileans took the reins of the country's folk music scene, imposing a new model of authenticity tied to social activism and political causes (Gónzalez 2005, p. 258). Schools of higher education were fertile ground for the formation of musical groups including the folk ensemble *Cuncumén* and the Andean-based group *Inti-Illimani*. It was in this environment also that the guitarrón reached the hands of musicians such as Guillermo Ríos and Pedro Yánez, who began to study with the players of Pirque to learn *canto a lo poeta* (G. Ríos, personal communication, August 2005). Through these individuals, the guitarrón came to the attention of protest singer Victor Jara, who included the instrument's resonant, metallic sounds on his album *Canto por Travesura* (1973).

The military coup of 1973 dramatically altered the lives of many musicians, initiating the drastic social and economic transformations described in the introduction. Those leftist folk musicians not imprisoned or forced into exile were confronted with a new reality of limited musical possibilities. Not all folk music production was prohibited by the military junta; the bucolic pictures of rural Chile in *Música Típica* were a critical part of the new government's campaign to promote nationalist sentiment (González 2005, p. 304). The elegant four-part harmonies of folk groups like the *Huasos Quincheros*, presenting a polished "patronal" version of the Chilean countryside, became a signature sound of the dictatorship. The sounds of Nueva Canción, tinged with the political discourse of the Left, were prohibited. In particular, the mestizo and indigenous instruments of the Andean *altiplano*—the charango, the zampoña, the quena—that

recalled the impassioned sounds of the long-haired and bearded groups that popularized them--were forbidden.

The guitarrón, despite its pertinence to many Leftist musical circles, was not sufficiently laden with ethnic or social meaning to merit explicit censorship. Folklore literature had only given serious consideration to the European, as opposed to mestizo or indigenous, origins of canto a lo poeta and the guitarrón. Also, because the guitarrón remained unfettered to one political extreme (and remained a lesser known instrument in general), its cultivation was not as dramatically quelled as other folk genres during the dictatorship (R. Torres, personal communication, October 26, 2004). For young musicians such as Guillermo Ríos, opportunities to sustain himself through folk ensemble performances disappeared. In his case, he began to accompany Juan Uribe Echevarría in his investigation and projection of rural canto a lo poeta. This continued involvement with rural singers, and with the guitarrón, constituted a means of remaining involved in folk music study when opportunities to cultivate other instruments and ensembles were cut off. On the other hand, the budding efforts of Ríos and Yáñez to showcase their own singing of *paya* (improvised poetic and musical competition) and the guitarrón in public and televised performances were extinguished (Yáñez n.d.). While the guitarrón was not singled out or prohibited by the climate of military rule, the possibility of its continued contribution to a large-scale, socially-oriented, creative movement such as *Nueva Canción*, was certainly thwarted.

Although the cultivation of the guitarrón was slowed, it did not cease. Small-scale presentations during the 1970s were possible, as were workshops organized by Juan Uribe and María Ester Grebe at the Unversity of Chile. Guitarronero Santos Rubio was invited to the Musicology Department in order for students to have the experience of studying this instrument with its most talented rural cultivator. During the 1970s and

1980s Padre Miguel Jordá, a Spanish priest, realized a number of compilations of rural sacred verse, and began organizing large-scale vigils of canto a lo divino under the auspices of the Catholic Church. During the 1980s, both the paya and canto a lo humano gained renewed momentum with the organization of concerts, recordings and radio and television programs. The 1980s culminated in the recording of "Cuatro Payadores Chilenos" featuring Santos Rubio, Alfonso Rubio, Pedro Yáñez and Fernando Yáñez, a cassette that brought the guitarrón to many new ears (1989).

In the early 1990s, a time of transition to democracy in Chile, a new generation of performers began to emerge, inspired by the projection efforts of the aforementioned musicians and their colleagues. For these young musicians, the guitarrón (as well as the *cueca brava*) has been a means of engaging with Chilean folklore in a form that is both new and old: old in its history and origins, yet new in that it was a part of Chilean musical heritage that did not bear the expectations and association of *conjuntos, Nueva Canción* or *música típica*. In the mid-nineties Francisco Astorga began teaching guitarrón classes at the Metropolitan University of Santiago's Music Department, exposing many young musicians to the instrument and the character of canto a lo poeta. In collaboration with Juan Bustamante and AGENPOCH (National Trade Association of Poets and Payadores of Chile), he also published a guitarrón method book in 1996. More recently Rodrigo Sanhueza (2004) has issued a method book that highlights the musical style and history of *payador* and guitarronero, Lázaro Salgado, and his student Franklin Jiménez.

The number of young guitarroneros has continued to grow since 2000. Alfonso Rubio offers a regular worshop, sponsored by the Municipality of Puente Alto and free to the public. Manuel Sánchez and Moisés Chaparro lead a poetry class where they also teach guitarrón. The guitarroneros of Pirque, in collaboration with Mónica Pedreros and sponsored by a national grant, created a project to present the guitarrón of Pirque in a

full-length musical and didactic CD (2000). In 2002, the same five guitarroneros, led by Alfonso Rubio, banded together to organize the first annual *Encuentro Nacional de Guitarroneros* in Pirque [National Gathering of Guitarroneros]. The event has met with overwhelming success and substantial growth each year. The late nineties and the new millennium have also seen expansion in the guitarrón's application in popular and classical musical spheres. Of note are José Pérez de Arce's "NOMETOMESENCUENTA" (2004) that weaves the guitarrón into a layered pop music production, Manuel Sánchez' hybrid compositions on "Verso Libre" (1999) that draw on blues and other international music idioms, and the *Ensamble Traditional Chilena* (2005) that employs the guitarrón in arrangements of classical/folk fusion. The rock ensemble *Los Tres,* who played an important role in the resurgence of *cueca brava,* have also recently released an album incorporating guitarrón on one of its tracks ("Hágalo Usted Mismo" 2006). It is due to the efforts of all of these individuals, particularly their exploitation of radio, television and recording opportunities, that the guitarrón enjoys increased exposure today.

On the academic front in the new millenium, investigators (and guitarroneros) Claudio Mercado and José Pérez de Arce have realized important projects that delve into the guitarrón's cultural origins and place the instrument in the public eye. Mercado, in particular, is a constant companion of the guitarroneros of Pirque, documenting and promoting their musical endeavors. As a member of the *Agrupación*, he is an integral part of planning events and soliciting government funds for performance opportunities. In 2003 he produced a documentary in collaboration with Chosto Ulloa, and he is currently working on a project that involves all of Pirque's guitarroneros. His investigations are poised to explore questions of indigenous heritage in the ritual character of canto a lo divino in Pirque. José Pérez de Arce (2002), a colleague of

Mercado's at the Precolumbian Museum, has also explored indigenous traits through a detailed physical and acoustical study of the instrument. Mercado and Pérez de Arce's studies represent political, as well as intellectual, statements. Along with documenting contemporary guitarrón practice through participant-observation, they attempt to reshape contemporary perceptions of Chilean ethnic heritage, particularly as it pertains to *mestizo* traditions of the central region whose Hispanic and Arab-andalousian inheritance has long overshadowed indigenous influences.

As the title of Astorga and Bustamante's 1996 publication indicates ("Renacimiento del Guitarrón Chileno"), the guitarrón is enjoying a Renaissance of sorts. The number of players, recordings, concerts, and workshops has seen remarkable growth in a short amount of time. Whereas only five players remained in the 1950s, there are well over fifty today; young musicians form a substantial part of this musical community. While many rejoice in what appears to be a firm rooting of the guitarrón in Chile's contemporary musical life, it is also an area of heated debate and profound disagreement. Although united in their passion for this unique instrument, there are many different approaches to its cultivation that are the cause of dramatic rifts between groups of performers. Like many elements of expressive culture that are tied to discourse of "folklore," the guitarrón is entrenched in multi-layered debates over identity and authenticity. At the regional level, Pirque's musicians want to firmly establish their identity as the cultural inheritors of the guitarrón who have maintained this instrumental tradition unbroken. The guitarrón has accumulated multiple new signifiers in its urban use, and they strive to remind people of the instrument's local history and rural identity. This is more than a symbolic battle. The rural players of Pirque are participants in a professionalization of the trade of *cantor* [singer] and guitarronero. It is no longer just a community role, but also a means of economic sustenance; the struggle for recognition is

also a struggle for resources and performance opportunities. There are also the *cantores a lo divino* who have joined with clergy of the Catholic Church in incorporating this instrument and its song into contemporary liturgy. Through interpreting canto a lo poeta's distance from the church as an unfortunate historic separation, they also recast the role of the cantor and his guitarrón to one of contemporary evangelization. In contrast to these groups, the impassioned voices of a younger generation infuse the guitarrón with political images of the past in social commentary about the present. The lira writers of the 19th century, Violeta Parra, Victor Jara and others form a spiritual lineage of socially-committed poets whose torch they strive to reignite and spread. Finally, there are also the voices of academics who lament the musical, aesthetic and spiritual depths of the instrument that have become tarnished in modern use. As investigators and performers, they explore aspects of ritual, history and ethnic identity that remain unsung.

Of course, the boundaries between these groups are not so clear; there is both overlap and division between these representative discourses. Multiple fissures and fissions cross the larger community of guitarroneros in Chile, and musical and discursive styles are the means by which each individual navigates across this complex terrain. Each note, each performance, each publication, each conversation is an act of representation--an assertion of identity that can be read by fellow musicians. From a common musical base of technique and repertoire, small details point to where you learned, and what you prioritize in performance. From a common discursive base of promoting Chilean folklore, musicians diverge into diverse political, religious and artistic agendas. While my study is also grounded in the guitarrón of Pirque, I use this grounding as a starting point to explore the confluences and collisions of various discourses on identity.

METHODOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTINGS

Research and Ethnographic Methods

Considering Stokes' recent assertion that ethnomusicology has begun to question "culture" as the unifying conceptual basis for our field (2001), I believe that Timothy Rice's recently proposed methodology (2003) offers some valuable contributions as an analytic tool for understanding individual encounters with modernity. Like Stokes, Rice has argued that Merriam's understanding of culture in bounded, systemic terms is no longer appropriate for application in an age where multiple musical concepts, systems and behaviors intersect in the practice of one individual. While recent ethnographic innovations have attempted to follow culture through its new, fractal shapes (Appadurai 1991, 1996), or to focus on the global processes that shape people's perceptions of reality (Erlmann 1999), Rice has proposed that by focusing on multiple dimensions of individual experience we can give a sense of cohesion and grounding to future studies, perhaps even facilitating comparative practice, which seems to be inhibited by the varied multi-disciplinary approaches to musical ethnography. Instead of the ethnomusicologist following sounds in their divergent and multiple paths (Turino 1993, Bigenho 2002), we can try to understand the multiple paths that converge in an individual biography. In my research on the guitarrón, I strive to integrate two methodological approaches: one where the instrument is the conceptual framework (or biographical focus) in which multiple discourses of meaning intersect; and two, a simultaneous emphasis on the style and discourse of a small group of musicians. As I described earlier, there are many voices in the revival of the guitarrón, all of which draw from distinct discourses of authenticity in their representation of the instrument. As I followed the instrument in its national (and occasionally international) movements, I was able to grasp the scope and diversity of its applications. By also focusing on the revival of the guitarrón from the perspective of its

players in Pirque, I was able to ground my consideration of the instrument in the lives, aesthetics and identities of specific individuals.

Ethnographic Settings: Pirque and Santiago

In the 1950s, Pirque, then part of the *departamento* of Puente Alto*,* was the last enclave of guitarrón performance. At this time the region was divided into *fundos,* large argicultural estates of land-owning elites, although industry was on the rise with the arrival of new factories. Agrarian reforms of the 1960s divided state lands into parcels for the former *inquilinos*, or tenant workers, to cultivate independently. While some fundos remain in Pirque, the authoritarian and paternalistic social order of the *latifundio* has been replaced by a neoliberal capitalist system that has modernized agricultural producion ("La Reforma Agraria…" 2004). The region once encompassed by the department of Puente Alto has undergone profound transformation in the past fifty years. The area north of the Maipo river is now the *comuna* of Puente Alto, considered part of Santiago. It is a densely populated middle to lower class urban area, punctuated by factories and shopping centers. South of the Maipo is Pirque, a municipality of the *Provincia de la Cordillera*: part of the metropolitan region, but not a *comuna* of Santiago. Pirque is inhabited by a socio-economic mix of descendants of the land-owning elite, descendents of rural *inquilinos* (both laborers and a large number that have achieved greater economic security in trades or professional fields), and more recent middle-class arrivals looking for an alternative to the pace and pollution of the capital. An area of great natural beauty, Pirque's economy is sustained by tourism as well as agriculture. For city dwellers it is a place to go for a taste of the country close to the city. For local authorities, the guitarrón forms a part of the discourse that promotes an image of Pirque as a place of "tradition."

Any fieldwork, whether it intends to explore a "total musical system" or not, is necessarily a sampling of the full range of the practices it considers (Nettl 2005, p. 140, 147). The choice of how to realize this sampling is a complex process that must take in to consideration social values, interpersonal relationships between musicians, as well as the impact these will have on the investigator's reception in a musical community (ibid.: 146). While I interviewed a range of urban and rural performers that represent distinct perspectives, I spent a majority of my time immersed in the style and the circuits of guitarroneros in Pirque. My principal teachers were Alfonso Rubio, Osvaldo Ulloa and Santos Rubio. The focus of my fieldwork on Pirque was motivated by a desire to have close relationships with a small number of musicians. I became interested in the confluences and contrasts between the style, experiences and aesthetics of musicians from the same community. This deep involvement in one "school" of guitarrón playing was also shaped by the competitive nature of the larger community of guitarroneros in Chile as well as my own musical aesthetic.

Alfonso Rubio is currently one of the most active guitarrón teachers in the metropolitan area, and I was acquainted with him from previous research projects in Chile. I felt that his experience as president of the *Agrupación Herederos del Guitarrón Pircano* (The Group of the Inheritors of the Guitarrón of Pirque) and dedication to teaching young players place him at an interesting and important intersection between rural and urban currents. Formerly a principal collaborator with musicians in Santiago, he has split from urban organizations to cultivate and promote the activities of the Pirque guitarroneros and students and colleagues closely aligned with them. Unhappy with the urban representations of Pirque's instrument, he strives to create his own artistic opportunities and to build the strength of the local, rural voices. Alfonso's journey on the guitarrón is also places him at a borderline between identities of "cultor" and "artist."

While coming from a family of cantores, he learned guitarrón alongside urban players who came to Pirque to study with his brother. His formation as a guitarronero coincided

Figure I.2: Alfonso Rubio performing at the Encuentro de Guitarroneros in Pirque (November 8, 2004) and rehearsing with José Luis Suárez before a show at the Plazuela Independencia in Puente Alto (February 10, 2005). Photographs by the author.

with revival of the paya in the eighties, thus he is well entrenched in both rural and urban identities, both of which inform his professional image as a teacher and musician.

Born in the late 1930s, Santos Rubio (twenty years Alfonso's senior) is a multi-faceted vocalist and instrumentalist. Although raised in rural Pirque, he was an aspiring radio artist in his youth and an avid performer of popular international music as well as Chilean rural genres. He studied guitarrón with Juan de Dios Reyes, actively singing in *ruedas de cantores* [rounds of singers] in his teens. Despite the breadth of his musical repertoire, Santos is most well known as a cantor a lo poeta and guitarronero, representing the musical heritage of Pirque at a national level. He appears with guitarrón and guitar on an extensive list of academic and popular recordings distributed in Chile and abroad. He was an integral of the earliest efforts to revive the *paya* (improvised verse) with urban artists in Santiago. For many musicians today, he is the epitome of the

"cultor" of the guitarrón. He is simultaneously a professional musician who makes his living by teaching and performing.

Also born in the 1930s, Osvaldo (Chosto) Ulloa learned guitarrón by watching his father, Manuel Ulloa, and accompanying him to numerous *velorios de angelito* in his youth. His father was an *inquilo* on a *fundo* in Pirque, and Chosto himself worked in a variety of agricultural and rural trades throughout his life. Today he lives on a small pension, supplemented by the occasional student or performance. Although he abandoned the instrument for many years (when a priest suggested the devil might take him for singing and playing), he began playing again in the late 1990s upon encouragement from Alfonso and others who had begun to organize the guitarroneros of Pirque. Farther removed from bus routes than other players, and with less economic means, Chosto is less mobile than Santos and Alfonso who travel locally and nationally to participate in a variety of musical events.

I feel that there is extreme value in an ethnographical approach that is anchored by a strong biographical center, as described by Rice. As a result, the results of my study are highly personalized. Although not completely Pirque-centered, this dissertation is nonetheless my rendering of the world of the guitarrón as perceived from Pirque points of view. Within this perspective, the voices of Pirque musicians Juan Pérez and Manuel Saavedra are present, although less prominent. Nonetheless, I feel there is legitimacy to my conclusions, particularly because Santos and Alfonso are the principal teachers of a large number of contemporary performers, and because of Santos and Osvaldo's positions as the older generation of guitarroneros who interacted with many urban visitors to Pirque in the history of the instrument's revival. They are all active players whose voices command the attention and respect of the larger community of guitarroneros, if not always their agreement.

In relation to this last point, my decision to focus on the guitarrón in Pirque was also influenced by the nature of the larger community of guitarroneros and *cantores*. The musicians united by the practice of *canto a lo poeta,* are divided in their understandings of the purposes of their song, their musical aesthetics and their spiritual and social convictions. Underneath harmonic discourses of poetic brotherhood lie ardent polemic discord and rivalries. Maintaining close ties with one circle of musicians necessarily influenced the degree to which I could get to know others. My goal was not to get to the bottom of historical differences, or "who did what to whom," but rather to attempt to understand the larger dynamics of community of guitarroneros that produce these battles over cultural meaning. At the outset, this translated into an attempt to work with a number of musicians. In short time however, I could sense how equal division of my time between groups would detract from a deep understanding of these social and musical dynamics, or any one perspective. By centering myself in the circuits of musicians from Pirque and their students, I could couple an intimate acquaintance with a local community with a focused understanding of the points at which conflicting discourses intersect in the experience of these musicians.

Also contributing to my focus on Pirque is the aesthetic attraction I feel for this guitarrón style. As I studied the instrument, I began to distinguish between contemporary approaches and felt a strong compulsion to understand the style, technique and musicality of Alfonso, his brother Santos and Osvaldo Ulloa. Critical to acknowledge as well is the respect that urban investigators and musicians hold for these musicians. The first word out of anyone's mouth as they learned of my intent to study guitarrón was "Pirque." While one may rightly critique my susceptibility to tropes of historical "authenticity" that surround Pirque's reputation, I must also attest to the "quality of experience" (a type of authenticity outlined by Bendix 1997 and Taruskin 1995) of my time in this region: the

personal pleasure of hearing the stories of what the guitarrón used to be like, learning the old vocal modalities that have disappeared from urban performance styles, and observing old concepts of performance in tension with the new. All three of my teachers sustain a deep dialogue with the past as they carve a place for their music in the future. All three, in different ways, are intermediaries between the guitarrón of yesterday and today. Whether or not one learns guitarrón in Pirque, the voices of these guitarrón players are undeniable points of reference and cultural authority in the history and contemporary practice of the guitarrón. In my narrative they are also the primary lens through which I contemplate other perspectives.

Centering my narrative in Pirque, I hope to highlight the efforts of musicians to secure a place for themselves in the local, regional and national identity of the guitarrón. By considering the points at which their discourse intersects, coincides or clashes with other groups, I also want to communicate the range of the guitarrón's cultural meanings in Chile today. While focused on Pirque, my study does incorporate a variety of viewpoints. Neither the Rubios nor their students participate exclusively in local events. I followed the guitarrón throught the bustling streets, urban cathedrals, university campuses, and bohemian neighborhoods of Santiago. I attended numerous performance events in and around the metropolitan region throughout the year, sampling the teaching of other "schools" of guitarrón and comparing aesthetic discourses. While I interviewed many musicians outside the immediate Pirque circle, I nonetheless feel that my analysis is fundamentally shaped by perspectives from Pirque. While this local slant could be perceived as either a methodological strength or weakness, I believe that this grounding in a local style helped to underscore stylistic and conceptual differences in contemporary guitarrón performance. Maintaining complete aesthetic impartiality would have changed the nature of my relationship to teachers and friends in Pirque, hindering perhaps my

immersion in what Qureshi calls the "sentimental education" involved in learning an instrument (1997, p. 3). This study is more than just an account of the guitarrón in Pirque; I strive to provide a snapshot of the contemporary guitarrón in Chile. Nonetheless, I also wish to make clear that despite a degree of "objective" distance I maintained as a researcher, I was far from an impartial observer. I try to keep this local bias in mind in my narrative, contemplating in what ways my research invokes distinct "myths" of the guitarrón and Chilean identity.

A Subject-Centered Consideration of Gender in the Field

Although a close examination of my gender identity in the field was not central to my initial project design, it became essential to consider how being a foreign female scholar influenced the course of my investigation. In *Music and Gender* (Moisala and Diamond 2000), contributing scholars approach their studies from a variety of disciplinary and feminist perspectives. They are united, however, in their efforts to sustain a dialogue about their own individual subject positions in the field: how their understandings of gender shape their research as well as their interpretations (Koskoff 2000, p. xi).

Kisliuk argues in *Shadows in the Field* (1997) that self-reflexivity within ethnography should be motivated by experiences that fundamentally alter our perceptions of ethnographic material (p. 39). In this regard, I uncovered as I narrated my own performance experiences that I repeatedly allowed my identity as a researcher to supercede my identity as a woman, or perhaps more specifically, as a woman who self-identifies as progressive in thought and politics. As I reheard certain comments and relived my reactions to them, I felt almost disturbed at the degree of neutrality I maintained. In other words, I tolerated circumstances and exchanges that I would have found unacceptable in the United States. Where I might have protested, I was quiet.

When I might have left, I stayed for the good of my "research." In other words, to endanger personal relationships in the field would endanger the quality of my academic project. My identity as a researcher became a shield, or better put, an anesthetic to my gendered framing in performance and social relations. It was frighteningly easy to put uncomfortable situations in a box labeled "ethnographic data" and forget about them until later. Two of these experiences are included in Chapter Five where I discuss the performance of gender in canto a lo poeta. I feel that my personal acknowledgement of this imbalance between my research and gender identity has given me additional perspective on the reasons that the guitarrón remains a masculine instrument today. I realize that while I have the protection of my identity as a researcher, Chilean female musicians do not.

With these comments, I do not wish to suggest that I entered a hostile terrain, or encountered *machismo* at every turn. I thank my teachers and fellow students for their welcome, as well as their support, encouragement and participation in my project. As I elaborate in Chapter Five however, I do wish to highlight that a woman's participation in canto a lo poeta often depends on the acceptance of a patriarchal framework.

Amid the rich tapestry of Chilean musical practices, the guitarrón's form and sound are unique. Its rare physical and sonic traits suggest archaic origins, and its history, veiled in mystery, encourages musicians and their public to use it as a palette for the exploration of its social, ethnic and spiritual identity. As they rearticulate these identities in performance, cultural meaning is imbedded in physical shape and musical language. Even more so than in previous generations, the guitarrón's symbolic potential attracts new players and new audiences in search of a sound in which to reimagine Chilean identity. The guitarrón, once an instrument of urban professional musicians, has

gone from the context of rural ritual back to the urban arena where once again individuals embrace poetry and guitarrón as a professional trade. Just as urban poets of the nineteenth century refined their skills to guarantee livelihood, individuals and institutions today polish their discourse and performance as they compete for government resources, performance opportunities, media attention, and authenticity. Grounded in the perspectives of musicians from Pirque, my dissertation examines issues central to the history of the guitarrón's revival and the instrument's contemporary use.

In Chapter One I describe the birth of institutionalized folklore research in the early twentieth century. Drawing from studies of poesía popular and the guitarrón, I consider the social, gender and ethnic hierarchies articulated within both folklore (the discipline) and folklore (the object) from the investigator's perspective. Using examples from the printed *lira popular,* I also introduce the basic poetic structure of Chilean *verso* that the guitarrón accompanies, and the thematic divisions of *canto a lo poeta* (song in the poetic style): canto a lo humano and canto a lo divino. From early folklore studies and from the poetry of turn of the century musicians, a picture of the guitarrón's past life in Santiago emerges.

Chapter Two presents the basic musical elements of guitarrón performance and the singing of canto a lo poeta*,* illustrating how the nature of guitarrón accompaniment allows a flexible performance style designed to follow the pace of the voice. I focus on the importance of ornamentation in introductions and interludes as a means of musically communicating local heritage and individual identity.

Chapter Three examines the tensions that infuse the performance of guitarrón in *ruedas de cantores* (rounds/circles of singers). In the sacred space of *canto a lo divino*, discourses of rural musicians, the Catholic Church, and urban investigators collide and compete for discursive authority over proper performance style. I argue that this

contemporary debate is akin to the musical and poetic competition inherent to rural *canto a lo divino* of previous generations. I describe the experiences of rural performers who feel drawn to both the competitive modes of performance as well a more "brotherly" style promoted today.

Chapter Four introduces the popular performance format of the *encuentro* that showcases several modalities of secular poetry (improvised and composed). Here, I contrast the guitarrón of Pirque with the experiences of the youngest generation of guitarrón players, drawn to the instrument in search of a Chilean sound. I describe the discourse that emerges from contemporary performance, looking at how the guitarrón is a symbol of artistic, political, and indigenous heritage. I also consider how the physical form of the guitarrón participates in the articulation of individual and collective identities.

Chapter Five explores the representation of women in *canto a lo poeta.* Beginning with turn of the century *poesía popular*, I describe the contributions of multiple women to the life and livelihood of the tradition. I highlight, however, a discursive framing of women's performance by narratives of defeat and difference in popular and academic discourse. Drawing from analysis of contemporary performance, I also describe how one female guitarrón player finds a space for critique without upsetting the firmly patriarchal structures of performance.

As the country's bicentennial anniversary approaches, Chileans engage critically with visions of national identity that have dominated official history. In academic and popular circles, there is an effort to reconsider the discursive discord that has characterized this history, bringing to the fore the marginalized voices in an imbalanced debate. This renewed assessment of Chilean identity shares with many of its predecessors an attraction to folklore--or popular culture and tradition as it is often called—as a valuable tool in the cultural/historical endeavor of self-definition. In this

context, the guitarrón and *cueca brava* have emerged as vital musical terrains for exploring represention of a diverse society. In conclusion I offer a comparison of the guitarrón with *cueca brava,* emphasizing the role of musical and discursive conflict in the "life" of popular expressive practices.

Chapter One: Early Folklore Studies in Chile and the Poetry of the Guitarrón

For Chilean musicians and investigators of the 1950s, the rediscovered guitarrón evoked a mysterious musical world of the past. It was an object that existed as a physical and textual artifact, but whose technique and spirit was believed lost with the passing of its turn of the century players. From a handful of early twentieth century folklore studies that prematurely pronounced its extinction, scholars could glean a glimpse of the musical life of this unique instrument, intriguing not only in its form, but in its exclusive presence in Chile. To find that the guitarrón was still played in the department of Puente Alto, a rural sector less than twenty kilometers south of the capital Santiago, was--as described by investigator Raquel Barros-- "like coming face to face with history, more than with an instrument" (personal communication, July 2005).[24] As a preface to the guitarrón's contemporary use discussed in later chapters, here I examine early sources that addressed the guitarrón and the popular poetry it accompanied. I also describe the origins of the discipline of folklore in Chile, indicating how the academic study of popular poetry constituted a culturally significant and creative process of articulating professional and social identities. The texts that analyze folklore simultaneously express the beliefs, self-perception and nationalistic sentiments of the individuals and institutions behind their publication.

In the early twentieth century, folklore (the object) and folklore (the discipline) are both defined by powerful social, ethnic and gender hierarchies. Both the folklorists and the folklore bearers are situated in social categories that frame the value of their contributions to scientific and artistic discourse. In this chapter I consider the writings of

[24] "... entonces encontrarnos con la historia era, más que encontrarnos con un instrumento..."

professional, amateur and indigenous folklore investigators, comparing their research goals and their perceptions of one another's work. Within their studies, I highlight both a scientific gaze focused on European poetic origins and masculinity as well as a biographical approach motivated by goals of social transformation. We will also see how popular poetry and the guitarrón, unlike peasant or indigenous cultural practices, occupied a middle to lower class urban sphere that posed a challenge to their appreciation within folklore studies.

Folklore studies from the first half of the twentieth century are critical to understanding contemporary musical practice for several reasons. Firstly, Rodolfo Lenz --the authoritative voice of the Chilean Folklore Society and avid investigator of popular poetry--laid the ideological and methodological base for this field's development. Subsequent research in musical folklore has remained in constant dialogue with his work. Secondly, via direct consultation, and as filtered and projected through the work of later generations of investigators, these descriptions of popular poetic performance and the guitarrón have served as raw material for the urban revival of improvised poetry. Finally, the scientifically motivated contact between the members of the Chilean Folklore Society and the "folk," mark the initiation of folklore's (the concept) penetration into the discourse of popular musicians. As Salman describes, "scientific terms have become a part of common knowledge and can become very significant (even a strategic tool) in social relations and conflicts such as those over regional, socio-economic, ethnic, professional and other identities…" (1996a, p. 13). In Chile, academic articulations of the meaning of "folklore" continue to inhabit popular discourses, perpetuating old ideas, taking new forms, and influencing contemporary practice of the guitarrón.

"WHAT IS FOLKLORE AND WHAT PURPOSE DOES IT SERVE?"

Due in large part to the organizational and research efforts of Dr. Rodolfo Lenz, a German philologist, ethnologist and romance language scholar, the study of folklore became institutionalized after the turn of the twentieth century in Chile. Although the country boasted the first independent folklore society in Latin America, folklore's existence as a discrete realm of academic inquiry in Chile was short-lived (Centenario 1946: 1). Both the *Sociedad de Folklore Chileno* (est. 1909) and its journal were fused with the *Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía* by 1913 due to organizational and financial difficulties (Centenario 1946, p.1). Thus, the discipline of folklore was subsumed as an auxiliary field to "the study, the investigation and divulging of the historic-geographic sciences." (Feliu 1943, p. 12).[25] Although the Chilean Folklore Society's independent legacy was fleeting, the social and ideological impact of folklore studies on Chilean society was long-lasting, particularly in musical discourse. Before focusing my discussion on specifically musical topics and the guitarrón, it will be fruitful to consider Chilean perspectives on folklore in the early twentieth century.

"¿Qué es Folk-lore y para qué sirve?"[26] asks writer and literary scholar Julio Vicuña Cifuentes in the title of his 1911 article for the *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*.[27] Such a title already suggests that folklore studies may have been on the defensive from their earliest days in Chile. Indeed, Vicuña's article proves to be an enumeration of the many reasons why "folk-lore" should be allowed to grace the pages of this prestigious publication. Vicuña explains to his audience that this word of Saxon origin, first coined by William J. Thoms in 1846, designates "el saber del pueblo"[28] or

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25 "el estudio, la investigación y divulgación de las ciencias históricos-geográphicas"
26 "What is folk-lore and what purpose does it serve?"
27 Chilean Review of History and Geography
28 "the knowledge/wisdom of the people"

"la ciencia popular"[29]: the pure, unadulterated practices and explanations of the world that originate among unlettered populations (Vicuña 1911, p. 441). While indicating that "select spirits" of Antiquity had long ago noted the importance of folklore, he describes how the study of folklore as a collective endeavor did not begin until the nineteenth century; the mission of London's first folklore society in 1878 served as a model for the collective study of folklore in both Europe and the United States (ibid., p. 442).

Of what use are folklore and folklore studies to Chile, however? Vicuña makes his plea to a broad spectrum of lettered Chilean society. On the one hand, he appeals to ethnologists, historians and sociologists by declaring that folklore, the discipline, is an essential scientific companion to in the understanding of human races. Reiterating Lenz' conception of folklore as a branch of ethnology, Vicuña asserts that the body of data generated by the pursuit of folklore can be studied comparatively and used to distinguish the heterogeneous origins of each pueblo's civilization (ibid., p. 445). In the context of folklore studies in Chile, a topic of constant intrigue was the degree of European versus indigenous influence in local cultural practice (ibid., p. 443). Folklore was a means of further determining the racial character of the country.

On a slightly different note but still pertaining to identity, Vicuña makes his second appeal to Chile's artists, writers and musicians. In a seeming echo of Herder's notion of folklore as a site of authenticity for humanity (Bendix 1997, p. 17), Vicuña describes how:

> …through their ironic, healthy and jovial skepticism, the pueblo [possible translations: people/folk/race/nation/common people] reveal their soul to us, telling us at times, very profound things, in a form that surprises us by its novelty… (1911, p. 444).[30]

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[29] "popular science"

[30] …a través de su escepticismo irónico, sano, jovial, el pueblo nos descubre su alma, nos revela su pensamiento, diciéndonos á veces cosas muy hondas, en forma que sorprende por su novedad…

Folklore (the object of study) is a pure, unmediated expression of a people's sentiment and thus also offers a storehouse of material for the expression of authentic Chilean identity to the nation's artists (ibid., p. 442). We could speculate that this purity was placed in opposition to forces of modernity that were beginning to be felt at this time throughout Latin America (Rowe & Schelling 1991, p. 4). Folklore is an endangered species, easily contaminated, transformed or destroyed, and thus Vicuña invokes similar solicitations for the urgent attention to this field (1911, p. 445).

Counterbalancing this elevation of folklore to a pedestal of authenticity, Vicuña further qualifies folklore (object) as a cultural limitation. While the folkloric practices of the pueblo lend a "riqueza" (richness) to the nation, their superstitions—the aforementioned "sabiduría del pueblo" [wisdom of the people]—detain their bearers on the road to higher levels of civilization (Vicuña 1911, p. 443). Such observations, clearly influenced by evolutionist thought, create an interesting paradox whereby folklore is elevated as a site of truth and authentic expression, yet is simultaneously labeled a limitation to those groups who possess it most intimately. Interestingly, it is the outside observer, the folklorist who studies such phenomena, rather than the practitioners or *cultores* [folklore bearers] themselves, who is better positioned to appreciate the truths and avoid the traps of folklore. This conception of folklore further highlights its character as a construction of modernity, a lens through which privileged urban classes contemplated the intersections of the modern and the "primitive." For early twentieth century folklorists, rural and popular cultural practices come to hold meaning and relevance through the filter of folklore, the discipline.

According to Thoms, folklore persists where "steam engines, cotton mills, mail coaches, and similar exorcists have not yet penetrated" (Stocking 1987, p. 56). Where the forces of modernity have not taken complete hold—that is, among the rural, poor, and

to a lesser extent, urban working class populations—folklore can be found. In Chile, as elsewhere, the term implies that a social gap separates those who study folklore (object), from those who possess it. While the discipline is a practice of gentlemen, the object they study belongs to an Other generated by modern, industrial society. This is not to say, however, that those individuals involved in the early study of folklore comprised a homogenous group. Along with the delineation of difference between the investigator and the "folk" he investigated, there was a social hierarchy within Chilean Folklore studies as well. Distinctions, which became extremely important as the field began to define itself as a science in the twentieth century, were drawn among more "serious" students of folklore and those that enjoyed it as a leisure activity, as well as between the highly educated members trained in scientific analysis, and middle class professionals who contributed narrative field data. In the following section, I will discuss the academic interchanges between three members of the Folklore society whose work deals with popular poetry and the guitarrón. I will describe the general scope of their studies, the understandings of "folklore" they express, and the discursive authority afforded to scientific and artistic perspectives.

ACADEMIC TREATMENT OF POESÍA POPULAR AND THE GUITARRÓN

Rodolfo Lenz, a tireless scholar with an enormous breadth of investigations—including a comprehensive study of Araucanian language and literature and an etymological dictionary of Chilean Spanish---is one of the principal sources for material describing the practice of male *poesía popular* from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In his studies of both language and folklore, he realized pioneering investigation on topics deemed unworthy of scrutiny by many of his Chilean colleagues. Lenz's organization of the Chilean Folklore Society in 1909, marks the beginning of what

Manuel Dannemann (1998) calls a period of "scientific initiation" in the discipline of folklore in Chile (p. 24). During this first flourishing of the field of folklore, Lenz is the voice of authority. As editor of the journal, and primary contributor, he frequently appends meticulous analyses to articles, framing the descriptive works of folklorists by avocation within a scientific, rational discourse.

Origins are a focal point in Lenz' scientific consideration of language, literature and popular customs, and he worked to determine the extent to which Chilean culture retained remnants of conquest, 17th and 18th century practices, and to identify traits of indigenous influence, or local creation. Originally destined for a European audience, Lenz' study, "*Sobre la poesía popular impreso en Santiago"*[31] (1919), begins with a detailed exposé and assessment of the fundamental qualities of Chilean culture. A combination of conquistadors and Spanish immigrants with "la más orgullosa y valiente de las tríbus indíjenas de América" [the most proud and courageous of indigenous American tribes], he declares Chile's development to be "healthy" (Lenz 1919, p. 517). This cultural mix has produced what he calls the most interesting vulgar dialect of all Hispanoamérica (ibid., p. 519). As a result, he speculates that it will correspondingly produce the "the richest production of popular folklore and literature" (ibid., p. 519). In mid-nineteenth century European evolutionist thought, race carried much of the meaning that culture does today: "a kind of summation of historically accumulated moral differences sustained and slowly modified from generation to generation" (Stocking 1987, p. 138). There could also be an organic dimension to this conception of race, attributable to Darwinist or Spencerian thought (ibid., p. 129). In early twentieth century Chile, the concept of *raza* seems to have retained such behavioral and biological ideas about the fundamental characteristics of a people: a notion communicated not only in the

31 "On Popular Poetry Printed in Santiago"

writings of Lenz and his colleagues, but also in other areas of academic inquiry, such as history (Barros Arana 1933, Thayer Ojeda 1904)[32] which also sought to identify Chile's racial identity as a nation.

As mentioned previously, Lenz was an authoritative voice within folklore studies at the time of the publication of his essay on popular poetry (written in 1894 and printed in Chile in 1919). As one of the earliest and richest descriptions of the guitarrón and popular poetic practice, it has also remained an indispensable text for subsequent study of this domain of popular culture through the present day. Of greatest interest to the ethnomusicological thrust of this dissertation is his first chapter, dedicated to the presentation of the poets themselves, the details of the guitarrón, and general descriptions the performance contexts of popular poetry. The second chapter provides a discussion of the commercial printing of popular poetry in late nineteenth century Santiago, and the third chapter is an illustration of the thematic divisions of both printed and performed popular poetry.

The term "popular poetry" can designate a wide range of urban and rural poetic practices which Lenz enumerates, placing particular emphasis on gender divisions in its performance. In general we can take it to mean poetic practices--written or oral, recited or sung--of lower middle to lower classes, be they urban or rural. In the first chapter, Lenz opens his discussion with a rigorous division between the "serious" masculine poetry in ten-line verse (*décimas*) and the "light" feminine poetry of shorter stanzas. While the latter is mostly for dance or entertainment purposes, the former—with more complicated text—requires a more artistic type of appreciation. It occasionally relies on written transmission which also heightens its status:

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[32] see discussion in Zúñiga 2002, pp10-16.

> The weighty poetry in décimas with its long compositions can only with great difficulty be retained in memory without the aid of writing and it has, because of this, a more elevated character, a bit learned, and from this, didactic. (Lenz 1919, p. 523).[33]

Lenz fully exploits this metaphor of the *poeta* as artist. He symbolically links him to noble troubadours of medieval Europe who cultivated their song as a leisure activity:

> The *huaso* [Chilean rural horseman] singer preserves a good part of the dignity of the troubadour of the Middle Ages, who enjoys showing before an ecstatic audience his profound knowledge as a man of superior experience who knows the world. Like the *Meistersingers* of the 16th century, he has nothing of the wandering verse-maker of the market, but rather practices his art for art's sake and to win applause: he dedicates typically only his hours of leisure and earns a living with some small business or respectable occupation (ibid., p. 523).[34]

Lenz takes this point even further when comparing the verses of Chilean *poesía* with the common structures of Spanish courtly poetry. He concludes that "the poetry of our popular poets is a direct descendent of the poetry 'of high art.'"[35] of sixteenth century Spain (ibid., p. 527). This tradition was brought to Chile by the noblemen of the Conquest and further cultivated by the soldiers, royal servants and clergy that arrived until the middle of the seventeenth century (ibid., p. 527).

Although praising the survivals of high European tradition manifest in *poesía popular*, Lenz cannot elevate this folkloric practice without qualification. Just as he framed the narrative discourse of his amateur colleagues in the Folklore Society within the context of his "scientific" analysis of their data (a process I will examine in the next section), Lenz reminds us that:

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33 "La poesía pesada de décimas con sus composiciones largas difícilmente se puede retener en la memoria sin ayuda de la escritura i tiene, por esto, un carácter más elevado, un tanto docto i, de ahí, didáctico."

34 "El huaso cantor guarda buena parte de la dignidad del trovador de la edad media, que gusta de esponer a su público estasiado, su sabiduría recondita de hombre de esperiencia superior que conoce al mundo. Como los "maestros cantores" del siglo XVI, no tiene nada del coplero mendicante de las ferias, sino que ejerce el arte por el arte i para ganar aplausos: le dedica comúnmente solo sus horas de ocio i gana su vida con algún negocio u oficio honrado."

35 "…la poesía de nuestros poetas populares es un directo descendiente de la poesía 'de arte mayor' "

> …serious poetry, as a vulgar degeneration of the lyrical courtly tradition of days gone by, without aesthetic value as it is, has enough historical and ethnological interest to justify its publication… (Lenz 1919, p. 543).[36]

Although inherently more artistic in character than feminine song and even historically linked to high European artistic practice, the aesthetic merit of masculine *poesía popular* is completely overshadowed by its historical and ethnological value for Lenz and his folklorist colleagues. It appears that Lenz refers to two levels of aesthetic appreciation, however. While *poesía popular* may not satisfy the aesthetic standards of the scientifically-oriented classes that study it, it is an object for artistic appreciation within its folkloric context. As Lenz indicates, the *poeta* who is both writer and performer of musical verses is, "…because of his rarity, an object of admiration of his artistic clientele" (1919, p. 522).[37] The *poeta*'s scarcity not only heightens his aesthetic value to his community, but also his scientific interest to the researcher. In contrast to *canto femenino* which is still popular (in the sense of widely practiced) "...masculine song has been popular in its origins, but today survives only in poor remnants, which, because of this, are all the more interesting to the folklorist" (ibid., p. 523).[38] Both masculine and feminine song are "popular" in the sense that they are folkloric practices of the people [pueblo]. Because women's song is more "popular" in the sense of widely practiced, it is of less interest and import to the folklore scholar. It is significant to note however, that Lenz does acknowledge the existence of exceptions to this dichotomy of male and female poetic domains. He refers to the published verses of Rosa Araneda, whose volume and quality is among the best in Santiago (ibid., p. 603).

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36 "… la poesía seria, como dejeneración vulgar de la lírica cortesana de antaño, sin valor estético como está, tiene bastante interés histórico i etnolójico para justificar la publicación de tales."

37 "…por su rareza, un objeto de la admiración de su clientela artística."

38 "…el canto masculino lo ha sido en sus oríjenes [popular], pero hoi sobrevive únicamente en pobres restos, que, por esto, son tanto más interesantes para el folklorista."

In Lenz's study, we receive a very clear presentation of the structures of Chilean popular poetry, in particular the complex progression of the *verso.* This five and often six stanza composition includes an opening *cuarteta* of four rhymed lines (abba, abab, abcb), that are "glossed" in the four *décimas* (ten-line stanza of abbaaccddc, commonly called *décima espinela*)[39] that follow. This means that the final line of each décima will end with a line of the cuarteta. Often the verso is ended with a concluding, or farewell décima (despedida). In performance poets frequently improvise six lines of introduction to incorporate the cuarteta into a décima, hence a verso can total 6 décimas (see pp. 72-73 for a translation of a complete verso). As I mentioned earlier, Lenz weaves historical comparative analysis into this structural discussion to situate the origins of Chilean popular poetry in courtly European contexts.

Lenz also presents the various theme classifications of popular poetry as named in the published sheets of verse, also known as *lira popular.* These include versos *a lo humano, a lo divino, históricos, de literatura* (with related categories of astronomy and geography), and *contrapuntos* and *versos a dos razones***.**[40] In a similar fashion to his structural analysis, Lenz traces topics found in Chilean popular poetry, i.e. Chalemagne, and the nature of the poetic language used, to distant European sources. Most significant to the purpose of this study, however, is the description that Lenz provides of the guitarrón. The detail of Lenz' account is unparalleled by any other early twentieth century source, and remains so for the next fifty years. He provides not only a thorough discussion of dimensions, decoration, and the complex distribution and tuning of strings,

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[39] Named after 16th century Spanish poet Vicente Espinel, to whom this décima's popularity is attributed.

[40] Many singers today make the general distinction between *a lo divino* (sacred) verses and *a lo humano* (secular), placing other fundamentos within these larger categories. There are, however, many variations on these classifications. The most important distinction to make is that *versos por historia* include all Old Testament topics along with secular historical accounts. In Chapters Three and Four I will discuss the modes of performance in *canto a lo divino* and *canto a lo humano* in more detail. For more comprehensive treatment of the themes of canto a lo poeta, see Grebe 1967 and Uribe 1962.

but also a list of musical repertoire, rural and urban fabrication, and general classification of a good singer and instrumentalist. Below I have translated important highlights of his description:

> The body of the guitarrón is a little taller (13 cm) and wider (24 cm, in the upper part and 32 cm in the lower part) than that of an ordinary guitar. The neck, called the brazo [arm], is a little wider, but much shorter (from the nut to the body 23 cm). On the other hand, the *clavijero* [peg box], is very long (23 cm), since is has three rows of 7 pegs each, that hold the 21 principal strings. These strings reach from the nut, called *cejezuela*, in vulgar pronunciation *sijesuela*, to the *pontezuelo* [bridge], and can be divided into half-tones by means of 7 trastes [frets]…Since a carpenter, especially in rural areas, could not easily make metal frets, as is customary in similar instruments that are commercially sold, and wooden ones (such as the cejezuela and the pontezuelo) would wear quickly, the frets are made of the same gut string ... twisting in succession 8, 7, 6...down to 2 of this thin strings, and passing these new strings twice around the neck of the guitarrón in the place indicated by two small notches on the edges of the neck. In this fashion, one gets durable and smooth frets, that should they come undone, can be easily replaced. With this arrangement, each string of the instrument can be fretted up to a perfect fifth.
>
> The strings of the instrument include "*cuerdas*" made of gut, "*entorchados*" [wound metal] over a silk string (also called "bordones") y "*alambres*" [wires] that are "*canutillos de alambre*" [spools of wire] stretched out that always stay a bit coiled, as if the wire had be taken off of a wound E string of a guitar. All of the "*cuerdas*" are the same thickness, somewhat thinner than a violin's E, and the wire is all taken from the same spool, so that the different musical pitch depends only on the difference in tension, which in the entire stringing is very minimal: as a result, the tone of the instrument is very soft. I believe that generally the same "*entorchado*" is used for the three lowest strings.
>
> All the strings of the guitarrón are very close to one another (little more than two millimeters apart), thus the nut measures barely 6 cm and holds 21 strings that by the bridge spread out a little more (10 cm for 21 strings). The principal strings are always played in groups of 3 to 6 with long, and well maintained nails of the thumb and index finger, and they are distributed as follows: 1. First[41] course: 4 *alambres*, 1 *entorchado*; 2. Fourth course: 4 *alambres*, 2 *entorchados*; 3. Third course…: 2 first strings, 1 *alambre*, 1 *entorchado*; 4. Three *alambres*; 5. Three *cuerdas*.

[41] I believe Lenz meant to say fifth.

> In addition to these strings, there are on both sides, two shorter strings, called "*tiples*" or "*diablitos*," that only extend from the *pontezuelo* to the end of the body where there are two pegs on either side of the neck. The *diablitos* do not have a nut and they are more spread out by the pegs than in the *pontezuelo*; they are the only strings that are struck in isolation. The tuning is approximately as follows:

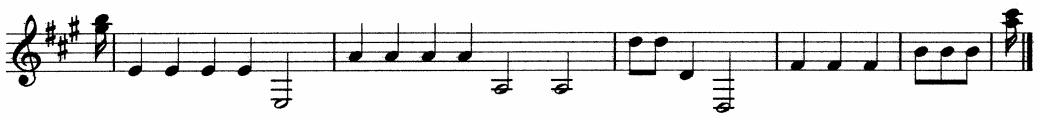

Figure 1.1: Tuning of the guitarrón (Lenz 1919, p. 527, transposed from G to A).

> The half notes designate the "*entorchados*," the quarter notes the "*alambres*," the eighth notes the "*cuerdas*" and the sixteenth notes the "*diablitos*." I say that the tuning is approximate because singers do not use standard tuning. I have fixed the lowest note of the instrument as C.[42]
>
> The guitarrón is used almost exclusively for playing "*entonaciones de poesía*" [melodies for singing poetry], of which most musicians only know three or four; good singers, like Pozo, sometimes more than a dozen. *Cuecas* and *tonadas*[43] are accompanied only rarely by guitarrón; on the other hand, it is possible to arrange the *entonaciones de poesía* to play them on guitar. A good musician knows how to "*trasponer*" [transpose] the melodies to the other instrument. (Lenz 1919, p. 525-527, italics added).

Although Lenz offers invaluable musical, physical and ethnographic data, the main objectives of his study remain clear: 1) to document folkloric objects and phenomena, 2) to scrutinize their geographic, social and cultural origins through textual analysis, and 3) to provide a prognosis of this phenomena's bill of cultural health. Lenz concludes in this study that Chilean masculine popular poetry is a degeneration of the highest European courtly poetic art (ibid., p. 543). Whereas in his linguistic studies, Lenz postulated a direct influence of indigenous phonetics on Chilean Spanish (Correa 2001), his historical

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[42] I have fixed the lowest note at D to reflect the key of later transcriptions.

[43] *Cueca* is a dance and song form; *tonada* is a song form. Both are considered female repertoire in the early 20th century.

analysis of popular poetry has a very Euro-centered focus. Including the analysis of urban popular poetry under the umbrella of folklore studies, however, was not an insignificant gesture. The written element of its practice, the urban-rural trajectories of its players, as well as its large-scale distribution in the case of printed verses, would disqualify popular poetry from the standard perception of folklore (as objects and practices that remain largely disengaged from the forces of modernity). By dedicating a significant portion of his career to the investigation of popular poetry, Lenz attributed inherent cultural value to this urban, working class expressive practice. Nonetheless, he does qualify its worth as more scientific than artistic. He also asserts that this folkloric/artistic practice, as it has been know in Chile, is presently in a state of pronounced decay. With few exceptions, he declares that printed poetry of his day only offers low-quality verse describing the latest scandal, murder or similar tragedy. Lenz highlights how this most dignified of musical folkloric practices, of high ethnological value for its rarity, bears the stamp of its "popular" urban and rural cultivation, among individuals on the less educated and less economically potent end of the Chilean social spectrum.

ATRIA AND LIZANA: DESCRIBING THE PLAYERS

Doubtless, Lenz was the authoritative and guiding voice within folklore studies of early twentieth century Chile. As founder of their organization and editor of their publications, his methodological stamp branded not only his own prolific body of work, but also a large number of others. The Chilean Folklore Society brought together both scholars and amateur investigators interested in the field of popular traditions. In prologues, critiques, and appendices, Lenz framed the discourse of his colleagues who pursued folklore as an avocation, with less scientific orientation. In a parallel fashion, however, the writings of these leisure folklorists, gave biographical and contextual depth

to the technical analyses of Lenz. While, Lenz' work focused primarily on textual analysis of urban printed poetry, Desiderio Lizana's 1911 presentation to the Chilean Folklore Society offered a more personalized, anecdotal and biographical consideration of rural popular poetry, focusing in particular on the norms of performance for improvised verse. While bowing to the dominant voices of the professional folklorists, Lizana nonetheless pointed out the validity of his study:

> Although it has come to my attention that brilliant pens of this Center [perhaps Lenz and Vicuña] have written about poesía popular, which is the topic I will begin to address today, I have nonetheless addressed it, because to this moment, I am not acquainted with these writings: and there has not been a lack of individuals who tell me that I have approached this topic from a different angle, perhaps somewhat new, if I am permitted to think it so (Lizana 1911, p. 7).[44]

Although confident in the merit of his folklore research, Lizana found it important to signal that he is a folklorist by avocation who balances this leisure interest with the demands of a full time professional career.

Speaking in 1911, Lizana's work recounts his memories of small town and rural performances in the regions next to the Cachapoal River (O'Higgins and Colchagua, approximately 150 km south of Santiago) dating as far back as 1870. In relation to the guitarrón, Lizana consistently references its prominence as accompaniment to the rural popular poetry of these areas. As he states in his introduction, he will be discussing the poetry of individuals "sin ilustración alguna," [with out any education] who neither read nor write, "pero que han tenido oído poético privilegiado y numen natural y sin cultivo" [but who have had a privileged poetic ear and natural talent without training] (Lizana 1911, p. 8). He situates their poetry within the context of rural festivities and daily life, describing the dramatic development of improvised duels and punctuating his

44 "Aunque ha llegado a mis oídos que plumas brillantes de este Centro [Lenz, Vicuña?] han escrito sobre poesía popular, que es el tema que hoy empezaré a tratar, sin embargo, lo he abordado, porque hasta ahora no conozco esos escritos: y no ha faltado quien me diga que he tomado el asunto por una faz distinta y quizás algo nueva, si se me permite creerlo así."

recollections with citations of "anonymous"[45] verses to represent the breadth of content in rural popular poetry. Where he lacks complete examples culled from rural sources, he inserts the printed verses of the famous popular poet Bernardino Guajardo (official poet of the war with Spain), who imitated, he indicates, rural style in his urban verse (ibid., p. 30). While Guajardo's poetry is more technically sound in rhyme and meter, the anonymous verses have a more "earthy flavor"[46] (ibid., p. 24).

We learn from Lizana that poetic confrontations were not a frequent occurrence, although singers could be found seeking out potential adversaries wherever there is a *fonda*,[47] music and drink (1919, p. 9). Most importantly, we understand the social dynamics of poetic duels: the essential participation of the audience in determining the winner, providing topics for improvisation, and wagering bets on the winner. Lizana relates how the event progresses from comparing knowledge of divine and secular topics through exchange of memorized verses, through a series of improvisations in forms such as *pie forzado* [obligated ending], *canto a dos razones* [song with two reasons], and *la paya* [question and answers in riddle].[48] He also provides examples of several lesser-known topical divisions and poetic forms of canto a lo humano.

Although Lizana does not highlight the division between masculine and feminine poetic repertoire as Lenz does, he includes a popular anecdote recounting a lady's participation in public improvisational duels. She is rumored to have been unbeatable in *canto a dos razones*, a type of improvised verse in which a cuarteta, or a décima is constructed by two poets alternating every two lines (Lizana 1911, p. 48). Her "high" style of improvising--on lofty and serious topics--was silenced one day by an unknown

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45 By "anonymous" Lizana means that he does not remember who sang them.
46 "Mejores las de Guajardo; pero con más sabor de la tierra las primeras."
47 Fondas are large tents for social gatherings and festivities.
48 See Chapter Four for a full explanation of these forms.

male poet who responded in vulgar rhymes, moreover calling her *vieja* [old]. Disconcerted by this affront, her anger did not allow her to recover from this insult to herself and her poetry, and the other poet prevailed. Finally, and perhaps most valuable to Lizana's study, is a biography of a poet appended to the end of his study. His profile of the life of poet Juan Agustín Pizzaro shows the role of improvised verse in day-to-day life. This poet, a small town lawyer of sorts, offers social commentary in rhyme that frequently enjoyed a life beyond its spontaneous origin. Although narrative—as opposed to scientific—in orientation, Lizana's detailed description of performance and biographical accounts provide a distinct and equally important perspective on popular poetry of the late nineteenth century.

A much more recent publication, drawn from the writings of an early amateur folklorist, also rounds out the biographical dimension that is missing in Lenz, shedding light on the lives of urban poets. Manuel Dannemann's *Poetas populares en la sociedad chilena del siglo XIX*[49] (2004), presents the field notes of one Lenz's investigative collaborators, Jorge Octavio Atria. Atria, a printer by trade, was described by Lenz as an "hijo del pueblo" [son of the nation/folk/people] companion to the lower middle class workers among whom he collected biographic data and field observations concerning popular poetry (Dannemann 2004, p. 28-29). He was not a "literato de profesión" [professional literary man], like others in the Folklore Society, but rather "un honrado obrero que tiene que ganar el pan de cada día para toda una familia" [an honorable worker who has to earn the daily bread of an entire family] (Lenz, cited in Dannemann 2004, p. 28). Although he dreamt of publishing a book about Chile's popular poets, his personal life did not permit him the time to be a regular participant in the Folklore Society's meetings. The task of organizing his notes and conserving this data within his

[49] Popular Poets in Chilean Society of the XIXth Century

own collections fell to Lenz who indicated that the only reward for the generous time and effort of this "son of Chile" would be the gratefulness of science (ibid., p. 29).[50] Although Lenz was very gracious in his public acknowledgement of Atria's research, it is important to note that in praising his collaborator's assiduous work, he simultaneously indicated his position in the hierarchy of folklore studies:

> The intelligent reader will judge by this collection, the value of the data that has been made available for scientific development by the Chilean Folklore Society with a generosity that a literary man or professional scholar would have, with great difficulty, been capable. (ibid, p. 29)[51]

Atria provided an invaluable service to the advancement of the science of folklore, yet his contribution is marked. As a non-professional literary man or scholar, his contributions required the development of his scientifically trained colleagues.

Atria's biographical profiles of urban poets present a group of musicians with greater socio-cultural diversity than what could be extracted from other studies. From Lenz we learn that his primary informant, Aniceto Pozo, was a carpenter by trade: a young, well-groomed man of about thirty years. While most of the week Pozo was dedicated to his work, he frequently accepted weekend invitations to rural social gatherings on the outskirts of Santiago. On these occasions, he entertained his public of *huasos* [Chilean horsemen] and ladies with poetry on divine, historical, romantic and burlesque topics to the accompaniment of the guitarrón. From Atria's notes, we learn more specifically that poets of Santiago and the surrounding area constituted a diverse group of middle to lower class tradesmen, laborers, agricultural workers, and professional poet/musicians with varying degrees of formal education, some very well read and others

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50 "los agradecimientos de la ciencia serán la única recompensa que podrá obener este generoso hijo de Chile."

51 "El lector intelijente juzgará por la muestra el valor del conjunto que se ha puesto a disposición de la explotación científica por la Sociedad de Folklore Chileno con un desprendimiento de que difícilmente hubiera sido capaz un literato o 'sabio' de profesión."

illiterate. For example, Juan Rafael Allende was a unique figure: playwright, journalist and novelist who published popular verses as well as literary works (Dannemann 2004, p. 45). Daniel Meneses, whose printed *lira* figure prominantly in Lenz's study, was the son of indentured agricultural laborers. He cultivated his talent for poetry during his time in the mines, where workers would exchange verses in the days of rest between work seasons (ibid., p. 80). Although he learned to read and write late in life, he was extremely well read on many topics, and achieved commercial success through the printing of his poetry. On the other hand, Manuel Dinamarca's life as manager of a whorehouse, also introduces a distinct context of popular poetry, as well as a body of explicit repertoire that far exceeds the sexual double entendre of jocular *verso a lo humano.*

While the political content of much printed popular poetry is clear, Atria's biographies describe specific connections of poets to government propaganda efforts, as well as ties to movements of protest. Allende, for example, was hired by the government to compose verses promoting the War of the Pacific against Perú and Bolivia (ibid., p. 5). In 1891 Juan Bautista Peralta was given funds for the printing and distribution of verses advancing the revolutionary efforts of the Congress in Chile's brief civil war (ibid.: 119).[52] The government's alignment with specific poets certainly shows that they addressed an audience that was important to contemporary political processes.

Atria's notes give a much more detailed panorama of the poets of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century than Lenz. He describes the importance of obtaining printed poetry for rural workers coming to Santiago to sell their produce:

> The rural folk, when the come to Santiago during the harvest season, one of the most rewarding errands they do after selling the fruit of their lands is obtaining

[52] For additional information about political popular poetry see Navarrete (1993) and Salinas (1993).

> the poems that will amuse them during the hard work season as well as the long nights of winter. (Dannemann 2004, p. 81)[53]

Through appended commentary and analysis, Dannemann illustrates the "folkloricization" of this urban repertoire, indicating the rural areas where the same *versos* persist in ritual, or spontaneous, folk context. Just as he argues that urban popular poetry emanated from the metropolis outward, so too does he believe that the guitarrón itself was transplanted to the countryside from the city (personal communication, July 2005).

Dannemann's citation of correspondence between Lenz and Atria demonstrates the profound mutual respect these men held for each other's work. Indeed, Atria described his appreciation that Lenz is one of very few "literatos" who have even acknowledged popular poetry "de nuestro bajo pueblo" [of our lower classes] as a domain worthy of study. Atria seemed to express beyond this stage of acknowledgement of scientific worth, however, a desire that the artistic merit of this literature be recognized:

> Chilean literary history must embrace, and with love it will, this disdained and humble production, in order to give it a place in its pages. Such is the spirit of equality and justice that sooner or later will prevail. Because if it is true that the condor ascends higher than the greatest peaks of the Andes, the small bird also rises in flight, be it in extremely modest proportion. (cited in Dannemann, 2004: 33 from Dannemann, 1963: 14-15).[54]

Although elsewhere Atria admits that its authors did not have adequate training for their literature to qualify as "art," he hoped that literary history will be capable of transcending

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53 "Los campesinos cuando vienen a Santiago, por la época de las recolecciones de sus sembrados, una de las diligencias más gratas que desempeñan después de vendido el fruto de sus tierras es el procurarse las poesías que les han de entretener en las duras faenas, como en las largas noches de invierno."

54 "...la historia literaria chilena tiene que recoger, y lo hará con amor, esa despreciada y humilde producción para darle lugar en sus páginas. Tal es el espíritu de equidad y de justicia que tarde o temprano habrá de prevalecer. Porque si es cierto que el cóndor sube más alto que los más altos picahos de los Andes, el pequeño pajarillo también remonta su vuelo, aunque en modestísima proporción."

high and low class divisions that have prevented the emotion and poetic "nuggets of gold" that these popular poets had to offer (Atria, cited in Dannemann 2004, p. 32). While Lenz focused on popular poetry's role in advancing scientific inquiry, Atria's wish was to afford these verses and their composers a degree of artistic dignity on a national level.

THE POETS SPEAK

Within Chilean scholarly circles, artists, academics and amateur investigators represented popular poets and *guitarroneros* before their national and international colleagues. In this context, folklorists wielded the discursive power to qualify their words and music as good or bad, authentic or degenerate. Focusing exclusively on dialogue within folklore studies, however, can mistakenly paint a picture of popular poets as extremely marginalized voices within Chilean society. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century was marked by the emergence of a politically potent middle class who contributed to the eventual toppling of Chile's oligarchic socio-political system. Poets who printed their verses held the reins of a powerful channel of communication with Chile's middle, low, and rural classes; studying lira popular reveals a competitive and lively forum for debate over politics, social inequity, religion, gender, and personal authenticity. In this final section, I will consider several excerpts from lira popular of the late nineteenth century, citing poets who were also guitarrón players. I have chosen verses that make mention of the guitarrón, giving us poetic accounts of its rural and urban use.

This first verse by José Hipólito Casas Cordero clearly communicates that many poets were also active musicians. Poets frequently corresponded with one another via their printed sheets. They challenged one another on topics of religion and history,

asking lofty questions for others to answer in sophisticated poetic structures. The debate could also turn into litanies of personal insult, which most likely did not hurt sales of either poet's work. In this verso, he challenges rival poet Daniel Meneses to settle an on-going printed exchange by improvising in person. As expressed in his stanzas, his guitarrón will be a fundamental tool in this face off:

DESAFIO AL MISMO POETA A CANTAR PERSONALMENTE
[CHALLENGE TO THE SAME POET TO SING IN PERSON]

Tengo listo el guitarron	I have my guitarrón ready
I en la cancha mi caballo;	and in the field my horse;
con precoz valor te pallo	with precocious valor I improvise in verse
Por tener ilustracion.	because of my enlightenment/education.
Mi ciencia te desafia	My science [skill, reason] challenges you
Que de improviso cantemos	to a sung improvisation
I de este modo arreglemos	and in this we will settle
En presencia la porfía	in person the challenge
Para ver la fantasía	to expose the fantasy
Que tienes en tu opinion.	that you have in your opinion.
Formaste revolucion	You formed a revolution
I torpe quieres hacerme;	and you want to make me awkward
El dia que quieras verme	the day you want to see me
Tengo listo el guitarron.	**I have my guitarron ready.**
...	...
Te canto quinientos pesos	I'll sing with you for five hundred pesos
Por medio de una escritura;	with a written wager
El juez nos dirá la pura	The judge will tell us the truth
quien gana, pues, tonto leso,	who wins, then, stupid fool,
si pierdes, en tu represo	if you loose, in your defeat
Te pifiarán, maricon.	they'll boo you, sissy.
Será tu condenacion	It will be your condemnation
I pérdida del vivir:	and loss of subsistence:
Es lo que puedo decir	That's what I can say
Por tener ilustracion	**because of my enlightenment/education.**

(Colección Lenz, Vol. II, no. 6, 15)

This verso follows two others, the first recounting an execution in Ecuador, and the second asking competitor Meneses to identify a religious figure who is neither God nor the devil. It precedes a collection of toasts [brindis] in décima form. From Casas Cordero's lira we see how popular poetry served as a means of both news and entertainment. His challenge to Meneses also alludes to the format of *paya,* in which

poets duel before a judge and audience to determine who is the more enlightened, quick-witted, and talented. As his verse shows, defeat brings not only personal shame, but also loss of financial success as a poet. Most importantly, we see that the guitarrón is an essential instrument—a weapon even--in this poetic stand-off, and that authors of printed poetry were also active musicians.

In a verse carrying the title "Escursión de un cantor de guitarrón" [Excursion of a singer on guitarrón], Meneses describes the outing of a guitarrón player to perform at rural events. Here he describes his arrival at a *trilla* (agricultural festivity where horses are run in a circle to separate wheat from the chaff), where other singers approach him. They sing "en redondilla," that is, alternating décimas on diverse topics to test one another's "enlightenment" (see Chapter Three for detailed examples of *ruedas de canto*):

6. Escursion/ DE UN CANTOR DE GUITARRON
[Excursion/OF A SINGER ON GUITARRÓN]

Pulso el sonoro instrumento	I pulse the sonorous instrument
Cuando me pongo a cantar:	When I begin to sing:
Hago las cuerdas temblar	I make the strings tremble
Como si corriese viento.	**as if wind were blowing.**
Cuando llego a alguna trilla	When I arrive at a trilla
Con mi guitarrón, señores,	Sirs, with my guitarrón
Se me apilan los cantores	Singers gather around me
A versar en redondilla;	to make verses in the round
I con mi frase sencilla,	and with my simple phrase
Fiando en mi buen talento,	trusting in my great talent
Pongo luego un fundamento	I soon give the fundament [topic]
Sobre historias sagradas	over sacred history
Desparramo mis tonadas	I spread my melodies
Como si corriese viento.	**as if wind were blowing.**

(Colección Amunátegui, I, 100, mic. 16).

Also included on the same page are a verso detailing the crime of a mother who victimized her child to follow her lover, a question to the poet Adolfo Reyes, an answer to the poet Juan Bautista Peralta, and finally a question on a sacred topic to Peralta. While poets certainly addressed sensational news items (a prominent complaint of Lenz),

they also covered important political events and make critical social commentary in their verses. For example, together with a fantastical verse about the devil and his "guitarrón of fire" (Colección Amunátegui, I, 31, mic. 5), Meneses includes a verse discussing the battle between presidential candidates Vicente Reyes and Federico Errázuriz. Elsewhere he includes commentary in prose criticizing the immorality of upper class "Catholics" (Navarrete 1999). Just as Meneses' sings and makes the strings tremble as if the wind were blowing, in other verses the notes of his guitarrón make the stars move in their course. In his poetry, he likens the guitarrón's power to the forces of nature, perhaps symbolic of the instrument's importance to a poet's success. Below is an answer of Meneses to two poets with whom he maintained a *contrapunto* (poetic debate), where he likens them to a donkey and a horse:

Un burro con un caballo	A donkey and a horse
Me han seguido contrapunto	have followed my *contrapunto*
Sin fundamento ni asunto,	without foundation or topic
Mas largo que el mes de Mayo.	longer than the month of May.
En la cancha se ve el gallo;	In the arena you can see the rooster;
Tonto, perro, chango hambriento,	Fool, dog, hungry monkey,
Leso, baboso, mugriento,	idiot, slobbering, grimy,
Canalla, impertinente;	riff-raff, impertinent;
Para atacarte de frente,	To attack him head on
Pulso el sonoro instrumento...	**I pulse the sonorous instrument.**

(Navarrete 1999)

While the lancing of insults could certainly be a publicity ploy, it could also mean serious business. Whether in rural or urban performance, a poet's reputation was built on comparison and competition.

Finally, I am including a complete verso by Nicasio García that, along with demonstrating the formal structure of verso *encuartetado* (each strophe ending with one line of the initial four-line stanza), also illustrates the role of the audience in the competitive arena of popular poetry performance:

CUARTETA:

Cuando un hombre está tocando	When a man is playing
luego dicen los de afuera	soon those from outside will say
¡Quién con un hacha te viera	Who could imagine you with an ax
en un monte grueso hachando![55]	on a big hill chopping?[56]

GLOSSED VERSES:

Muchos salen a pasear	Many go out and about
Llevados de la afición	inclined by their affinity
y al oír un guitarrón	and upon hearing a guitarrón
entran luego a cantar;	soon begin to sing;
en el modo de afinar	in the way of tuning
por cierto se están fijando	they are certainly paying attention
de los que están observando	Some of those that are watching
le celebran sus trinidos	celebrate his music
alegra mucho el oído	it greatly cheers the ear
cuando un hombre está tocando.	**when a man is playing.**
Si ven en los postureos	If they see in the fingerings
cambiar alguna postura	a change in a certain position
y la buena encordadura	and the great strings
resuenan sus mismos deos	his fingers resound
con infatibles deseos	with undying desires
la concurrencia pondera	the attendees ponder
que a la media cuadra entera	that in the whole vicinity
se le oye su dulce son	his sweet sound is heard
¿dónde serán tan buen peón?,	Where can there be as good a worker?
luego dicen los de afuera.	**Soon those from outside say.**
Aquel sonoro instrumento	That sonorous instrument
del que canta es una guía	is a guide to him that sings
mas si entiende de poesía	but if he understands poetry
es parte de algún contento;	it is part of a some joy;
las cuerdas con el acento	The strings with the accent
se halla esta orden primera	are found in the first course (of strings)
en los diabloitos espera	in the diablitos he expects
una respuesta agradable	an agreeable response
allí no falta quien hable;	there, someone's bound to say
¡quién con un hacha te viera!	**Who could imagine you with an ax?**
Los alambres y entorchados	The wire and wound strings
en las clavijas rematan	end at the pegs
y en la pontezuela se atan	and are tied on the bridge
cada cual por separado;	each one separately;
a menudo estos cuidados	often these cares
tiene aquel que está cantando,	has he that is singing

[55] This cuarteta would be preceded by six lines of improvised verse in performance as part of the poet's introduction or greeting.

[56] This question is mildly insulting, implying that someone is probably not a good worker.

los que ya se van caldeando	those that leave steaming
dicen: te viera en la hora	say: what would you look like
con una hacha cortadora	with an ax for cutting
en un monte grueso hachando.	**on a big hill chopping.**
DESPEDIDA	FAREWELL
Al fin, todo instrumentario	In the end, every instrumentalist
aunque lo haga a veces bien	although he performs well at times
siempre le ponen desdén	they always disdain him
y lo exageran a diario;	and exaggerate his abilities daily;
de por fuerza involuntario	against his will
habrá de estar congeniando	he'll have to be congenial
aquellos que están gastando	to those that are wearing him down
varios a cantar se allegan	several arrive to sing
odiando si no le pegan	hating, if they don't hit him
le pasa como raspando.	they pass by as if scraping.

(García 1886, p. 20)

As we will see in Chapters Three and Four, his commentary remains relevant to contemporary practice. One's playing never goes without commentary, good or bad.

CLASS, ETHNIC AND GENDER DISTINCTION WITHIN FOLKLORE

Through a review of early studies of popular poetry, I hope to have provided a general sense of the discursive terrain of folklore investigation and popular poetry in the early twentieth century. The writing of these investigators demonstrates a pervasive classificatory discourse delineating social, gender, scientific and aesthetic hierarchies (of the "folk," their "folklore," and folklorists themselves). I also hope to have illustrated the diverse make-up of both the community of folklorists and the community of poets whose paths intersected in the former's pursuit of folklore. From the tone of scholarly discourse during this period, we find a tension between the valorization of folklore (in scientific, and to a lesser extent, aesthetic terms), and the qualification of the same as "baja cultura" [low culture] (Lenz 1919, p. 517): part of a society or community detained at an earlier stage in the progression towards modernization. Folklorists of this time do not see folklore (object) as a product or construct of modernity itself.

The origin of the concept of folklore implied social and geographical divisions between high and low, urban and rural: a gentleman scholar studying the expressive practices of peasant classes**.** In turn of the century practice, however, the boundaries were not as clear. Popular poetry encompassed urban, semi-urban, and rural performance contexts in middle to lower class communities. Miners, agricultural laborers, and tradesmen—a number of whom were urban, literate, and fully engaged with the "forces of modernity"--made up the ranks of performers. Due to the studies of Lenz and colleagues, this arena of cultural practice—although not pure "folklore"—gained scientific legitimacy. Secondly, the Chilean Folklore Society incorporated the contributions of "in between" voices such as Atria, a middle class printer, and also Manuel Manquilef, a "half Chilean, half Mapuche" schoolteacher, who were less removed, in social and ethnic terms, from the people they studied. Nonetheless, it is important to signal that although these intermediate voices were acknowledged, the high discourse of science (in many cases, the voice of Lenz) most often flexed its discursive muscles. Lenz's preface to a study by Manquilef echoes the qualifications he had expressed in regard to Atria's work. First, he indicates the significance of a "native scholar's" perspective:

> It is the first time that an immediate descendant of the heroic race of which Ercilla sang, a young man that in his childhood spoke no other language but Mapuche, publishes a scientific work…What more spotless source could desire for knowing Mapuche ethnology and folklore than the descriptions give by a son of this very nation? (Lenz, from Manquilef 1911, p. 3-4)[57] [58]

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[57] "Es la primera vez que un descendiente inmediato de la heróica raza cantada por Ercilla,[57] un jóven que en su infancia no ha hablado otra lengua que el mapuche, publica una obra científica…¿Qué fuente mas intachable podemos desear para conocer la etnolojía i el folklore mapuche que las descripciones dadas por un hijo de la misma nacion?"

[58] The Revista de la Sociedad de Folklore Chileno consistently used "j" for the gutteral "g" sound, and "i" for the "y" of contemporary written Spanish.

Spotless as he may have declared Manquilef's writings, Lenz nonetheless finds room for analytical fault that he previews for his audience:

> The linguist that does not shirk from comparative work will understand how Manquilef struggles at times to find an adequate expression in Spanish for what in his conception expresses the indigenous phrase: even when on several occasions the analysis cannot be considered entirely satisfactory, it will nonetheless be useful and instructive (Lenz, from Manquilef 1911: 4).[59]

Manquilef's study is informative and helpful, yet does not measure up to the standards of science. In the circles of Chilean folklore studies, the voices of amateur and "in-between" folklorists are measured against--and subsumed by--the voracious appetite of science. Atria and Manquilef are dedicated gatherers of data who practice folklore, not the Science of Folklore. In a similar fashion, popular poetry is an in-between practice that does not conform to the social dichotomies implicit in the definition of folklore. Their art-like folklore, is too cultivated to be folklore, yet too low to be art.

By highlighting Lenz's critical commentary regarding his amateur, middle-class colleagues, I do not wish to denigrate his legendary career, innovative scholarship, and generous efforts to advance the field of folklore. Rather, I wish to show on one hand, the prevalence of discourse reinforcing class and professional boundaries, and on the other, alternate approaches in the pursuit of folklore, the discipline. Although their work was subsumed into academic channels for the advancement of "science," Atria and Manquilef envisioned distinct goals for their work, a kind of nascent activist approach that took a more prominent position in subsequent applications of folklore and the guitarrón. In his study of indigenous song, Manquilef wanted to demonstrate through their creative and

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[59] "El lingüística que no rehuya el trabajo de la comparacion comprenderá cómo Manquilef lucha a veces por encontrar una espresion adecuada en castellano para lo que en su concepto espresa la frase india: aun cuando algunas veces no se pueda considerar como enteramente satisfactorio el análisis, siempre será útil e instructivo."

expressive music that the Mapuche possessed a soul and spirit equal in nature to the races of the world's most powerful nations:

> In transcribing as well, in this humble work, the songs that circulate among them [the Mapuche], there has been no other goal than that of showing the reasoning of the race: its imaginative and creative fancy, demonstrating its character as a sentimental people….From what has been said, it can be deduced that the Araucanians are also men who possess a soul with knowledge, feelings and thoughts analogous to those of the races that have created the most *cultas* and powerful nations on earth (1911: 14).[60]

Atria, in a parallel fashion, asserted that artistic expression, equal in aesthetic value to "high" art, was to be found among Chile's lower classes. For writers such as Vicuña (see earlier discussion on pp. 50-54), folklore was a raw material, in need of elaboration for consumption as national art. Atria, on the other hand, aspired to a day when the social climate of Chile would permit an unqualified recognition of the artistic merit of popular poetry as it is.

As a final note, I would like to briefly address issues of ethnicity and gender that were also a part of intersecting folklore hierarchies. First, although indigenous languages and cultures were prominent topics of folkloric inquiry, the question of indigenous influence on the structure and performance of popular poetry was never addressed. Where origins are considered, the lines were drawn to Europe. Second, both popular poetry and the science of folklore were masculine terrains. The discipline of folklore also identified masculine popular poetry as more scientifically and artistically valuable than coexisting feminine repertoire. While women were not completely excluded from masculine forms of popular poetry, their participation was qualified. Where accounts

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60 "Al anotar tambien, en este humilde trabajo, los cantos que corren entre ellos de boca en boca, no se ha perseguido otro objeto que el de mostrar el raciocinio de la raza: su fantasia imajinativa i creadora, demostrando su característica de pueblo sentimental…De lo dicho se deduce que los araucanos son tambien hombres provistos de un alma con conocimientos, sentimientos i pensamientos análogos a los de las razas que han creado las naciones mas cultas i poderosas de la tierra."

exist of women's participation exist (whether true or anecdotal), they were defeated, challenged or dismissed in popular and academic circles. For example, the legitimacy of Rosa Araneda, the poet whose verses Lenz praised, is a point of contention today. For many contemporary scholars and performers she represents an exception to the masculine poetic contingent. In the spirit of bringing forth an overshadowed voice, her printed verses were the first to be compiled into a recent anthology by the Biblioteca Nacional. Dannemann argues based on Atria's journal, however, that Daniel Meneses simply made use of his spouse's name as a marketing ploy for his own verses, and that Rosa Araneda was never a poet.

By the 1960s the discursive field had changed significantly. Ideas born in the early twentieth century--such as the application of folklore in education--had come to fruition. Additional projects with goals beyond the scientific realm had developed including national projection via professional folklore ensembles, revival of declining rural rituals, and even collaborative recordings between scholars and rural performers. While the strength of specifically evolutionary thinking diminished within folklore studies by the mid twentieth century in Chile, certain classificatory tropes persisted—particularly in the study of the popular poetry—that encouraged unbalanced relationship in discourse about folklore. This becomes an even more critical issue to consider as the *cultores* (folklore bearers) are integrated to a greater degree into the institutional folklore activities in Chile. Subsequent chapters will illustrate how conceptions of folklore infuse the discourse of contemporary players. Just as Chile's first folklorist outlined classificatory hierarchies of folk objects and articulated the social distinctions between the members of this field, contemporary performers draw from metaphors of "folklore" as they vie for discursive authority. Before exploring contemporary performane contexts, however, Chapter Two will provide a detailed description of guitarrón style and

technique: the musical tools with which today's players arm themselves in aesthetic debates.

Chapter Two: *Entonaciones and Toquíos*: The Musical Language and Style of Pirque's Guitarron

For turn of the century poets, the guitarrón was a powerful implement in shaping public identities. In metaphor the instrument could make the winds blow and the stars align. In musical practice, it constituted a vital means of presenting one's skill and taste before a critical audience. In many regards this legacy of guitarrón is manifest in contemporary performance, as instrumentalists compare style and compete for recognition within performance of *canto a lo poeta.* In the revival of the guitarrón this is visible in the generation of loosely affiliated "schools" of musical thought grounded in distinct aesthetic, spritual and political motivations.

My primary concern in this chapter will be the consolidation of a local aesthetic in contemporary Pirque: the instrumental and vocal means by which players communicate their connections to the *cuna* [cradle/birthplace] of guitarrón tradition. I will also describe the musical structures that characterize canto a lo poeta repertoire: *entonaciones* and *toquíos*. In short, an entonación is a melody to which canto a lo poeta (*poesía popular, verso*) is sung. A toquío is the instrumental accompaniment, on guitar or guitarrón, of this melody. Frequently, "entonación" can refer to melody and toquío combined. In analyzing several examples from Pirque, my goal is to communicate the structure and basic musical make-up of an entonación: the order of events, the essential elements, the variable elements, and ornamentation. Whereas other texts have presented transcriptions of numerous guitarrón entonaciones (Bustamante & Astorga 1996), or have provided a synthesis of musical and harmonic traits (Barros & Dannemann 1961, *Contra-punto* 1969), I hope to outline the functional nature of entonaciones from the player's perspective through a detailed discussion of musical selections: how various elements of

accompaniment are combined together in performance. Through this analysis I want to communicate the flexible and dynamic character of both vocal lines and guitarrón accompaniment. Rather than a static set of notes to be executed, an entonación is a mode of performance whose content varies and evolves. Most importantly, I will also focus on the extramusical associations of entonaciones, calling attention to instrumental interludes, ornamentation and vocal delivery as spaces for crafting and communicating musical identity. While my discussion will highlight some differences of style within Pirque, it will also discuss a common aesthetic that emerges from the discourse of rural players and their students. Musical and verbal articulations of this aesthetic are means of evoking Pirque and the guitarrón's rural history in performance.

THE NAMES AND NATURE OF ENTONACIONES

Equally important as the precise musical content of entonaciones and toquíos are their uses and associations. Entonaciones, or the style in which they are played, can carry names that refer to origin or function. For example, *la principalina* refers to el Principal, an area of Pirque named after a large *fundo*,[61] and *la dentradora*, alludes to the fact that it is often the first entonación to be sung at a *velorio*, when the musicians "dentran," or begin, to sing. *La del ay sí* or *la con ay sí* can refer to a number of entonaciones that have a recurrent refrain of *ay sí,* and *la del Zurdo*, earned its name from its association with a well known left-handed guitarronero of generations past.

An entonación is often independent of *fundamento* (also *fundao* or *punto*), or theme, of the poetry that it delivers (Barros & Dannemann 1961, p. 35; Grebe 1967, p. 25). In other words, a specific topic is not exclusively performed with a specific

[61] A large agricultural estate.

entonación.[62] However, this does not mean that entonaciones are indiscriminately applied to any verso. There are questions of text, sentiment, and rhythm that inform the choice of entonación. Barros and Dannemann (1961) have noted in their research that entonaciones characterized by regular meter are perceived to have a lighter tone (p. 35). In my own research, don Chosto's teaching also reflected this differentiation between lighter and more serious entonaciones. When I began singing a verso about the prophet *Elías* to an entonación that had extended periods of regular rhythm, he immediately suggested that I change it for *la por revelaciones* or *la traspuesta.*[63] This sparked a discussion of when and why you choose specific entonaciones in canto a lo divino:

> EP: And when they started singing for the Passion or for the "*padecimiento"* [suffering], was it necessary to use a specific entonación?
>
> DC: No, whichever one they wanted. Always for those verses, *la ay sí* was sung, all those kinds of things.
>
> EP: But *la traspuesta,* for example, are there fundamentos where it's better not to sing it? Does it have more weight than other entonaciones? Is it more important?
>
> DC: It's more important. In velorios it was more important, because it's more emotional, that entonación. It has more emotion.
>
> EP: What is one that doesn't have so much emotion?
>
> DC: Well, that would be *la de ay sí*, that doesn't have so much emotion. That same one that I taught you first, *la común*, has a lot of emotion as well (O. Ulloa, personal communication, April 19, 2005).[64]

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[62] Barros and Dannemann cite the exception of *la del diablo*, and entonación that always accompanies *versos por chichería*.

[63] Other guitarroneros refer to this entonación as *la del medio*.

[64] EP: Y cuando empezaron a cantar por la pasión o el padecimiento, había que usar una cierta entonación?
DC: No, la que quisiera uno. Siempre para esos versos, se cantaba más la ay sí, todas esas cosas.
EP: Pero la traspuesta, por ejemplo, hay fundamentos que es mejor no cantarla? Tiene más peso que otras entonaciones, es más importante?
DC: Es más importante, en los velorios era más importante, porque es más sentimental esa entonación. Tiene más sentimiento.
EP: Cuál es uno que no tiene tanto sentimiento?
DC: Bueno, ya viene siendo la de ay sí, po, que no tiene tanto sentimiento. Esta misma que yo le enseñé primero, la común, tiene muchísimo sentimiento también, po.

For singing verses with "high" fundamentos, such as *versos por historia* that describe the Old Testament prophets, don Chosto prefers entonaciones that to his estimation have a more solemn, devotional tone. As we will discuss later, these more emotional entonaciones that don Chosto indicates are all in a "free" as opposed to "strict" rhythmic style.

Along with distinct emotional character, entonaciones can carry functional and personal associations for singers and guitarrón players. Don Chosto describes how certain entonaciones used to have specific roles in the context of a *velorio*:

> DC:…in olden days they start out in a velorio, they have you sing two versos *to la dentradora.* Then afterwards they would change up the entonaciones. And they would sing, like I'm telling you, *la común, la de ay sí,* they would sing *la del Zurdo,* and in the *despedimientos* [farewell versos] to bid farewell to a little child, they would send her off with *la traspuesta*…Always with *la traspuesta* (personal communication, April 19, 2005).[65]

In the case of these entonaciones, certain ones are designated for the opening of the velorio, for the middle, and *la traspuesta* is for the culmination of the ritual, when the *angelito,* in the voice of the cantor, bids farewell to the family. As I alluded to earlier in reference to la del Zurdo, memories and associations with specific individuals can also be embedded in entonaciones. To sing *la traspuesta* to Lidia Ulloa, as it was taught to me by her brother Chosto, brought her memories of her father:

> My dad always played guitarrón, and guitar too, but it brings me a memory of him when you play that pretty figure that I hear you do, that you play. It makes me remember him. That was the one he played too (personal communication, July 2005).[66]

---

65 "... antiguamente salen en un velorio, se hace cantar en dos versos la dentradora. Ya, después iban cambiando las entonaciones. Y se cantaba, como le digo yo, la común, la de ay sí, se cantaba la del Zurdo, y en los despedimientos para despedir una criatura, la despedían con la traspuesta. …Siempre con la traspuesta."

66 "…el papá tocaba puro guitarrón, y guitarra también, pero me hace un recordar de él cuando toca esa postura linda que le escucho yo, que toca ud. Me hace recordarlo a él. Esa era la que tocaba también."

Likewise, an unnamed entonación is remembered as a favorite of the grandfather of Alfonso and Santos Rubio. To sing *la por revelaciones* today, immediately calls to mind don Chosto for other singers and guitarrón players. This is an entonación that he composed, or that was "revealed" to him in a dream, and bears his unique musical stamp.

As these descriptions illustrate, entonaciones carry many extramusical associations: chronological, personal, functional and geographic. As we will see in the following section, the musical content of an entonación varies from player to player. In a similar fashion, the names of entonaciones have multiple versions. In more recent years, with the increase in publications and recorded compilations of versos, entonaciones have become more codified. The identity of entonaciones continues to be debated, however. Different communities of cantores may call the same entonación by distinct names. The unnamed entonación described earlier is called *la española* in the city, but the Rubios insist that this is an arbitrary urban name given to an entonación that originates in Pirque. Even within Pirque there is disagreement as to the proper names, not to mention the proper musical renderings, of entonaciones. The *traspuesta* taught to me by don Chosto is *la del medio* for many other musicians, for example. Although musical publications have standardized entonación nomenclature to some extent, the titles of these musical forms have many variations. The following section will examine the musical character of both entonaciones and their instrumental toquíos.

GUITARRÓN STYLE AND MUSICAL MEANING

By the 1950s, the guitarrón remained as an active tradition only in Pirque.[67] In collaboration with Pirque's players, the foundation of the instrument's revival was laid. In other words, contemporary technique derives almost exclusively from the guitarrón *pircano*.[68] Despite this common base, there are distinct approaches to the instrument today. While I will not be able to provide a comprehensive discussion of performance styles in Chile, I will indicate some important points of distinction between them that signal identification with the Pirque "school" of guitarrón, and more "modern" approaches to the instrument and its song. First, I will provide an introduction to the rhythmic and harmonic structure of a décima sung with guitarrón. Secondly, I will describe vocal performance in more detail, illustrating how for Pirque's players it is a way to communicate rural or urban identity. Finally, I will address guitarrón technique and style, breaking down the accompanimental elements that form a toquío. Different entonaciones require different performance approaches, including speed, technique, ornament and use of diablitos. Just as singing style is a measure of musicality and origin, instrumental style is also a gauge for comparison of individual players and rural or urban approaches to the instrument.

ENTONACIONES AND TOQUÍOS TOGETHER

To provide a base for later consideration of the social meanings of style, this section will examine the musical performance of a décima in canto a lo poeta,

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[67] While this statement reflects a general consensus among many musicians and scholars, there are other musicians who promote alternate "schools" of guitarrón. Lázaro Salgado, a singer, payador, and itinerant musician, was the son of a guitarrón player and a poet. In the 1980s he accepted students who today form part of the larger community of popular poets and represent a distinct approach to the instrument. Secondly, Francisco Astorga cites a guitarrón player of Codegua as his first teacher. This is a point of great tension between the musicians of Pirque and the students of Astorga.

[68] Of Pirque.

considering how poetic structure and rhythmic and harmonic language interlace. Although María Ester Grebe's (1967) study of *verso* specifically addresses the music of Melipilla, much of her analytical framework can also be applied to repertoires of poetic song in Pirque. In describing the rhythmic character of entonaciones, she distinguishes between "free" and "strict" styles (Grebe 1967, p. 51). In other words, while some entonaciones have a flexible rhythmic base, others are characterized by extended periods of regular (or almost regular) meter. In both rhythmic types, although more prominent in what Gastón Soublette (1962) calls "psalmodic," recitative-like entonaciones, there is great variation; cantores improvise a multitude of melodic and rhythmic inflections to make distinct texts "fit" the contour of the entonación (p. 51).

In order to understand the musical structure of *canto a lo poeta,* it is important to know how the lines of poetry are delivered. Grebe (1967), Gastón Soublette (1962) and Barros and Dannemann (1961) have noted conceptual and musical divisions in the performance of décimas in canto a lo poeta. They divide the décima in two sections; lines 1 through 4 (abba) and lines 5 through 10 (accddc) constitute two musical periods that are often punctuated with a brief instrumental phrase that signals this moment of transition. Despite the unequal lines of poetry, both periods contain three musical phrases. One or two lines of text in the first period (line 1, line 1 and 2 together, or line 3) can be repeated, making the two periods more balanced. In the second period, the musical phrases are made with paired lines of text: 5 and 6, 7 and 8 and 9 and 10. In some entonaciones, typically the "strict" style, this results in a very symmetrical musical structure. The vocal melody in Figure 2.1 illustrates the performance of an entire décima. Lines 1 through 4 and lines 5 through 10 use the same progression of melodic material, producing two balanced musical periods. This strict-style entonación has a refrain [*estribillo*] as many others do in Pirque. In some cases the estribillo comes only at the

end of the décima, extending the melody with "ay sí" or with a repetition of the last line of the décima.

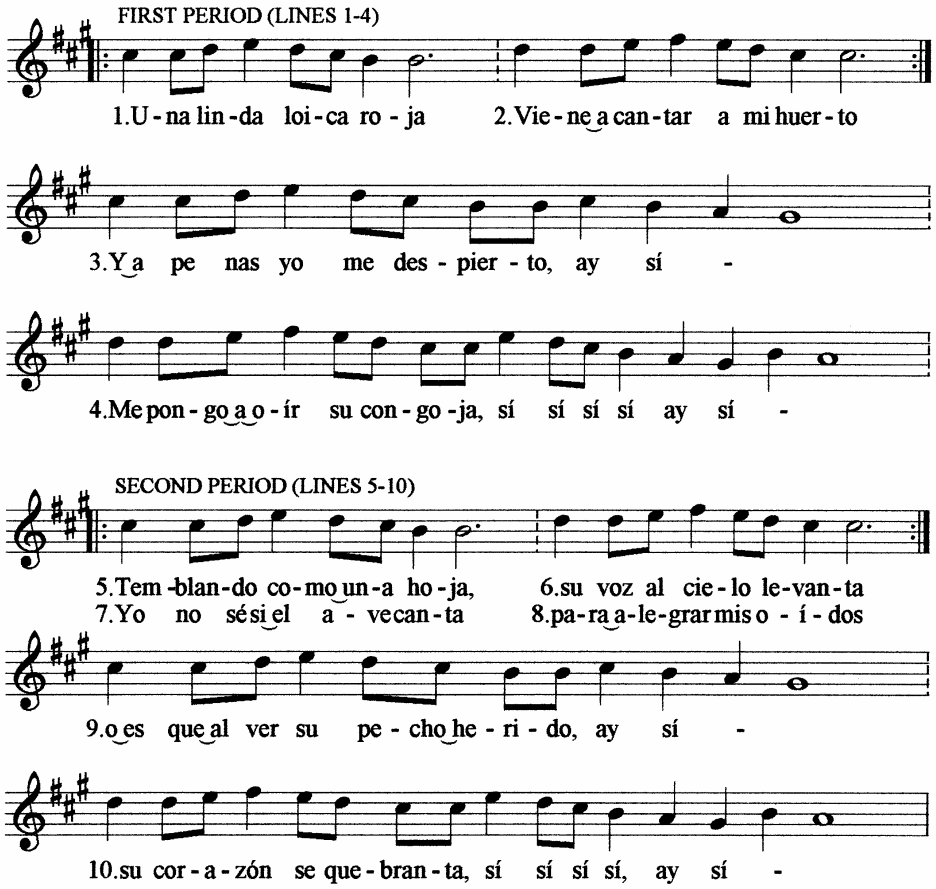

Figure 2.1: Vocal melody of *la prinicipalina*, a strict style entonación as performed by Alfonso Rubio.

The two periods of entonaciones in "free" rhythmic style are often not as balanced as those in strict style. One musical phrase in the first period (delivering a single line of text) tends to be shorter than the other two that deliver two lines of the décima. This produces two periods, one with five lines of text (that can be divided into three musical phrases, one shorter than the other two) and the other with six lines (three musical

phrases of approximately equal length). Figure 2.2 provides a diagram of a décima sung by don Chosto to his version of *la dentradora,* accompanied by Figure 2.3, a musical transcription of the same décima. Even within the bounds of Pirque's repertoire,

Line of the décima	**Melodic structure**	**Harmonic progression**	**Guitarrón interludes**
			Instrumental introduction
1 El reforzado Sansón	A (shorter phrase)	I	V-I
1 El reforzado Sansón 2 Que del cielo fue anunciado	B	I V/bVII Inconclusive cadence on bVII (*requiebre*)	Transitional phrase (V/bVII-bVII)
3 Nació, creció y fue casado 4 La mujer le hizo traición	C	bVII V-I Full-candence (*caída*)	
			Brief transitional phrase (V-I)
5 Perdió la fuerza y el don 6 La historia lo dice así	**A1*** (melodic variation)	I	Repeated note, V-I
7 Si acaso yo conocí 8 ciudad de aquel filisteo	B	I V/bVII Inconclusive cadence on bVII (*requiebre*)	Short transitional phrase (V/bVII-bVII)
9 Ahora ciego y no veo 10 Tengo una pena ay de mí.	C	bVII V-I Full-candence (*caída*)	
			Instrumental interlude/conclusion

Figure 2.2: Structural outline of don Chosto's performance of *la dentradora,* a free style entonación and toquío (Ulloa & Ulloa 1988).

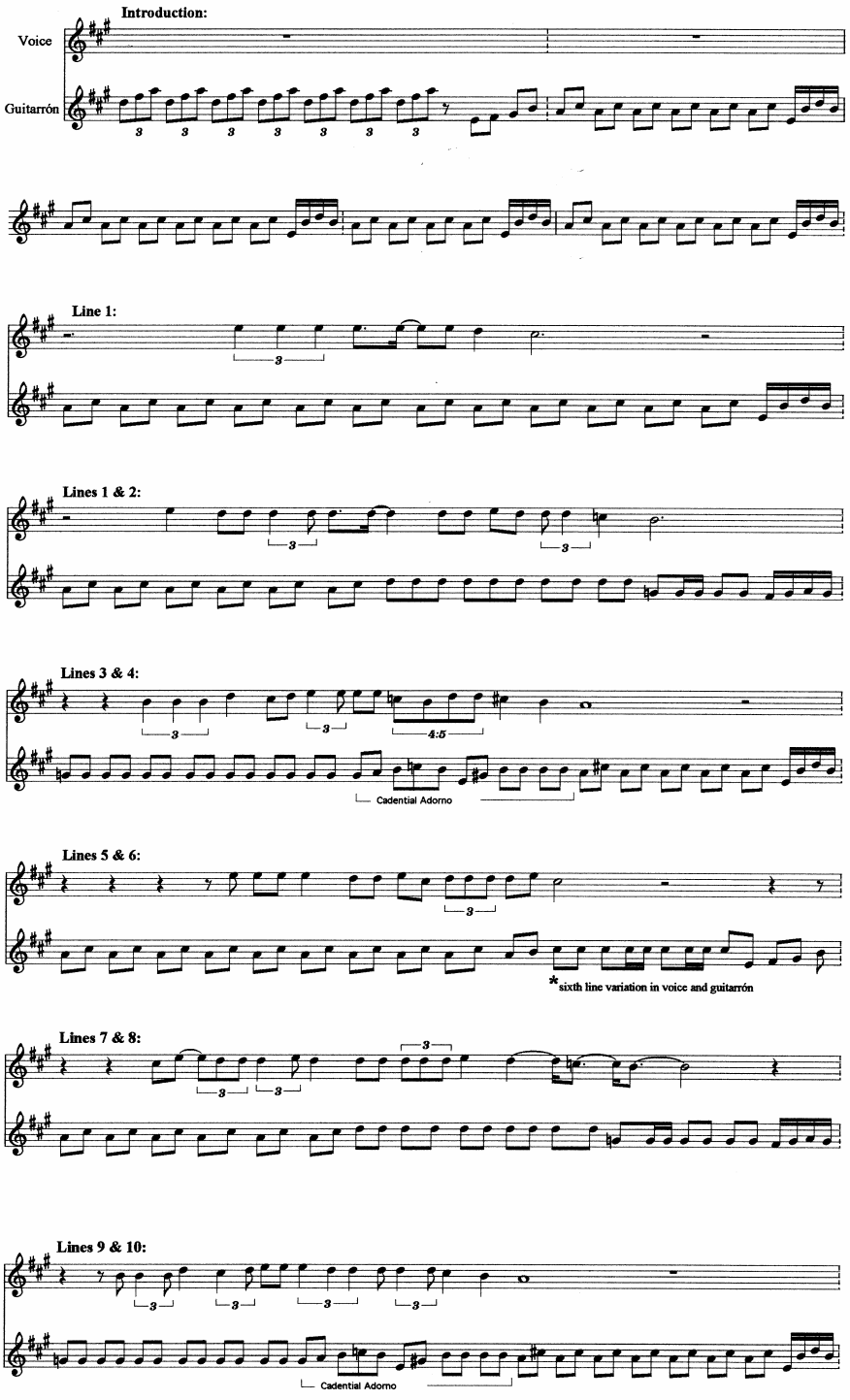

Figure 2.3: Vocal entonación and guitarrón toquío for don Chosto's *la dentradora*.

however, the variety of entonaciones is such that it is difficult to make absolute statements about structure. In practice, performers will sometimes omit repetitions that would otherwise produce an equal number of musical phrases. While the two periods of some entonaciones are melodically symmetrical (ABC, ABC), others (*la dentradora, la común, la traspuesta*) have an important melodic and harmonic variation in the sixth line of the décima (indicated above) that distinguishes it from a related phrase in the first period. What remains consistent is the conceptual and musical break between lines one through four, and lines five through ten. Lines four and ten are thus important moments of poetic and musical conclusion.

The second of the three musical phrases (depending on text repetitions: lines two or three, and lines eight or nine), also realizes a secondary cadential function. Grebe distinguishes these cadential points called *requiebre,* from the more conclusive *caída* [descent] at the end of the fourth and tenth lines.[69] Grebe notes that in free style entonaciones there is a half-cadence (or inconclusive cadence) in the penultimate phrase of each period where the vocal part descends into its lowest register and the harmony changes, producing a sense of tension (Grebe 1967, p. 52). This tension is resolved at the end of the following phrase where there is a *caída*, a descending cadential pattern that is more final, returning to the tonic. The guitarrón part marks these important transitions with concluding figures that support the vocal lines (*cadential adornos* described later), followed by instrumental passages with melodic turns or with a signature ornament of the entonación/toquío. In relation to the repertoire of Pirque, Barros and Dannemann also note the *caída* at the end of the third and sixth musical lines (décima lines 4 and 10), is often a two-note elision in an otherwise syllabic delivery of text (1960, p. 35). They

[69] Grebe notes the etymological and musical relation of this folk terminology to musical terms of 16th century vocal and instrumental repertoire. (1967, p. 52)

contrast this two-note caída with the wider glissandi conclusions of entonaciones in other regions such as Melipilla (ibid., p. 35). I would add to this that the syllabic delivery nonetheless permits glissandi-like internal passages where the notes of scalar passages are not cleanly divided between syllables. While Barros and Dannemann have noted that the most popular entonaciones in Pirque are based on a tonic-dominant harmonic relationship, there are many—such as the one considered above (I-bVII-V)--with progressions that exhibit elements of modal logic (1960, p. 37).[70]

In their study, Barros and Dannemann (1960) have presented an informative synthesis of the musical character of entonaciones and toquíos. It is difficult, however, to extrapolate from this text the musician's approach to performance: what aspects of style are valued, and what meaning these styles communicate. Furthermore, we are left without a sense of the significance of stylistic variation. The next two sections will consider vocal and instrumental performance, paying particular attention to the aesthetic and functional concepts that determine the course of performance.

ENTONACIONES AND VOCAL STYLE

In general, older generations of cantores learned to sing entonaciones before learning the accompaniment on guitarrón or guitar. While many young guitarrón players now learn guitarrón before learning the melodies of canto a lo poeta, the priority of the voice continues to be part of aesthetic approaches to the instrument in Pirque. As don Chosto says, the guitarrón and the voice have to be "bien apegadito" [close together] (personal communication, April 14, 2005). According to Barros and Dannemann (1960), the intervallic range of entonaciones in Pirque is relatively small: typically between a

[70] For a full discussion, see María Ester Grebe's comparative 1967 work "The Chilean Verso: A Study in Musical Archaism," that considers the modal character of verso repertoire in relation to Medieval and Renaissance musical practice. Relevant to the entonación considered here, she suggests that the I-bVII-V progression demonstrates connections to Lydian or Ionian modes.

sixth and a seventh, sometimes as wide as an octave or as small as a fifth. The singers of Pirque, however, perform in a very high vocal register. Melodic contour oscillates, moving in whole and half tones, occasionally in fourth or thirds, and exceptionally in sixths (Barros & Dannemann 1961, p. 35). Phrase endings and beginnings are often the same note, or are separated by major intervals between a third and a sixth (ibid., p. 35).

Beyond general melodic structures, however, musical variation—between players and between performances-- is integral to *canto a lo pueta.* According to Gastón, it is this aspect of canto a lo poeta that makes each performance unique, and also makes it difficult to label any version of an entonación as "true" or standard (1962, p. 51). Compare, for example the following performances of *la dentradora*. The first two are taken from different strophes from a single performance don Chosto of el Principal in Pirque. In Figure 2.4, we see the melodic variations within a single performance by comparing the first lines of two décimas:

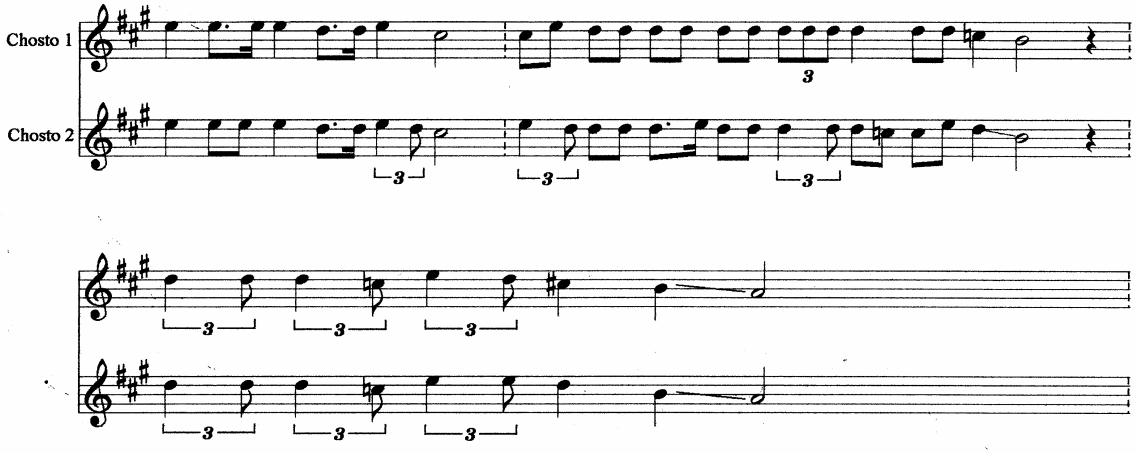

Figure 2.4: Don Chosto's melodic variations in *la dentradora* (Ulloa & Ulloa 1988).

The first musical phrases are melodically very similar, and D constitutes a primary tone of recitation in both of the second and third phrases. The *requibres* and *caídas*

(concluding notes of the second and third phrases), however, differ significantly. While version 1, phrase 2 accents C natural as the penultimate note, version 2 incorporates the C natural earlier, passing in a glissando from D to B to conclude. In phrase 3 a C# is highlighted in the caída of version 1, but not in version 2. The second and third phrases also illustrate the rhythmic variations of the melody that follow the inflection of different poetic texts. In addition to varying melody and rhythm within a single performance, most musicians cultivate unique ways of singing and playing, making the search for an authoritative version is even less fruitful. Compare the following version of la común:

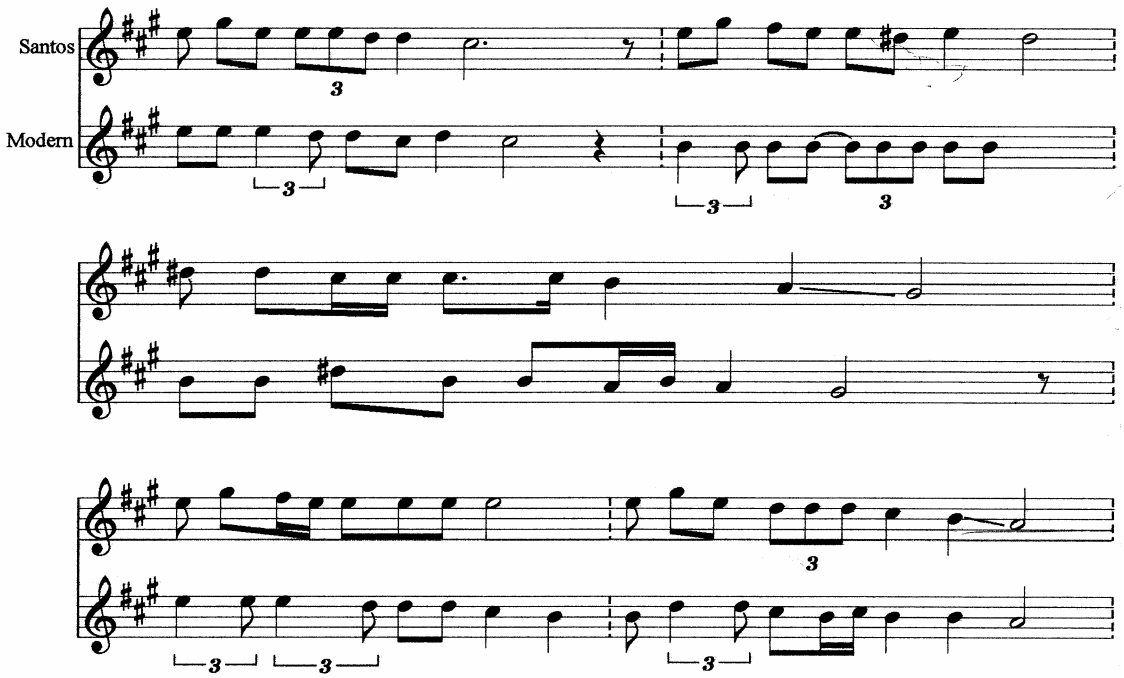

Figure 2.5: "Modern" version and Santos' version of *la común* melody.

While these two versions share similar descending contours in many melodic phrases, Santos' version consistently accents a G# at the outset. The greatest contrast is between the second phrase ("measures" 2 and 3) where the modern version ascends to the D#

from a B then back to the B to the B, A, G *requiebre*. Santos maintains a similar descending contour, also emphasizing the D# and the B, A, G *requiebre*. Whether in "free" or "strict" style, the performance of an entonación can vary greatly from player to player, as well as from performance to performance.

In light of these examples, illustrative of similar patterns of variation in other entonaciones, one could consider an entonación to be a flexible musical entity whose core is a melodic line with a combination of cadences, contours, repeated tones, range and musical figures necessary for its recognition. In her study, Grebe (1967) eloquently describes the relationships of entonaciones in Melipilla to Medieval modes and modal characteristics of other folk traditions. While the modal character of *verso* is a deep and fascinating subject, my specific interest in this chapter is the expression of identity within this structure of "characteristic musical behavior" (Grebe 1967, p. 10). Scale degrees, melodic contour, rhythm, vocal tone, ornamentation and harmonic progression do not only outline a coherent and classifiable musical system. The traits and variations that constitute performance style also transmit social meanings; they are the means through which musicians distinguish themselves or align themselves with others.

In my guitarrón lessons, this flexibility of melody and accompaniment—and the importance of singing style (and guitarrón style) as an identifier--was introduced very early. My primary teachers, Alfonso Rubio and Chosto Ulloa, both encouraged me to "play" with melody and accompaniment: to create my own variations once I had absorbed the basic structure of the entonación. As don Chosto described to me, "every singer has his style…" (personal communication, April 19, 2005).[71] Within this individual style however, there are elements that link a performer to specific musicians, groups and places. During my initial lessons with Alfonso Rubio, after learning a version

[71] "cada cantor tiene su estilo de cantar..."

of *la común,* he began to teach me a variation in preparation for the *Encuentro Nacional de Guitarroneros:*

> AR: If you learn it [la común] like that, when they hear you sing, they're going to say [inhale of surprise] to you.
>
> EP: Why?
>
> AR: Because it's the most rural thing there is.
>
> EP: That melody?
>
> AR: [the melody] in that way, because it's a variation of la común, it's la común sung in that way…it's for singing in a more *criolla*[72] way.
>
> EP: Why more *criolla*?
>
> AR: Because the other one is more studied, more modern now…
>
> EP: The one that everybody does? Like the standard?
>
> AR: Exactly…so, which of the two are you going to pick? (personal communication, October 10, 2004)[73]

Hence, for Alfonso, and for his audience, this "way" of rendering the común carries a distinct rural imprint. For him, the appreciation of this style implies a heightened aesthetic sensibility that can distinguish it from the more frequent versions heard in the city. As I became more acquainted with Alfonso and his approach to the guitarrón, I wondered if these early teachings indirectly expressed his perception of the profound aesthetic divide between urban guitarroneros and those from rural Pirque.

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[72] "Criollo" in Chile has ethnic, cultural and social dimensions. It is often used in reference to the history of the dominant elite culture of the central region that identified most closely with European heritage. While it can denote Chileans born in Europe, or of European descent, "criollo" it is used by Alfonso to evoke a local, rural identity: lower, as opposed to upper class.

[73] AR:...si usted se lo aprende así, cuando la escuchen cantar, oooh, le van a decir..*EP: Por qué?* AR: Porque es lo más campesino que hay...*EP: Esa melodía?* AR:...de esa forma, porque es una variación de la común, es la común cantada de esa forma....es para cantar de una forma más criolla...*EP: Por qué más criolla?* AR:...porque la otra es ya como más de estudio la otra, la moderna ya... *EP: La que hacen todos? Como el estandard?* AR: Exactamente...ya, ¿con cuál de las dos se queda?

This *criolla* form of *la común* involved higher sustained and repeated notes than its modern counterpart. As Alfonso had me try out different phrases, it became clear that it was not an exact melodic and rhythmic repetition that he expected, but rather a response that emulated the contour of the line, the rhythm of the poetic text and its most important notes. As Figure 2.6 illustrates, his own performance of the same melodic line would vary as he sang phrases for me to imitate:

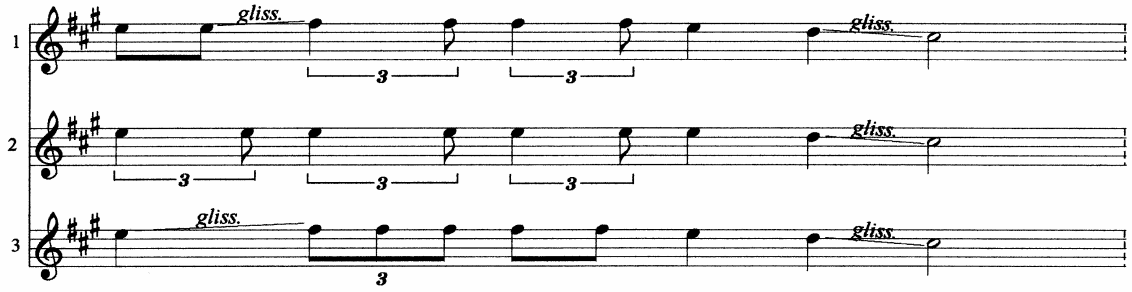

Figure 2.6: Alfonso's "criollo" variations of *la común* melody.

It is also critical to point out that it is not just the notes, but also the movement between notes that is important. A "criolla" interpretation of "la común" includes sliding between pitches that do not correspond to neat, rhythmic divisions between notes and syllables.

Other aspects of vocal performance also affect the urban or rural sound of an entonación. When asked about his estimation of today's younger generation of performers, Santos Rubio replies that he doesn't like any "enough to go crazy over…I stick with the old guys, like don Juan Uribe[74] says" (personal communication, May 10, 2005).[75] Santos points out how urban singers perform with trained voices, clear diction

[74] A well-loved investigator of canto a lo poeta who organized *encuentros* of rural cultores throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

[75] "… ni tanto como para volverse loco...me quedo con los antiguos, como dice don Juan Uribe."

and different vocabulary. They also sing much lower [*ronco, entumado*] than earlier rural singers:

> These are no longer rural songs…have you heard Andres Correa [singer from el Durazno with very high, powerful voice]? There's a difference, you see? That's how they [cantores and guitarrón players] all used to sing (S. Rubio, personal communication, May 10, 2005).[76]

For both Santos and Alfonso, this vocal approach to an entonación is an important means of distinguishing themselves as rural performers. It is interesting to note that in some cases the Rubios privilege a rural musical identity over a local one. Here, Santos epitomizes rural style in a singer from a different region whose performance emphasizes internal glissandi, along with high range and forced, voluminous projection. There are significant differences between older singers from Pirque and singers in Melipilla (Barros & Dannemann 1961, p. 35), yet what is most important to consider (more than the uniqueness of Pirque) is the overall difference in aesthetic approach—timbre, volume, pronunciation, melisma—that align distinct rural styles in opposition to a more "educated" performance style.[77]

Another indicator of style contrast between rural and urban performance is a shift in vocal range. While the intervals between the guitarrón's string groupings are fairly standard, the instrument's pitch level is not. Guitarroneros tune to a key that best suits their vocal range. Urban guitarroneros often tune the instrument to G, whereas singers from Pirque typically perform in A, even up to B or C. Fidel Améstica, a young guitarronero from Santiago and faithful student of the "escuela pircana" [Pirque school], points out that G is a very comfortable key for male singers. In Pirque, however, they sing high:

---

[76] "…ya no son cantos de campesinos ...¿usted ha escuchado a Andres Correa? Hay diferencia, po, ve? Así cantaban todos…"

[77] Many entonaciones from other regions have been adapted to the guitarrón. A future study might consider the effects of interregional interactions on performance style in Pirque.

> …they've got the lungs to sing in A. I've never had a good voice, but I decided to sing in A because I'm from there [Pirque] in a certain way, so I have to learn to do it. I don't think it's impossible. It's difficult… (F. Améstica, personal communication, April 29, 2005)[78]

For Fidel, the choice of key is an important means of connecting his musical identity to Pirque and to a rural aesthetic.

Just as entonaciones carry extramusical associations, these connections of time, place and identity are also communicated through individual vocal style. Rendering of repertoire says important things about one's musical background to other singers, and constitute important means of distinction between individual performers and "schools" of canto and guitarrón. For tocadores and cantores of Pirque, the styles of past generations (as well as today's "standard" urban repertoire) are critical references in defining contemporary performance. Adopting a more "criollo" style is a significant statement about where one stands aesthetically in the larger community of guitarrón players. Vocal tone, vocal range and the delivery of notes tell listeners whether one identifies with the "antiguos," the pircanos, or with younger, urban generations of players. After a discussion of guitarrón technique, we will consider how this is communicated instrumentally as well.

GUITARRÓN STYLE

In the 1950s, "folklorista" Violeta Parra was a constant visitor to Puente Alto and Pirque. Along with interviewing local musicians and recording their repertoire, she apprenticed herself to Isaías Angulo in both canto a lo poeta and guitarrón. Barros and Dannemann with their team of investigators from the University of Chile provided a well-rounded study of the guitarrón, its performance context, and its musical character.

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[78] "...tienen pecho para cantar en LA. Yo nunca he tenido buena voz, pero me propuse cantar en LA porque soy de allá en cierto modo entonces tengo que aprenderlo. No creo que sea imposible. Es difícil..."

In contrast, Violeta Parra's posthumously published study (1979) moved from the general to the specific, highlighting the spirit, emotion and meanings of canto a poeta performance through the words of the individual players themselves. We learn that a player has to be "arrogant," sing with volume and grace, and that the guitarrón has to carry its "chacharachas"[79] for its sound to be appreciated (I. Angulo, as cited in Parra 1979, p. 15). The performance structure of canto a lo poeta (which will be considered in Chapters 3 and 4) is such that it generates a "natural comparison" of performers (Uribe 1962, p. 22), cultivating a competitive environment. While a non-competitive brotherly ideal permeates canto a lo poeta in more recent years (see Chapters 3 and 4), musical performance nonetheless remains a terrain of comparison and a place for articulating both heritage and uniqueness. In this section, I will explore how the structure of the guitarrón toquío works, isolating the points of ornamentation as musical spaces for the articulation of aesthetic and social identities.

Technique

There are two right hand techniques involved in playing guitarrón: plucking and brushing. Players use either thumb and index, or thumb, index and middle fingers to sound the groupings of multiple strings. In Bustamante and Astorga's 1996 guitarrón method they have described how:

> The guitarrón, because of the special traits of its string groupings, is not brushed, NOR IS IT STRUMMED; it is played by plucking or "*trinando*" the string groupings with the thumb, index and middle near the bridge supporting the pinky finger, NOT ABOVE THE MOUTH OF THE INSTRUMENT (Bustamante and Astorga 1996, p. 22, emphasis theirs).[80]

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[79] ornaments, onomatopoeic representation of guitarrón rhythm.

[80] "El guitarrón, por las especiales características de su encordado, no se rasguea NI SE CHARRANGUEA; se ejecuta punteando o "trinando" los órdenes con los dedos pulgar, índice y medio y cerca del pontezuelo, apoyando el dedo meñique, NO EN LA BOCA DEL INSTRUMENTO."

While the guitarrón is certainly not used in the percussive strumming style of a *cueca*, a back and forth brushing strum over several strings or courses was an important component of Pirque repertoire of previous generations, and continues to be used today. As a general rule, younger players tend to incorporate less brushing, preferring to pluck each course individually. Figure 2.7 illustrates a brushing ornament of Santos that has been transformed by younger performers to single arpeggiated string strikes. Downward facing stems indicate that a note is played with the thumb; upward facing stems are plucked by the index finger. The arrows indicate a brushing movement:

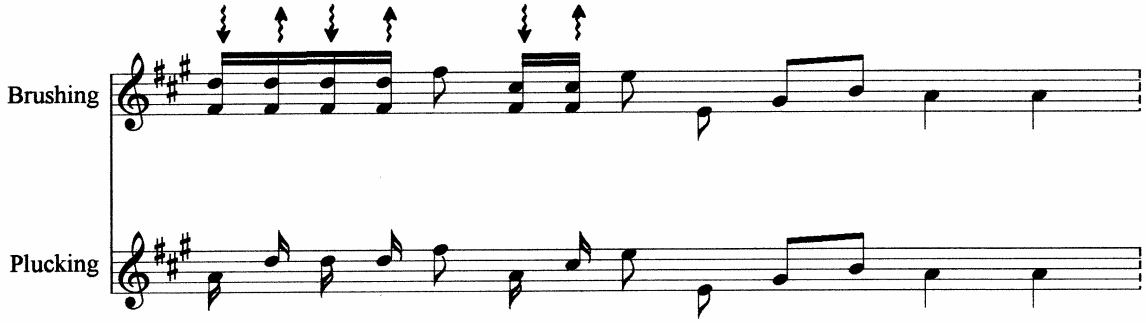

Figure 2.7: Santos' brushing ornament and urban adaptation.

As indicated in Figure 2.8 below, Don Chosto also employs brushing movements that will cross between one to four groups of the guitarrón's strings. This incorporation of brushing patterns appears to be a generational marker, used primarily by older rural players, or by younger performers who strive to emulate their style.

Bustamante and Astorga (1996), as well as Alfonso Rubio, teach students to play with three fingers, a technique which permits melodic figures and rhythms that are not possible with two. As in the previous example, the stem heads facing down are the strings played by the thumb, while the upward stems are played by the index or middle (indicated by m when middle finger is used):

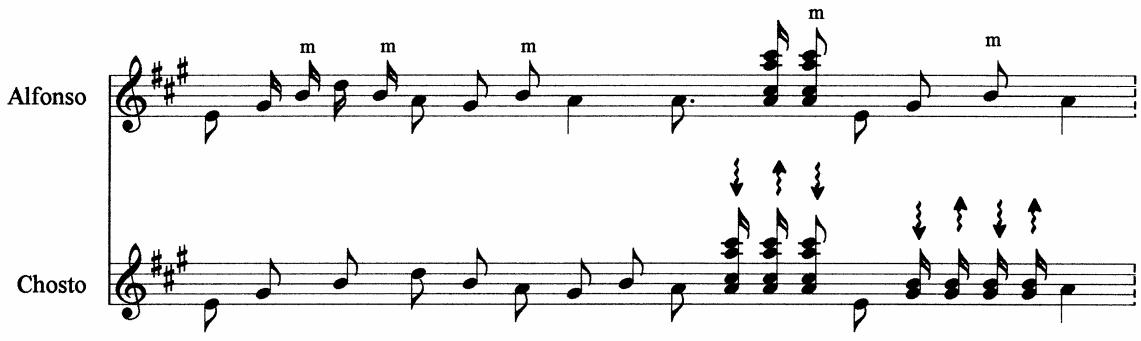

Figure 2.8: Cadential patterns of Alfonso and don Chosto.

While providing additional melodic resources, using three fingers can reduce the punchy and consistent rhythm that is characteristic of performance with two.

Finally, I will offer a brief word about the *diablitos*. The diablitos, or "tiples" to the right of the fingerboard are tuned to the first and third degree of the tonic of the instrument. These strings are sounded by dragging the index finger across them, commonly sounded along with the first course of strings (2^{nd} fret). The lower diablos, tuned to the third and fifth of the dominant, are sounded by a downward plucking of the thumb along with the fifth course of strings. There is an additional technique common today, although not among Pirque's players. Many urban performers use a downward strike with the nail of the index finger on the diablos to the left of the fingerboard. This strike is only used on the upper diablos (tuned to the dominant) and never on any of the other strings. Some players from Pirque find this technique to be in bad taste as it can produce a very harsh "twang" from metal strings. As we will see in the following section, Chosto criticizes their overuse by urban players, emphasizing that they are only for punctuating important cadences, and that some entonaciones barely require them at all. The use of the diablitos, like other elements of execution, constitutes an important

marker of style and musical origins. The harsh, or frequent striking of the diablitos is often a clear sign that a player is heavily influenced by styles outside of Pirque.

Toquío Style

From region to region—perhaps even more from player to player—there is great variation in how accompanimental techniques are combined to support the sung melody. While the sung melody remains the most definitive means of identifying an entonación, the guitarrón toquío also carries integral characteristic phrases that can be identifiers. In her study of the canto a lo pueta of Melipilla, María Ester Grebe has noted that the ability to artfully integrate vocal lines and guitar accomaniment is considered more important than vocal or instrumental skills independent of one another (1967, p. 24). Poets are not dissimilar in Pirque. The assessment of a guitarrón player centers on his capacity to perform a toquío with clarity that creates a balanced dialogue between the voice (vehicle of the poetry) and the guitarrón (the rhythmic and harmonic support). Along with other aspects of technique that we will discuss, the difference between tasteful "ornamentation" and excessive "floreo" is an important means of distinction between players, representative of contrasting aesthetic approaches to the instrument. For my teachers in Pirque, it is more specifically a means of emphasizing a local identity, separate from the emerging urban styles of guitarrón.

While don Chosto and Alfonso have their own particular styles, unique in Chile and even within Pirque, I find their approaches to presenting an entonación very similar and very helpful to understanding performance practice. You start with core elements—vamps and turns—fleshing out your performance with ornaments as your voice and fingers settle into the entonación. My breakdown of the elements of guitarrón performance borrows heavily from their terminology and structural concepts. For analysis purposes, I have divided the elements of a toquío into *descansos* (vamps),

adornos (ornaments, moving lines), and *golpes* (turns).[81] Although in practice these terms have a more flexible application, I have made their parameters slightly more rigid in order to keep discussion clear. Alfonso and Chosto refer to *descansos* as points of "rest": one to three note patterns, like vamps, that are repeated either underneath the singing or in an introduction or conclusion, frequently leading up to a cadence or an ornament. These patterns sometimes outline a triad, but may also include only one or two repeated pitches. Descansos may be strictly repeated, or they may also serve as a basis for rhythmic and melodic variations as illustrated below:

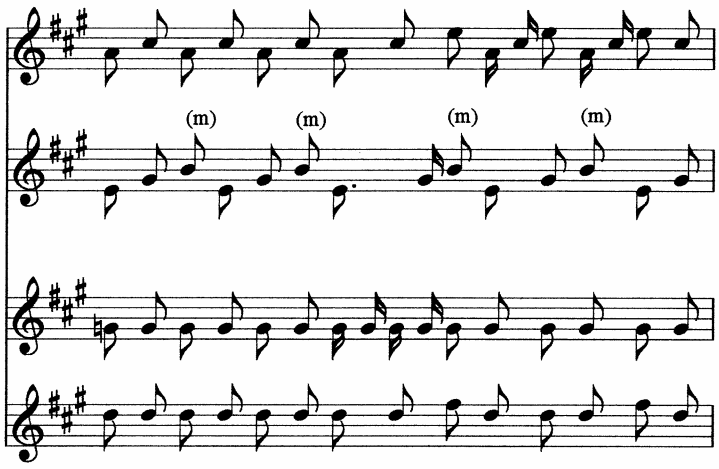

Figure 2.9: Common *descansos*.

Golpes are rhythmic-melodic figures that most frequently outline a dominant-tonic relationship with an arpeggio or a back-and-forth rhythm (four sixteenth notes + eighth).

[81] Rodrigo Sanhueza's *Método Práctico para Guitarrón Chileno* (2004) offers one of the clearest instructional approaches to guitarrón today, focusing on learning a series of basic exercises and typical introductions, transition phrases, and conclusions before combining them in an entonación. In my analysis, *golpes, adornos* and *descansos* can be understood as the gestures that are combined to form these larger phrases.

They punctuate periods of descanso as well as the beginning and ends of musical phrases. Below are several common golpes followed by their notes of resolution:

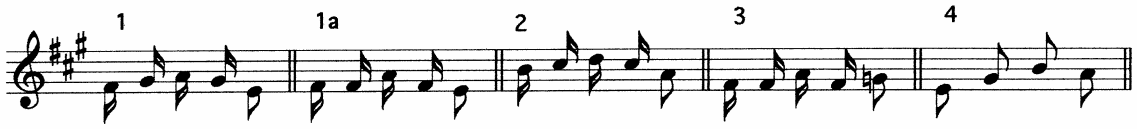

Figure 2.10: Common *golpes*.

Descansos and golpes are both basic patterns that are shared between many entonaciones. Most guitarrón performances begin with a descanso on the tonic and several golpes to the dominant (see Figure 2.3).

Adornos are more extended patterns that can include scalar runs, melodies, arpeggios as well as golpe and descanso figures. Adornos can be used to support a vocal line in conjunct or disjunct motion, or can appear after vocal phrases. They can also realize transitional or cadential functions. The *requibre* and *caída* are common points for inserting cadential adornos. As we will discuss in the next section, adornos are also integral elements of the instrumental interludes of introduction and conclusion where a player can demonstrate skill and taste in guitarrón playing. Some adornos are also strongly associated with specific entonaciónes and necessarily appear under or in between sung passages. Other adornos are more flexible and can be applied to several entonaciones. This is also a point where many guitarroneros differ in their interpretations and definitions of entonaciones. While the first two adornos in Figure 2.11 are closely associated with their corresponding entonación, the cadential adorno of *la común* will appear in the introductions and conclusions to several other entonaciones.

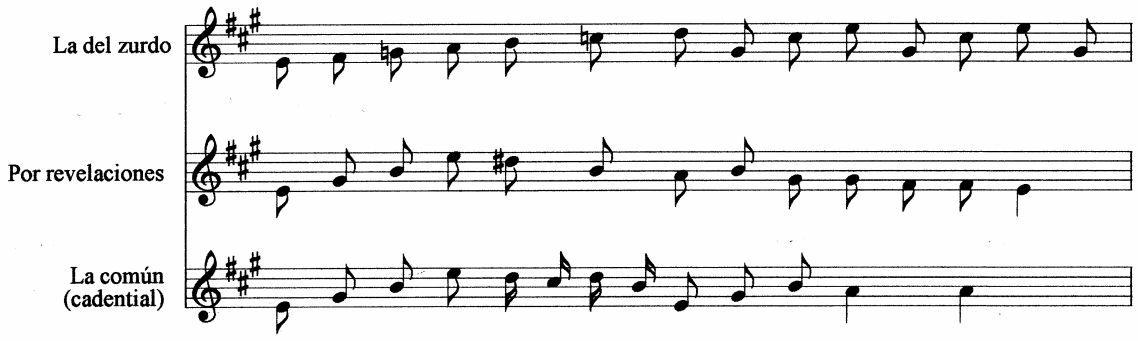

Figure 2.11: *Adornos* from *la del Zurdo*, *la por revelaciones*, and *la común*.[82]

There is another type of accompaniment that distinguishes "free" and "strict" styles. Strict styles often rely on passages of what don Chosto calls a "declarado" [declared] technique where the accompaniment provides sections of monophonic or homophonic accompaniment that follows the rhythm of the sung melody with or without harmonization. Recitative-like delivery, as we observed in Figure 2.3, is often supported by a combination of vamps and moving lines that less frequently mirror the contour of the vocal line. Some free style entonaciones also carry important "pausas" where the guitarrón is silenced and the vocal line appears briefly by itself. For don Chosto, appropriate use of these *pausas,* as well as adornos, is a demonstration of sensibility and taste in a guitarrón player.

To illustrate how all these pieces (descanso, golpe, and adorno) come together, I have analyzed the entonación that Alfonso first teaches his students, *la común.* Below (Figure 2.12) I have labeled the elements of accompaniment in the introduction, including the first six lines of the décima for comparison. While it is one of the most popular melodies in both urban and rural performance, it is also one of the most difficult for

[82] Stem directions do not indicate fingering in this example.

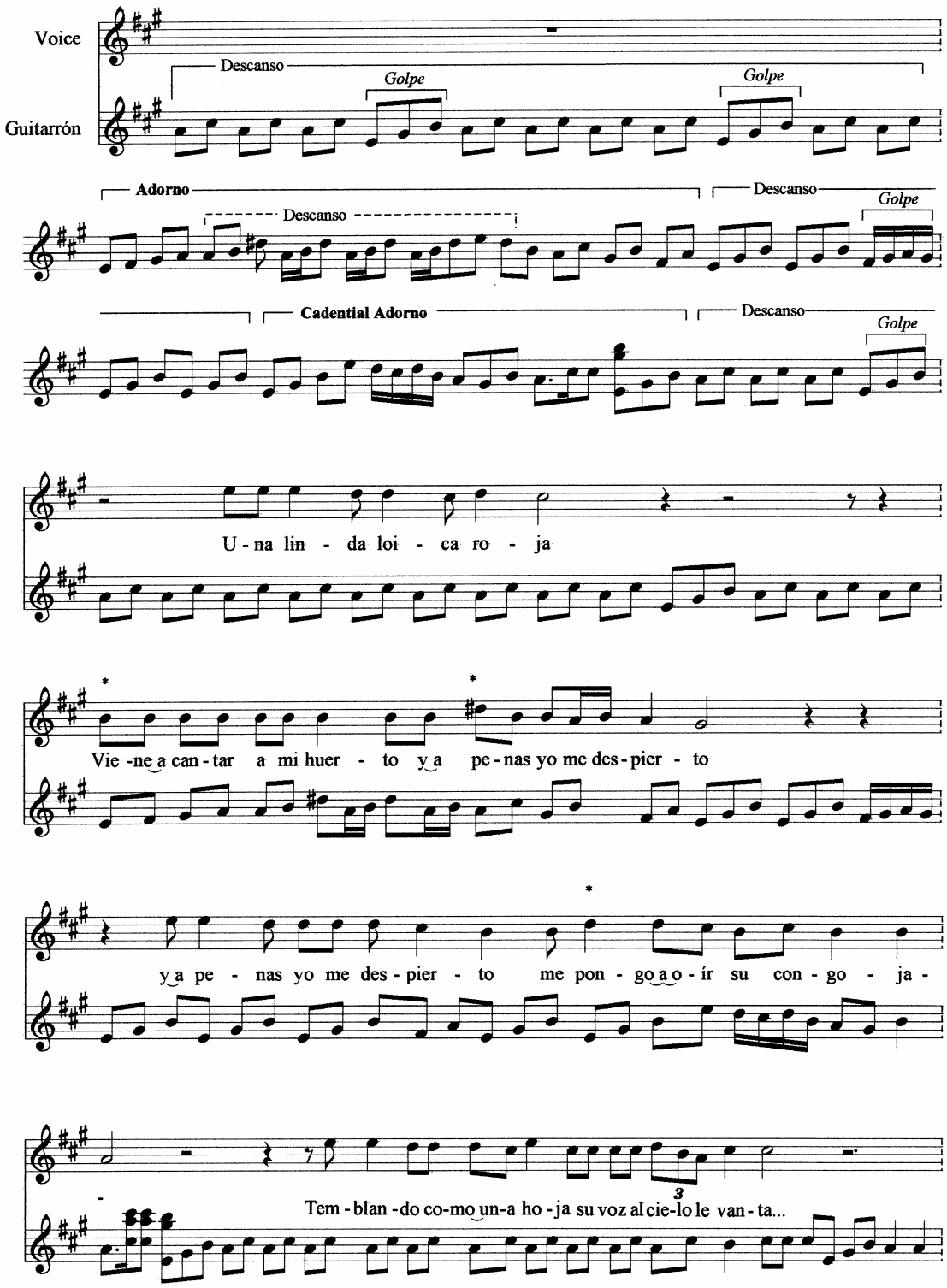

Figure 2.12: Entonación and toquío of Alfonso's *la común*.

coordinating vocal and instrumental lines. The "free" rhythmic delivery of the vocal melody makes an absolutely accurate transcription very difficult**.** Here I have given an approximate rhythmic rendition of vocal performance, focusing on the alignment of melody and guitarrón, particularly at phrase endings. Alfonso guides his students through this entonación by indicating key "anchor" notes (indicated by *), such as the first notes of a phrase or a note that coincides with the beginning of a transitional or concluding guitarrón pattern. Note that in vocal phrases supported by basic descanso patterns (systems 4 and 7), there are no anchor notes. In these lines of melody, singers have great expressive freedom to stretch or condense phrasing. Also important to note is the alternation between groupings of two and three eighth notes, what Dannemann refers to the "bi-rhythmic" character of much guitarrón playing (*Contra-punto* 1969, p. 17). Finally, since I am illustrating accompanimental elements, as opposed to technique, the stem directions in Figure 2.12 do not correspond to the thumb and index fingers.

To further illustrate the basic nature of a guitarrón toquío, I would like to return briefly to Chosto's performance we considered earlier. Below (Figures 2.13 and 2.14) I have included two instrumental interludes that appear between décimas. As his performance progresses, his toquío varies, combining and recombining melodic and rhythmic figures that become increasingly complex:

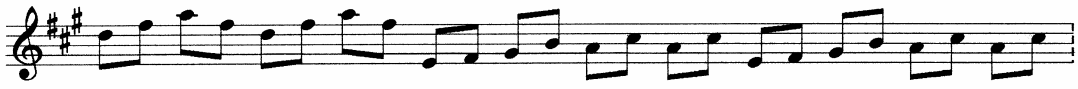

Figure 2.13: Don Chosto's first guitarrón variation (Ulloa & Ulloa 1988).

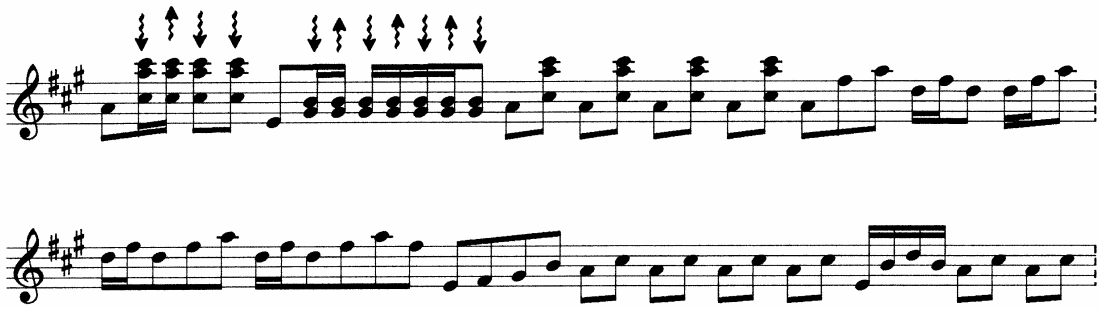

Figure 2.14: Don Chosto's second guitarrón variation

In addition to this instrumental variation, he performs a distinct cadential adornos to fit with his father's mode of singing the *caída*:

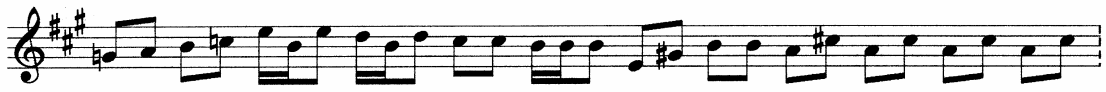

Figure 2.15: Don Chosto's cadential variation (Ulloa & Ulloa 1988).

As a final and critical observation, the utility of toquío structure (descanso, golpe, adorno) is evident when Chosto's father pauses to remember a line part way through his décima. As his father reflects, Chosto easily fills the space with descansos and golpes until he resumes singing.

By breaking down these performances by don Chosto, I want to illustrate that a toquío is an adaptable form with a variety of accompanimental patterns that are combined to follow the varying flow of the singing. In examining this performance, we can see that guitarrón toquíos are not of set length: they expand and contract with the voice. The nature of the accompanimental elements allows the player this musical flexibility to stay "stuck" to the voice. Furthermore, introduction, interludes and even cadential ornaments here are not entirely fixed entities. Don Chosto inserts increasingly complex ornaments

as he sees fit. While toquíos have essential elements that identify them (especially ornaments and harmonic progression), their structure is highly flexible. Each performance varies according to the pace of the singer, along with the individual style of the guitarrón player. The flexible parameters of an entonación (both vocally and instrumentally), allow significant variation not only between players but within a single performance, resulting in an emergent quality to one's performance.

INTRODUCTION AND ORNAMENTATION: CREATING YOUR OWN VOICE AS A GUITARRONERO

Adorno vs. Floreo

Although his performance varies, Don Chosto is very particular about the interpretation of entonaciones and the limits of variation. Much time in our lessons was spent explaining the differences between how the "true" entonaciones were played, and how today's players are frequently unaware of how they used to sound. Don Chosto has very strict rules concerning the use of ornaments. Although he left much ornamentation up to me in our lessons, he was explicit in distinguishing between entonaciones that called for more or less adornment.

> …for example, let's call this one the mother [Figure 2.3], right? And afterwards comes the daughter which is this one [Figure 2.16] …now, the entonación changes, it's not the same one…so that you don't make mistakes, all these entonaciones, when you come I'll record one time through each entonación so you don't mistake them and you don't make mistakes in playing them. Because if you're going to put this nonsense ["Chambuines": Figure 2.16] in the one I played first which is this one [Figure 2.3], it's more relaxed than the other (O. Ulloa, personal communication, March 5, 2005).[83]

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83 "...por ejemplo, pongámosle a esta la maire ¿no cierto? Y después viene la hija que es ésta...cambia la entonación sí, no es la misma. ...entonces para que usted no se equivoque, todas estas entonaciones, cuando venga usted yo se las voy a grabar un pie de cada entonación para que no se equivoque y usted no se equivoque para tocarla. Porque si usted le va a meterle estos chambuines a la que le toqué primero que es ésta, es más aliviada ésta que la otra."

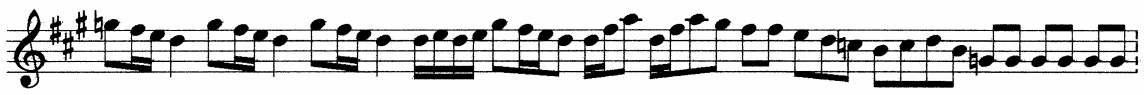

Figure 2.16: "Nonsense" from the "daughter" of *la dentradora* played by don Chosto.

The "mother" and "daugher" that Chosto present share similar patterns and harmonic progressions, but must be distinguished through speed, ornamentation and use of diablos. As don Chosto points out, different entonaciones have different characters that should be respected in performance. Placed in the wrong entonación, an ornament that is acceptable elsewhere can become unnecessary "chambuines."

Ornament not only distinguishes one entonación from another, but its application also defines a player's musical identity. As don Chosto's comments indicate, there is a difference between an adorno, which makes an entonación more beautiful, and ornamental excess that results in a congested, unpleasant performance. While sometimes used synonymously with adorno, I will distinguish "fancy" ornamentation with the term *floreo.* Like adornos, they are combinations of vamps, moving lines, and turns. They may be identical, but may also involve rapid or complicated moves up the guitarrón's fingerboard. Floreo may appear at specific points during the delivery of the décima, although this is a point of distinction between some musicians. Several Pirque musicians, along with many who studied guitarrón in Pirque, express distaste for floreo during the singing. These musicians reserve the interludes for more extended ornamentation. More than a technical distinction between adorno and floreo, I want to emphasize the qualitative difference. What is most important is the appreciation among Pirque's players of a critical distinction between tasteful performance and ornamental excess that obscures the instrument's clarity and draws attention away from the vocal line. Variation and ornamentation is essential for a good guitarrón player, but melodic and technical

gymnastics are to be avoided. In the following section, we will give special consideration to the instrumental spaces in between the singing: where adorno and floreo make their appearances, and where the guitarronero expresses his unique musical identity.

Expressing Local and Unique Identity in the Introduction

Players of Pirque emphasize that introductions are not predefined musical structures, but rather a space for warming up and for melodic exploration.

> Look, what happens is when you pick up the guitarrón, this is like a warm-up, that's all, right? And then you decide what melody you're going to play. When you pick up the guitarrón, you start poking around here and there; you start to do pieces of toquíos before deciding what you're going to sing (A. Rubio, personal communication, February 2005).[84]

In contemporary performance and recording formats, however, there is a tendency to begin with the toquío of the entonación one is going to perform, as opposed to a musical wandering. Whether of fixed length or not, the introduction is nonetheless an important territory for players of all generations to express their musical identity through the toquío. It is both here, as well as during important junctures during the singing, that a player has the space to create his own unique voice through ornamentation. In this section we will look at the process of ornamentation, comparing introductions for *la común* from several musicians. Departing from Alfonso's "standard" version of the toquío, we can identify the two cadences as the most frequent occasions for extended variation. In *la común,* it is particularly important to cultivate an individual version. Because audiences are very familiar with this toquío, guitarroneros can play with their musical expectations, exhibiting creativity in their delay and extension of harmonic arrival to the dominant or

[84] "Mire, lo que pasa es que cuando uno toma el guitarrón, esto sirve de precalentamiento no más, ¿ya? Y después uno decide qué melodía va a tocar. Cuando uno toma el guitarrón, empieza a hacer malavares por aquí, por allá, empieza a hacer de toquíos antes de decidirse qué va a cantar uno."

the tonic. As we will see, the manner in which one develops these cadential ornaments is a statement of both stylistic affinity and individual identity.

Just as Alfonso encouraged me to learn and experiment with vocal variations early on, he also encouraged me to create my own instrumental ornamentations, particularly for the introduction. After mastering the toquío and entonación for la común, he asked me to create new ornaments for the last cadential adorno in question and answer format where the first phrase ends on a half-, or inconclusive, cadence and the second phrase returns to tonic. One of the earliest ones that I devised was the following:

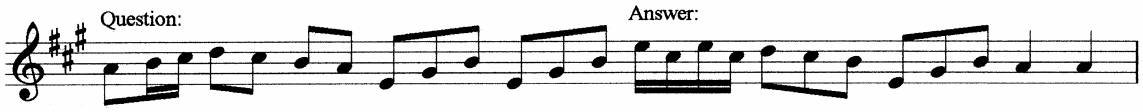

Figure 2.17: Beginning ornament in question (V) and answer (I) form.

From a simple base, these melodic phrases can grow into more elaborate progressions inserted before or in place of the basic cadential adornos. In comparing the introduction in Figure 2.18 to Figure 2.12 (Alfonso's basic introduction to *la común*), note that there are two primary moments for ornamentation within this introduction: one that corresponds to the descanso within the first adorno, and another in place of the last cadential adorno. Both adornos extend the cadential passages, delaying arrival to the dominant, and later the tonic. While this passage is an original creation, Alfonso explains that it is completely traditional because he has based it on finger patterns that can be found in the playing of past generations of guitarroneros. During my entire year in Chile, this ornament appeared and reappeared in lessons and classes, as Alfonso worked with his students to perfect it for performance.

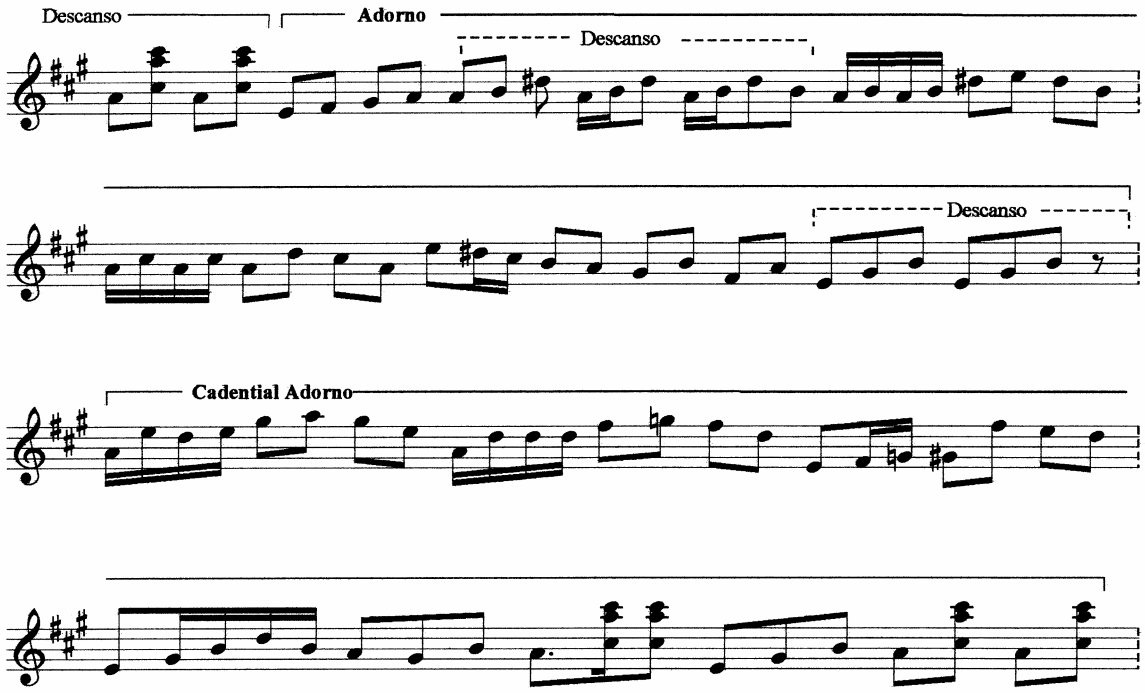

Figure 2.18: Alfonso's ornamented introduction with extension of cadences arriving at dominant and tonic.

While students of Alfonso begin playing *la común* in a standard way, many quickly branch out and develop their own twists and turns to distinguish themselves in performance. Dángelo Guerra, who first studied guitarrón in Alfonso's workshops, describes this process of cultivating a unique style in his guitarrón performance: filling out the fundamental structure of toquíos with his own ornaments. Although he bases his performances in Pirque's sound and technique, he finds himself "…nourishing myself with many things" [*...nutriéndome de muchas cosas*]. If you don't cultivate a unique style, "you put yourself in a box*"* [*te encasillas*]:

> …and that, in my opinion, is not good…for example, if I hadn't taken that [a *floreo* from Francisco Astorga[85]] I would be playing guitarrón just like Alfonso…so, what happens? When did I realize this? One time when don

[85] See Figure 5.1 to see guitarrón toquío that also incorporates figures from Francisco Astorga.

> Arnoldo Madariaga told me "you learned with Alfonso." I said, "Yes, yes, I learned with Alfonso." He said to me, "You can tell, because you play just like Chocho [nickname for Alfonso]." Now, I thought…I don't have anything against playing just like Alfonso, nothing! On the contrary, I really like how Alfonso plays. And he was my teacher. I would be ungrateful if I felt anything to the contrary. But, the one that's playing is not Alfonso Rubio. The one that's playing is me. So, I can't box myself in to the toquío of Alfonso. So, that's when this started happening to me. I started searching out my own things. For example, I play *la común* like this [see Figure 2.19, next page] …in the introduction that is, during the singing I don't like floreo (personal communication, May 23, 2005).[86]

Like Alfonso, Dángelo uses the descanso within the first adorno and the cadential adorno as his principal spaces for melodic elaboration. While Alfonso's first cadential extension (the *requibre*) goes from V/V to I before landing on V, Dángelo extends this first adorno through a series of rhythmic variations on V/V (Figure 2.19). Dángelo is conscious of how Alfonso's teaching has greatly shaped his aesthetic appreciation of guitarrón styles. Like many of Alfonso's students, he expresses distaste for floreo and excessively rapid playing where the instrument's sound becomes muddied. While Dángelo is proud and respectful of his musical roots in Pirque, he is also firmly dedicated to cultivating his own voice. At these specific points in his toquío he embeds other influences within a framework of Pirque speed and technique.

86" ...y eso, a mi juicio, no está bien. ...por ejemplo, si yo no hubiera tomado eso, yo estaría tocando el guitarrón, tal cuál como toca Alfonso…entonces, ¿qué pasa? ¿Cuándo me dí cuenta de eso? Una vez que don Arnoldo Madariago me dijo 'usted aprendió con el Alfonso.' Le dije, 'sí, sí, aprendí con el Alfonso,' me dijo, 'se nota, porque tocaí igual al Chocho.' Ahí, dije... no tengo nada en contra de tocar igual al Alfonso, nada. Al contrario, me gusta mucho como toca guitarrón el Alfonso. Y fue mi maestro. Sería un malagradecido si tuviera algo en contra. Pero, él que está tocando no es Alfonso Rubio. Él que está tocando soy yo. Por tanto, no me puedo encasillar en el toquío del Alfonso. Entonces, ahí es donde me empezó a pasar eso. Fui buscando mis propias cosas. Por ejemplo, yo la común, la toco así…al momento de la introducción digamos, cantando no me gusta el floreo."

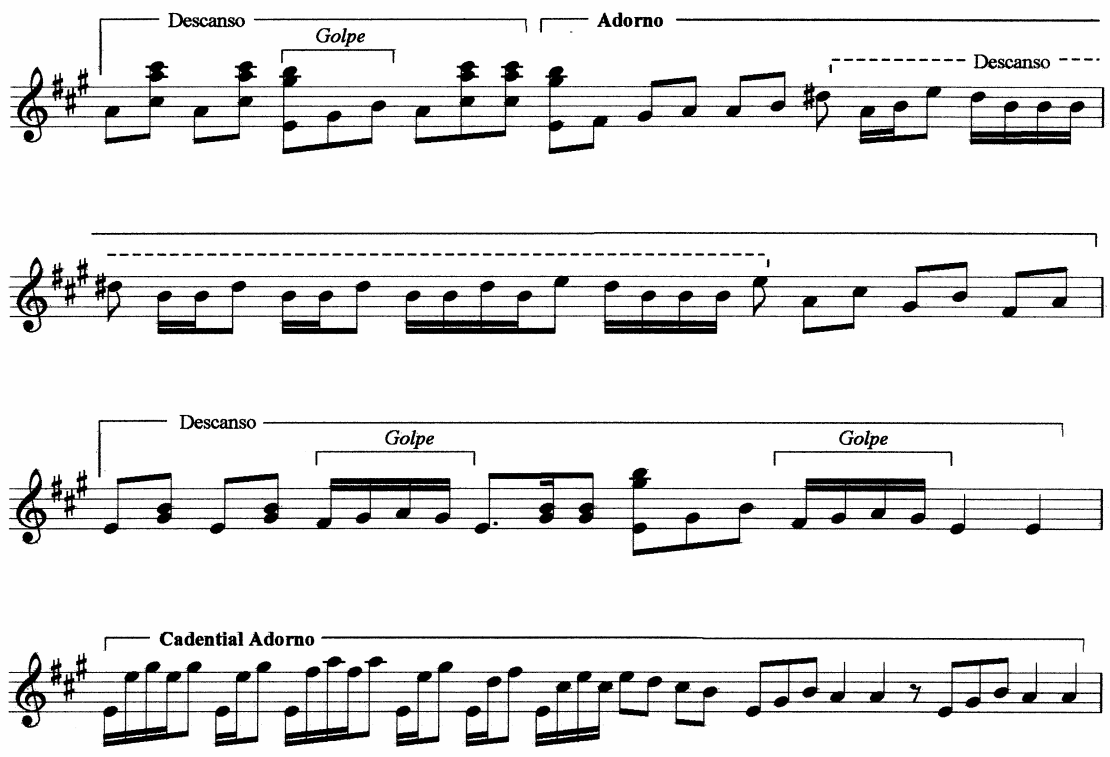

Figure 2.19: Dángelo's ornamented introduction with extension of cadences and an ornament inspired by style of Francisco Astorga.

Fidel Améstica, another student of Alfonso, further articulates this aesthetic, along with a dedication and profound admiration for the players of Pirque, equating the essence of guitarrón style to this region:

> That's the style of the guitarrón: Pirque's. In fact, it was a great compliment for me when those from Casablanca or Melipilla or Putaendo heard me and said "this guy plays 'Pirquified.' You can hear the school. What Alfonso most celebrated about me, and I thank him for it…is that he tells me that I don't imitate anyone when I play guitarrón. He tells me "the guitarrón was already inside you." But the way of playing, the pauses, the way of sounding the strings is pure Pirque school. For example, you listen to Santos, Alfonso; you compare them with Francisco Astorga, who is a very good guitarrón player; it's another style. The difference: Pancho Astorga is a musician. He has great ability, he puts a lot of *floreo* in the melodies, but the essence of the guitarrón is not to *florearlo* [ornament it] so much, but rather play it with clarity. It's what the instrument most demands. Me, what I most admire is the clarity of the instrument, the sound. Sure, you can make difficult melodies that have a lot of highs and lows, but all

> those intervals, those high parts, should transmit clarity in the voice and the music [toquío] of the instrument. On the other hand, in Pancho's playing, he has some *floreos* that are fast when the voice [canto] doesn't require it. It's not that this is bad. It's his style. I see it like this. A lot of people imitate him because, sure, his talent is quite striking, and it's like it gets you excited, but when you know the other school, I prefer pulchritude in performance. It's what Alfonso always emphasizes to us, that a lot of people when they learn to play, soon begin to forget basic technique and when they play the string groupings, not every string sounds. The highest strings always sound, and no, you have to make the high strings sound with the *bordones* [low wound strings] because that's the essence of the sound. But I stick with [the style of] Santos, Alfonso and Pirque, and from around there, listening to guitarrón players like don Chosto, who is also another style within Pirque…(F. Améstica, personal communication, April 29, 2005).[87]

In Fidel's view, the essence of the Pirque school lies in this distinction between clarity and intense floreo, defining the style of his mentors in opposition to players influenced by the approach of Francisco Astorga. It is important to him that poetas, cantores and guitarroneros recognize in his playing the style of Pirque. Within this Pirque sound however, he also emphasizes his distinction for sounding unlike any other player. As the comments of both Dángelo and Fidel illustrate, many of those who learn guitarrón in Pirque come away with a firm dedication to a transparent character for the guitarrón: deliberate, clear playing that brings out the resonance of the instrument without saturating

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[87] "Ése es el estilo del guitarrón, el pircano. De hecho para mi era un elogio cuando me eschaban de Casablanca o de Melipilla o de Putaendo y decían 'éste toca apircanado, apircanadito.' Se nota la escuela. Lo que más me celebraba el Alfonso que yo se lo agradezco...que me dice que no le imito a nadie tocando guitarrón. Me dice que 'el guitarrón ya estaba dentro tuyo' me dice. Pero la forma de tocar, las pausas, la forma de pulsar las ordenanzas es pura escuela pircana. Por ejemplo, tu escuchas al Santos, Alfonso; los comparas con Francisco Astorga, que es un muy buen guitarronero; es otro estilo. La diferencia: Pancho Astorga es músico. Tiene mucha abilidad, pone mucho floreo a las melodías, pero la gracia del guitarrón no es florearlo tanto, sino que es tocarlo con claridad. Es lo que más pide el instrumento. Yo, lo que más admiro es la claridad del instrumento, el sonido. Claro, tú puedes hacer melodías difíciles, que tienen mucho alto y bajo, pero todo esos intervalos, esas alturas se notan con claridad, en el canto y el toquío del instrumento. En cambio, en el Pancho, tiene unos floreos que son veloces cuando el canto no lo pide. No es que esté mal. Es el estilo de él. Yo lo veo así. Muchos lo imitan a él porque claro, su abilidad es bastante llamativa, y como que a uno le entusiasma, pero como uno conoce la otra escuela, yo prefiero la pulcritud en la ejecución. Es lo que siempre nos recalca Alfonso, que muchos cuando aprenden a tocar, ya se empiezan a despreocupar de la técnica y cuando tocan las ordenanzas, no suenan todas las cuerdas. Siempre suenan las mas altas y no pués, hay que hacer sonar las altas con los bordones, con los bajos, porque esa es la gracia del sonido. Pero yo me quedo con Santos, de Alfonso, el de Pirque, y de ahí, escuchar a otros guitarroneros como don Chosto, que también es otro estilo dentro de los pircanos…"

it in ornamentation. For these young musicians, it is important to communicate both their musical identity in relation to Pirque and in contrast to other musicians: a sense of musical heritage as well as a unique style.

THE "CULTOR" AESTHETIC

A local guitarrón aesthetic with fundamental commonalities emerges from the discourse and performance of Chosto, Alfonso, Santos and their students. Both vocal and instrumental techniques contribute to the rural sound they promote in teaching and in public performance. Emotive, powerful vocals with high range and subtle glissandi are essential. Clarity in performance is valued over speed or fancy fingerwork. The goal is not to astound listeners with technique, but to move them with tasteful, eloquent musicianship. Beyond a musical statement, these ornaments are also a locus of identity, where style and social meaning are concentrated. In these spaces, performers communicate their musical heritage--identification with specific individuals and places—as well as their individuality. As the guitarrón becomes more nationally visible, the careful transmission of a Pirque aesthetic also becomes an important means of expressing a cultural-historic authenticity that distinguishes adherents to this rural style from other schools of performers. This may be a strategic means of infusing more "unique" value (Bigenho 2002) to the guitarrón of Pirque that faces extreme competition from distinct aesthetic approaches in Santiago and the surrounding area. For both the "inheritors" of the guitarón (Santos, Chosto and Alfonso) and their urban students, Pirque style centers on an aesthetic and musical ideal of the "cultor." While to be or to emulate a cultor necessitates great musical skill and sensibility, local style must never be contaminated with excessive velocity or showy ornamentation.

The following chapters will continue to explore facets of "ornament," both in musical and non-musical performance. Poetic performance and the physical form of one's instrument also participate in the processes of comparison and competition that forge a musician's identity. Likewise, these discourses continue to infuse the guitarrón with its multiple contemporary meanings. In Chapter Four we will look at conflicting aesthetics in the ritual performance of *canto a lo divino*, considering how communicating individual musical identity is a critical element within a collective sacred practice.

Chapter Three: The Sacred Guitarrón: Competition and Spiritual Identity in Contemporary Canto a lo Divino

During my second week in Chile, I took my first two-hour journey—by foot, subway and blue "liebre"[88]-- to Puntilla de Pirque to see a guitarrón that Santos Rubio wanted to sell. He had restrung this particular instrument with a combination of guitar and charango strings for his daughter, tuning it to the key of C.[89] As we passed the instrument back and forth, I was struck by the warm, rich sound of the nylon strings. I had only played metal-strung guitarrones before. Santos introduced me to the fundamental patterns of *la común,* telling me "the guitarrón is a very Catholic instrument." When he first learned guitarrón, it was played at many *velorios de angelitos* (children's wakes), and *vigilias* (all-night vigils of song to honor a saint or other religious figure). Today the guitarrón is equally, if not more, visible in presentations of improvised poetry, which is part of canto a lo humano.[90] In this chapter I explore diverse spiritual dimensions of the instrument in rural and urban religious rituals. New performance contexts and new technologies have affected modes of musical transmission in canto a lo divino. Once a highly competitive musical terrain, the vigilia has also been transformed by individuals and institutions that represent discourses of "brotherhood" and "tradition." From the perspective of guitarroneros in Pirque, I illustrate how musicians negotiate style in the face of these shifts in performance expectations.

That the guitarrón is very Catholic is more complex a statement than it might appear. In Pirque, as in other rural areas, canto a lo divino is part of popular religiosity,

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88 "Hare" or small bus that runs from metro stops to areas lying outside Santiago's city limits.

89 Guitarrones are usually tuned in A or G to accomodate a male vocal range. In Pirque some singers tuned as high as B.

90 It was also used for rounds of canto a lo humano in Pirque according to Santos and Chosto, but much more frequently in canto a lo divino.

as opposed to official sacramental practices of the Catholic Church. The sacred poetic repertoire of canto a lo divino relates stories of the Old and New testaments through texts infused with local imagery, characters, dialects and interpretations (Uribe 1962, p. 24). *Vigilias* and *velorios de angelitos*, the home of the guitarrón, were not only separate from sanctioned rituals of the Catholic church, but in some cases even scorned or discouraged by clergy.[91]

Over the past forty years, the relationship between canto a lo divino and the Catholic Church has changed dramatically. Padre Miguel Jordá, a Spanish priest, has edited numerous compilations of *versos a lo divino*, working to integrate this rural song into the service of the church. In Santiago, and various localities in the central region, *ruedas de canto* ["rounds of song": also called *vigilias, cantos*] have become large-scale events that attract a great public. In his publications of popular poetry, Padre Miguel describes how the sung décima was a means of evangelization used by the Jesuits in their missionary circuits throughout central Chile (Jordá 2004, p. 2). From these roots, he asserts that canto a lo divino developed. In this way, he views the current incorporation of canto a lo divino into Catholic liturgy as a return to its original evangelical purpose (ibid., p, 155). From this perspective, the cantor and poet must seek out and promote a careful alignment with Catholic doctrine:

> The cantor a lo divino must know the sacred texts and correct his versos with other more experiences singers, in order to not commit errors of doctrine…the cantor must be more than your average Catholic, he must be a Catholic incorporated into the community, able to abandon everything in order to serve his neighbors. To be a cantor is a commitment that one makes to God, to the Virgen and the community; a way of preaching; a lay ministry of sacrifice and dedication (F. Astorga, cited in Ossa 2002, p. E4).[92]

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[91] Don Chosto, in particular carries a vivid memory of the priest who discouraged him from continuing his cultivation of canto a lo divino, **"***Miren de lo que me sacó…lo que Dios me estaba dando, y me lo quitó"* [Look at what he took me away from…what God was giving me, and he took it from me].

[92] "El cantor a lo divino debe conocer los textos sagrados y corregir sus versos con otros cantores más experimentados, para no cometer errors de doctrina…el cantor debe ser más que un católico común y

Regardless of one's perspective on this interpretation of canto a lo divino's history, it is a conceptual "return" that places many *cantores* [singers] in an ambivalent position between old ways and new ways of singing.

Canto a lo divino is not only changing under pressures from the church. The revival of the guitarrón and the national awareness of *canto a lo divino* owes much to the work of urban investigators and artists. Through large-scale *encuentros* [gatherings], published volumes of poetry, recordings and documentaries, they have gained a larger presence in popular consciousness. While Jordá aligns canto and the guitarrón with doctrines of the church, academics and urban musicians incorporate them into discourses of science, culture, national heritage and politics. Through musical, historical and ethnographic means, they articulate an identity for *canto* and the guitarrón that is rural, working-class, and mestizo. Artists, academics and clergy alike draw from the guitarrón's past to fuel contemporary discussions of ethnic, spiritual and cultural identity.

Ideological forces, combined with new contexts, new players, and new purposes have dramatically changed the character of *vigilias* in many localities. The vigilia is no longer just a small ritual for community and family, but also a large event where investigators, urban musicians, journalists and a curious public attend. Spaces are larger and require sound systems; younger musicians diverge from the unwritten "laws" of canto; and tape recorders and cameras are familiar elements of vigilias. Each participant reacts differently to these changes. To make these perspectives clear, I have described a series of contrasting vigilias, sharing the comments of cantores, guitarroneros, clergy and urban musicians alike.

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corriente, debe ser un católico incorporado a la comunidad, capaz de dejarlo todo por servir a sus pares. Ser cantor es un compromiso que uno assume con Dios, la Virgen y la comunidad; una forma de hacer apostolado, un ministerio laico de sacrificio y entrega."

I present three specific events—two in Pirque, one in Santiago--for several reasons: 1) I am most familiar with the participants and the area, 2) the guitarrón was present in significant number, if not a majority of the instruments, and 3) the events of the canto highlight important issues about the changes in canto a lo divino and in guitarrón performance. Pertaining to the last point, we see the influence of Catholic doctrine on the course of rural musical performance practice, the changes wrought by massification of cantos, the role of media and technology, the presence of academics, the proliferation of guitarroneros in the past twenty years, and finally the stylistic and philosophical differences produced by all of these.

In describing contrasting approaches to the guitarrón, I may give the sense that there are two camps: that the perspectives of the church are in diametric opposition to those of rural singers. While attitudes are polarized in many respects, singers who espouse one approach strongly may attend events alongside those who are in direct or partial conflict with their beliefs. In other words, the singers and guitarrón players with whom I worked move in a large orbit, from rural to urban spaces, many in both *divino* and *humano* performance, interacting and forming community (even through conflict) with other cantores. That being said, I want to focus my analysis on this competitive aspect of performance, from musical competition to discursive competition, between individuals and institutions. Whether it is the Catholic church, or an individual guitarrón player, there is a process of comparison, criticism and competition in articulating personal identity or staking claim to the soul of canto a lo divino or the guitarrón. At another level, there is the competition of religious and academic discourses, between canto for strictly religious purposes (entailing a "purification" of the canto), and a defense of the "spirit" of the rural ritual—a different kind of purification.

Also important to note is that my discussion focuses on the discourse of my primary teachers, Alfonso Rubio, Osvaldo (Chosto) Ulloa and Santos Rubio. Their perspectives are not representative of Chilean cantores and guitarrón players as a whole, nor of Pirque's community of singers. While their testimony cannot encompass all of the unique perspectives that coexist within the larger community of singers, particularly the sentiments of those singers most deeply committed to official church doctrine, it effectively illustrates the nature of the issues facing contemporary cantores, privileging of course the experiences of these guitarroneros from Pirque. While absent from all of these events, *cantor a lo divino* and guitarronero don Chosto Ulloa will form an integral part of this analysis. He previously participated in urban and local cantos, but has withdrawn in recent years for a series of reasons, including most recently his intense involvement with an evangelical congregation. As I told don Chosto about these events that I attended, and as he advised me on how to participate in a vigilia, I learned interesting differences between the rural cantos of his youth, and those of today. Beyond the most obvious differences (amplification, location, recording, reading), he described a performance approach in which musical and poetic competition played a significant part. He also described his own experiences in the larger cantos of more recent years and the conflicts that have arisen between cantores. His perspectives, I believe, shed light on the tensions between new and old ways that co-exist as canto finds its place between competing discourses.

CANTO A LO DIVINO: GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Contemporary *vigilias* (*ruedas a lo divino, cantos*) can be very different in appearance and content. They can be small gatherings of five to twelve cantores with friends and family in attendance. They can also bring together fifty to a hundred

musicians from the central region of the country to sing in an urban cathedral. While the length and settings of ruedas may vary greatly, the events themselves share basic structural characteristics. A vigilia is a solemn devotional event: an evening gathering in which cantores sing versos until dawn, stopping only for a jovial meal around midnight. They may take place as an isolated occurrence (on a Saint's day or religious holiday), or as a conclusion to a larger sacred or secular event, such as a *novena*[93] or a *trilla.*[94] Cantores typically sit in a half-circle before a table decorated with flowers, candles and a sacred image or cross (Figure 3.1).

The rueda begins with the singer farthest to the left performing an *introducción* where the first six lines of verse are improvised to incorporate a *cuarteta* that ends the *décima.* Singing progresses to the right as each person in turn sings an *introducción* with a *cuarteta* that ideally belongs to a *verso* treating the same topic, or *fundado* (*punto, fundamento*), as the first singer. After singing their four *pies* (décimas) that gloss the lines of the cuarteta, cantores sing a improvised or prepared *décima* of *despedida* [farewell], for a total of six times around the circle.[95] To illustrate some differences between contemporary vigilias, I will describe three events: two in Pirque, one held at the home of the Rubio family in La Puntilla and the other in the Vip población; and the third held at the Basílica of Lourdes in the Quinta Normal *comuna* of Santiago. While these cantos differ in size and location, the guitarrón was present in great number at all of them. At all three of these cantos, the guitarrón was always a principal instrument of the singers.

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[93] Nine day vigil of prayer preceding a saint's day or religious holiday.

[94] Rural festivity where horses are run in a pen to stamp down piles of wheat and separate it from the chaff. There are many stages to a trilla and in between each there is music, food and dancing.

[95] In subsequent ruedas, there are only five turns around the circle because there is no saludo. The introductory cuarteta for the next verso is included in the improvised farewell décima, or simply not performed.

Figure 3.1: Rueda a lo divino for San José in San Pedro de Melipilla, home of José Vera. Photograph by the author. March 19, 2005.

LOURDES AND THE MASSIFICATION OF *VIGILIAS*

On the evening of February 5, 2005, I met with Delphine Grues, a doctoral student in literature from the University of Toulouse, outside the Quinta Normal metro stop. This comuna is named for the large park--once the site of wealthy estates--that houses the aeronautical, naural history, railroad, and science museums. As we approached the Basílica, the streets were lined with kiosks brimming over with colorful figures of the Virgin Mary sealed in plastic wrap alongside other devotional accoutrements. Behind the basilica we entered a gated area filled with long rows of green benches. Underneath a tall steel pavilion stood the altar, in the form of a cave to evoke the story of Santa Bernardita's vision of the Virgen in Lourdes, France in 1858. Approximately one hundred attendees were seated at the mass already in progress. Rather than forming a half-circle before the altar, the cantores a lo divino who had already arrived were seated in a full circle that lined the back edge of the altar and wrapped around through the front pews. Several cantores participated in the mass,

Figure 3.2: Plastic-wrapped statuettes of the Virgen Mary outside the Basílica

approaching the pulpit to sing a series of traditional verses that corresponded to the themes and structure of the mass. Staff for the event in color coordinated tee-shirts stood by to seat cantores at the front of the altar.

Figure 3.3: The "Cave" of Bernardita at the Basílica de Lourdes in Santiago. Photograph by the author. February 5, 2005.

Delphine and I were soon joined by an anthropology student, Giulietta Squadrito, from the Univerisdad Academia del Humanismo Cristiano. The staff had informed her that the public would be allowed to listen until midnight, at which point the cantores would retire to the Basílica to eat and to continue their all-night vigil of singing. Giulietta spoke with us about her experiences interviewing cantor a lo divino, Domingo Pontigo, who was present that night. She described the ambivalent position he holds between the changes Catholic Church officials have realized in canto a lo divino and his own life-long experience with this devotional song. Whereas a competitive element once motivated each singer to outshine the next in knowledge and skill, an environment of fellowship and cooperation, "brotherhood," is now promoted. Where once non-biblical, and even picaresque, *cuartetas*, were glossed to present versos a lo divino, some clergy and singers now advocate keeping canto pure, or free from secular and picaresque elements. While appreciating these perspectives, Domingo Pontigo also expresses nostalgia for former ways. I had observed this flexibility of position at a canto in Loica Abajo[96] earlier that year. Padre Miguel Jordá also officiated at this event, even joining in the rueda after the mass to sing a verso. After the first rueda he retired for the evening, and as the singers began the second round, a wave of muffled laughter ensued after one cantor introduced his verso with a picaresque cuarteta about birds. It ended with the line, "la diuca canta parada."[97] As a singer explained to me later, some cantores edit their performance in the presence of priests, but will revert to their more colorful material in his absence.

As the mass concluded, more cantores arrived and the rueda began with with Andrés Correa of el Durazno, seated to the right of the altar. I had heard Andrés and his

[96] Loica Abajo is in San Pedro de Melipilla, in Chile's metropolitan region, about 60 km SW of Santiago.
[97] "The diuca sings standing up." The diuca is a local bird, but the word also refers to the penis.

brother sing at the *vigilia* in Loica Abajo. He sang with a volume and expressive force that was exhilarating, yet almost overwhelming. To think of his singing reminded me of don Chosto Ulloa's comments about what makes a good singer:

> There are many men who have talent for singing: that sing with feeling. They sing things from the heart. So, it's difficult for there to be many men like this. One, sometimes, sort of would feel sad when they sang, because it was something that came out of them, something natural, with emotion, like a pain... (O. Ulloa, personal communication, April 19, 2005).[98]

As we saw in Chapter Two, don Andrés is also a standard by which Santos Rubio measures today's younger singers whose voices are "educated" and whose verses "are no longer rural songs" (personal communication, May 10, 2005). According to him, all singers of earlier years sang with similar tone, intensity and emotion.

Following Andrés Correa, each singer took his turn singing an introduction, consisting of six lines of improvised (or prepared) verse that rhymed with the four lines to be glossed by later décimas. Beyond simply fitting the rhyme scheme of the décimas, many singers include a personalized message in their *introducción.* They often state their name and where they are from, or greet other singers. Other frequent content includes description of the surroundings (the altar, the image, the candles) or personal commentary. At Lourdes, several cantores expressed concern over family members, the well-being of their country and a desire for peace in the world.

With over fifty singers present, the introductory décimas lasted over two hours. It was going on midnight when the first round of singing concluded. Shortly before the end, four singers from Pirque arrived with guitarrón and guitar, just in time to be seated and sing their saludos. The rueda included many guitarrones: the singers from Pirque as

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98 "...hay muchos hombres que tienen talento para cantar que cantan con los sentimientos. Cantan las cosas de corazón. Entonces es muy difícil de que haigan hombres así ...Uno, a veces, como que se sentía triste cuando ellos cantaban porque era algo que les salía, una cosa, como natural, con sentimiento, como con un dolor, así."

well as Francisco Astorga and his students from the Universidad Metropolitana. I paid attention to the tone of each one, some strung with nylon and others with steel strings. Of the numerous singers in attendance, there were seven women present to sing their verses. None, however, played their own instrument, although some do play guitarrón and guitar on other occasions. The majority of the cantores accompanied themselves, while several sang *de apunte,* that is, accompanied by another. In those cantos where more traditional rules are observed, newer singers are expected to sing *de apunte* for a certain length of time, before bringing their own instrument.

At the conclusion of the saludos, the clergymen officiating the event transitioned to an interesting series of speeches concerning the history and present practice of canto a lo divino. First, Padre Miguel Jordá discussed his long involvement with canto a lo divino and its incorporation into modern Catholic service. He invited those present to celebrate with him his fiftieth year of priesthood in the coming months. Following Jordá, a Chilean missionary working in Ecuador assumed the pulpit to share the details of an article he had recently written, one that he acknowledged might be rather polemic. He argued that in *canto a lo divino,* there is no room for *ideología*: one's own ideas, convictions and desires. Canto a lo divino should be exclusively for *evangelización* because ideology "encages the holy spirit." Although I found his definition of ideology rather vague, two messages seemed clear: one, that greater purpose of spreading Catholic doctrine should supercede personal concerns or motivations to sing; two, that the Catholic church, and its clergymen, have the spiritual authority to make such a pronouncement. Their status as educated men of God entitles them to draw conclusions about the appropriate course of canto a lo divino, despite a history of distance from the structures--and at times, even content—of the institutional doctrine of the Catholic church. I thought back to the moving personal commentary of each cantor, wondering if

this was what the *hermano* meant by *ideología.* At the conclusion of these speeches, the singers stood together and sang a décima to the entonación "Rosa y Romero," before the public dispersed and they retired to the Basílica. I was struck that the cantores chose to conclude with the same entonación with which many *payadores* (improvisers of poetry, see Chapter 4) conclude their encuentros of improvisation in canto a lo humano.

Discussion:

As many singers will acknowledge, a spirit of competition animated canto a lo divino of past generations. In addition to vigilias, cantores compared their biblical knowledge and musical skills in *desafíos de sabiduria*, "cantando a cuál sabía más" [challenges of knowledge, "singing at who knows the most"] (O. Ulloa, personal communication, May 19, 2005). A good cantor would know several verses for the "highest" fundamentos of the Old Testament, such as Creation, the prophets, Samson, Noah, Moses, David, Solomon, the Prodigal Son and numerous verses on the Birth, Suffering and Passion of Christ (Uribe 1964, p. 23). The larger one's repertoire, and the "higher" the *puntos* on which he could sing, the greater success he would have in outsinging his competitors. When Santos and Chosto were first learning guitarrón, the fundamentos *"*were respected*"* and a singer had to sit out of the rueda if he did not know the right kind of verso (O. Ulloa, personal communication, March 10, 2005). In Pirque the guitarrón was often the first singer and could therefore leading the singing and chose the fundamento. As Chosto describes:

> It's better for the one who begins, because this guy doesn't know a lot but he sets things up for himself. A verso ends, and he'll be able to sing on another fundamento, and he can sing on another one after that. It's not like the guy who sings *de apunte,* as they say. This guy has to know a lot, because the fundamento that the guy, who is one of the first, is singing, he has to know it all. And if he doesn't, he simply has to pass. They sing all mixed up know. One is singing for

> the birth, another starts the passion, another creation and another for Adam (O. Ulloa, personal communication, May 10, 2005).[99]

In yesterday's ruedas, wielding an instrument was a valuable recourse in this terrain of musical and poetic competition. Whereas today's ruedas are filled with instruments, there used to be only one guitarrón or guitar player who would accompany all the singers present. Just as there was one fundamento per rueda, there was one entonación per rueda which also permitted musical, as well as poetic, comparison. In the case of Pirque, where guitarroneros were few, to play this instrument implied a great deal of respect and prestige. As don Chosto describes, the guitarrón was "preferred in everything": birthdays, vigilias, cantos, *trillas*, and Independence Day celebrations (O. Ulloa, personal communication, May 5, 2005). For Santos, the guitarrón was most important in canto a lo divino.

In vigilias and ruedas, playing guitarrón gave a singer important advantages. In the youth of many older cantores, there were musical means of defending oneself in performance, or silencing another singer whose poetic repertoire, or musical skill rivaled his own. For example, the guitarrón or guitar player could tune to keys outside the comfortable singing range of other cantores (Giulietta Squadrito, personal communication, February 5, 2005). Since everyone would sing the same entonación, he could also choose one that he knew a fellow cantor did not know:

> It was in the entonaciones...because not all poets know all the entonaciones. They can't sing them...to skip someone, for example, you know more than me, more versos. So, I would come and I'd change the entonación so that you couldn't sing

99 "...Es mejor para él que empieza porque ése sabe poco pero se las va arreglando, po. Termina un verso, va a poder cantar por otro fundamento, y puede cantar por otro después. No es como él que está de apunte, como se dice, ése tiene que saber harto, porque, por el fundamento que está cantando él que está de los primeros, tiene que saber todo. Y si no sabe, tiene que pasar no más, pero ahora no....cantan revuelto ahora. Están cantando por nacimiento, otro sale por pasión, otro sale por la creación, otro sale por Adán."

> ...and I'd just leave you out (O. Ulloa, personal communication, March 10, 2005)[100]

Also, the guitarronero could "confuse" other cantores with misleading ornaments as he accompanied their performance. In her investigations in Pirque during the 1950s, Violeta Parra explored this musical competition. When she told Emilio Lobos, a rural singer, that she thought he had the best voice in the rueda, he explained to her that "...and that's here that I haven't sung out fully. Didn't you see that the player was trying to confuse me with his "flourishes" [floreo] of the "wires" of the guitarrón?" (Parra 1979, p. 23).[101]

To sing "de apunte," without an instrument, required great vocal ability and an extensive musical and poetic repertoire. Just as there were musical strategies to defend yourself in a rueda, there were also tricks of the trade if you came up short on versos. Santos' guitarrón teacher, Juan de Dios Reyes, taught him how to "dar vuelta a los versos" [turn the verses around] when someone would "garnachar" [steal] your only verso. To stay in the rueda, you could invert each décima singing lines one through ten in reverse order. More often than not, fellow cantores would think you were performing a fancy *contrarresto* (inverting the first and last lines and improvising new content in between), as opposed to repeating the same verse. Don Chosto also said that cantores would have versos that allude to various fundamentos at the same time as a recourse for survival. He tells me that Santos knows one, but keeps it very guarded.

According to don Chosto, cantos today are less "in order." Where as the guitarronero used to set the fundamento and the entonación, nowadays multiple topics and melodies are performed within the same rueda. On one hand, many singers find that

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100" ...era en las entonaciones...porque todos los poetas no se saben las entonaciones. No las pueden cantar....para hacer saltar, por ejemplo usted sabe más que mí, más versos. Entonces, yo venía y le cambiaba la entonación que usted no podía canta... y la dejaba ahí no más."

101 "...y eso que aquí no he canta'o desahoga'o, ¿no ve que el toca'or trataba de confundirme con el "floreo" de los "alhambres" del guitarrón?"

this is more interesting aesthetically: less monotonous. On the other hand, the presence of many instruments and entonaciones dramatically inhibits what Juan Uribe Echevarría (1964) called a "natural competition" that arose from each singer performing versos on the same topic and singing the same melody in the same key; this earlier format facilitated musical and poetic comparison (p. 22). Whereas some singers prefer this friendly environment of canto, others miss the competitive element. As my teacher Alfonso laments, competition inspired each cantor to better himself, to seek more knowledge, to learn more music and more versos: "The wonderful part is that it's beautiful competition...of who knows more. Like it promotes learning." (A. Rubio, personal communication, April 2005).[102] Don Chosto also expresses a similar sentiment of disappointment in his experience of canto a lo divino in recent years:

> When we would go to the gatherings a lo divino, I'd had it up to here. All birth, all passion...when people are more than familiar with that...but if we start taking them to fundamentos like Solomon, sabiduría [wisdom/knowledge],[103] we take them to Elijah or Moses. We bring these out and we show them other things. Other men that were also holy on this earth...and all these characters have versos. Around here all these writings are known and the poet is interested in singing and learning these things, so it's good because people, shoot, they are moved. Because if we're just going to be singing about birth, the passion, they know this. They see all those films, but the others they don't. Because one day we went to a gathering with Santos Rubio, and I told him "we have to sing them a verso...of sabiduría...and you must know one." And he knew one, in questions. And so he sang it and they saw how people applauded! Don't you see that it changed everything for them? And we also did this verso over four entonaciones, not with just one. Several entonaciones we put together within the same verso...That wasn't done long ago...and that's pretty; people don't get bored this way. (O. Ulloa, interview with author March 10, 2005).[104]

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[102] "Lo lindo es que es una competencia bonita...de quién sabe más. Como que fomenta el aprendizaje."

[103] These versos often present a series of lofty spiritual or existential questions

[104] "Cuando andábamos en los encuentros de adivino, me tenían hasta la coronilla. Puro nacimiento, puro padecimiento...cuando eso la gento lo conoce de más, po.. pero si ya lo sacamos a fundamentos ya como Salomón, sabiduría, lo sacamos por Elías, por Moisés. Los sacamos y les damos a ver otras cosas. Otros hombres que también eran santos en la tierra, po...y todos esos personajes tienen versos. Se conocen las escrituras por todas esas partes y se interesa el poeta por cantar esas cosas y aprender esas cosas, entonces

For don Chosto, the birth and death of Jesus Christ are familiar topics. Everyone knows these stories already. He laments that singers do not draw from a larger variety of fundamentos to make the experience more interesting and moving for both the public in attendance, and the singers. Through his unique poetic repertoire and a variety of entonaciones, Chosto makes his performance stand out from other players in a large vigilia. In an environment of "hermandad" [brotherhood], both don Chosto and Alfonso Rubio wish to counter what they perceive as aesthetic and spiritual stagnation.

Although changes in structure have changed the "natural competition" that once emerged in vigilias a lo divino, comparison is still an essential part of how guitarrón players define their style. In Pirque it seems that Isaías Angulo's observations from the 1950s still hold true, that being a singer and a guitarrón player requires firm self-confidence:

> When I let loose my note, I'm going to leave the rest of the singers at the bridge of the Moors [i.e. leave them in the dust]...because to sing you have to be arrogant, and the *toquío* has to have its ornaments, so that the sound of the instrument can be felt well. (Parra 1979, p.16).[105]

While they cannot compete by comparing verses on the same fundamento, or comparing musical renditions of the same entonación, guitarroneros today continue to compete through the careful crafting of a unique performance style.

When I asked Don Chosto about how to sing at a canto a lo divino, he was very precise. He took his guitarrón and showed me how to go through each string and

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es bueno, por que la gente, pucha, se conmueve. Porque si la vamos a estar cantando puro nacimiento, puro padecimiento, lo saben. Ven todas esas películas, pero las otras no las ven. Porque un día fuimos a un encuentro ahí con Santos Rubio, y le dije yo, "tenemos que cantarles un verso... por sabiduría... y vos tenís que saberte uno." y sabía uno, como de preguntas. Y entonces lo cantó y vieron que la gente ¡cómo aplaudía! ¿No ve que se les cambió todo, po? Y también lo hicimos como por cuatro entonaciones el verso, no por una no más...Varias entonaciones apegamos dentro del mismo verso...Eso no se hacía nunca antiguamente. ... Y eso es bonito, entonces la gente no se latea."

105 "Cuando yo saco el tono voy a dejar a los demás cantores al puente de los moros...porque para cantar hay que ser arrogante y el 'toquío' debe llevar sus 'chacharachas', p'a que se sienta bien, el 'sonoro' del estrumento."

carefully check tuning, strumming slowing at least twice before beginning. He showed me adornos to put in to make people say "toca bien ésta" [this one (woman) plays well] (O. Ulloa, personal communication, April 19, 2005):

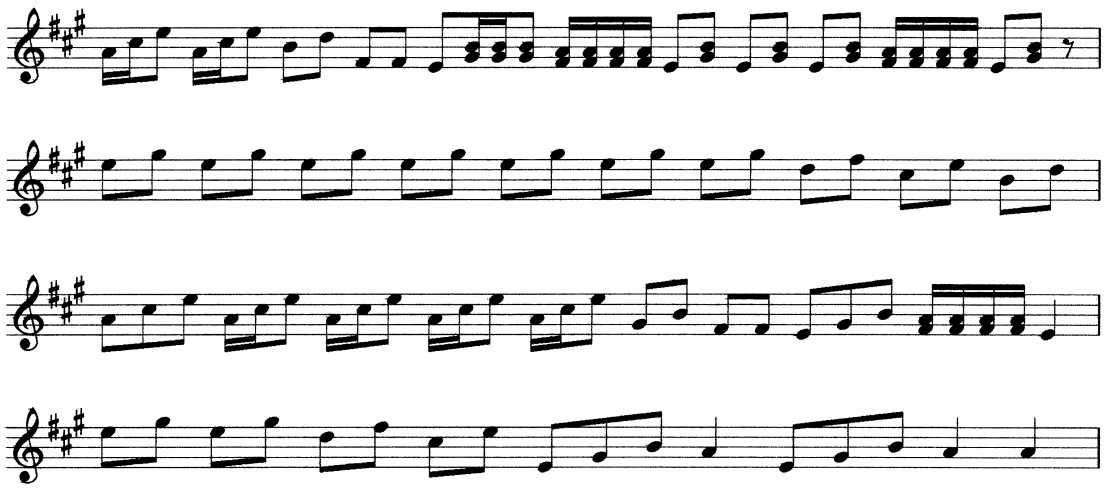

Figure 3.4: Don Chosto's ornament for *ruedas a lo divino*.

Like the ornaments described in Chapter Four, don Chosto's is in two parts. The first part (line 2) hold a repeated pattern fretted high on the neck from which he descends to rest on the tonic, then the dominant. The same descending pattern is repeated passing quickly from the dominant to end on the tonic. For don Chosto, ornamentation is a principal means of differentiating oneself from family or teachers, the path to finding one's own sound and crafting an individual rendering of an entonacion:

> DC: ...one keeps putting in a little bit more ornament, he can put in things that come to his mind, as God gives to him. So, this polishes it [the entonación/toquío] more. Sure, because it's not just from him that's teaching that he's going to start taking ornaments, and you have to try to figure out ornaments—that fit well, that is! Very well!
>
> EP: So the idea isn't to try to play just like you?
>
> DC: The idea is to transform a bit more. First, you can play just like I'm going to teach you to play, with these hits [golpes], and afterwards you can start putting in

> little ornaments like this...it's very important to distinguish oneself. (O. Ulloa, personal communication, April 19, 2006).[106]

When I asked don Chosto about how his playing compares to his father's, he immediately replied that their styles are very distinct: "nada que ver con el papá" [nothing to do with my dad] (O. Ulloa, interview with author, April 19, 2006). Not only does he claim a completely different style, but he also tells of how he quickly surpassed him in his early days of playing. Don Chosto carries vivid memories of the player of Pirque and el Principal, and could expound at length upon the strengths and weaknesses of their style. Today, he is most critical of younger players who over adorn their entonaciones or sing with excessive affectation.

While Chosto describes his style through differentiation, Santos Rubio defines his uniqueness through his musical inheritance from guitarronero Juan de Dios Reyes. He takes pride in sounding exactly like his teacher, and in this way, unlike any other contemporary player:

> SR: I don't have any reason to imitate him, because he played just like this. One time, a son of his was telling me, he said "Any time I hear you play on the radio cousin"—I call him cousin, he calls me cousin—"I tell these kids of mine that that's my daddy playing."
>
> EP: But when you say you play just like don Juan de Dios Reyes, you mean you play the same ornaments, the same everything?
>
> SR: Yes, the same.
>
> EP: You don't create your own ornaments?

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[106] DC:... la persona sigue metiéndole un poquito más adornos, le puede meter cositas que le vengan al sentido, como Dios le de a la person., Entonces, eso va puliéndola más. Claro, porque no él que le esté enseñando no más, le va a comenzar a sacar adornos a él, y usted tiene que tratar de sacarle adornitos—¡que le queden bien, si! ¡Bien apegaditos, po!
EP: Entonces la idea no es de tocarlo igual que usted.
DC: La idea es de trasformar un poquito más. Primero lo puede tocar igual que como le voy a enseñarle yo a tocar, con esos golpecitos, y después usted le puede ir metiendo adornitos así...hay muuucha importancia en difenciarse

SR: No, why, if everything he played was so beautiful? (S. Rubio, personal communication, May 27, 2005)[107]

While Santos was very insistent on the likeness of playing with don Juan de Dios, in the course of going through entonaciones, he would indicate what elements were of his own creation, and what ornaments he plays unlike anyone else today:

SR: There's an entonación called the dentradora that was one you sang the other day, and I think Gloria sang it too [plays Figure 3.5]. No one plays it this way [like Santos], not Alfonso, not anybody.

EP: Did you ornament it like this?

SR: No, no, I learned it like this. Sometimes it's just played like this [pattern similar to Figure 2.3] This one I invented [see Figure 3.6] Did you like it? (S. Rubio, personal communication, May 27, 2005)[108]

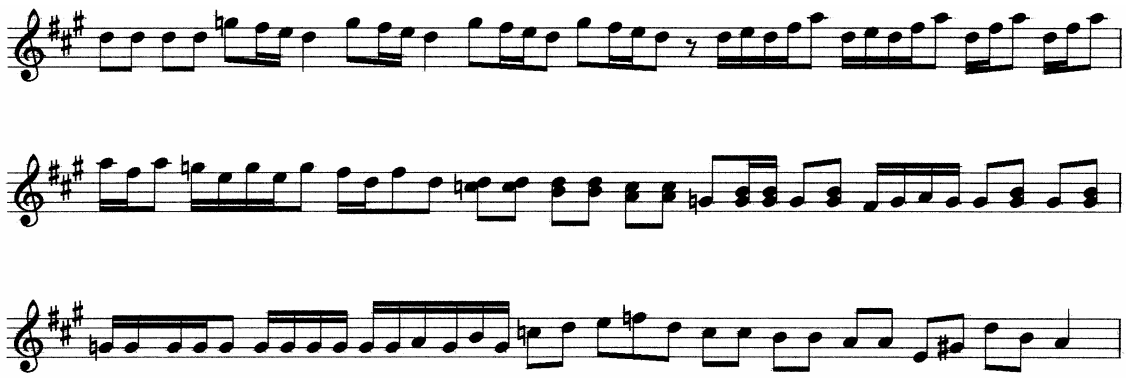

Figure 3.5: Santos' unique version of *la dentradora* on guitarrón.

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[107] SR: No tengo pa' qué imitarlo. Porque así tocaba él...una vez me contaba un hijo de él, me dijo, siempre lo escucho tocar por la radio, primo-- me dice primo a mi le dijo primo a él-- y le digo a mis chiquillos míos, ahí está tocando mi tatita....
EP:...pero cuando ud dice que toca igual a don Juan de Dios Reyes, ¿hace los mismos adornos, lo mismo todo, todo, todo?
SR: Sí, lo mismo.
EP: ¿No inventa sus propios adornos?
SR: No, pa'qué, si era tan bonito lo que sabía.

[108] SR:... hay una entonación, que se llama la dentradora que fue una que cantó usted un día, y creo que la Gloria también la cantó. Nadie lo toca así, ni Alfonso, ni nadie.
EP: ¿Usted lo adornó así?
SR: No, po, lo aprendí así. A veces se hace así no más… Esta la inventé yo… ¿Le gustó?

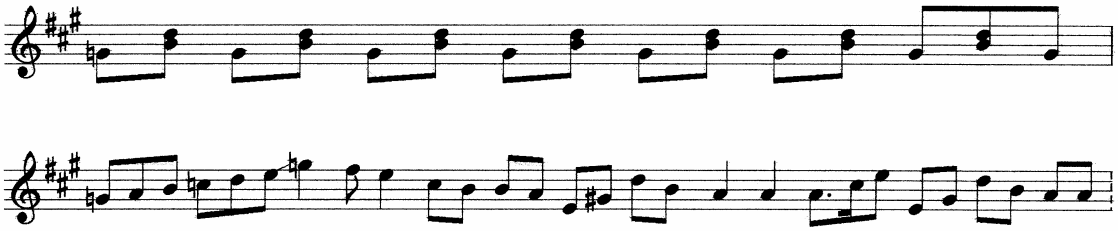

Figure 3.6: Santos' invented ornament for *la dentradora* on guitarrón.

Santos first ornamented arrangement can be compared to the *chambuines* of the "daughter" of *la dentradora* illustrated by don Chosto in Chapter Two (see Figure 2.16). He is proud of preserving the way don Juan de Dios Reyes taught him this toquío. To highlight the uniqueness of this version, as well as the ornament that he invented (Figure 3.6), he plays another version of the same entonación (similar to Chosto's "mother" of *la dentradora*, Figure 2.3). Figure 3.5 is more ornate in both the opening ornaments and the cadential adorno that inserts a pedal G (1st fret on the second course of strings, played by index finger) in between the first four notes of an ascending Mixolydian scale (G, A, B, C, D, F natural, played by the thumb). His own ornamental invention, on the other hand, does not have a pedal tone, but adds an element of surprise by skipping F natural, sliding up to a G and descending from here with an F#.

Through discussing the nuts and bolts of entonaciones, it became clear that differentiating style on guitarrón, and in singing, is very important for Santos as well. While each of my teachers in Pirque discuss style differently, they share a constant process of experimenting, recombining figures to create new ornaments and adapting the guitarrón to new musics. While more overt "competition" between cantores has faded, there is still inevitable comparison, and singers and players carefully craft their individual identity in performance. With a unique sound, or a surprising but subtle ornament,

people recognize your poetic and musical prowess, but are also musically and spiritually moved.

On a final note, it is important to point out that as much as Santos views the guitarrón as a sacred instrument, more fitting for *canto a lo divino,* he played guitar at two of the three cantos described. In part this is a reaction to the glut of guitarroneros that has emerged in recent years at the *vigilias.* He likes to play *guitarra traspuesta* [transposed guitar], in special tunings for the different entonaciones, because he feels it has a beautiful and unusual sound that people do not fully exploit. As much as he is recognized for his ability and his history with the guitarrón, his desire to keep a fresh sound in the rueda compels him to bring his guitar. I think this connects to the stylistic comments offered earlier by don Chosto: that the goal is to move people by having them recognize your unique sound, and poetic and musical skill. This may explain the constant musical experimentation--the crafting of a unique style (through imitation of an old style, or creation of new ornaments) in order to stand out from your comrades--to keep the vigilia dynamic and intriguing. Singing in ruedas is a collective practice where expressing individuality is critical, where outshining your competitor is a means of heightening one's aesthetic and spiritual experience

JUEVES SANTO, POBLACIÓN VIP, PIRQUE (MARCH 24, 2006): INTERSECTIONS OF THE HUMAN AND THE DIVINE

This vigilia for *jueves santo* in Pirque was held in a small outdoor pavillion near the meetinghouse for the local neighborhood association. The open-sided shelter had been draped with tarps to keep out the cold March winds. The local league of

cuasimodistas[109] was hosting the event, and had decorated the interior with an interesting amalgam of patriotic, folkloric and religious symbols. Palm fronds lined the walls and support posts of the pavillion. In combination with the Chilean flags and *copihue rojo,*[110] they almost suggested the look of an Independence Day[111] *ramada*[112] or *fonda*. At the end of the pavilion hung a large sculpted wooden cross with a stylized figure of Jesus. Behind the crucifix lay a brightly painted wagon (adorned with *copihue*), large wooden wagon wheels, and three flags: the national flag, the Chilean crest, and the banner of the *cuasimodistas*. The singers sat in white plastic seats in an arc before the display. In preparation for the event, cuasimodistas in full *huaso*[113] regalia bustled back and forth.

Figure 3.7: The altar at canto a lo divino in Pirque on the eve of Good Friday. Photograph by the author. March 24, 2005.

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[109] The cuasimodistas are horsemen who travel, one Sunday a year near Easter, to the homes of elderly or sick with a pastor who delivers the sacrament.

[110] Chile's national flower

[111] September 18

[112] Ramadas are small shelters, usually more temporary structures than fondas.

[113] Chilean horseman. National archetype. Central figure of folklore iconography. In this case the cuasimomdistas were dressed in "elegant" huaso costume (black hats, short black jackets, colorful finely woven poncho) characteristic of *música típica* image of the land-owning *patrón.*

This was the first rueda in which I took part. I had been very hesitant to participate before for several reasons. In studying the guitarrón with Alfonso, we focused on versos a lo humano and on improvising poetry. It was not until this event that I had actually memorized a verso a lo divino. Furthermore, as a non-Catholic I pondered whether it would be more appropriate to remain an observer, as opposed to a participant in this devotional event. Might someone be offended that I would enter a sacred circle to sing verses whose stories I appreciated, but did not believe? I stood on the edge of a methodological/ethical dilemma that did not seem to concern my teachers, or perhaps did not occur to them. An anthropologist and a composer/musicologist from Santiago, students of Santos and don Chosto, had also come to sing in the rueda. In earlier conversations with the former, he said he participates because he feels that the devotional intent is the same, even if his particular beliefs are different. The *cantores* appreciate this; it is enough to believe in the significance of the ritual. I took courage from his words, letting Santos and Gloria Cariaga lead me (with rather forceful persuasion) to the circle and place a guitarrón in my hands. Knowing I was not the only woman singing, nor the only investigator, I felt like less of an anomaly.

In the last moments before the rueda began, I also abandoned my patchily memorized verse, opting to sing a verso *por padecimiento* out of the *Biblia del pueblo*[114] as the younger cantores were doing. I couldn't help feeling uneasy about using this text, however. On one hand, several investigators of popular poetry are severely critical of Jordá's editorial work, saying that he tampers too much with the singers' original verses in his efforts to "purify" canto or correct biblical content. Furthermore, some singers--

114 One of Jordá's most well known publications from 1978 (2nd edition 2002): an extensive compilation of rural versos a lo divino on a variety of fundamentos.

my teacher Alfonso included--are opposed to "reading" verses altogether. Whereas in some locations reading is not allowed, the parameters in Pirque are more relaxed. Perhaps older singers are more interested in having the younger generation's participation, than worrying about whether the old ways, or unwritten "laws" are followed. It did, however, constitute a concern for Claudio Mercado, an anthropologist in attendance, who teased Gloria to stop reading her verses. Gloria replied that versos are just too long to memorize. Mercado was also very critical of the setting of this canto, repeating emphatically that this was supposed to be *a lo divino*, but everything—the decor, the sound system, the journalist filming portions of the evening—was so *a lo humano.* Indeed, the large public conversing steadily at tables, sipping *pisco*, cola or wine, reinforced the appearance of a secular party, as opposed to a devotional event. Although libations are certainly served at smaller vigilias, convivial socialization is reserved for mealtime. If Santos and others were concerned, they did not speak up, that is, until a group of imbibed attendees began talking so loud that they obscured the voices of the singers.

There were eleven singers in the first rueda, two boys, two women, seven men—six of us playing guitarrón. A leader of the *cuasimodistas* initiated the event with prayer. Javier Riveros, also a student of Alfonso's taller, started off the singing. Seated inside the rueda, I felt I could understand the progression of décimas more than I ever had as a spectator. Not only was I closer to the singers, but I could also compare my verso to the others. As it was *Jueves Santo*, the day before Good Friday, we all sang verses *por padecimiento* (for the suffering). Each verse had its own pace, or a slightly different focus on the same event. Specific events and passages of poetry were repeated throughout the rueda. In the example below (two versos from the first rueda of the evening), we see the recurrence of the line "por la calle 'e la amargura" [along the road of

bitter suffering], and the meeting with Verónica and the Virgin spread across different décimas. For me, this staggered progression of events produced a sense of suspension of time, of repetition and fragmentation:

Javier Riveros:
(verse of Manuel Gallardo, Aculeo in Jordá 2004, p. 104)

El primer suplicio fue
Ser de espinas Coronado
Y en la cruz crucificado
Por unos hombre sin fe.
Dando continuos traspiés
Al Gólgota se marchó
A Verónica encontró (Veronica he found
En la mitad del camino halfway down the road)
Y aquel Cordero Divino
Tres horas agonizó

El día Viernes temprano
Dobles fueron los tormentos
Con el madero sangriento
Que cargo su cuerpo santo.
Sinedo usto y soberano
Fue escupido y azotado
Un fariseo malvado
Dijo con burla y sonrisa
Mírenlo como agoniza
Jesús en la cruz clavado.

Por la calle 'e la amargura (Along the road of
Hacia el Calvario marchó bitter suffering)
Por el camino encontró (Along the way he found
A la Virgen santa y pura. the virgen, saintly and pure)

Emily Pinkerton:
(verse of Rodolfo Bustos of Los Quillayes in Jordá 1978, p. 253)

Entre aquel apostolado
Dijo Jesús confundido
Por uno he de ser vendido
Por otro he de ser negado
Magdalena con cuidado (Magdalena with care
Al maestro se acercó approached the master.
Con un lienzo le secó With a cloth she dried
Aquella sagrada frente that sacred brow)
Y dijo muy reverente
Ya comienza la pasión

Su madre lo vió pasar (His mother saw him pass
Por la calle 'e la amargura along the road of
Por contemplar su alma pura bitterness)
Triste se sentó a llorar
Sin poderse consolar
Dijo la madre querida
Ya principió la agonía
Del Mesías verdadero
Y para colmo San Pedro
A Jesús desconocía

Por la calle 'e la amargura (Along the road of
Sacaron la procession bitter suffering)
Y la virgen con dolor
Contempló aquella figura
Se trizaba su alma pura
De ver remachar los clavos
De espinas lo han coronado
Y con más fuerza le pegan
Cinco mil azotes lleva
Y una llaga en el costado

Y aquel duro tormento
Iba con la cruz a cuestas
Verónica muy atenta (Veronica very attentive
Limpió su rostro sangriento cleaned his bleeding face)

This was the part of singing in the rueda that I found most beautiful: relating your versos to those around you. While I am not sure how other singers experience this, it is interesting to know that ruedas with shared themes are much less frequent than years past. Like don Chosto, many singers complain that the theme, which is supposed to be set by the first singer, is seldom followed anymore. Whereas in earlier generations, one would sit out if he did not know a verso for the theme introduced by the first singer, nowadays at most ruedas, singers will simply sing a verso on a different sacred topic. Themes such as the birth and suffering of Christ predominate throughout the year, and the breadth of fundamentos presented is reduced.

After the first rueda, lasting about two hours, we broke for a midnight meal of shellfish stew. The singers were the first invited back to the kitchen. Shortly before the end of the singing, Alfonso had arrived. I found this slightly surprising considering that he had not attended a canto for about ten years. One of his main reasons for withdrawing from contemporary cantos has been the presence of so many audio recorders: another aspect of contemporary performance that distances *canto* from the old ways. At a vigilia that he hosted many years ago, he was offered a large sum of money from an individual who wished to film the event. He refused the money because he did not want any type of recording device present.

Following the jovial meal, full of jokes and merriment, I passed Santos' guitarrón off to Alfonso who joined the circle. I did not want to rush to practice another verse to join in the second round. I felt I ran the risk of jumbling the words with the entonación. A second rueda started por padecimiento. Alfonso's turn came around and he began his verso. After he sang his first décima, Santos leaned in to tell him that he was singing the same verse as a young boy at the other end of the rueda, that he had better choose a different one. At that moment, Alfonso had no alternative verso por padecimiento

prepared, and in his subsequent turns, improvised the rest of his décimas. In later discussions, Alfonso told me that his repertoire of versos a lo divino is not as extensive as he would like. Perhaps this is why he hesitated to teach me versos a lo divino in earlier classes. If he taught me those he knew, he wouldn't be left with a lot. Nonetheless, his skills as an improviser sustained him through the evening.

Late in the second rueda and throughout the third, the crowd thinned significantly. Between rounds the *cuasimodistas* came to offer us hot beverages including *cafe con*

Figure 3.8: Spectators at the *rueda* in Pirque. Photograph by the author. March 24, 2005

malicia (coffee with a shot of hard liquor). I sat attentively with Giulietta, the anthropology student with whom I had also attended the canto at Lourdes, until five in the morning when the third rueda came to a close. Strictly speaking, a vigilia lasts until sunrise. Starting another rueda would take us beyond sunrise, however, and the singers debated whether or not to start singing again. In their delay, however, the *cuasimodistas* took their cue to begin packing up the tarps and the decorations. As the plastic walls of the pavillion fell, the wind entered and we retreated to the kitchen area. We ate more shellfish stew and several of the men still in attendance asked Santos to get out the

accordion and play some cuecas. Santos insisted that cuecas would not be appropriate for *Jueves Santo*, but that we could pass around a few *payas.* So a short round of improvising began. Alfonso invited me to join him to improvise *a dos razones.*[115] Although lessons at his sister's house we had spent tossing "questions and answers" back and forth in *cuartetas*, I had never improvised in public before. I was nervous, but I made it through, keeping rhythm and rhyme intact. As the sun rose, we disbanded, Giulietta and I carpooled back to the city with a composer and guitarronero from the Precolumbian Art Museum.

Discussion:

As I described in relation to the vigilia at Lourdes, Jordá and other clergy have embraced *canto a lo divino,* but they have done so on specific terms: promoting the "correction" of rural verses and discouraging overt competition between singers. While many cantores support these changes, many others—along with investigators and urban musicians—are concerned about their repercussions. Herein there is a desire to respect "tradition": to keep external ideological forces from altering the ritual of *canto* in a dramatic way. As evidenced in events of this medium-sized canto in Pirque, this protective attitude also extends to the massification and mediatization of contemporary vigilias

While Catholic church officials have qualified *canto a lo divino'*s integration in to official ritual spaces as a natural process, many singers and investigators have emphasized canto's long history of spiritual uniqueness and independence. On one hand, Padre Miguel Jordá has argued that the Jesuits' circular missions throughout central Chile coincide with the geographical distribution of canto a lo divino[116] and that their

[115] Improvising a décima two lines at a time in turns.

[116] Francisco Astorga and Juan Bustamante apply this theory of *canto a lo divino's* origin to the guitarrón (1996).

predication in décimas is evidence of this Chilean ritual's spiritual home (Jordá 2004, p. 3). The work of Eugenio Pereira Salas (1962) and Maximiliano Salinas (1992), on the other hand, has emphasized canto's roots in the music of other social groups, such as soldiers and commoners settling in Chile during periods of conquest and colonization. Pereira Salas emphasizes the relationship between *contrafacta* of Europe, the practice of glossing sacred cuartetas with humor and commentary (1962, p. 44): precisely the type of secular content and "ideología" that some church officials prefer to expiate. Most importantly, Pereira and Salinas have both highlighted canto a lo divino's intimate ties to the rural classes of Chile and its conceptual and physical distance from official sacramental Catholicism. Salinas in particular illustrated how turn of the century popular poets in Santiago, many of whom were of rural extraction, criticized the Catholic church's submission to the interests of the ruling aristocratic oligarchy, and its disregard for the culture, religious practices and social conditions of Chile's poor classes (1992, p. 27). Their verses demonstrated a frustration with the church's alliance to dominant political forces and social classes that silenced subaltern voices.

Most recently, Claudio Mercado has highlighted the unique performative aspects of the ritual of canto a lo divino, initiating an exploration of what elements reveal ties to indigenous spirituality (Mercado 2004). His 2003 documentary in collaboration with don Chosto, presents the independent character of his spiritual education as a cantor:

> I'm not any religion...Me, my faith is that one, to believe in God above all things, as the commandment says...and not to lie...not to raise false testimony without seeing things...That is all of religion. That is the true religion: there are no Catholics, there's nothing. (Mercado 2003)[117]

[117] "Yo no soy de ni una religión...Yo, mi fe es ésa, de creer en Dios por sobre todas las cosas, como lo dice el mandamiento... y no mentir...ni levantar falsos testimonios sin ver las cosas... Eso es toda la religión. Esa es la verdadera religión, no hay católicos no hay nada..."

This fierce independence from official doctrine, and a commitment to individual spiritual inquiry, has produced tension between Chosto and the larger regional community of cantores. Observations such as these caused an uproar among cantores of the central region who are committed to building canto a lo divino's ties to the sacramental practices of the Catholic church (C. Mercado, personal communication, March 27, 2005). Implying that one need not be Catholic to be a cantor was interpreted as irreverent and erroneous by many singers. Along with the work of Salinas, Mercado's studies make the important point that canto a lo divino has diverse spiritual roots; it is important to expand consideration of the scope of its history.

As Mercado's documentary indicates, the majority of Chilean cantores self-identify as Catholics. Older cantores with a rural upbringing, however, practice a Catholicism which, as articulated earlier, bears a unique popular character. While Alfonso and Santos do not occupy the same spiritual extremes as don Chosto, they are both very independent in their thinking, and neither is closely tied to "official" discourses of church clergy. Santos baptizes his instruments in formal ceremonies with a priest, noting that elsewhere people baptize soccer fields or cars in a similar fashion to feel more protected. While this ritual is important to him, he admits he doesn't think it necessary to meet with the priest before the ceremony. As he pointed out to Padre Jordá on one occasion: "How many meetings did the Virgin of Saint Joseph have to go to for John the Baptist to baptize Jesus?*"* (S. Rubio, interview with R. Torres 1996).[118] Once again, this perspective is not representative of all guitarroneros of Pirque. Alfonso, Santos and Chosto, however, resist external definitions of what it means to be Catholic and to be a cantor.

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118 "¿A cuántas charlas asistió la Virgen de San José para qué Juan Bautista bautizara a Jesús?"

Just as they wish to protect canto a lo divino from being subsumed in official Catholic discourses, many scholars and musicians also want to shield it from the conceptual framing of mediatized "folklore" that has engulfed its secular counterpart, canto a lo humano (especially *paya*, improvised poetic duels). As Mercado's earlier comments aptly illustrated, this particular canto a lo divino in Pirque was shaping up to look like any other secular holiday: a spectacle for show, as opposed to a devotional event. In their criticism of this event, and of contemporary cantos in general, both Mercado and guitarronero Alfonso Rubio demonstate a very protective attitude towards canto a lo divino and an allegiance to former structures and practices:

> [in Chile], you can verify what is being verified in...other parts of the world: that in all traditions that are rituals, the form is remaining, but not the content. The context of use has changed. (C. Mercado, personal communication, March 27, 2005).[119]

He describes the "professionalization" of cantores and guitarroneros for whom he feels the "show" has taken over the ritual:

> They've made this thing a profession...and they go around spreading it, trying to develop projects, and do this, and make a CD and do that, and appear on the radio, and appear on television, and organize these gatherings [large-scale vigilias] that are, in reality, diffusion [as opposed to ritual]. This is fine, it's fine...but the traditional environment, its context of traditional use is being left out...in reality my interest is not all that. I'm interested in the issue of ritual (ibid.).[120]

Mercado's perception is further reinforced by his reaction to the "humano" character of this devotional event in Pirque: the microphones, the tables, the Coca-Cola and the conversation.

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119 "...[en Chile] se verifica lo que se verifica en ...otras partes del mundo: que en todas las tradiciones que son rituales, se está quedando la forma, pero no el contenido. Se cambió el contexto de uso."

120 "Han hecho esta cuestión una profesión...y que la andan divulgando, intentando hacer proyectos, y hacer esto, y hacer un disco,y hacer el otro, y salir en la radio, salir en la tele, hacer estos encuentros que son en realidad, difusión. Está bien, muy bien...pero el ámbito tradicional, su contexto de uso tradicional se está quedando fuera...en realidad mi interés no es ése. A mi me interesa la cuestión ritual."

Alfonso Rubio shares similar concerns about the changes in today's cantos. More than a concern with the spiritual origins of canto or the influence of the Catholic church, he is concerned with diversion from "tradition," through whatever means or institutions. Although he did not directly experience the cantos of his grandfather's generation, he is intimately acquainted with the nature of old gatherings through his brother Santos, and his friendships with older cantores of Pirque. Since he began singing well over twenty years ago, he has witnessed many changes to vigilias, in particular the proliferation of hand held tape recorders, and the increasing number of singers who read, as opposed to memorizing, their verses. As I mentioned earlier, Alfonso proudly tells of the vigilia at which he refused a large sum of money for permission to record the event.

This concern over tape recorders relates to the changes they have wrought in the transmission of repertoire. They facilitate the easy apprehension of verses that in earlier generations would have required careful and repeated observation to learn. Previously, one had to cultivate his ear and memory if he was to apprehend someone else's verso. He would strive to retain additional lines or another décima each time he heard it sung. Versos were like personal property, closely tied one's identity as a singer. The more beautiful versos you had, the more respect you maintained as a cantor and the more you could outshine your colleagues. One inherited versos from family and friends, commissioned them from local poets, or requested them from another singer. For someone to learn one of your verses, they had to earn it, so to speak, through concerted effort. The same applies to one's playing, as Santos describes in relation to a very respected singer from Melipilla:

> Just as there are people that play badly, there are people who play very well. I knew don Honorio Quila when he played. He played beautifully! And when they started to record with those little recorders, he never played beautifully again. Because he didn't want them to record him. Me, when I learned from him that fingering that you like, I went and I said, "and why don't you play like you used

> to play don Honorio?" "No," he said, "I stopped playing because I'm afraid of those recorders," and afterwards he said this to me, "I'm very afraid of tape recorders, and more afraid of you!"...because me, if he would play, I could learn it from him. He didn't like that… (S. Rubio, personal communication, August 2005).[121]

Besides serving as a testament to his very capable musical ear, Santos' comments illustrate how the advent of affordable hand-held recorders dramatically altered the environment of the cantos. Like Alfonso, some cantores refuse to attend cantos for this reason. The discussion of the next vigilia will discuss the dynamics of verso "ownership" in more detail.

Alfonso's disciplined approach to canto a lo divino performance may be attributed in part to his own experiences as a young singer. He now feels he began performing and recording too soon, before he was a sufficiently knowledgeable cantor. Perhaps in response to the circumstances of his earliest years as a singer and guitarrón player, he has adopted a somewhat conservative stance to the performance and projection of the tradition. Although certainly identified as a "traditionalist" by many, I would qualify this label. Alfonso is a kind of experimental traditionalist; he objects to many of the things older generations of singers do: recording, reading when you sing, etc. On the other hand, he is constantly scheming with students, creating new musical arrangments, toying with different set-ups for the guitarrón. He was always interested in trying out canto a lo poeta with new instruments such as the banjo and fiddle I would bring to our lessons occasionally. It is interesting, however, that much of his experimentation is

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121 "Como hay gente que toca muy mal, hay gente que toca muy bien. Yo conocí a don Honorio Quila cuando tocaba. ¡Tocaba bonito! Y cuando le empezaron a grabar con esas grabadoras chiquititas, no tocó nunca más bonito. Porque no quería nada que le grabara. Si yo, cuando yo le aprendí esa postura que te gusta a ti, iba y le dije "¿y por qué no toca como tocaba antes don Honorio?" "No," me dijo, "no toqué más porque yo le tengo mucho miedo a las grabadoras" y después que me dijo así, "Le tengo mucho miedo a las grabadoras, y más miedo le tengo a usted." ... Porque yo, si él tocaba, yo le aprendía, po. A él no le gustaba eso."

motivated by a desire to approximate "tradition." For example, Alfonso and I often discussed tuning mechanisms, trying to find models that would have the precision of the geared tuners, but the look of wooden friction pegs. Using new technology, he wants the guitarron to return to an earlier design with a longer head [*clavijero*] and sagittal pegs.

Figure 3.9: Peg head of early 20th century guitarrón (Universidad de Chile, Centro de Musicología). Photograph by the author.

When creating new musical patterns Alfonso would also indicated in precise musical terms how and why they are still traditional. Despite his very creative experimentation, Alfonso instills a deep regard for tradition in all of his students. While several of his students have participated in cantos, some have withdrawn because they feel it is a terrain that requires such a profound level of spiritual and musical commitment. Javier Riveros, who is most active in canto a lo divino, hesitates to call himself a cantor or a guitarronero yet: "*quién sabe en unos veinte años más*..." [who knows in twenty more years?] (J. Riveros, personal communication, August 2005).

Alfonso's observations and criticisms were certainly very present in my mind as I participated in this canto at the población Vip: as were the positions of investigators vis á vis the work of Padre Jordá. At the behest of Santos and Gloria, I broke almost every

standard to which these individuals, whose perspectives I valued, adhere. Not only did I read my verso, but I read it from Jordá's *Biblia del Pueblo*, which many criticize for errors and alterations in the documentation and transcription of rural verses. Furthermore, I was one of three urban visitors (along with an anthropology student and a filmmaker) present with recording equipment. I was glad in many ways that Alfonso did not arrive until the conclusion of the first rueda. I would have felt less secure about singing and playing. In later conversations, Alfonso asked me why I did not keep singing that evening. I told him that I had had time to practice the first verse that I read; although I was reading, I was at least well acquainted with my verso, so as to sing it well. I felt insecure about selecting a verse indiscriminately and pairing it with an entonación that I had not tried out already. He agreed that it is very important to be able to "saborear" [savor] your versos.

In contrast with Alfonso's approach, Santos—many years Alfonso's senior--is more relaxed about rueda participation. He is not extremely concerned about people memorizing their verses, or sticking to the same fundamento. He is very encouraging to inexperienced newcomers, extending frequent invitations to young singers. Mercado describes how a rural musician like Santos is no longer just a cultor, but also an artist. This multi-faceted identity permits him to move fluidly between many different performance settings: from local velorios to large-scale urban presentations, between spectacles and devotional settings. While certainly having his tastes for some vigilia practices over others, he does not refrain from participation in church-sponsored cantos or before cameras and recorders. Perhaps he is not concerned with the purity of each event because he has such a variety of experiences, or perhaps he is more concerned with his personal intent and not the form. Regardless, Santos' mobility illustrates that it is possible to remain actively engaged in public arenas of canto a lo divino, while

maintaining a more private local tradition. It is interesting that scholars and younger players tend to publicly problematize the intersections of the "cultor" and the "artist"—or of the "divino" and the "humano"—much more than Santos.

There are a number of investigators and cantores who are concerned about the force with which church, media, technology and "folklore" have penetrated the ritual of canto a lo divino, to detrimental effect on the ritual. While taking note of these influences, Mercado nonetheless points out that cantores in Pirque maintain an active local tradition of velorios and novenas, independent of the circuit of more well known cantos: *"Los viejos son un tesoro...los sueños, las vivencias...o sea, es un mundo muy rico...y todavía está ahí"* [These old men are a treasure...their dreams, their experiences...in other words, it's a very rich world...and it's still there] (C. Mercado, personal communication, March 27, 2005). The next section will describe a very small canto hosted by Santos in Puntilla, with a very specific devotional purpose.

SANTA TERESA DE LOS ANDES, LA PUNTILLA DE PIRQUE (MAY 21, 2005): CANTO A LO DIVINO AS *ROGATIVA*[122]

In contrast to Lourdes and *Jueves Santo* in Pirque, this canto was a very small gathering of singers. By May, I had been studying for several months with Don Chosto, learning new versos, and talking a great deal about how to sing in cantos. I had two verses memorized at this point, and was close to finishing another, but no one minded that I kept my notebook close at hand. Although I did not realize this at first, this canto was not simply to honor Santa Teresa, but was also dedicated to Santos' father who, along with suffering from the onset of dementia, was recovering from a recent fall that had sent him to the hospital.

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[122] Petition.

I had met Santos and Alfonso's mother several months before: first at the Encuentro de Guitarroneros, and second when Alfonso brought me by to visit. The musical interests of the Rubio Morales children come largely from their mother's side of the family. A singer of tonadas and cuecas, Ana Otilia Morales was also the daughter of a cantor a lo divino who played guitar. Since her father could not read or write, she was largely responsible for conserving his repertoire of verses, transcribing and rereading them to him so he would not forget. Don Chosto's story is similar; his wife and nieces would read and notate versos for him. When I arrived at the Rubio household, food was already cooking on the stove, and Julio, Santos' brother-in-law, was working with a fire outside to make hot cinders to warm the back area of the house they had draped with tarps. A sister of Santos whom I had not met before was lamenting the fact that no one had brought a tape recorder for the event. I admit that I had not either, although I could be criticized for being a neglectful ethnomusicologist. As I mentioned earlier, recording devices are a touchy subject in both canto a lo humano and canto a lo divino. They were not very welcome at Loica, nor did I think in this small devotional setting that my friends would appreciate a recorder in the middle of the floor. In total there were five singers present: Javier Riveros, Gloria Cariaga, Santos Rubio, Juan Pérez, and I. The altar was very simple: a cloth-covered table with an image of Santa Teresa flanked by two vases of flowers and several candles.

I told Santos that I did not have any verses about Santa Teresa, that I only had three in fact, and was not sure they would go along with the fundamentos that would be chosen. Santos asked Juan what he thought, and he replied that God would certainly understand the intent. I enjoyed the small size of this canto; I knew everyone there, and it was in a small space with no amplification. Since I sang several verses this time, I had to prepare more *introducciones* and *despedidas*, which was the only detractor from the

experience. Absorbed in my "canto componiendo" [composing while singing] I couldn't listen as well as I would have liked to everyone's entire versos.

The window to the bedroom of Santos' father looked down on to the back patio, and I saw his mother's face gazing down as we sang. She sat by her husband's bedside to narrate the canto to him. Javier started the rueda with a verso *por padecimiento* from Padre Jordá's *Biblia del Pueblo* (1978; 2002). Gloria also read from Jordá's Bible. I

Figure 3.10: Javier Riveros singing to Santa Teresa from *La Biblia del Pueblo.* Photograph by the author. May 21, 2005.

followed my notated verses from don Chosto, while Santos and Juan Pérez sang a versos from memory. I enjoyed hearing singers perform on repeated occasions, both in canto a lo divino and canto a lo humano. It was interesting to find that people often used the same versos, and it was easier to follow the story the second time around. While I liked the intimacy of this canto—along with its intent—I didn't experience what I did at *Jueves Santo* in el Vip. There, the clear fundamento for most ruedas was *padecimiento*, so all singers sang versos on this topic. As I described earlier, this created an interesting sensation of being in the story of the crucifiction: each verso highlighting a different

aspect of the narrative, or telling the story at a different pace. Here the disjunctive fundamentos did not produce the same sensation of being immersed in a story.

We finished the first rueda around midnight and broke the circle to eat the spaghetti that had been cooking in the kitchen. Gloria had to leave early, which left four of us to continue singing. For the second rueda I sang a *verso overo* that Don Chosto had given me. A *verso overo* consists of décimas that are not united by a cuarteta; they may be on the same topic, but do not necessarily make a cohesive verso. Several weeks ago, I had told Don Chosto that I wanted to learn how to sing in a rueda, and asked if he would help me. He was very detailed about how to tune the instrument, how to begin playing and what order entonaciones should follow. He taught me a verso *por nacimiento*,[123] and had me notate several others. On my next visit, however, he asked me to return to him the pages of my notebook where I had written them. He replaced these versos with the set of versos overos, insisting that they were perfectly acceptable to sing. I had heard that singing mismatched décimas was also a strategy through which singers could keep others from learning their repertoire correctly. I wondered if Don Chosto was operating with a similar approach. While he was eager to teach--he gave his entonaciones very freely as well as many décimas--when it came to entire versos he seemed more reticent.

Of my patched together versos, Juan Pérez recognized two décimas from a verso *por astronomía*[124] that he had learned from don Chosto in previous years. He asked why I didn't sing the whole thing, and I explained how don Chosto had been teaching me partial versos. Both Santos and Juan Pérez were instantly critical, Juan especially, insisting that that was very selfish and did not reflect the spirit of the canto. Again, I found that this conflict seemed to embody the general character of conflict between old

[123] For birth
[124] For astronomy

and new ways of practicing canto. Don Chosto's behavior seems perfectly in line with older ways of transmitting repertoire, yet it is registered as inappropriate according to newer standards of "brotherhood." Juan Pérez invited me to learn the missing décimas from him, but I never did. I don't know whether this is because of time constraints, or because I felt that I should respect Don Chosto's desires for his versos.

Discussion:

This reaction of Santos and Juan Pérez to don Chosto's behavior reinforced my understanding that the latter operates under the previous generation's mode of repertoire transmission.[125] Chosto has built his repertoire with verses respectfully learned or inherited from his father, uncle, brother, and neighbors. In addition to these inherited verses, don Chosto also would request poetic material on specific fundamentos from local poets who composed, but did not sing:

> Those verses that I first started learning, were of an uncle of mine. And afterwards, I learned from a friend of an uncle, and from some poets in Pirque. And afterwards, I had a poet who would write me verses, may he rest in peace. So, he made me versos about Revelations that you have heard, versos about the wandering Jew. He made several versos for me (O. Ulloa, personal communication, April 14, 2005).[126]

Don Chosto himself vacillated between altruistic ideas about copying down all of his versos to be printed as a gift to the community of cantores, and a desire to preserve his versos--inherited from family, gifted by poets, and earned through careful observation--for himself.

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[125] Uribe (1964) makes this observation about singers in Aculeo who inherit versos from older singers who no longer participate in ruedas, or singers who have passed away.

[126] "Esos versos, yo primero, que yo fui aprendiendo, fueron de un tío mío. Y después aprendí de un amigo de un tío, y de unos poetas pircanos. Y después tenía un poeta que me hacía versos, que en paz descanse. Entonces el me hizo versos por revelaciones que usted ha escuchado, versos por el judío errante. Me hizo varios versos, po."

> ...when you have a bit of time, you will come a little earlier and we are going to put all the notated versos I have in a notebook so I don't forget them. So, you can take the copies and learn them and sing them around, all of them. It will be like a gift. They are all beautiful (O. Ulloa, personal communication, April 19, 2005).[127]

When we did sit down to notate his verses, don Chosto brought out a stack of notebook paper on which a collection consisting primarily of versos (with the occasional devotional or romantic song) were written. At first don Chosto wanted to go in order and organize all his versos by fundamento, but as we progressed, he skipped certain versos that fit into a fundamento that we had started. I realized that he had me notate and reread to him the versos that he didn't have securely memorized. Whether or not he also intended this notebook to be placed at the disposition of other poets, I understood that this process was primarily to refresh his own memory of his repertoire. Just as Santos prizes his own unique forms of rendering entonaciones on guitarrón, don Chosto is proud of his unique verses, and was not quite ready to surrender them in completion:

> If you are interested in learning, learning, learning to sing more versos, to know more, that is your affair. You ask for words of versos, and you learn them. Because me, all that I learned, I learned versos that no other poet sings...I always present versos that have never appeared in any book, or in anything (O. Ulloa, personal communication, April 14, 2005).[128]

During the course of our classes, Chosto fluctuated between a very open and giving attitude, and what his collegues call and "selfish" practice in which he is very guarded with his well-earned verses and his music. He would tell me how he could often learn

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127 "... cuando tenga un tiempecito usted, va a venir un poco más temprano y vamos a ponerle en un cuaderno todos los versos que tengo anotados, entonces para que no se me olviden. Entonces puede llevar las copias para que los aprende y los cante por allá, todos. Va a ser como un regalo. Son bonitos todos."

128 "Si usted se interesa en aprender, aprender, aprender a cantar más versos, a saber más, es cosa suya. Va pidiendo letras de versos, y los va aprendiendo. Porque yo, todo lo que aprendí, aprendí versos que ningún poeta los canta, po. ...Siempre yo he dado versos que nunca han salido ni en los libros, ni en ninguna cosa."

another poet's verso after just one or two times listening. When I asked if this would be upsetting to a poet, he responded with the following:

> No, they didn't feel bad, no. There are people like that, selfish, but no. Except an uncle that had some, but didn't give versos to anybody. The only ones he left, he left to just me and another brother of mine to whom he left some as well. He was a cantor also and he died. But, for example, I don't get angry if someone sings versos that I gave them, no. Now, if someone asks me for a verso, I just give it to him. I'm not selfish about this...for example, when I give versos like this, I only ask that...for example I give you a verso, you don't sing it when I am present [in a vigilia]. If I'm not there, yes, you sing it. You say this verso is from so-and-so and you sing it. But if that person is present, no (O. Ulloa, personal communication, April 14, 2005).[129]

While expressing a strong desire to be generous with his verses, don Chosto still operates under the conception of versos as property, where ownership should be respectfully acknowledged. Another guitarrón player suggested that this possessiveness of versos might also extend to his entonaciones and toquíos:

> Yes, he plays beautifully. He plays beautifully, but he'll never teach you exactly how he would play. He was teaching someone..., and when he had learned a bit, he send him backwards. He turned him around like this, just like he was telling you…[130]

Other guitarroneros have had similar experiences in their studies with Chosto; they feel he guides them well until a certain point, after which his instruction becomes less clear. While he seems much less guarded with his entonaciones, I did notice a gradual transformation of our lessons from detailed explanations of both melody and ornaments to more cursory descriptions of their essential elements, leaving the adorments to my own

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129 "No, no se sentían mal, no. Hay personas así, egoístas, pero no. Salvo un tío que tenía que no le daba versos a nadie. Los únicos que dejó, me dejó a mí no más..., y al otro hermano mío que le dejó unos también. Era cantor también, y murió. Pero por ejemplo, yo no me enojo cuando doy versos que los canten, no. Ahora, si me piden un verso, yo se lo doy no más. Yo no soy de egoísta para eso...por ejemplo si yo cuando doy versos así, yo no más encargo que...por ejemplo le doy un verso a usted, usted no lo canta cuando esté yo. No estando yo, sí canta. Usted dice este verso es de fulano de tal, y lo canta. Pero estando él presente, no"

130 "Sí toca bonito. Toca bonito, pero a usted nunca le va a enseñar tal como tocaría. Si a [guitarronero's name]... le enseñó, y cuando ya aprendió un poquito, lo echó pa'atrás. ...Así, se lo tiró vuelta, así mismo como estaba diciendo a ud…"

invention. I believe this process it linked to an aesthetic discourse of uniqueness among guitarrón players that promotes individual musical exploration, while also encouraging players to keep their best tricks well guarded.

INDIVIDUAL MUSICAL IDENTITY IN COLLECTIVE SACRED PRACTICE

In small vigilias to the north of Santiago, Claudio Mercado observes that the integrity of the ritual of canto a lo divino is more important than the musical elements:

> An elderly man who sings way out of tune goes, and it doesn't matter to him. This guy goes out of faith; he's not an artist...he's there all night singing versos, making out the melody more or less. They are not artists. They are in their ritual. And there are those that are good, that know a lot, others that know some, others that know little. It doesn't matter (Mercado, personal communication, March 27, 2005).[131]

Among my teachers in Pirque, however, it is my impression that style and musical ability were, and continue to be, important aspects of performance of canto a lo divino on guitarrón:

> And you know what there was a lot of, Emily? Competition...who sang more beautifully? Who sang the worst? Who knew more versos?...It was a whole competition. Today people don't know this, or they don't like it (A. Rubio, personal communication, April 2005).[132]

> One doesn't get anything from knowing a pretty verso...if he doesn't adjust it to the entonación, it doesn't come out well (O. Ulloa, personal communication, May 19, 2005).[133]

> …I inherited all the good defects he had [don Juan de Dios Reyes],...the one who was singing would finish, and if it was his turn, he tuned first...to begin

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131 "...va un viejito que canta super desafinado y no le importa. El gallo va por fé, no es un artista...está toda la noche cantando versos achuntándole más o menos a la melodía. No son artistas. Están en su ritual. Y hay los que son buenos, que saben mucho, otros que saben más o menos, otros que saben poco. No importa."

132 "Y existía mucho, Emily, sabes qué? La competencia...¿Quién cantaba más bonito? ¿Quién cantaba más mal? ¿Quién sabía más versos? ...Era toda una competencia. Hoy en día, eso, la gente no lo sabe, o no le gusta."

133 "Uno no saca nada con saber un verso bonito... si no le ajusta a la entonación no le sale bien."

> singing...and I am the same (S. Rubio personal communication, May 27, 2005).[134]
>
> He [don Juan de Dios Reyes] liked to play very in tune, just like Chosto's father. And it's what they most celebrate about Chosto. And if he doesn't play more in tune, it's because the strings he has are very bad (S. Rubio, personal communication, August, 2005).[135]

These guitarroneros of Pirque maintain a pronounced focus on style, technique and ornamentation. Whereas contemporary performance practice has limited the direct musical comparisons that were possible in earlier generations, there is still a concern to cultivate a style that makes one stand out from his colleagues. While Santos prides himself on his emulation of his teacher, it is through this faithful adherence to a style that he defines his uniqueness as a player:

> The important thing would be that each person plays like they teach him. That's what's important...They have told me, those that managed to know me and how don Juan de Dios played, that I played just like him, that no one had ever played just like him (S. Rubio, interview with author, July 19, 2005).

While playing in the style of don Juan de Dios, Santos also actively creates his own toquíos and ornaments on guitarrón which also distinguish him from other players. Don Chosto on the other hand, defines himself through the differences between his style and that of his predecessors and colleagues. He surpassed his father in technique, but today is highly critical of those whose playing is too fast or too flowery:

> And the singer has to be a bit calm...because I see that there are some new singers around, that...haven't ended one phrase when they start the next. This has no flavor: to sing fast, to play, for all these things. They don't calm down (O. Ulloa, personal communication, April 19, 2005).[136]

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134 ".... saqué todos los defectos buenos de él [don Juan de Dios Reyes], ...terminaba él que estaba cantando, y si le tocaba a él, afinaba primero...para salir cantando...y yo soy igual."

135" ... le gustaba tocar muy afinadito [don Juan de Dios Reyes], igual que el papá del Chosto. Y al Chosto es lo que más le celebran. Y si el Chosto no toca más afinado, es porque las cuerdas que tiene son muy malas."

136 "Y el cantor tiene que ser un poquitito calmado... porque yo me fijo que hay unos nuevos cantores por ahí, que ...todavía no terminan una palabra cuando termina la otra, no tiene ni un gusto, para cantar rápido, para tocar, para todas esas cosas. No se calman."

Whether to protect or disseminate their own repertoire and style, guitarroneros and cantores are very attentive to style as an identifier. Your playing tells others where you learned, as well as being a demonstration of your musical taste and ability.

As Santos and Chosto describe, the old "desafíos de sabiduría" between cantores could often bring about delicate situations:

> SR:...when a group of three, four, five friends would get together and everyone would sing, and they were only men there, it's there that they would sing and play the guitarrón...and it was also used for measuring strength, who knew more versos for history [about the Old Testament]...to challenge eachother! To see who knew the most...as they called them, "authorized" verses...of great stature, with lots of history...about the bible, but they talk about Solomon, Samson...you know, I know a verse...that one time in my innocence, or in my ignorance, or in whatever you want to call it, I sang. And a friend told me... "Don't ever sing that verse again."
>
> EP: Why?
>
> SR: That's what I told him too, "Why?" "You never know if there's going to be some idiot there that might hit you." ...because it's pretty onfrontational...because the old singers thought that asking questions...and when people weren't going to know the answer to the question, was like offending them… (S. Rubio, personal communication, May 17, 2005).[137]

Competition, while sometimes causing emotions to run high, also gave this tradition its vitality. Restating Alfonso's words, it is a competition, but a beautiful one because it encourages the cultivation of knowledge and musical skills. More recently, don Chosto has experienced this potential for offense in performance in the context of large-scale "brotherly" cantos. When he sang a verse that references Daniel and his interpretations

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[137] SR:...cuando se juntaba un grupo de unos 3, 4, 5 amigos y todos cantaban, y estaban entre puros hombres, ahí cantaban y tocaban el guitarrón...y también servía para medirse fuerza, quién sabía más versos por historia...A desafiarse! A ver quién sabía versos...según ellos decían, más autorizados...de mucha altura, de mucha historia...Sobre la biblia, pero te hablan de Salomón, de Sansón...pero si yo sé un verso...que yo una vez en mi inocencia, o en mi ignorancia, en todo los que ustedes quieran, lo canté. Y me dijo un amigo... "no cante nunca más ese verso."
EP: ¿Por qué?
SR: Eso le dije yo también..¿por qué? "No vaya a haber un tonto, me dijo y le pegue."...porque es medio atropellador...porque los antiguos encontraban que hacer preguntas...y cuando la gente no iba a saber la pregunta era como ofenderlos...

of dreams, referencing an "insane" person, several singers later accused him of attempting to insult the singer seated next to him (O. Ulloa, personal communication, April 2005). The sacred occasion of a velorio or a vigilia is still a terrain for musical judgment, competition and conflict.

Just as the musical and poetic competition perdures within vigilias, ideas and institutions vie for discursive authority over canto a lo divino and the guitarrón. Religious, popular and academic discourses alike cast the history of canto a lo divino in a light that complements their vision for its present and its future. For Padre Miguel Jordá and his most adamant supporters, canto is returning to an evangelizing function it realized three centuries ago. As earlier examples demonstrate, this "return" entails purification of verse content and performance practice. Singers are encouraged to adopt a "brotherly," as opposed to a competitive attitude that is characteristic of rural practice and the "old ways." Opposing discourses focus on canto's history of separation from the Catholic church: its unique rural character and alternate spiritual roots (Pereira Salas 1962, Salinas 1991, Mercado 2004). Although in disagreement with the church's means and ends of promoting canto a lo divino, they are also interested in purification: purging the contamination of church, media, and technology in order to maintain a ritual context similar to cantos before the advent of curious urban outsiders. The devotion in this case is to the sanctity of "tradition": a desire to protect the spirit of the "old ways," or to seek out new ways are similar in form or function. From this perspective, a discursive distinction emerges between the "artist" who performs for show, and the "cultor" who performs as part of a traditional ritual.

The discursive conflicts--of church officials, investigators, performers and institutions with a vested interest in Chilean folklore and identity—play themselves out in the lives of cantores who move between urban and rural arenas of canto a lo divino. In

contemporary performance—which demands high physical and conceptual mobility—some rural musicians occupy a mid-point between new and old modes of performing. While some navigate this in-between territory with ease, for others there is either a familiarity, or an extreme affinity, for older practice that impacts their ability to participate in the multiple arenas of canto that exist today. In Pirque, I argue that an "artistic" identities merge fairly harmoniously with previously existing notions of proper performance practice in canto a lo divino. While *ruedas* in Pirque were welcoming ritual spaces for musicians of all abilities, they were also competitive terrains where skilled musicians distinguished themselves through the cultivation of unique musical and poetic style. The following chapter will explore the musical circuits of the guitarrón in *canto a lo humano*, where the tensions between "art" and "tradition" are also made manifest in musical and discursive styles.

Chapter Four: Rural and Urban Guitarrones: Political and Social Identities in Canto a lo Humano

Dressed in a gray cap, a buttoned blue shirt and dark pants, Fidel Améstica ascended the stage at the third annual *Encuentro Nacional de Guitarroneros* [National Gathering of Guitarroneros] in Pirque. His appearance contrasted that of the other players who wore hand-woven wool ponchos or *chupallas*.[138] As he approached his seat an audience member cried out "¡Arriba, Fidel!" [Hooray, Fidel!]. In allusion to the Cuban leader's recent tumble at a public event in October 2004, Fidel leaned into the microphone and responded with a joke whose punchline was "Fidel doesn't fall, he rises." He proceeded to introduce his instrumental arrangement of music by Violeta Parra: a tribute to this artist who studied canto a lo poeta and guitarrón in Pirque. Within the parameters of guitarrón technique (with some less common left hand fingerings), Fidel recast mestizo and indigenous evocations of her well-known melodies in a Pirque musical idiom. Moved by his artistry and the emotional depth of these songs, the audience applauded heavily. The emcee of the evening, a popular musician and television star, echoed this energy, commenting that this young man could play with pride on any international stage. Following this laudatory observation, he cautioned that using the stage for political purposes can make things "uncomfortable." In his estimation, the stage belongs to everyone; national musicians should strive to emphasize unity versus ideological divisions. He toasted for "Chile, a nation of brothers" and the audience applauded with enthusiasm. Before introducing the next musicians, the emcee paused to thank local businesses and restaurants that had contributed to the funding of this event. He also introduced two prominent senior poets that were in attendance that

[138] Straight-brimmed hat of the rural Chilean *huaso*.

evening, including el Chincolito (Luis Ortúzar) of Rauco and Arnoldo Madariaga of Casablanca. Fidel in turn borrowed the microphone to introduce a young guitarronero from Santiago, Rodrigo Núñez, who had come to the performance. Although Myriam Arancibia—a young guitarronera--was there, she was not introduced from stage.

In musical and extramusical behavior, the musicians united at Pirque's Third Annual *Encuentro Nacional de Guitarroneros* present their visions of personal, political and musical identity. This particular on-stage interaction highlights political tensions that play themselves out in guitarrón performance. The emcee's comments call to mind the observations of the clergyman at Lourdes who proclaimed that *canto a lo divino* is not a terrain for "ideology." This national artist, like the church leader, is an "official" voice declaring the guitarrón (and folklore in general) neutral territory: sites for the expression of devotion and unity, as opposed to opinion and division.

These declarations do not originate exclusively from the two men speaking words of caution; the context of performance also exerts specific pressures on their discourse and on musicians' performance. Just as the church is the "sponsor" of this large vigil of song, the encuentro de guitarroneros has a long list of governmental and business sponsors, many of whom have representatives in attendance. These sponsors, the public and the musicians at the *encuentro* in Pirque represent a wide range of political orientations, spiritual beliefs and social backgrounds. For the event to be a continued success, the emcee and the organizers are aware of the middle line they must tread in relation to weighty social topics.

In this chapter I explore several performance settings where the guitarrón embodies distinct political and social identities. Through verbal and musical discourse performers articulate their understandings of folklore and authenticity, evoking the roles

of the cultor [folklore bearer] and the artist. I juxtapose this gathering in Pirque with two events in Santiago where appropriate performance practice encourages, as opposed to downplaying, left-wing ideological engagement. One of these Santiago performances was a showcase of *Asociación Gremial Nacional de Poetas Populares y Payadores de Chile* (AGENPOCH) [National Trade Association of Poets and Payadores of Chile]. The other event, at the *Gran Circo Teatro* [Great Circus Theatre], brought together four young urban guitarroneros from the same organization as part of a series of encuentros in downtown Santiago. The differences between these events and the encuentro in Pirque suggest a conceptual divide among guitarrón players. This divide is not only about political and social issues, but also about the appropriate application of folklore and the measure of integrity in performance.

While I emphasize contrasting performance styles of events associated with the *Agrupación Herederos del Guitarrón Pircano* [Group of the Inheritors of the Guitarrón of Pirque] and those of AGENPOCH, I must reiterate that the socio-political beliefs within each organization are not uniform. Furthermore, there are young musicians who identify with both groups, and travel in between somewhat segregated circles of performance and study. While there are many sympathies between these groups, there are also important differences. Here I explore the significance of these differences, considering the types of identities that are projected through the guitarrón: political, national, local, ethnic, social and professional. Specifically we see two distinct modes of articulating authenticity. One mode is derived from family and community inheritance: focused on a local site and a local sound (see Chapter Three). The second, in contrast, emphasizes artistic development and politically engaged performance as routes to legitimacy as an individual performer.

AGRUPACIÓN HEREDEROS DEL GUITARRÓN PIRCANO

The Group of the Inheritors of the Guitarrón of Pirque grew out of an idea of Alfonso Rubio Morales to bring this instrument greater national attention and to identify Pirque as the birthplace of its contemporary revival. The first stages of this extended project were realized through two government grants[139] in 1999 and 2000. Through these grants a series of recitals were organized throughout the Provincia de Cordillera (including Pirque, Puente Alto and San José de Maipo) and a CD was produced presenting the music of Pirque's five guitarroneros: Juan Manuel Saavedra (b. 1922, agricultural worker), Osvaldo (Chosto) del Tránsito Ulloa (b. 1936, retired agricultural worker and herder), Santos Rubio Morales (b. 1938, performer and folklore instructor), Juan Pérez Ibarra (b. 1954, employee on a fundo) and Alfonso Rubio Morales (b. 1961, "cultor"). Through these grants, four guitarrones were also purchased in order for Alfonso to begin an instrumental workshop through the Municipality of Puente Alto. With the assistance of Claudio Mercado (anthropologist and secretary of the organization) and Eduardo Pizarro (treasurer of the organization), the five guitarroneros have realized an annual encuentro of guitarroneros in Pirque since 2002. Although the official members number only seven, the Agrupación also relies on the help of students, family and friends in the realization and promotion of its activities.

The Third Annual *Encuentro de Guitarroneros* in Pirque (November 8, 2004)

On the bus to Pirque the rain fell in heavy streams and collected in deep pools along the road. I wondered whether or not the weather would discourage people from traveling to the evening's performance. I had been studying guitarrón with Alfonso for

[139] These grants were through FONDART (Fund for the Development of the Arts and Culture), an agency created by President Aylwin in 1992 that provides funding for artistic projects in a variety of mediums (Collier and Sater 2004: 403).

about six weeks, and had met a couple of his students. This would be the first time, however, that I would meet all of the guitarroneros of Pirque as well as guitarrón players from other regions of the country.

At the pre-encuentro meeting, guitarroneros from Pirque, Santiago, and cities in the north and south of the country gathered in a classroom at the *Colegio el Llano*, a private primary school in Pirque. Alfonso, with a long beard and black *chupalla* stood before a semi-circle of instrumentalists to talk them through the order of performance and plan the final farewell décima to be sung by the host guitarroneros of Pirque. Outside the inner circle sat an anthropologist from the Precolumbian museum, a guitarrón maker, and several friends and family members of the performers. During this meeting Alfonso invited me to perform a verso a lo humano for the guitarroneros. After singing my entonación (in between a criollo and standard style), a performer from Casablanca stood to congratulate Alfonso and me, emphasizing the importance of studying with someone such as Alfonso who is so close to the root of the tradition. Two of Alfonso's students further commented that they thought I had a "different" style than others and valued this aspect of my performance.

The orchestration of the evening was fraught with many challenges. The morning's rain had uncovered several leaks in the school roof, and the back of the cafeteria was littered with buckets to catch the streams of water. The power had also gone out and the performers had to begin the show without amplification. Despite the hostile weather, a crowd of almost two hundred people squeezed into the school cafeteria, sipping mulled wine and coffee. I had reserved a spot for myself in the front row to film the event, prompting questions from a small delegation of international poets who had been traveling in Chile. They wondered why I had been granted permission to film while they had not.

To open the evening, all fourteen guitarroneros came to the stage dressed in long woolen ponchos and *chupallas*. A banner surrounded by posters covered the back wall of the stage. Guitarronero Juan Pérez stood to lead the audience in prayer. Following this, two of Alfonso's student initiated a guitarrón duet of the Chilean national anthem that everyone followed in song. Jorge Yáñez, a well-known actor and popular singer who participated in the revival of the paya in Chile, was the emcee for the evening. Also in attendance were the mayor of Pirque (right-wing), the incumbent mayor (left-wing) and their families.

The showcase of the guitarrón sampled multiple modes of performing *canto a lo poeta*, both *a lo humano* and *a lo divino.* To start off the program, two guitarrón players illustrated a *contrapunto en décimas* [counterpoint/debate in décimas] where they improvised in response to one another on a free topic. The interchange focused on the event at hand and "tradition." At the dinner after the performance, one of the two players expressed irritation with his contender's peaceable responses to polemic comments, managing to steer the improvisation away from any kind of confrontation. After this

Figure 4.1: Don Chosto performing a verso por José at the Encuentro de Guitarroneros in Pirque. Photograph by author. November 8, 2004.

frustrated exchange, Don Chosto presented a complete *verso por José* [verso for Joseph] that was his father's. True to the aesthetic he articulated in regard to performance in *ruedas a lo divino* (see Chapter Three), he changed entonación after every two décimas instead of singing the entire verso with one melody. Following Chosto, two guitarroneros offered a "personification" where the audience chooses two opposing elements for the musicians to incarnate in verse (i.e. water and wine, good and evil, sun and rain). In this case the debate was between the youngster and the old man. The musicians tossed insults back and forth under the guise of their assumed roles. The interchange that provoked the most laughter was the following:

Oye lolito mimado,	Listen spoiled kid,
Sabiduría incompleta	Incomplete knowledge,
En vez de ir a discoteca	Instead of going to the nightclub
Mejor anda a chupar teta.	You should go breastfeed ["suck tit"]
Con gusto yo pués lo haría	Well, I'd gladly do it,
Y seguro que engordara	And it would surely be fattening
Si alguna mujer pircana	If a woman from Pirque
Eso me convidara.	Were to offer me that.

Before introducing the next musicians, the emcee thanked the governmental and cultural institutions whose contributions made the encuentro possible, including the Municipality of Pirque, the Secretary General's Office of Chile, and the Precolumbian Museum.

A round of *pie forzado* [obligated ending] came next. In this mode of improvising, the audience provides an eight-syllable line around which the payadores on stage must construct a décima. The *pie* provided by the public must be the last line. Below are the two lines from each improvised décima, including the *pie forzado* of the audience and a line improvised by the guitarronero:

Lo llevo como un escudo…	I carry it like a shield…
Guitarrón, árbol de Pirque	Guitarrón, tree of Pirque

...Y canto como Pircano	…and I sing as a Pircano
A Violeta y Victor Jara	to Violeta and Victora Jara
...Como soy guitarronero,	…As I am a guitarrón player,
De Pirque vengo cantando.	I come from Pirque singing.
...En cuna de guitarrón	…In the cradle[birthplace] of the guitarrón,
Tres poetas de sombrero.	Three poets in hats.
...Que me escuche mi hijita…	…may my daughter hear me…
Pirque, canto campesino.	Pirque, peasant [rural] song.

When the poets finished their décimas, the emcee took a moment to announce that Santos Rubio had recently received the "President of the Republic" prize in "folklore." This recognition marked the first time in Chilean history that this national arts award was offered to a rural musician.

After an intermission, a series of presentations were made. First, composer, guitarronero and musicologist José Pérez de Arce offered a brief synopsis of his theory[140] concerning the musical and cultural origins of the guitarrón. The guitarrón, unique among stringed instruments in both Latin America and the world, has a very mysterious past. There are few definitive early citations that make even a partial understanding of its peculiar genesis possible. Having realized extensive acoustical studies of stone flutes of the Aconcagua indigenous groups of the central region, he began to contemplate an aesthetic connection between the guitarrón's multiple strings and the "dense unison" that characterizes the ensemble performances of flutes in the central region of Chile. As he describes, his hypothesis is that the indigenous musical culture of central Chile was highly developed and that this acoustic sensibility can

[140] Pérez presents a full discussion of this theory in a paper entitled: "El guitarrón chileno y su armonía tímbrica." This work received an honorable mention in the "Samuel Claro Valdés" musicology competition organized by the Arts department of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

explain to some degree the appearance of an instrument as complicated and intricate as the guitarrón from the base of the 5 string Spanish guitar:

> The guitarrón is not just Chilean, rather, it represents the essence of the people that inhabit this zone, that have such an exceptional musical sensibility that has created this wonder of an instrument that brings us together today.[141]

Pérez de Arce also emphasizes that the guitarrón "develops in the country…it wasn't an instrument of the city."

Following Pérez de Arce's presentation, the current mayor of Pirque took the microphone to announce on-going plans to commission a "guitarrón of stone" to mark the entrance to Pirque, giving the community an identity with "this music that is ours." Tita Escudero, psychologist and sister of the incumbent mayor then discussed her newly released book *Encanto y Poesía of Pirque* [Enchantment and Poetry of Pirque] that featured a survey of Pirque's history, culture and music, including interviews with the guitarroneros. The emcee praised her work, adding "además es linda la Tita" [and she's also pretty Tita] and offering a toast to women: the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of Chile.

The performances resumed with Manuel Saavedra, 82 at the time, and his now famous century-old guitarrón that he inherited from his father-in-law (also the teacher of Santos Rubio). Introduced as the "history" and the "identity" of the tradition, he sang a humorous verso *por el amor* [for love] to *la dentradora*. Next came a set of prepared décimas by "the new generation of guitarroneros," two students from Alfonso's workshop in Puente Alto. His students offered verses expressing their gratitude to Alfonso and their respect for the guitarrón. Alfonso reminded the audience that his classes are free to the public; anyone can attend and learn to play guitarrón and improvise

141 "No solo es chileno el guitarrón, sino que representa la esencia del pueblo que habita esta zona, que tiene una sensibilidad musical tan excepcional que ha creado esta maravilla de instrumento que nos reúne hoy en día."

poetry. The presentation of the new generation of guitarroneros continued with Fidel's homage to Violeta Parra described in the introduction.

Many staged encuentros of poetry do not include *canto a lo divino,* but in the case of this performance, the guitarroneros wanted to showcase all the dimensions of the guitarrón in Pirque, of which *canto a lo divino* is perhaps the most important. Along with don Chosto's earlier verso, two poets from Pirque performed a miniature *rueda* singing poetry to the Virgen Mary. While Juan Pérez sang a free-style entonación, his companion Pedro Estay sang an entonación in strict style with a recurring refrain, inviting the audience to sing with him the concluding lines of the décimas. Juan Pérez played on a guitarrón with heavy decoration including inlaid doves, a cross, and laurel leaves instead of dagger-shaped "puñales."

The last round of improvising was in "banquillo" [bench] format. This is a variation on a question and answer format where poets devise tricky questions for their opponent to answer. Designed in recent years to accommodate larger numbers of poets on stage, this format places one poet on the "bench" to be grilled with question by the other poets on stage. The theme of the questions is chosen by the audience, by the poet on the bench, or can be left free. At this encuentro, three guitarroneros took turns being on the bench. In contrast to the earlier "divine" praise to the Virgin Mary's purity, the last round of questions fully illustrated the other "humano" extreme of the guitarrón's poetry that builds humor on female sexuality (see Chapter Five for further discussion). Santos Rubio, who had just been asked in the previous round *"what about you is saint-like?"* [*¿Qué tiene de santo?;* this plays off of his name], posed the following question to his colleague from Coquimbo[142] who had been interrogated about the day's rain:

Yo te pregunto Lautaro,	I ask you Lautaro,

[142] City in the north of Chile (4th region).

Contesta con muchas ganas:	Answer with conviction
Cuando llueve en Coquimbo,	When it rains in Coquimbo
¿Se mojan las coquimbanas?	Do women of Coquimbo get wet?

Although other performers espouse a "cleaner" poetic practice, the Rubios in particular do not abandon the sexual double entendre, and the very "mundane" character of the tradition that often times infuses canto a lo divino repertoire (see Chapter Three).

Ascending the stage for the last time, the five guitarroneros of Pirque and their youngest acolyte, Javier Riveros, sat in front of the microphones while the guest performers lined the sides and the front of the stage. The pircanos took turns singing two lines a piece of the following *despedida* [farewell décima]:

La despedida engalana	The farewell is adorned
El encuentro en su razón	The gathering as its reason
La veta del guitarrón	The course of the guitarrón
Ha sido siempre pircana	Has always been Pircano.
La raíz, tronco y rama	The root, trunk and branch
son de crecimiento sano	Are of healthy growth.
Hoy día nos abrazamos	Today we embrace one another
Gracias a Dios verdadero	Thanks to the true God.
Si toca un guitarronero	If a guitarronero plays,
Hay un perfume pircano[143]	There is a fragrance of Pirque.

Following these words the audience gave the performers a standing ovation. Alfonso acknowledged from the stage the two principal guitarrón makers in Pirque and Puente Alto, Segundo Tapia and Manuel Basoalto. The crowd dispersed very slowly, and many spectators approached the stage to speak with the guitarroneros.

The Rural Guitarrón of Pirque

At the 2003 encuentro the previous year, the voice of investigator Juan Uribe Echevarría declared through the loudspeakers that Pirque was the only sector in all of

143 *Despedida* from a verso composed by Juan Pérez Ibarra.

Chile where the guitarrón remained a living tradition. Recorded in 1969 at an encuentro of rural singers in Puente Alto, these words gave a great boost of confidence to the image and efforts of the *Agrupación Herederos del Guitarrón Pircano* (C. Mercado, personal communication, March 27, 2005). The instrument, although important in Santiago and other rural regions many decades past, remained exclusively in Pirque by the 1960s. The members of the Agrupación work to project the guitarrón's local identity and assert the role of its players in Pirque as the undisputed "cultores" of this tradition. They wish to have the cultural-historical authenticity of the Pirque guitarrón acknowledged in official public discourse, locally and nationally.

Figure 4.2: Talo (Raúl) Pinto, Santos Rubio and Luis Durán in ponchos and *chupalla* at the Encuentro de Guitarroneros in Pirque. Photograph by the author. November 8, 2004.

The encuentro of 2004 clearly reinforces this local and rural identity of the guitarrón through visual and discursive means. Twelve of the fifteen guitarroneros are clad in campesino[144] attire: woolen ponchos for some, *chupallas* for others. One older player and two of Alfonso's students chose to dress in dark shirt and pants; the students

144 Rural peasant.

also sported hats reminiscent of 1950s workers' caps. In improvised poetry, the guitarrón is repeatedly aligned with Pirque; the five guitarroneros are "inheritors," the folklore bearers who have learned in the traditional fashion, who are forming a new generation of players that acknowledges Pirque as the source of the instrument's vitality and true identity. On stage younger players express gratitude to their teachers, and the older musicians are distinguished as the embodiment of Pirque's history and identity. Manuel Saavedra "is" history according to the emcee's narration. The core of this group's identity is built on a discourse of musical lineage and inheritance, emphasizing the continuity of tradition through direct ties of family, community, and mentorship in Pirque. The last words leave little ambiguity of the message of the *Agrupación*: "if a guitarronero plays, there is a fragrance of Pirque." The contemporary community of guitarroneros owes its existence to direct or indirect contact with the players of Pirque.

As we saw in the Chapter Three, Alfonso's students express a similar localizing discourse in their musical aesthetic: a dedication to a rural or Pirque sound. In describing the differences between canto a lo poeta melodies, Fidel Améstica acknowledges his affective attachment to Pirque and his conviction of its central role in the revival of the guitarrón:

> …it could be that I have more love for things from Pirque. Because I, what is from Pirque, I see it as greater. I've always seen the masters from there. And as far back as we know, the masters came out of Pirque. If someone else knows guitarrón, it has been directly through a "cultor" pircano (F. Améstica, personal communication, April 29, 2005).[145]

For Miguel Angel Ibarra, of Puente Alto, the difference between rural and urban sounds is critical. He closely associates the guitarrón with a rural sound in both poetry and music:

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145 "...será que yo tengo más amor a las cosas pircanas. Que yo, lo pircano, lo veo como más grande, siempre he visto los maestros de ahí. Y hasta donde se sabe los maestros salieron de ahí. Si alguien más sabe de guitarrón ha sido directamente a través de un cultor pircano."

> …I first heard it [the guitarrón] in cassette recordings that circulated in the eighties, pirated, almost clandestine. One is an encuentro of payadores in San Bernardo in 1981, one of the most remembered. The guitarrón appears in contrast to the guitar. Also urban poetry to rural poetry. In this way I link the timbre of the guitarrón to rural poetry, more than to urban poetry. A form of rural speech to a form of rural thinking very distinct from urban forms of playing, singing, speaking (M. Ibarra, personal communication, June 2005).[146]

This rural character of the guitarrón has been a central part of his personal "investigation of a sound that is deeply Chilean…and I believe that guitarrón encompasses in its timbre and melodies, a sonority that is exclusive to Chile" (M. Ibarra, personal communication, June 2005).[147] For another student, Erick Gil (also of Puente Alto), his initiation in the guitarrón coincided with personal discovery of the rural musical heritage of his grandparents. He has studied rural music of the altiplano for several years, but came to the guitarrón in search of something more "his own," from the area where he was born and raised (E. Gil, personal communication, June 2005).

Innovating Tradition and Evoking the Indigenous

From this public performance, the physical form of the guitarrón is also a means of creatively communicating cultural, ethnic and personal identity. The type of strings, the physical shape and decorative elements are connected to individual musicians' conceptions of the instrument and its purposes.

For José Pérez de Arce, the unusual stringing of the instrument is a path for exploring the guitarrón's local identity at an even deeper historical level. Not only is the instrument rural and pircano, but also indigenous: a culminating expression of a refined

146 "… primero lo escuché en grabaciónes de cassette que circulaban en los 80, pirateados, casi clandestinos. Una es un encuentro de payadores de San Bernardo de 81, uno de los más recordados. Aparece el guitarrón en contraste con la guitarra. También la poesía urbana con la poesía campesina. Así ligo el timbre del guitarrón a la poesía campesina más que a la urbana. Una forma de hablar rural a una forma de pensar rural muy distinta a formas urbanas de tocar, cantar, hablar."

147 "…investigación de un sonido que fuera profundamente chileno...y creo que el guitarrón resume en su timbre y en sus melodías, una sonoridad que es propia de Chile…"

aesthetic legacy left by aboriginal populations. In this local, and peculiar, transformation of the early Spanish guitar, Pérez traces a theoretical path to the guitarrón's unique Chilean-ness, attributing it to an indigenous musical sensibility that is manifest in contemporary practice of the central region. Here it is important to point out that Pérez de Arce's theory is in direct contrast to those expressed by investigator Manuel Danneman. The latter posits that the guitarrón's fundamental historical identity is urban, and its form, European (Barros & Dannemann 1960; Dannemann 2004). According to Dannemann's research, the instrument came to Pirque through the urban to rural migration of several important players, but the apogee of the guitarrón was its refined musical cultivation in Santiago. He perceives subsequent rural cultivation as a degradation of highly cultivated urban style. Pérez de Arce's theory, along with Mercado's exploration of indigenous spirituality in canto a lo divino, represent a significant turn in the academic study of the guitarrón and canto a lo poeta. While possible indigenous vocal and poetic influences have been acknowledged in the past (Grebe 1967; Barros and Dannemann 1961), the focus on European inheritance was much greater. Mercado and Pérez de Arce introduce intriguing lines of inquiry that are also polemic gestures. They give the guitarrón a rural, mestizo quality that contrasts earlier depictions that align it with European musical and poetic traditions.

Pérez de Arce is not the only one to explore an indigenous aesthetic through the guitarrón. Miguel Ángel Ibarra, who commissioned a guitarrón from Manuel Basoalto, asked that his instrument be decorated with Mapuche symbols, including a kultrún image (Mapuche drum) in place of a mirror. Not necessarily a definitive statement of the instrument's indigenous identity, it is nonetheless his articulation of the central place of Mapuche and indigenous culture in his musical exploration of sounds that are "deeply Chilean" (M. Ibarra, personal communication, June 2005). Manuel Basoalto in turn, is

dedicated to creating guitarrones that are "indigenous" to Pirque. He models his instruments after old guitarrones, striving to preserve their internal and external appearance, regardless of acoustic consequences. For example, he uses three internal braces underneath the instrument's top that are rather thick (M. Basoalto, personal communication, August 2005). In comparison to instruments of Segundo Tapia and Anselmo Jaramillo (which use two), this reduces the resonant capacity of his guitarrones. They are much closer, however to the rural shape and sound of instruments such as Manuel Saavedra's.

Of the structural and ornamental elements carried by older guitarrones, much is said. Arnoldo Madariaga, a respected singer of Casablanca, has elaborated the following reading of the guitarrón physical traits:

> How could the Guitarrón not be Chilean; it has 4 diablitos, which represent the cuarteta of the Verso; 5 courses of strings, that are the 4 strophes of the Verso plus the farewell and eight frets, which are the eight syllables of every line; it has 21 pegs in its head, which are the 21 toquíos that a poet must know; the two puñales [daggers] give us an understanding of what the Paya is: challenge, improvised duel between 2 poet singers; many guitarrones carry a cross or the front of a church, which means that the poet is a cantor a lo Divino and a mirror, which reflects that the singer and poet is healthy and transparent like crystalline water (Bustamante & Astorga 1996, p. 17).[148]

Guitarroneros of Pirque are less explicit in their explanations of the physical instrument. In fact, their responses verge on dismissive, suggesting that people get too excited about the "simbología" of the guitarrón. Similar to Madariaga, they perceive the cross to be representative of the guitarrón's identity as an instrument of religious devotion in canto a

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[148] "Cómo no va a ser chileno el Guitarrón; tiene 4 diablitos, que vienen a ser la cuarteta del Verso; 5 ordenanzas, que son los 4 pies del Verso más la despedía y 8 trastes, que son la octosílaba de cada vocable [sic]; tiene 21 clavijas en su pala, que son los 21 toquíos que debe saber el pueta; los dos puñales del Guitarrón nos dan a entender lo que es la Paya: desafío, duelo improvisado entre 2 cantores puetas; muchos guitarrones llevan tallada en su brazo una cruz o las naves de una Iglesia, lo que significa que el pueta es cantor a lo Divino y un espejo, lo que refleja que el cantor y pueta es sano y transparente como al [sic] agua cristalina."

lo divino. Chosto, Santos and Alfonso couple their responses of the mirror's meaning with deflective comments such as "it's for fixing your hair before you perform" as opposed to reflecting the bad vibes of your competitors, or illuminating the spirit.

While many guitarrones today have a relatively unadorned surface, there are also exceptions. As I described earlier, some guitarrones have extensive inlay, or painted decoration on the top or fingerboard (see appendix). Golden-age guitarrones were often highly ornate, inlaid with metal, mother-of-pearl or other shiny materials. Black ink was also used to paint decorations on the front of the guitarrón. Today, Manuel Basoalto strives for a similar degree of surface decoration; he is committed to making each of his instruments

Figure 4.3: Two guitarrones made by Manuel Basoalto, one with Mapuche symbols and one with Catholic imagery.

unique. Along with Miguel Angel's drum, the doves and laurel leaf puñales of Juan Pérez' guitarrón are his handiwork.

Although closest in shape to a guitar, Don Chosto's guitarrón is perhaps most intriguing in decoration (see Figure 4.1). From a distance one can perceive red flower-shaped ornaments and puñales. Interspersed with these inlaid plastic decorations are irregularly placed sparkling shapes. Upon closer inspection, these shapes are reflective stickers depicting a variety of Disney characters. When I asked him about why these stickers were put on his instrument, he shrugged his shoulders saying, "para que brillara en la noche" [so it would shine at night]. This comment made me think about the importance of musical "difference" that these musicians have expressed (see Chapter Three). Having an instrument with a unique appearance, particularly one that "shines" constitutes another means of distinction among players. I thought of the impact when Fidel ascends the stages with his heavily inlaid guitarrón. Its mother of pearl figures (the Chilean crest, stars, condors) shines day or night even with the least bit of illumination.

Figure 4.4: Guitarrón of Fidel Améstica made in the mid 20th century. Photograph by the author.

An anecdote shared by Manual Danneman further reinforces the importance of ornamentation to past guitarroneros of Pirque. Dannemann once loaned a golden age

guitarrón to one of the musicians he worked with in Puente Alto and Pirque, don Isaías Angulo. When the instrument was returned to him, he was shocked to find that two additional ornaments had been inlaid in the upper right and left-hand corners of the top surface (M. Dannemann, personal communication, August 2005). Not only does this highlight the importance of physical adornment, but also the difference in perception of the instrument's purpose by the investigator and the "cultor." For the former, it is an item of historical import to be preserved and protected; adding an engraving and inlay was destructive. For the latter, the instrument was a tool of his trade and a critical component of his identity, one that should be appropriately adorned to match his reputation.

One of the most recent and fundamental innovations to the guitarrón's form originated in Pirque. Santos, Chosto, and Alfonso have been using nylon strings, as opposed to steel, for the past two years or so. The reasons are varied: it costs less, it puts less tension on the bridge, and perhaps most importantly, it is easier to keep in tune. Santos is most adamant on this last point. Steel strings would lose tonal precision above the first few frets of the neck, plaguing Santos' sense of perfect pitch. With nylon strings, he can tune faster and the intonation of the instrument is more satisfying. Nylon strings suit his discriminating ear, and also free him from excessive tuning time in professional performance and local ritual. For Alfonso, metal-strung guitarrones, with greater resonance and volume, are more difficult to amplify. Although he owns a metal-strung guitarrón, he did not play it in public during my entire year in Chile. He prefers to borrow from Santos' instrument rather than use his own. While Santos resolutely defends the acoustic superiority of nylon strings, Chosto and Alfonso are inclined to waver on this opinion, exploring the idea of stringing their instruments with metal and nylon. These changes within Pirque could be seen as both practical and aesthetic. Being a "cultor" of guitarrón in Pirque implies a degree of faithfulness to a local style and a

discourse of origins, but it does not necessitate sacrifice of efficiency or intonation for tradition's sake. While following certain stylistic bounds, Pirque's guitarrón is not disengaged from physical and acoustic changes in response to demands of contemporary performance.

The stringing, decoration and form of one's guitarrón are also statements of musical origin and social ties. As primary teachers of new generations of guitarroneros, Alfonso and Santos' students tend to acquire instruments through one of the two makers whom Alfonso greeted at the encuentro, stringing them with nylon. Likewise, students who learn from other instructors, such as Manuel Sánchez or Francisco Astorga, tend to purchase metal-strung instruments from Anselmo Jaramillo. Thus the style of guitarrón you play tells other musicians with whom you most associate. Nylon strings, or an instrument by Tapia or Basoalto, are strong indications of close ties or affinity to Pirque's players. By the end of my year studying guitarrón, I found myself attached to the Pirque shape and sound. In a previous visit to Chile I had purchased a guitarrón from Jaramillo, studying la común in Bustamante and Astorga's method book. When I returned to Pirque in 2004, I left this guitarrón at home, intending to purchase another guitarrón that I would sell before leaving. I bought a used instrument from Santos, made by Segudo Tapia and strung with nylon to the key of C to fit a woman's voice. Although it had some wear and a couple of structural issues, I didn't worry because I planned to sell it. When it came time to leave, however, I couldn't part with it. In the space of twelve months, I became aware of all the differences—physical and symbolic—between this instrument and my guitarrón at home. To leave this guitarrón behind would have felt like leaving my aesthetic and sentimental connection to Pirque as well.

Folklore as an Apolitical Space

Finally, I will discuss the ideological parameters of folklore that emerge from this performance gathering in Pirque. As discussed in the introduction, the guitarrón is not perceived by framing authoritative voices to be an appropriate vehicle for political commentary. Folklore, or more specifically, staged folklore, belongs to everyone. It should be a tool for creating a unified country, as opposed to deepening political divisions. Although this definition does not represent that of each individual participant, it is nonetheless the larger message transmitted by the ideological boundaries of this particular performance: the social pressures of location and audience. The discourse surrounding the guitarrón draws on the concept of folklore as the "essence" of a people. The essence in this case is that of Pirque, embodied in the guitarrón.

As expressed in the mayor's words, local government and businesses feel they are involved in supporting something that is "nuestra" [ours]. Although the guitarrón is endogenous to Pirque's community of agricultural laborers, the frame of folklore acts a social leveler; the guitarrón comes to representative Pirque residents of all classes. In his work to promote the guitarrón, Alfonso's ambition:

> …is not only for Pirque to be able to celebrate each year an event that should become one of the most transcendent and important of our traditions, but also to rescue the value of this instrument; that the residents of Pirque know that it is ours and that in the same way a decree of law says that the cueca is the national dance, something similar be done for the Guitarrón (Yáñez 2002, p. 3).[149]

This desire to achieve official recognition of the guitarrón brings up two particularly interesting issues. Firstly, while Alfonso is working for a rural (lower-class) identity for the guitarrón, in the effective projection of this image, the guitarrón must remain open as

149 "…no es solamente que Pirque pueda cada año celebrar un evento, que debería convertirse en uno de los más trascendentes e importantes de nuestras tradiciones, sino que rescatar el valor de este instrumento; que los propios Pircanos sepan que es nuestro y que así como un decreto ley dice que la cueca es el baile nacional, algo similar habría que hacer por el Guitarrón."

a symbol, neutralizing to some extent the potency of its specific history among rural agricultural laborers. Secondly, he cites the cueca's privileged spot as the official dance of Chile. It is significant to consider that the cueca was made a national dance of Chile during Pinochet's regime. Furthermore, it was not just any cueca. It was the refined stage-folk version of the cueca: not the indigenous cueca of the north, the rural cueca of the south or the sensual *cueca brava* of the *arrabales*.[150] Although other forms of cueca are gaining national visibility, they do not sustain the official status of the demure dance of courtship between the elegant huaso and the smiling china.[151] My questions are: what degree of symbolic opening or neutralization must an instrument undergo to become a national, or in this case local/regional, symbol? Is the guitarrón in Pirque on a path to becoming another element in the folk idealization of pastoral rural harmony? Will the erection of a guitarrón of stone freeze the dynamic potency of the instrument's specific social identity as a tradition that perdured in the hands of agricultural laborers? How does such representation serve the commercial interests of Pirque and boost tourism that relies on such images? Will official symbolic status ensure the guitarroneros of Pirque increased professional opportunities, or will it obscure social, political and religious difference within the community? Can it divert official eyes from contemplating the high walls and electric fences that separate comfortable estates from the small brick houses?

For Alfonso, preserving and promoting the guitarrón is paramount, and it comes before political or social convictions. His sustenance and success as a musician matters more that choosing to identify with the right or the left. The visit of President Bush and

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[150] Lower-class neighborhoods

[151] *Mestiza* counterpart of the *huaso.* In folklore imagery, she wears braids and a long flowery dress.

the APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation)[152] delegation in November 2004 was cause of great protest in Chile, particularly among the urban artistic community. Santos and Alfonso were invited to perform for the international delegation's dinner as part of an orchestral arrangement that highlighted musical folk traditions of each region of the country. In this case the two guitarroneros represented the central region. I asked Alfonso how he felt about this performance opportunity. He answered that he felt it was a good chance to present the guitarrón, and excellent professional exposure. As a "cultor" he feels is not his place to question the political significance of the event, but rather to privilege the advancement of the tradition he represents. Although urban guitarroneros may criticize this stance, it is difficult to argue with Alfonso's choice. The guitarrón appeared on an international stage with great press coverage, and it was a more lucrative performance opportunity than he typically finds. Faced with reduced career opportunities and a family of five to support, the choice makes itself.

While very similar in structure to the *encuentro* in Pirque, the gatherings I will describe in Santiago are very different in content. Social critique is not only included, but encouraged. A leftist sentiment unites performers and audience as they juxtapose visions of past political struggles with contemporary social issues. They construct their self-image on the base of the *payador/poeta* who is the voice of the people and whose song is always "comprometido" [engaged/committed]. In this context, the guitarrón's connections to a living rural tradition are less important than its historical connections to socially active artists, and its role as the principal instrument of a new generation of Chilean payadores who seek out progressive musical and poetic directions. In this

[152] APEC is a international cooperation of 21 "economies" that seeks to foment "free and open trade and investment" through coordinating economic policy, expanding business communication, and providing economic and technical training (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation 2007).

context, the payador's authenticity is derived from politically charged discourse, poetic edginess, and artistic vitality. Folklore is still a "spirit" or "essence" of a people, but in this case young, middle class musicians invoke a discourse of national identity that is progressive and identifies with working-class interests. Simultaneously, their discourse focuses on forging a national identity that looks outward towards representing Chile on international stages.

ASOCIACIÓN GREMIAL NACIONAL DE POETAS POPULARES Y PAYADORES DE CHILE

AGENPOCH was founded in 1992 with the principal goal of promoting popular poetry, canto a lo humano in particular (Astorga 2000, p. 62). Today this focus on canto a lo humano and la paya continues, although the association identifies with and supports all facets of popular poetry:

> We are an association that brings together in its membership those who have seen in Popular Poetry, Canto a lo Divino, the canto of the Payador and Canto a lo Humano, a sprout that blooms, that grows large, and everyday becomes stronger, for which reason it is necessary to water with greater care every day. The cultivators of the Décima Espinela, of the copla and the cuarteta, we are part of this family of Poets and Payadores who have given the best of themselves to defend this centenary art…(Asociación Gremial 2005)[153]

With a membership of approximately forty-five individuals, this organization brings together a diverse group of urban and rural performers including professional artists and musicians, teachers, tradesmen, craftsmen and agricultural workers. Over half of the member poets are urban professionals, musical or otherwise. The group unites a diversity of spiritual, ideological and aesthetic perspectives, although more progressive political discourse dominates urban performance. Members pay monthly dues equal to one dollar

153 "Somos una asociación que reúne entre sus socios a quienes han visto en La poesía Popular, el Canto a lo Divino, el canto del Payador y el Canto a o [sic] Humano, una espiga que florece, que se agiganta, y cada día se hace más fuerte, por lo que es necesario regarla con más empeño todos los días. Los cultivadores de la Décima Espinela, de la copla y la cuarteta, somos parte de esta familia de Poetas y Payadores que hemos entregado todo lo mejor de si para defender este arte centenario…"

a month, although the association invites non-members to participate in their activites. AGENPOCH regularly sponsors the publication of anthologies and recordings to showcase poetry and music of its members. The organization realizes several performances each year, and in 2005 took on the responsibility of coordinating the international *encuentro* of payadores in Casablanca that brings together Chilean performers with improvising poets of other Latin American countries.

Encuentro AGENPOCH (Asociación Gremial Nacional de Poetas y Payadores de Chile): December 11, 2004

In the middle of the Plaza Brasil, at the heart of Santiago's bohemian neighborhood, over a dozen payadores climbed to the stage after waiting for the soundman's arrival well over an hour. In the late summer afternoon sun, the sidewalk around the plaza was filled with tables where artists and merchants displayed paintings,

Figure 4.5: Encuentro of AGENPOCH in the Plaza Brazil, Santiago. Photograph by the author. December 11, 2004

puppets, used clothing, indigenous artwork and pirated CDs. On a grassy space to the south of the plaza, a small group of barefoot dancers grooved to electronica along with a

DJ who beat out rhythms alternately on *kultrún*[154] or djembe. On the north side of the plaza several skaters took turns on a large ramp next to an organ grinder and a popcorn vendor. Children climbed on playground equipment in the shape of large multi-colored dinosaur-like creatures. An audience congregated in small standing groups before the stage, while others paused in their travel around the plaza to listen to the payadores' décimas of introduction. Amid intermittent cries of "eso sí que sí, compañero" [that's right, comrade] or "Chi, chi, chi, le, le, le…"[155] from a chorus of twenty-somethings off to one side, each payador sat down with guitar or guitarrón to sing.

In format, this performance was not unlike the encuentro de guitarroneros; a common group of poetic forms characterizes most staged events despite differences in ideology or social context. The event included *pie forzado, contrapunto, preguntas y respuestas, personficación,* and *verso hecho.* In content however, a socio-political thread united this presentation of the poets of AGENPOCH. From the audience and from the poets a political dialogue emerged. The vociferous young fans of the University of Chile offered *pies forzados* such as "preso compañero" [imprisoned comrade] and "el que no salte es Pinocho" [he that doesn't jump is Pinocho[156] (derrogatory reference to Pinochet)]. Unsure laughter crossed the public as several spectators started jumping at the end of the last décima. As the performance was very close to the Victor Jara Foundation, the violent death of this protest singer[157] was a constant reference throughout the evening, the topic of both improvisations and prepared original *versos.* President of the association, Moisés Chaparro, announced the release of a new

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154 Drum used by the female shaman of the Mapuche.

155 Cheer of the football team of the University of Chile.

156 Variation on protest cry from before the dictatorship: "el que no salte es momio" [he that doesn't jump is a rich conservative]

157 Victor Jara was taken prisoner the day of the military coup, and died after several days of torture in the National Stadium.

compilation of poetry featuring members of the group, as well as the preparation of their new website. In a personification of God and the Devil, the payador playing the devil commented on the drunk man who attempted to get on stage, concluding his improvisations by declaring "Yo soy los Estados Unidos" [I am the United States]. Carlos Muñoz, known as "el diantre de Valparaíso" [the devil of Valparaiso] delivered an impassioned spoken verso in which his "canto globalizado" [globalized song] decried the horrors of pollution and described the virtues of Chile's artisans. Approximately half of the instruments on stage were guitarrones, primarily in the hands of younger performers. Although the guitarrón was their instrument of preference, these musicians invoked more frequently the title of "payador": one who improvises poetry, as opposed to guitarronero. In a series of questions and answers, two young payadores and an older poet discussed women, nothingness, Pinochet's secret bank accounts, and Victor Jara's murder in the National Stadium.

Ciclo de Encuentros de Payadores en el GRAN CIRCO TEATRO (April 29, 2005)

The Tent of the Great Circus Theatre is not more than two blocks from *Plaza Italia*, the bustling apex where old Santiago and new Santiago meet. At this intersection three of the city's principal avenues connect: Vicuña Makenna (running north to south), the Alameda[158] (leading to down town and the western neighborhoods) and Avenida Providencia (leading eastward to more affluent communities). Here, the two major subway lines also cross, and the intersection is under the shadow of the CTC building (Chilean Telephone company's headquaters built in the shape of a cellular phone). Across the river is Bellavista, a former bohemian sector that is still a center of nightlife in Santiago. The Great Circus Theatre is a well-known spot in the arts community. Created

[158] "Poplar avenue": official name is Avenida Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins.

by the late director Andrés Pérez, it is particularly recognized for the first presentations of Roberto Parra's[159] *La negra Ester,* a play written entirely in décimas.

I arrived with my husband and a friend from Alfonso's workshop around 7:00 p.m.. A marquee on the black metal fence announced a variety of theatrical events, and a colorful tiled walkway lead us towards a patio with a kiosk for food and drinks facing an enormous blue circus tent. Pasted on a very small building that served as an office were posters that had been distributed prior to the APEC summit, featuring George Bush's image being flushed down a toilet. Although beginning to feel the chill of winter, we

Figure 4.6: Poster protesting the APEC summit posted at Gran Circo Teatro. Photograph by the author. April 29, 2005.

went ahead and ordered *piscolas* and *terremotos*[160] instead of mulled wine. The event had been advertised on-line with a 7:00 start, but the printed posters said 8:30, so we were in for a wait. The barman told us that once a crowd gathered he would light a fire to grill some sausage to make *choripanes.*[161] We bided our time with drinks, listening to the musicians' soundcheck and watching a group of dancers rehearsing underneath a

[159] Roberto Parra was a popular musician and singer of *cueca brava*. He was a sibling of Violeta Parra.
[160] Chilean *pisco* mixed with cola. An "earthquake" is white wine and pineapple ice cream.
[161] Sausage sandwich

smaller shelter towards the back of the grounds. A half an hour or so later, the payadores emerged from the tent and we visited before the start of the show. The crowd was still thin at 8:30, so the organizers waited until 9:00 to begin. Despite the delay, we only totaled twenty-five or so spectators in a space that could seat at least one hundred and fifty.

The owner of the theatre entered from backstage, encouraging all in attendance to bring five friends with them to the next performance in the series, in order to enjoy "la sabiduría que como país tenemos" [the wisdom that we have as a country]. A young poet, self-dubbed "impopular," opened the performance with a reading from a book he had recently published. After his presentation, the four featured payadores entered, all with guitarrón in hand. As Manuel Sánchez would express at a later performance in the series:

> We are four young payadores of a new generation of paydores in Chile that are working seriously in this. We are four guitarroneros, something that you don't see a lot today, four guitarrones sounding on stage together.[162]

Manuel Sánchez, payador and guitarronero in his early thirties, was both performer and emcee that evening. He introduced the first portion of the program: a series of prepared décimas "in order to enter the magic sound of the guitarrón" and for the payadores to warm-up their voices. As each player performed, I notice the differences between the timbre of their instruments. Although three were from the same maker, Anselmo Jaramillo of Pudahuel, each player had his sound, or way of stringing or setting up his instrument. Manuel Sánchez played on a guitarrón of light, burled wood and metal strings in which he has installed a pick-up. This allows for both more consistency in the amplified sound, as well as the capability of playing in an ensemble of louder

162 "Somos cuatro payadores jóvenes de una nueva generación de payadores en Chile que estamos trabajando seriamente en esto. Somos cuatro guitarroneros, cosa que no se ve mucho hoy en día, cuatro guitarrones sobre un escenario sonando."

instruments. Although consistent in volume, it has less warmth than the other guitarrones. Rodrigo Nuñez's guitarrón, one of the first prototypes constructed by Jaramillo, had a combination of nylon and metal strings. In imitation of a rural model, the strings are all equidistant, demanding very precise right and left-hand technique in order to keep unnecessary strings from sounding. Moisés Chaparro also played a Jaramillo guitarrón, strung completely with metal. Finally, Dángelo Guerra played on an instrument of Segundo Tapia of Puente Alto, primary guitarrón maker for Pirque's musicians. His instrument was strung with nylon, and bears a mirror at the base of the fingerboard like Santos, Chosto, and Juan Pérez of Pirque.

Figure 4.7: Moisés Chaparro (guitarrón made by Anselmo Jaramillo) and Dángelo Guerra (guitarrón made by Segundo Tapia) at the Gran Circo Teatro. Photograph by the author. April 29, 2005.

As they progressed from one end of the stage to the next, I also noticed the distinct styles of each performer. While two of the guitarroneros played at a relatively quick pace (one frequently using the diablitos), the other two performed at a slower and more regular clip. The three musicians with Jaramillo's instruments used a downward index finger stroke on the upper diablitos, while Dángelo used his thumb in the Pirque style. The first three payadores used fairly well known entonaciones to sing their verses,

while Dángelo sang an original entonación in a minor key evoking the harmonic progressions of Andalusian song and the ornamented vocal style of the urban *cueca brava.* His performance received a particularly energetic response from the audience. At the next performance in the series, Rodrigo Núñez performed an adaptation of a Brazilian genre of improvised musical poetry, singing an original décima in Portuguese.

"From here on begins the improvisation," announced Manuel, and the players took turns introducing themselves in a round of introductory décimas. They commented on the significance of performing in the *Gran Circo Teatro* and the importance of theatre and the arts for their country, saying a nation "without poetry and theatre, is not yet a nation." *Pie forzado* followed with half of the lines provided by the performers and the other half from the audience including: "lo que se hereda no se hurta" [what is inherited is not robbed, in reference to indigenous lands] "como Lázaro Salgado" [as Lázaro Salgado, guitarronero who is an inspirational figure for many young payadores] and "voy sembrando guitarrones" [I go sowing guitarrones]. Seated next to two friends from Alfonso's workshop, I participated in a running critique of the performance. My companions pointed out where a payador would use an imperfect rhyme, or when a guitarroneros performance became too florid for their taste.

Next followed a personification where two payadores represented a sword and a boot. The audience cheered as the "boot" responded to the sword: "yo tengo mi dignidad; cubro los pies del obrero" [I have my dignity, I cover the feet of the worker]. After the boot soundly defeated the sword, Manuel announced the next round of questions and answers in a "banquillo inverso" or "reversed bench" style. In this mode of improvisation, an audience member asks a question which one payador will put in verse, and the remaining payadores will answer. Questions from the audience included: "Why are there so many representatives of God on earth?" and "Why so much rivalry in a

country of brothers?" As the payadores responded, my friends from the workshop commented on the quality of the answers, and whether anyone was too slow in responding. I offered the question "Who invented the guitarrón?" to which the payadores gave the following answers: "paya and poetry," "the people [pueblo] with their intelligence," and "the course hands of my people [pueblo] of great faith."

The final section of paya featured a *contrapunto en décimas,* between two of the young payadores on stage. As Manuel highlighted, improvisation in décimas is practiced throughout Latin América and this poetic "controversy" or "conversation" is "the essence of *verso,*" important throughout the world. Using language similar to that of the poets of the lira (see Chapter One), the first payador invoked "the force of the guitarrón" in his opening décima. In response, the next payador said he would join him "with his arpeggio and his twenty-five strings…" The first payador threw the first insult, asserting that even with his pick-up and cable, his competitor still plays out of tune. The second payador responded that "Uso la tecnología para mejorar nuestro canto…muestro el corazón desnudo de una tradición que avanza" [I use technology to improve our song…I show the naked heart of a tradition that advances]. And the counterpoint continued with one accusing the other of trembling in fear, the other noting how slow the first was singing, and both reasserting in conclusion their common dedication to the tradition. Manuel closed this round of improvisation emphasizing the great potential of *paya* to be a "bandera de lucha para defender valores tradicionales" [banner of struggle in the defense of traditional values].

With the guitarrón's part of the evening was over, the four payadores offered a finale of improvised *cuecas* at each performance in the series. They sang in the style of *cueca brava,* the urban cueca of lower class urban neighborhoods that is enjoying a vibrant revival among young musicians in Santiago. Like *paya*, *cueca brava* is also a

competitive arena where singers compare skill and endurance in singing. Each night, the audience proposed topics for cuecas including: salaries, the debate between Michele Bachelet and Soledad Alvear (two Concertación[163] candidates for presidential race), the crowded busses, the new Pope, viagra, Gladys Marín (president of the Communist Party, recently deceased) and the state of public education in Chile.

As a final farewell, the payadores sang in four-part harmony with guitarrón a *décima redoblada* that has been used to end performance since the paya revival took strength in the 1980s:

Se ordena la despedida	Commanded is the farewell
La despedida se ordena	The farewell is commanded
Con alegría y sin pena	With joy and without sadness
Sin pena y con alegria.	Without sadness and with joy
Nos veremos otro día	We will see each other another day
Otro día nos veremos	Another day we will see each other
Como el aromo crecemos	Like the "aromo" tree we grow
Crecemos como el aromo	We grow like the "aromo" tree
Cantores chilenos somos	Chilean singers we are
Somos cantores chilenos.	We are Chilean singers.

The Guitarrón of the Young Urban Artist: "A tradition that advances…"

As opposed to the lineage of direct contact emphasized in Pirque as an articulation of authenticity, the performances above call upon the legacy of progressive urban artists and the occasional "cultor." The legitimacy of tradition in this case draws most heavily from a discourse of youth, social relevance and engaged political discourse. Authenticity does not derive principally from your direct connections to a historic lineage, but from the vitality of your art. The identity of the artist is privileged over that of the cultor. Identification with vibrant cultural and artistic movements of the city is

[163] Alliance of parties of the left.

more prominent than invocation of a specific locality. To this end, performance of urban cueca alongside *paya* is a concrete statement of identification with urban youth and marginalized musics that defy the conservative behavioral bounds of national "folklore."

To take up the guitarrón and to assume the identity of payador is to also take a stance on contemporary social issues. Folklore, more frequently invoked as "tradition" or "popular culture" is inherently political. In this regard, the choice of location of these last two events is significant: one is at the center of one of Santiago artistic neighborhoods, the second in the heart of downtown at a famous outdoor theatre. These two sites have very left-leaning cultural associations. At the Plaza Brasil, we see how the location of the encuentro influences the discourse of the poets, as well as the input of the audience. The image of Victor Jara is invoked quite frequently and with more graphic verse than in Pirque. Whereas the poet in Pirque salutes Victor Jara alongside other poets in local history, the poets of AGENPOCH address more specifically his social activism and his violent death after the military coup of 1973. Recent political scandals such as Pinochet's secret bank accounts in Europe are addressed forthrightly, without the delicacy necessary in other, more socio-politically diverse, performance contexts. There is a sense that the poets know their audience and the audience knows the poets; the event natural assumes a polemic, leftist character. While engaging the same poetic forms and performance format, the events tied to AGENPOCH are much less formal than the encuentro in Pirque. There is no prayer, no national anthem, no high-profile emcee. The poets introduce themselves and there is a relaxed tone of familiarity between participants, even allowing the occasional *garabato* [profanity] to escape.

The instruments themselves communicate important messages about a player's identity. As I previously discussed, a guitarrón indicates social ties to musicians who patronize one or another instrument maker. Furthermore, other musicians are keenly

aware of how much an instrument costs, and can judge someone's economic potency by the wood, the ornamentation and the form of their guitarrón. As we watched the performance, I overheard whispers of how much it costs to use a certain wood or install an electro-acoustic pick-up in a guitarrón. As the musician's improvisations suggest, they also identify the guitarrón (ironically an instrument which is very difficult for the average Chilean to afford) with the pueblo and the working-class.

LOCAL AND NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GUITARRÓN

At the second performance at the Great Circus Theatre, Moisés Chaparro saluted his colleague Manuel Sánchez as both a symbol for Chile and for Latin America:

> …I believe that it is important to say that to *payar* with Manuel Sánchez is not only an honor for me, but also an honor for any Chilean payador, given that Manuel Sánchez has become in the last five years the best Chilean payador without a doubt, and I, who am the president of the National Trade Association of Poets and Payadores of Chile and understand something of this business, say this that he has also been considered in the last two years as one of the best payadores in Latin America, so for this reason I, cold, not in the contrapunto, or in the décimas, want to ask another round of applause of recognition for Manuel Sánchez because he is a true symbol of Chilean and Latin American song.[164]

At the National Encuentro of Guitarronero's, Jorge Yáñez salutes Santos Rubio, announcing to the public his recent recognition as the *Premio Presidente de la República* 2004 in folklore. He describes his multi-faceted musical roles as singer, popular poet, payador, music teacher, guitarronero, and his importance to "popular poetry, Pirque, Santiago and all of Chile…for his work, for his trajectory, for his affection, for his

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164 "…yo creo que es importante decir que payar con Manuel Sánchez no solamente es un honor para mi, sino que es un honor para cualquier payador chileno, dado que MS se ha convertido en los últimos cinco años en el mejor payador chileno sin duda, y lo digo yo que soy el presidente de la Asociación Gremial Nacional de Poetas y Payadores de Chile, y algo entiendo de este asunto, sino que se le ha dado en considerar, en los últimos dos años, uno de los mejores payadores de Latinoamérica, así que por tanto yo, en frío, ni en el contrapunto, ni en las décimas, quiero pedir un nuevo aplauso de reconocimiento a Manuel Sánchez porque es un verdadero símbolo del canto chileno y latinoamericano."

courage, his importance, his talent, the dedication that he has shown for the world of popular culture." Santos received a resounding round of applause with a big smile. Taking the microphone he dedicated his award to the people of Pirque.

I believe that these examples illustrate the role models of authenticity that are established within these two distinct circles of performance. The first focuses on artistic vitality, polemic engagement, and international projection, the second on inheritance, local history, and national identity. This is not to say that individuals do not invoke multiple understandings of authenticity, but that there are two poles that can be perceived in these arenas of performance: two contrasting visions of the purpose of folklore and its appropriate cultivation. The urban musicians described here wish to revitalize Chilean identity by reestablishing popular culture as a medium for explicit social critique. In these efforts, direct cultural-historical roots appear less important than the artistic quality and political thrust of one's performance. They seek to revitalize national cultural identity within Chile, but also to represent their country on international stages. The musicians of Pirque on the other hand project their local identity on national stages within a framework of the past. In my first interviews with Santos I began by asking him questions about himself and his performance career. He responded that he preferred to talk about what things used to be like:

> EP: …in the past ten years, in what places do you play guitarrón?…in ruedas, in concerts and things like that right?
>
> SR: But it's that… me, I'd like in this project, to do it, but in the old times…there in my first beginnings with the guitarrón (S. Rubio, personal communication, May 17, 2005).[165]

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165 EP: En los últimos diez años, ¿en qué lugares toca guitarrón¿...¿en las ruedas, en conciertos, y en cosas así no?
SR: Pero es que, yo, me gustaría en este trabajo, hacerlo, pero al tiempo antiguo... Ahí en mis primeras inicias del guitarrón...

Our discussions centered around his musical education on guitarrón in Pirque, as opposed to his integration into urban revival of the paya. Past performance practice is a resource for carving and communicating Pirque's contemporary uniqueness and authenticity. The key to creating a dynamic identity for the guitarrón is through the projection of rural nuance that the guitarroneros feel is absent in urban arenas. This is not to say that Pirque musicians are not in an active dialogue with tradition, or that they do not innovate; the change to nylon strings is one of the most fundamental transformations of the instrument in recent years. The musical aesthetic of Pirque, however, engages firmly with the past. For example, Alfonso measures his musical creation by its proximity to tradition, comparing his approach to Violeta Parra's composition:

> [Plays melody of Violeta Parra]. That's how she plays. You can tell that's an invention of hers, but it is one hundred percent from the tradition. It's like I tell people: that's your challenge, to invent, to create things, but to not lose the style. For example, [plays Figure 2.18], that, people listen to it and they can think it's mine or that it's traditional, that it's always been. It's just like Violeta. People don't know if the songs are hers or not because she had a language that was one hundred percent rural (A. Rubio, personal communication, February 2005).[166]

Like Violeta, Alfonso wants to evoke the cultor in his art. His derives aesthetic value from the successful evocation of tradition in performance.

In this discussion I have juxtaposed distinct visions of tradition that permeate performances in Santiago and Pirque. While I believe these differences are fundamental, I do not wish to imply that musicians from each group perceive them in a uniform fashion. It is significant to consider, however, that clear boundaries of performance and parameters of artistic identities emerge in these specific urban and rural settings of the

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166 "Así toca ella. Eso se nota que es invento de ella, pero es cien por ciento de la tradición, po. Es como yo le digo a la gente, es el desafío de uno, de inventar, de crear cosas, pero no perder el estilo, po. Por ejemplo [Figure 2.18], eso la gente lo escucha y puede creer que es mío, o puede creer que es de la tradición, que es de siempre. Es lo mismo de la Violeta. Que la gente no sabe si las canciones son de ella o no son de ella porque tenía un lenguaje, pero cien por ciento campesino."

guitarrón. In both contexts, musicians share the goal of placing the guitarrón in the national public eye. The guitarroneros of Pirque wish this exposure to remain linked to a local history and musical identity without acquiring a specific political identity. Young urban musicians on the other hand are dedicated to projecting the guitarrón as part of a poetic musical tradition that embraces topical and controversial issues facing the country from a progressive perspective. In this terrain of masculine "tradition" and "artistry," the next chapter will consider the participation of women, as they are represented and represent themselves in performance.

Chapter Five: The Gendered Guitarrón: Women in Performance of Chilean *Poesía Popular*

In the weeks following my arrival to Chile, the members of the Asociación Herederos del Guitarrón of Pirque—Alfonso Rubio in particular--were busy with preparations for the third annual *Encuentro Nacional de Guitarroneros.* My lessons with Alfonso grew into several hour stretches of musical instruction peppered with phone calls, meetings and diverse organizational endeavors. I offered assistance to Alfonso and the guitarroneros in whatever capacity they might need. I was surprised, however, that my help was not requested until the day of the concert when Alfonso needed someone to sit outside the performance space and sell programs. Before I could accept or refuse, one of Alfonso's friends insisted that I hadn't come so far just to stand outside and hawk magazines; I had come to watch and be close to the guitarrón. He agreed, and I returned to the spot I had chosen near the stage where I could film and record the event. Months later after attending a number of performances of canto a lo humano and canto a lo divino, I reflected back on this night, comparing the roles and spaces occupied by male and female participants. No guitarroneras had been invited to perform this year, and men directed the course of the evening's events from stage; the president of the *Agrupación*, a musicologist from the Precolumbian Museum, the mayor of Pirque, a TV celebrity, and the guitarroneros, wielded the microphone, defining the instrument in their discourse and perfomance. Stepping outside the performance hall, the tables with refreshments and CDs were "manned" by the partners and friends of the guitarroneros: primarily women. This division of labor and physical space recalled to me a pair of rural vigilias where the rueda was the terrain of the men, and the women moved back and forth from the kitchen to the main room, attending to the hunger and thirst of the singers and their guests.

Whether my gender had anything to do with this request to assist outside the performance space is not my principal interest. Rather, I wish to use it as a starting point for discussing canto a lo poeta as a tradition that is built on both male and female participation, although the gender line frequently falls neatly between roles of performance and support. Women and men inhabit different discursive, physical, performative and symbolic spaces**.** It is difficult to counter Rodolfo Lenz' observations that Chilean popular poetry is a musico-poetic realm dominated by male performers. Even today, as the number of women singers and guitarrón players increases, it remains a small percentage of the larger community. Despite the fact that few women have sustained active careers in *poesía popular,* it is important to acknowledge and explore the very integral role that many have played in the transmission of this uniquely Chilean tradition. There have been notable *poetisas* and guitarrón players from the 19th century to the present day. In addition, many women, although not performers of canto a lo poeta, have played a vital part as the guardians and the memory of this poetry and music. Describing cases from the early twentieth century through the present day, the following pages also consider female performers of canto a lo poeta, both as they represent themselves and are represented by others in public performance and popular discourse. I consider to what degree performance of popular poetry is a social enactment of power and gender (Robertson 1987) delineating "difference" and framing female identities. I also highlight future lines of inquiry, suggesting that popular and academic discourses construct metaphors of gender that impact not only the life of a musical instrument, but also societal understandings of gender roles.

WOMEN IN MASCULINE MUSICAL SPACES

In recent years, studies of gender and music have highlighted cases where female musicians enter musical practices formerly limited to male performers (Tsitshishvili 2006, Rice 2003, Aparicio 1997, Qureshi 1997, Babiracki 1997, Dawe 1996). While women's entrance as performers into male musical spaces may reflect shifts in societal understandings of gender roles, many authors also note that women's performances often participate in the process of reaffirming fundamental patriarchal structures, as opposed to challenging them.

Frances Aparicio (1998) has considered women in *salsa,* both as performers, and as racialized and eroticized objects of song lyrics. While there are examples of women who rearticulate their sexual identity in salsa as an expression of power over men, Aparicio has also highlighted male discursive control in authorship and production, as well as the public framing of female participation as something "special." In a recent article Nino Tsitshishvili (2006) has addressed the participation of women in male-dominated supra fests in Georgia, describing how multiple levels of patriarchy and gender that are invoked and performed. In particular, he has illustrated the points of friction between an ideal social order, as it is imagined and expressed in song, and the individual behavior of "rooster" women that contradict this system by engaging in traditionally male activities of singing and toasting. While behavior that crosses normative gender divides can open spaces for the transformation of social concepts and patriarchal structures, Tsitshishvili has also argued that women's participation continues to be framed by the larger societal structures of patriarchy (Tsitshishvili 2006, p. 488). For example, he has noted among "rooster" women an avoidance of florid song variation and strident tone that characterizes men's singing, even when they are fully capable. Similarly, in the male-dominated lyra tradition of Crete, Kevin Dawe (2000) has

described how a woman who sings to her own instrumental accompaniment makes herself less physically and musically threatening to her male counterparts through minimal improvisation, a sweet tone, and by visually portraying herself as a younger woman. While men admire her tone and skill on the lyra, they also conceptually and stylistically distinguish her feminine performance style from that of a man's. In Bulgaria Timothy Rice (2003) has described how bagpipe performance carries masculine associations, and how the instrument physically represents masculinity with its three phallic tubes. When a young girl of a village wanted to learn to play, both her parents and her village were shocked at what they felt represented indecent sexual behavior (Rice 2003, p. 169). These studies have highlighted how women must negotiate, through style and behavior, the conceptual framework of masculine musical spaces when their participation does not follow normative gender expectations.

Until the mid-twentieth century, certain musical instruments, and their corresponding repertoire, carried strong gender associations in Chile. These associations varied from region to region, but often in the central valley (especially in Pirque), the guitar and harp were women's instruments, whereas the guitarrón was masculine. This gender attribution could be so strong that a musician crossing boundaries of instrument, repertoire or style might be thought homosexual (O. Ulloa, personal communication, March 10, 2005; A. Rubio, personal communication, February 2, 2005). Despite the decades of distance from this gendered segregation of instruments and their repertoire, it is interesting that the number of female guitarroneras and cantoras a lo poeta remains extremely low. Interestingly, many men now play harp and guitar without social stigma, dominating repertories of cuecas and tonadas that were once considered feminine. The occasional comment will still allude to the extremely gendered character of canto a lo poeta and the guitarrón, however. A rural player once suggested to me that women who

play guitarrón tend to have a masculine aspect in their dress, appearance and behavior. Both a rural and a professional urban player also commented that repertoire of canto a lo poeta is better suited for males; its philosophical nature demands mental and spiritual commitment that women do not always have the time or disposition to offer. While such comments circulate on occasion in private discussion, women are publicly welcomed as contributors to the tradition.

Warm reception in performance, however, does not mean that it is unimportant for men and women to distinguish themselves musically and poetically. Taking examples from staged performances of *canto a lo humano*, this chapter examines how the lines of gender are drawn in discourse: how the performance of canto a lo poeta and the guitarrón remain masculine symbolic spaces. I will argue that women participate in song and on guitarrón in Chilean canto a lo poeta with a distinct posture and performance practice, one that in large part conforms to discursive representations of women as sweet and delicate, as opposed to confrontational and strong. In themes of poetic improvisation, modes of interaction, and musical performance, I argue that women's performance as guitarroneras and payadoras emphasizes traditional boundaries of gender more than it brings them into question.

WOMEN AS PERFORMERS AND PRESERVERS IN THE HISTORY OF POPULAR POETRY

As I have described in other chapters, the guitarrón and popular poetry are not exclusively masculine realms. Distinguished female musicians punctuate this history, although perhaps without equal recognition as their male colleagues. Rosa Araneda stands out among *poetisas* of the printed *lira* for the quality and quantity of her poetic production (Lenz 1919). There have also been guitarroneras, although little documentation exists about their lives and history. Of Angela Silva, a 1947 field

recording of several instrumental performances exists where she plays an impressive array of dances and toquíos for canto a lo poeta. Sadly, the only information of her life noted is her name, and her identity as a guitarronera of the central region. One of these instrumentals was featured on a recent field recording compilation issued by the Archives of Traditional Music at the University of Chile's *Facultad de Artes* (Silva 2001). Her approach to the instrument brings up questions of stylistic variation and the diversity of applications for the instrument in dance that have been overshadowed by the instrument's role in canto a lo poeta. In addition, Magdalena Aguirre Flores, mother of *payador* and guitarrón player Lázaro Salgado, is reported to have been a "magnificent guitarrón player" (Barros & Dannemann 1961, p. 10). Often performing in the *boliches* [bar/restaurants] run by the family, she was an admired and faithful accompanist to the singing of her husband and his poetic companions, although she did not sing or write poesía popular herself (G. Saavedra, personal communication, May 7, 2005). Gloria Saavedra, a schoolteacher who realized extensive investigation with Lázaro Salgado, affirms that it is because of his mother that he learned to play (ibid.). While important female figures emerge from the history of canto a lo poeta, in both poetic composition and on guitarrón, there is little detail available on their lives, and in the case of Rosa Araneda, her artistic identity is challenged in academic discourse.

When I asked don Chosto why there were no women poets or guitarrón players in his earlier days, he responded that "before the old men took care of [protected] their tradition" [antes lo viejos cuidaban su tradición] (personal communication, April 14, 2005). Whether it was this tight reign on tradition or the social boundaries of gender that kept female performers numerically few, many women realized critical support roles in canto a lo poeta. Pirque's last generation of singers, a large number illiterate, depended on wives, daughters, nieces and granddaughters to assume the important role of scribe,

notating and managing an extensive collection of poetry. It was often the women who "took care" of the men's tradition. As Alfonso notes, his mother knew her father's repertoire in its entirety from copying down his verses and repeating them to him as need be. Don Chosto's experience is similar today. Unable to read or write, his wife and other relatives have helped him compile a collection of verses. On occasion he asked me to sort and recite them so they would stay fresh in his memory. In her field collection of rural verses, Violeta Parra found that women, although not performers of verso, also maintained in their memory their favorite texts that they had learned over the years (Parra 1979). As Violeta interviewed Gabriel Soto of Pirque, the latter's wife, despite her distaste for canto a lo poeta, was frequently the one who could fill in the missing lines of décimas when his memory failed him (ibid., p. 22). Poet Agustín Rebolledo, also of Pirque, kept all his verses in a notebook that his daughter had created (ibid., p. 29). In Barrancas, Violeta also met Rosa Lorca who, as an "arregladora de ángeles,"[167] retained many verses that she had heard at *velorios.* Without being active performers, women have nonetheless constituted an important part of the memory of canto a lo poeta.

In a related fashion, women have realized principal roles in the organization, documentation, and projection of canto a lo poeta and the guitarrón. Raquel Barros was one of the leaders of a team of investigators from the University of Chile that issued the first academic study and field recordings of the players of Pirque. Beyond this research role, she helped organize performance opportunities for rural musicians in the city during the 1950s and 60s. Agueda Zamorano, a poet and laborer in the shoe industry in Santiago, was a key figure in the First National Congress of Poets and Singers of Chile in the 1950s. Elected president of this group of urban intellectuals and rural musicians, she

167 "Preparer of angels": she would dress the "angelitos, " the deceased children, and decorate the table on which they were placed for the wake.

led them in the realization of performance, educational, and social projects tied to popular poetry. She also preserved over the years an extensive collection of lira publications. As I have described earlier, Violeta Parra was also deeply immersed in the world of guitarrón of Pirque in the 1950s: recording, notating, and performing the musical and poetic repertoire of this region. Through her activities, canto a lo poeta and the music of Pirque came to the attention of young musicians in the sixties: individuals such as Pedro Yáñez who has been instrumental in promoting the revival of the paya (personal communication, May 4, 2005). Furthermore, she absorbed the sounds of Pirque into her own compositional style, and one could argue that the musical image of Chile that circulates globally in her songs bears the musical and poetic mark of this relationship with the guitarrón (Torres 2004).

In April of 2005, the students of Alfonso Rubio listened with rapt attention to Bertina Angulo relating affectionate memories of Violeta's visits to Puente Alto. In 1951,[168] Bertina opened the door of her family's home to find a young woman inquiring for her father: "Tell him that a *cantora* is looking for him" (interview with author, April 12, 2005). As she went to tell her father, the lady took out her guitar sat outside the doorway and introduced herself in song. To this, Isaías Angulo, "el profeta" [the prophet] as his friends called him, took out his guitarrón and improvised his own introduction. Thus began the long relationship of Violeta Parra with the singers and the guitarroneros of Puente Alto and Pirque. She remembers vividly this first visit; the spot under a tree where they sat singing after breakfast; the *cazuela* and *porotos* [stew and beans] that they had for lunch. After this all day visit, Violeta returned early the next morning from Santiago, suitcase in hand, saying: "*ya don Isaías, me vengo a quedar a su*

[168] According to other sources, Violeta Parra began working with the guitarroneros of Pirque in 1953 (I. Parra 1985)

casa, le dijo, hasta que aprenda a tocar guitarrón" [alright don Isaías, I've come to stay at your house until I learn to play guitarrón] (B. Angulo, personal communication, April 12, 2005).

Of all her brothers and sisters, Bertina says that she was most interested in *paya* and the guitarrón. As a child she accompanied her father to many payas, and often toted the large reel-to-reel recorder when Violeta Parra and her father went to visit other musicians of the area. For our perusal, she had unearthed a folder full of articles from the 1960s profiling the participants in local payas and in the 1969 University of Chile reenactment of Don Javier de la Rosa and the Mulato Taguada's poetic standoff. Her visit was like a window opening briefly into a history of Violeta's path through Pirque and her friendship with don Isaías. I appreciated hearing these stories of her personal relationship with Violeta and how she was received by both the Angulo family and the larger community. Deeply influenced by Violeta Parra's music, I imagined that Alfonso and his students might have reacted in a similar fashion. Not only did Bertina assist Violeta Parra and her father in their cultivation of canto a lo poeta, but she also transmits the memories of these experiences which are valued by today's players.

NARRATIVES OF DEFEAT

While women have not been present in great number as part of canto a lo poeta performance, that they have realized important roles of support and leadership to which contemporary practice owes its form and vitality. It is important, however, to consider this participation in relation to perceptions of gender that inhabit the masculine terrain of canto a lo poeta. Representations of the feminine perhaps outnumber the female participants themselves. Within these representations, I would like to consider the recurrence of a narrative of defeat: of male domination over female performers. While it

would be overzealous to attribute too much significance to each story individually, together these anecdotes and representations of women point to a repeated expression of masculine discursive power (if not social superiority), in canto a lo poeta. As Carol Robertson describes, myth can realize the social function of "justification for subjugating others." (1987, p. 230). It is important to consider what the subtexts of myths, in this case culled from popular and academic discourse alike, indicate about gender roles in Chile.

As I described in Chapter One, Desiderio Lizana relates the rural story of a woman *payadora*, undefeated in competition, whose elegant poetry on erudite topics meets with the vulgar improvisations of a certain male adversary. She is undone, never performing again, after he calls her "old." In a 1980 interview Joaquín Cantillana of Pirque related a similar anecdote of a female *payadora* whose verses met with the violent sexual double entendre of a male poet's responses. Whether factual or fictitious, these accounts hold important symbolic meaning in relation to gender. In these stories men defeat their female adversaries through recourse to insult and strong language. These women, however skilled, crumble before the force of men's verse.

In a related fashion, I believe not only popular rural anecdotes, but also academic discourse and urban performance contribute to a clear definition of male authority in canto a lo poeta: a subjugation of powerful female voices. The artistic identity of Rosa Araneda, for example, has been called into question in recent years. Following Micaela Navarrete's (1998) publication of a compilation of Araneda's poetry, Manuel Dannemann published a study that negated her artistic legitimacy. According to the notes of Jorge Octavio Atria (see Chapter One), Rosa Araneda, wife of prominent poet Daniel Meneses, was not a poet herself. Rather, her husband used her name and identity in order to publish more of his verse and profit from the novel commercial appeal of a female

poet. Invoking the name of this female poet, young investigators and performers rally around her identity, celebrating her role as a female poet in a masculine world. Simultaneously, however, ring the voices of researchers and performers who discredit a female artist whose work would amount to one of the largest bodies of printed poetry *a lo divino.*

In addition to these negations of female artistic identity, there is a recurrence of masculine discursive framing of women's participation in canto a lo poeta. Agueda Zamorano and her female colleagues in attendance at the Congress of Poets and Singers in 1954 are given a tribute in verse by Miguel Luis Castañeda: "un modesto campesino de nuestra patria, pero un poeta popular de la más fina estirpe..." [a modest peasant of our country, but a popular poet of the finest lineage].

Bello sexo femenino	Beautiful feminine sex
que nos brindas siempre amores	That always offers us love
yo las he llamado flores	I have called you flowers
por su corazón divino;	Because of your divine heart;
yo pensando me imagino	Thinking, I imagine
la placidez que han tenido	The gentility that you have had
para formar un gran nido	To make a great abode/nest
en la Lira Popular	In the *Lira Popular*
y no cesan de brindar	And you don't cease to offer
su verso bello y florido.	Your beautiful and flowery verse.
Nuestra lira que empezó	Our *lira* that began
con flores de puros cardos	With flowers of only thistles
y una que otra flor de nardo	And one or another **"**nardo" flower
que más mérito le dió;	That lent it more merit;
ora bien se matizó	Now it is well tinted
con las flores femeninas	With feminine flowers
que son perfumada y fina	That are perfumed and fine
y forman jardín de amor	And make a garden of love
ternura en su corazón	Tenderness in their heart
sus versos luz que iluminan.	Their verses light that illuminates.

(Union de Poetas 1953, p. 64)

Certainly not ill intended, this verse nonetheless singles out women's participation as something unique and unusual, a late addition to a tradition that began as "flowers of only thistles" [flores de puros cardos]. Agueda Zamorano, the strong and eloquent female poet who has assumed leadership of the first national organization of poets and singers in Chile, is simultaneously a flower that lends sweetness to the tough poetic world of men. Again, this is not to signal vicious machismo, but rather to introduce the gendered framing of canto a lo poeta that existed already at the start of this revival when the guitarrón was about to reemerge. Here, women are accepted as a welcome addition to the tradition. It is important to emphasize however, that they are distinctly framed as newcomers and poets that have a delicate style that stands in clear contrast to canto a lo poeta's "thistle"- like masculinity. Thus framed, women's participation does not pose a challenge to normative gender roles: men are the bold, vociferous troubadors, and women are the flowers that sweeten their song.

Of all the women who have participated in canto a lo poeta or played guitarrón, Violeta Parra may be the one who most challenged normative conceptions of gender. From her mid-thirties on, her dress and manner were very distinct from a typical urban Chilean woman of the mid-twentieth century: she did not wear make-up; she did not do her hair; her singing was not smooth and polished in tone. In her strident voice, her confrontational and compelling social critique, she was more " thistle" than flower:

> …I want to recall here that she had a character that synthesized the most profound feminine tenderness that I have ever known, and a willful and aggressive earthquake, tyrannical and dominating (Manns 1977, p. 63).[169]

While admired in some circles for her audacity, confidence and sharp tongue, the same directness of both her personality and her art, may also explain the lack of support and

169 "…Quiero recordar aquí que ella detentaba un carácter en el cual se sinetizaban una de las más profundas ternuras femeninas que haya conocido nunca, y un terremoto voluntarioso y agresivo, dominante y avasallador."

opportunities from individuals and organizations that controlled national institutions and media. Whereas other "folkloristas" or her generation were fully integrated into the performance and investigation activities of the University of Chile, Violeta Parra was given little support in her field recordings (Manns 1977, p. 58).

> …the perfection and depth of her fundamental songs, the popular talon transformed into dominating force, the oblique or explicit humor that erupts here and there, the direct aggressions crowned with exterior and interior beauty…faced with this not very abundant, but decisive work of Violeta, one is able to explain perfectly why she was rejected or ignored so frequently…the breadth of her talent assaulting at every step the stagnant mediocrity of the tiny Chilean intellectual and political world (ibid., p. 71)[170]

Here Patricio Manns (1977) has suggested that Violeta Parra's exclusion from primary media channels and prominent cultural institutions may be understood by the forceful, awe-inspiring depth of her talent. Her political convictions may also have contributed to this exclusion, as Violeta herself has noted.[171] I would further suggest that the "aggressive" and "dominant" part of her character, reflected in much of her art, may also have challenged the gender expectations of dominant social and political groups. It was not appropriate for a woman, especially one of rural background, to outdo bourgeois and upper class artistic production.

Unable to compete on the same poetic terrain with the female poets of the anecdotes, their male adversaries silence them through personal insult and strong sexual language, terrains in which women cannot compete as equals. Like the women of the rural anecdotes shared earlier, Violeta Parra is a skilled poet whose verses inhabit a

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170 "…la perfección y hondura de sus canciones fundamentals, la garra popular transmutada en fuerza avasallante, el humor soslayado o explícito que estalla aquí y allá, las agresiones directas coronadas de belleza exterior e interior…frente a éste no muy abundante pero decisivo trabajo de Violeta, uno se explica perfectamento por qué tan a menudo se la rechazó o se la ignoró…el pleonasmo de su talento agrediendo a cada paso la anquilosada mediocridad del pequeño mundillo intellectual y politico chileno."

171 "In Chile there are newspapers that are not very kind to me, those that are right-wing, of the bourgeoisie. I am woman of the people [*pueblo*]. And every time I take up politics, those people get upset with me. They just want me to be a singer." (I. Parra 1985: 32).

higher artistic and spiritual plane than her competitors. In her case, those holding the reins of power in cultural and academic institutions simply shut the door to silence her potent and threatening artistic force. These frustrations combined with her separation from her partner Gilbert Favré are often considered in relation to her 1967 suicide:

> You got to a certain age, you struggled your whole life and you don't even have the security of work, of a roof and to that you'd have to add spiritual solitude…because all those things came together…to get to fifty years, like she, who loved the rocks, who loved the trees, who loved men…to get to that point in life and lose your partner.
>
> …after struggling your whole life against a system that is a monster, that particularly tremendous in her last years, that put shackles on her…well…her alone against all that…she began to weaken…she began to waste away…to lose energy (Alberto Zapicán, cited in Subercaseaux 1982, p. 88-89).[172]

In popular myth as well as in the testimony of those close to her, Violeta's dynamic personality and artistic force was undone by loss of the man she loved, and by her exclusion from the social system in which she fought to practice her art. Violeta Parra's artistic production and confrontational character challenged the gender conceptions of hegemonic cultural institutions of the 1950s and 60s. Unwilling to "buy or sell herself" or conform to urban societal expectations, Violeta Parra sought to puncture the walls of dominant discourse from the outside, from alternative artistic spaces:

> The creator must never beg for the opportunity to be heard. And when they shut so many doors on us, when there is so much bureaucracy and idiocy trotting along

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172 "Llegaste a una edad, luchaste toda una vida y ni siquiera tenés la seguridad del trabajo, del techo y a eso había que sumarle la soledad espiritual…porque se juntaron todas esas cosas…llegar a los 50 años, como ella, que amaba las piedras, que amaba los árboles, que amaba a los hombres…llegar a esa altura de la vida y perder al compañero…después de estar luchando toda una vida contra un sistema que es un monstruo, que fue sobre todo tremendo en sus últimos años, que le puso trabas y que le daba solamente cláusulas para sobrevivir…, bueno…ella sola contra todo eso…empezó a flaquear…se empezó a desgastar…a perder la energía."

> the streets and painting their nails in offices, you have to try to find a way, to invent a way to make yourself heard and understood (Manns 1977, p. 64)[173]

In the next section, I will consider contemporary payadoras and guitarrroneras in canto a lo poeta performance, asking in what ways women conform to gender expectations or create new spaces for articulating female identity.

WOMEN IN POPULAR POETRY TODAY: REPRESENTATIONS AND FRAMING OF THE FEMININE IN A MASCULINE MUSICAL TERRAIN

The guitarrón and canto a lo poeta have spread out, occupying new social spaces at significant temporal, physical and ideological distance from the rural roots of their revival and more distant historical uses. I have argued that the separation of the guitarrón from firm social signifiers has made it such an attractive instrument for young musicians in their exploration of Chileanness. This chapter will suggest, however, that of the guitarrón's history of political and social meanings, its gendered identity has held on with most force**.** While new and old cultural meanings are recombined and resignified in the symbolic space of the guitarrón, it is striking that this instrument—as well as canto a lo poeta—primarily draws men to its fold. Women entering this arena do so within the boundaries of a conceptual framing of gender, as articulated by male performers in many cases. Women do not compete in the same way as men, but rather conform to different performance roles: less confrontational, more restrained, and more positive. Similarly, men tailor their poetic and musical performance according to gender role expectations. Furthermore, a woman's presence and performance is an event requiring comment by her male colleagues. She is framed as a rarity, as something to be "put in a museum" (M. Arancibia, personal communication, March 14, 2005): an object whose musical and

173 "El creador no debe mendigar jamás la oportunidad de ser oído. Y cuando se nos cierran tantas puertas, cuando hay tanta burocracia y tan imbecilidad trotando por las calles y pintando sus uñas en las oficinas, hay que tratar de encontrar un medio, de inventar un medio para hacerse escuchar y comprender."

physical identity must be framed, labeled and defined within a masculine domain. This section will consider the contemporary participation of women in canto a lo poeta and on guitarrón, extracting from performance a sense of the discursive framing of gendered identities and several metaphors of the feminine. Within public performance, women are respected colleagues, sexual objects, and delicate, demure flowers: welcome guests, but not equal participants in the history and character of the tradition.

Eloquent woman[174] vs. sexual object

As Ingrid Ortega approached the microphone at the twelfth annual *Encuentro Internacional de Payadores* in Casablanca, the emcee highlighted the significance of her participation in this event, commenting further: "see how pretty she is, and young too" [*mira que es linda, y joven también*]. Accompanied by Dángelo Guerra on guitarrón, she entoned her *cuartetas* in a round of *preguntas y respuestas* [questions and answers] in which four singers took turns challenging their opponents. With a high, clear and relaxed voice, she posed the following existential question to her older male competitor:

Que me responda su alma	May your soul respond to me
Con mucha sinceridad	With great sincerity
Le hago ahora esta pregunta	I ask you this question now:
¿Diga qué es la libertad?	Tell, what is liberty?

To this, he replied that freedom is the joy he finds in being close to her:

...Estar tocando el cielo	…To be touching heaven
Y siempre juntito a ti.	And always right next to you.
	(laughs from audience)

174 Here I am borrowing a term used in *Discurso, Género y Poder* (Grau, Delsing, Brito and Farías 1997). They describe how the "eloquent woman" emerges as a metaphor of femininity in the transition to democracy, citing the examples of influential women in political arenas.

Later, it was Ingrid's turn to answer her opponents' questions, and the following series of verses were exchanged:

Payador 3:	Payador 3:
…Dime cómo hoy día te sientes	…Tell me how you feel today
De ser una payadora.	To be a payadora.
Ingrid:	Ingrid:
Contenta desde San Carlos	Happy from San Carlos
Hoy recibo su calor	I receive your warmth
Con el corazón hinchado:	With my heart swelling:
Felicidad y amor.	Happiness and love.
Payador 2:	Payador 2:
Aunque yo ya soy casado	Although I am already married
Y ya que habló del amor.	And since you spoke of love,
Di si en tu corazoncito	Say in your little heart
Hay lugar para un payador.	There is room for a payador.
	(Laughs from audience)
Ingrid:	Ingrid:
...en mi corazoncito	…in my little heart
Hay un lugar para todos.	There is a place for everyone.

To her competing payadores, twenty to forty years her seniors, Ingrid posed thought-provoking questions and riddles. She responded to their humorous and suggestive quips with a consistent gravity of manner and a pronounced positive tone. Without exaggerating the salacious character the male payadores' comments, I do want to emphasize the difference in the discursive terrains that the young payadora and her male counterparts occupy. Ingrid's poetry, her gender, and her physical appearance were all open arenas for commentary for the payadores in the form of endearing jokes to which the audience responds with pleasant chuckles. They described the personal pleasure they felt at the side of, or as the object of affection, of this talented teenage girl with whom they perform. The young payadora, however, did not respond in a similar tone to her

competitors. Rather, she circumvented acknowledgment of gendered relationships by keeping her comments to generalized descriptions of love, beauty and happiness. The elevated tone she maintained in her poetry contrasted the mildly suggestive comments of the male payadores, projecting a socially appropriate de-eroticised image of young womanhood. In this poetic interchange, women's gender and sexuality was a terrain where the men may voice their opinions, but where the female participant avoided direct engagement.

In a similar fashion, my first public performance on guitarrón inspired a series of improvisations laden with sexual double meaning. At the *Encuentro de Payadores* in the Plazuela Independencia in Puente Alto on February 10, 2005**,** my contribution was to perform three original décimas with guitarrón, showcasing what I had been studying with my teacher Alfonso, organizer of the event. He introduced me as a young woman who had come from the United States to study Chilean musical culture. After I exited the stage, the public suggested I be the topic of the next "banquillo" [bench] where the youngest guitarronero was grilled with questions by the other poets:

Payador 1 *Con tu verso que repunta* *Que ante todos se distinga* *el publico te pregunta* *¿qué te gustó de la gringa?*	Payador 1 With your verse that sums up May it distinguish itself before us all The audience asks you: What did you like about the gringa?
Payador 2 (en el banquillo): *Me ha gustado de la gringa* *de que escribe versos miles* *y de un interés profundo* *por conocer nuestro Chile.*	*Payador 2 (on the "bench"):* Of the gringa, I have liked That she writes verses in the thousands And for her deep interest In getting to know our Chile. (audience applauds)
Payador 1:	Payador 1 (spoken, interrupting next payador's music):

Tu respuesta fue bonito	Your answer was pretty
Tu repuesta fue muy bella	Your answer was very beautiful
pero mas yo no lo creo	But I don't believe it however,
yo creo que te gustó ella.	I think you like *her*.
	(audience laughs)
Payador 3:	Payador 3:
A usted se le felicita	You are congratulated
por sus respuestas tan buenas	For your very good answers.
di qué hace esa gringuita	Say what does that little gringa do
que no hacen las chilenas?	That Chilean women don't?
	(audience: "ooooo…")
Payador 2:	*Payador 2:*
	(Big pause while playing guitarrón and thinking of an answer, audience laughs)
La diferencia no importa	The difference is not important
permitame que me centre	Allow me to focus
una mujer es la flor	A woman is the flower,
no importa donde se encuentre.	No matter where she is.
	(audience applauds)

In my introduction, I was introduced as a foreigner who had come to realize serious study of the guitarrón, rapidly learning to play and improvise. My verses were received with respectful applause, particularly as I sang of my dedication to Chilean music and the recent hurricanes that had devastated parts of Florida. Upon exiting the stage, however, my identity as serious student and respected guest was juxtaposed with my sexual identity as a young, and presumed single, woman.

Sexual double entendre is such prevalent mode of humor in Chile that I felt it might be difficult to challenge it without alienating my teachers and my fellow students. I did approach Alfonso, however, gently indicating that I had not expected such a suggestive verse from him. He responded that he was trying to give the payador on the banquillo an opportunity for a really humorous response. In detailing what the gringa does that Chilean women don't, he should have said "she plays guitarrón." The success

of an interchange would consist in that Alfonso's verse--at first glance rife with sexual innuendo--would be reduced in the end to an innocent observation. In other words, with such a response, Alfonso's verse would not have exceeded any limits of respectful treatment of his female student. Addressing the young man on the "banquillo," the other payadores could show their mastery of the discursive terrain of sexual double entendre. Addressing his comments to the audience (which I was a part of), the young payador, however, was under pressure to produce respectful comments that wouldn't offend or be ungallant. This interchange juxtaposed several social images of a woman: 1) an "eloquent woman" as a serious student of Chilean tradition; 2) a sexual object; and 3) a "flower" that should be treated with gentlemanly tribute in verse.

While I was the topic of this improvised interchange, I was not the object of ridicule. The intention was to put the young payador in a corner, and make it difficult for him to craft a response that would be witty, yet inoffensive. On the other hand, I had a sense of puzzled ambivalence at such abrupt shifts in my representations: from "eloquent woman," to sexual object, to "flower." A similar sensation struck me at another encuentro where I performed with my fellow students from Alfonso's taller. At the end of the program, the father of one of my classmates rose to proclaim how "buenos" [good] the young guitarroneros were and "*pa' qué vamos a hablar de las guitarroneras"* [let's not even talk about the guitarroneras (calling a woman "buena" implies that she is well-built)]. I chuckled with inner uneasiness along with the audience, contemplating the relation between my own experience and those of Chilean women in canto a lo poeta: the equal strength of response from my performance (applause) and the framing of my sexuality and physical appearance (laughter). Would these comments come up were I not foreign? How did this treatment differ from other payadoras I knew who were married to

well known and respected payadores? After the comment from the gentleman in the audience, Alfonso responded in verse:

Tiene que tener cuidado	You have to be careful
Con sus cosas mal pensadas	With your ill-intended comments
Mire que esta guitarronera	Look, that this *guitarronera*
Ya es sumamente casada.	Is already quite married.

The response was a reflective "oh" from the audience, perhaps indicating a concern that this gentleman's comments, earlier perceived as humorous, might have suddenly become inappropriate. In others words, there is a difference in treatment between a young woman, and a young married woman.

Masculine and Feminine Styles: Gender Roles in Counterpoint

Besides the paya of Ingrid Ortega, I attended multiple performances of Cecilia Astorga and Myriam Arancibia, women who are payadoras, cantoras a lo divino, and guitarroneras. They are also sister-in-laws, both married to men who are prominent figures in contemporary canto a lo poeta. While this status may have influenced the absence of any suggestive sexual humor in regard to their performance, their presence at a paya would almost always inspire commentary from emcees or from fellow musicians; they were "one of the few," "the first," or "the only" woman in Chile to shine in the masculine arena of canto a lo poeta. Beyond these introductions noting their gendered "rarity," women also receive distinct treatment in performance; male performers will alter their poetic style when improvising with a woman.

Let us take as examples a common element of an *encuentro de poesía*: the *contrapunto en décimas* [counterpoint/duel in décimas]. In many gatherings, an older poet, generally regarded as an authority in canto a lo poeta, will be paired with a young

poet to improvise. The contrapuntos of this kind that I have observed follow a similar progression. After respectful introductions, the payadores will acknowledge the talent of the other for several décimas. Approximately half way through the improvisation, one person will suggest that they return to a contrapunto: a confrontation of poetic skill. They will exchange a series of challenges, witticisms or subtle slights for several more décimas, after which they will end reaffirming the tradition that unites them as brothers. Although more often than not these confrontations do not turn bitter, there is use of confrontational language and direct contestation. At the 13th Annual *Encuentro de Paya y Poesía* in Codegua, Francisco Astorga was paired against a former student, Hugo González. In their exchange, Hugo attempted to draw Francisco into a debated with provoking comments such as: "You spoke of horses/And I'm a very good horseman/My poetry attacks/And I am strong when I improvise…" In one décima he thanks Francisco for his valuable instruction on guitarrón, but ends by saying "you teach guitarrón, but I'll teach you to improvise." Francisco responds to both affronts in a light-hearted manner by teasing Hugo about the hat he's wearing, and by reaffirming their common dedication to tradition. Depending on the participants, this kind of contrapunto can get more or less polemic, but always ends peaceably. In this case the two poets offer their farewell verses concluding that in the end "our poetry" wins the contrapunto. We see from the character of the exchange an eagerness on the part of one payador to initiate animated debate. Both poets were prepared, however, to refute the other's stance with direct language.

At the same Encuentro, payadora and guitarronera Myriam Arancibia was paired with don Arnoldo Madriaga, considered an authority by fellow poets. Here there was no rise in tension, nor any allusion to the need to make their improvisations more confrontational. Rather, it was a series of verses expressing mutual admiration, respect, and optimistic visions of motherhood, youth, women and tradition.

AM	AM
…Antes que llegue la hora	…before the hour arrives
Rápido como un cometa	quick as a comet
Hoy ya Myriam es poeta	Today Myriam is now a poet,
Excelente payadora.	Excellent payadora.
MA	MA
…Porque viajo en esta barca	…because I am traveling on this ship
Y pronto seré madre	and will soon be a mother
Hoy saludo a este padre	Today I salute this father,
El padre entre los patriarcas.	The father among the patriarchs.
AM	AM
Orgullo de mi nación	Pride in my nation
Es cumplir con mis deberes	Is fulfilling my duties
Pq hoy día las mujeres	Because today women
van haciendo tradición…	Are making tradition…
MA	MA
En esta precisa hora	In this precise hour
Mi palabra no se enreda	Mi words do not tangle
También fue Rosa Araneda	Rosa Araneda was also
Gran poeta y payadora…	A great poet and payadora…

As these exerpts illustrate, there was a lack of confrontational language in this contrapunto. It was a progression of reaffirming stanzas in which the elder singer confirmed the poetic talent of the young guitarronera and expressed great pleasure to be singing along side one of the women who is "making tradition" today. Unlike her young male counterpart, Myriam never used directly challenging or arrogant language, and always addressed the elder singer with respectful and complimentary verses. There was no explicit debate; their contrapunto was an exchange of uplifting commentary on tradition, youth, motherhood and family. The tone of their poetic exchange was further reinforced by spoken commentary following the contrapunto where Madariaga again confirms that Myriam, like Cecilia, is a future payadora of great talent, requesting an

additional round of applause. Myriam returned the gesture in an emotional expression of her gratitude for the teaching and support she has received from this "father" of canto a lo divino y a lo humano.

Offstage, Myriam's observations confirmed the same respect she shows on stage to her poetic elder: "That's the best thing to be able to sing *a lo poeta.* To have respect for the elder singer, who is the one who knows best the tradition" (M. Arancibia, cited in Ponce 2007).[175] As she did in performance, she also emphasized in an interview the importance of family and tradition in canto a lo poeta:

> David Ponce: Is it a coincidence that you are both payadoras [Myriam and Cecilia] and you are both connected to the same family?
>
> Myriam Arancibia: …more than coincidence, the family tradition is present there. Cecilia learned from her family, I learned from my husband and that is what unites us, family tradition through poetry (Ponce 2007).[176]

At the encuentro in Codegua, Myriam's participation as a woman in canto a lo poeta was framed by her male colleagues as something "rare," and her performance in great part remained within a safe discursive zone of issues relating to motherhood, family and tradition. Within her poetic improvisation however, I would also like to indicate how in a non-polemic way she was able to project an alternate image of women in the history of popular poetry. In this poetic discussion, "the father of the patriarchs" affirmed this young woman's poetic merit and participation in a masculine tradition. Although the exchange was on the whole non-confrontational in character, there was one specific pair of décimas that I would like to call to attention. Madariaga commented that "today women are making tradition." Implicit perhaps in this statement is the idea that yesterday

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[175] Eso es lo mejor para poder cantar a lo poeta. Tener respeto por el cantor más antiguo, que es el que más conoce la tradición

[176] David Ponce: ¿Es una coincidencia que sean dos payadoras [Myriam y Cecilia] y tengan que ver con la misma familia?
Myriam Arancibia: … más que coincidencia ahí está presente la tradición familiar. Cecilia aprendió de su familia, yo aprendí de mi esposo y eso es lo que nos une, la tradición familiar a través de la poesía.

women were not making tradition. In response, Myriam highlighted the role of Rosa Araneda in popular poetry, describing that it was also through a woman's participation in canto a lo poeta, that this tradition has come to her. Within a masculine discourse of performance, Myriam discretely contested the discourse of "rarity" that frames her participation. In conversation she reaffirmed that she wants the public to know that she, Cecilia and Inés are not a novelty of popular poetry today: that there is a history of female participation:

> …that's a bit what I wanted to say with that décima, because I see that there are a lot of people who think that Cecilia, that I, that we're the only payadoras that have ever existed, that we are, I don't know…that we are…a rarity. That's why also through the song [canto a lo poeta] I like to talk about the payadoras that have been, because historically there have been women, few, but they've been there. (personal communication, March 14, 2005).[177]

While her performance was heavily framed by the historical and cultural weight of male dominance in popular poetry, Myriam was able to carve a space, uncovering a non-confrontational mode of critique to reshape public perception of women's roles in the history of canto a lo poeta. She voices this alternative image of popular poetry's history, however, within the normative expectations for peaceable, non-aggressive, female performance.

In general, both Myriam and Cecilia have sensed a warm reception as poetas and guitarroneras by the community of male cantores (M. Arancibia, personal communication, March 14, 2005; C. Astorga, personal communication, May 4, 2005). Cecilia describes that the process of becoming a payador is not easy for women; she has had to earn her title:

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177 "…un poco eso fue lo que quise decir con esa décima porque yo veo que hay mucha gente que piensa que la Cecilia, que yo, somos las únicas payadoras que han existido, que somos, no sé po,… que somos…una rareza. Por eso también a través del canto a mi me gusta hablar de las payadoras que han habido porque historicamente han habido mujeres, pocas, pero han habido."

> It's [la paya] got more challenges for a woman…A woman doesn't allow herself to do lots of things, despite having so many capabilities, so much to say, so much talent. I know girls who write super well and say "no, no I can't" [improvise]. There's a kind of fear. Because one on stage in improvisation, it's like you leave yourself bare. Woman is much more fearful than man in this. She is too cautious (C. Astorga, cited in Ponce 2007).[178]

Cecilia highlights the challenging internal process of building the confidence to get on stage and improvise. Myriam, on the other hand, comments on her treatment by colleagues after entering the performance arena. More specifically, she feels less welcomed by younger payadores, as opposed to older singers. She recounts that after leaving the stage one day, a fellow payador congratulated her on her performance, but said that he would never improvise with her in public. She attributes this behavior to the idea that men are expected to be gentile with women in all contexts:

> I imagine that it's because in order to improvise with a woman, he can't fall back on certain recourses. I don't know, like saying things with double meaning, or to be very aggressive with her, because he'd not look like much of a man before everyone else…Pancho [her husband, Francisco Astorga] told me, "it's that he has to raise the bar…" (M. Arancibia, personal communication, March 14, 2005).[179]

Societal gender expectations restrict the performative strategies that a young payador would use against a female adversary. He must avoid conflict or vulgar humor. These comments illustrate that payadores are aware of how gender expectations will impinge upon their performance style. When improvising with a woman of the same age range, a young man does not have the option of an older singer to engage in polite exchanges of compliments and gratitude. In a true contrapunto exchange of critical ideas, a young

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178 "Es que tiene [la paya] más dificultades para una mujer…La mujer no se permite muchas cosas, teniendo tantas capacidades, tanto que decir, tanto talento. Conozco chicas que escriben súper bien y dicen 'no, no puedo.' Hay como un miedo. Porque uno en el escenario en la improvisación como que se desnuda. La mujer es mucho más temerosa que el hombre en eso. Tiene demasiado cuidado."

179 "A mí se me imagina que es porque para payar una mujer, no puede recurrir a ciertos recursos, no sé po, como decirle cosas en doble sentido, o ser muy estrellero con ella, porque quedaría como poco hombre delante de los demás. …Pancho me dijo, 'es que tiene que subir el nivel'…"

performer will look bad whether he wins or loses. While payadoras today express critical ideas about women's roles in Chilean society and within canto a lo poeta, it remains a terrain where gendered boundaries delimit the structure and style of performance; men and women do not participate on the same terms.

Musical Difference and the Feminine Guitarrón

It is not only discursive framing and poetic style that mark female differences within the music of canto lo poeta. In this section I briefly consider aspects of vocal tone and guitarrón playing that set women apart from their male colleagues in performances. Although certainly not an exclusive explanation of the low number of guitarroneras, it is significant that learning to play and sing with guitarrón is a more complex process for women. The most common repertoire taught in classes and workshops is best suited to male voices. The instruments most readily available are tuned to A or G: for the most well known entonaciones these keys are much too low for most female registers. To accompany oneself singing, a woman must either design entirely different playing patterns on a male instrument, or find an instrument that can be tuned up to C or D. Currently Santos has invented a D stringing of the instrument that is a combination of nylon guitar and charango strings.[180] Currently there are only two instrument tuned this way: one that he uses, and one that he sold to me.[181]

Today, Myriam Arancibia is the only Chilean woman who performs to her own accompaniment on guitarrón. While Cecilia Astorga knows how to play, she does not have her own instrument and has only played in ruedas de canto a lo divino for other

[180] To tune a metal-strung instrument to C or D would put excessive tension on the bridge. As of yet there are no metal-strung instruments in a woman's key.

[181] Anselmo Jaramillo designed a guitarrón for women in 2000 that has smaller dimensions and smaller courses of strings (3 per course, plus 4 diablitos for a total of 19 strings) to facilitate playing. At present, I do not believe he has made any more.

singers. Myriam plays a guitarrón tuned to G, but uses an arrangement of *la común* that allows her to sing in C[182]:

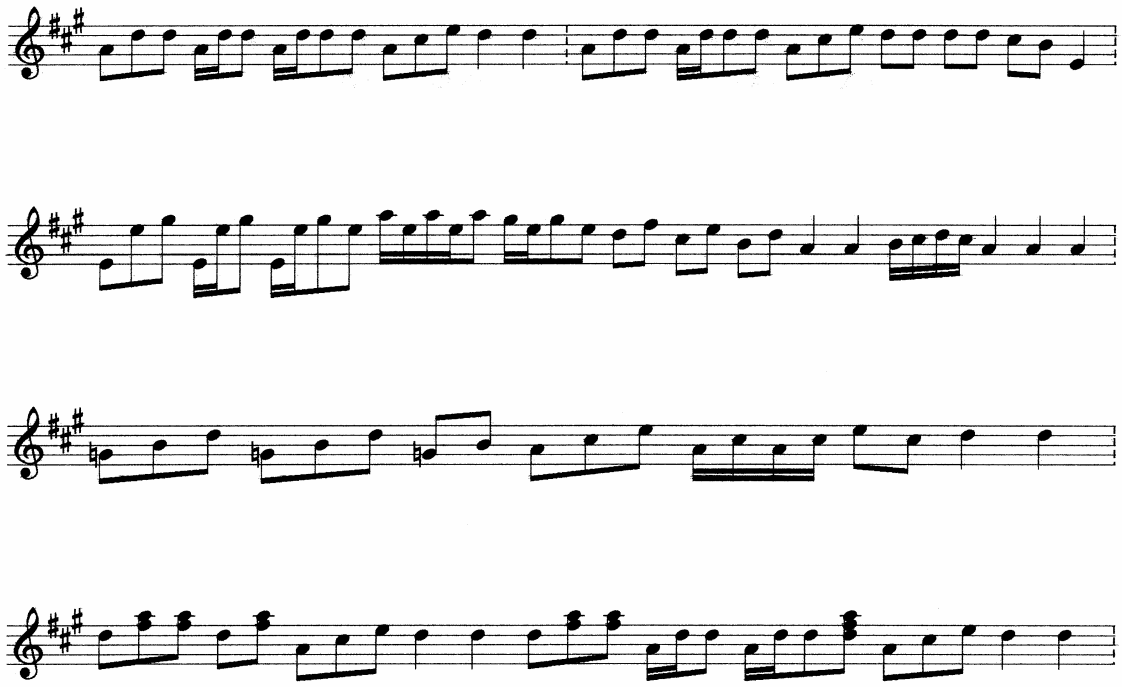

Figure 5.1: Myriam Arancibia's version of *la común*.

Her version contrasts masculine performances in several significant ways. Firstly, she begins with a descanso in C that omits the major third of the chord. Furthermore, the central note of this descanso--repeatedly accented--is the third string grouping of the guitarrón which spans a three octave range: the highest and lowest strings of the guitarrón. Combined with the fact that two of the three string courses she strikes are unfretted, the effect is a very deep, resonant and harmonically hollow sound in comparison with the standard guitarrón toquío in G. Later, instead of using a V chord for

[182] In this example, the entonación is notated as if the guitarrón were tuned to A, thus her entonación is in D.

a golpe towards the end of the toquío, she uses a bVII, avoiding the leading tone and giving her version of *la común* a more modal character than those played by men.

To accompany Ingrid Ortega in Casablanca, Dángelo Guerra uses the same C descanso, although he does not insert the bVII. In order to participate in canto a lo poeta, Myriam and Ingrid sing to a guitarrón toquío whose overall sonority is very distinct from versions of la común of their male colleagues.

Aside from the general differences in timbre and range between female and male voices, women payadoras tend to sing with a more relaxed tone and less volume. I believe that this is related to vocal ranges. If we look at the melodic range for la común (key of G or A for men, C or D for women), we see that the pitches fall much higher in standard male registers, regardless if one is a tenor or bass.

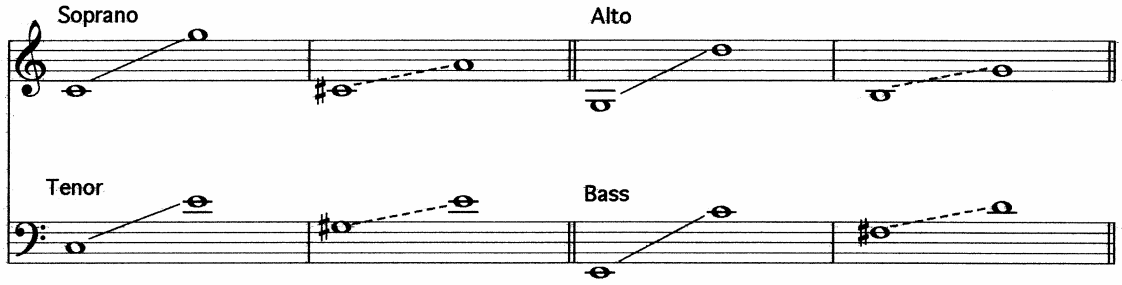

Figure 5.2: Standard male and female vocal ranges compared with melodic range of *la común* in D, C, A and G,

For soprano or alto voices, melodic span of *la común* sits relatively low in their range. This results in less vocal tension, hence a more relaxed and "sweet" sound and less volume as well. This musical distinction may also contribute to perceptions of men as more aggressive performers and perceptions of women as deferential "flowers." Differences in pace, volume and use of diablitos are also important to note. Cecilia, Ingrid and Myriam tend to perform at a very regular tempo and volume, the latter with

sparse and subtle use of the diablos. Many male performers, in contrast, fluctuate the tempo and volume of their song and instrument according to the emotional course of the contrapunto. Increase in speed and volume and emphatic strikes of the diablos further highlight the boldness, bravado or confrontational tone of male performance. Women's performance, on the other hand, tends to be more relaxed and stable, less prone to dramatic peaks of volume or speed.

GENDERED SPACES: THE GUITARRÓN AND CANTO A LO POETA

ELLA no es payadora, pero la foto valía la pena ponerla.

...no hay, desdicha- ...yadores como el arri- ...bajino que acabo de ...estas líneas. Tal vez el ...su recia estirpe fue ...ndara, el payador de ...que murió en 1973, mi ...querido Don Crispulo ...a la versaina corajuda ...como debe ser. Nunca ...eso, su duelo con Luis ...joven payador de ...huaso de Pachacama ...es señas. Todavía me ...oreja el sonsonete de ...tes rimas, como las ...para no dejar a nadie ...os en la boca:

...r, Crispulo Gándara. ...os que te improviso

Figure 5.3: "She's not a payadora, but the photo was worth including" (Morales, n.d.)[183]

This picture was part of an extended article describing the principle figures in the revival of the paya in the 1960s (Morales, n.d.). Rather than using it as a central pillar of my argument, I want introduce with this image a question that I feel resonates with the thrust of this discussion. What is the place of women in canto a lo poeta? Does their

[183] This picture is from an article entitled "Los versos, los buenos versos" by Raul Morales Álvarez in a collection of Bertina Angulo, daughter of guitarronero Isaías Angulo. A journalist and writer, Morales wrote for *Las Últimas Noticias*, although this article appears to be from a magazine.

discursive framing limit them to the role of "ornament," that is, something beautiful to observe, but not central to the identity of tradition or contemporary practice?

I befriended several women who were very interested in canto a lo poeta—as poets, investigators, guitarrón makers, guitarroneras and singers—but found that most expressed great reticence at the idea of getting on stage to perform. Despite this disinterest in paya performance, we nonetheless created informal groups, gathering occasionally to practice improvising poetry in exclusively female company. These sessions were very relaxed, focusing on assisting one another to find rhymes, noting where we needed to fix rhythm, and practicing guitarrón. I was puzzled at times why my friends, with such interest and talent for this poetry, would chose to stay on the edges of canto a lo poeta. They participated as audience members, poets, recording engineers, guitarrón makers, investigators, but were not anxious to become involved as performers. Considering the clearly demarcated limits of expression for women the performance in canto a lo poeta, combined with men's freedom to define them professionally, musically and sexually, it becomes less difficult to understand why a young Chilean woman might hesitate to enter this sphere of performance.

Even in their incursion into new urban spaces, removed from former gender associations of rural communities, the guitarrón and canto a lo poeta remain distinctly male traditions. While women are accepted as capable performers, their performance must fit within the gender expectations of the dominant masculine framework that, in many respects, female payadoras and guitarroneras share with their male colleagues. The female performers we have considered here exhibit a less confrontational poetic discourse than male payadores and guitarroneros. Most significantly, men wield the discursive freedom to comment on a woman's participation, defining her professionally, physically and sexually. Also important is the fact that a woman's sexuality—or any

sexual reference at all, for that matter—is a masculine discursive domain. A woman's poetry occupies a "higher level," referring to bonds of affection as mother, wife, daughter, or open-hearted girl with "room in her heart for everyone." Women's representation as sexual beings is in the hands of male performers. Particularly telling at the encuentro in Codegua was a round of improvised toasts in which two poets exchanged décimas denouncing abortion and premarital sex, focusing on the shameful physical indulgences of young couples. Neither of the female payadoras present made comment on these social issues in which women's reproductive rights are at the heart of debate. In this regard, canto a lo poeta reflects an imbalance in discursive relationships in Chilean society. In their 1997 study *Discurso, género y poder*, Olga Grau, Riet Delsing, Eugenia Brito, and Alejandra Farías have asserted that within dominant public discourse a woman's body is the terrain on which the struggle for moral and social order is enacted (213). In this particular discursive battle, women in Chile have historically been silent (Grau et al. 1997, p. 213).

When I began my research in Chile and expressed an interest in exploring issues of gender, a male colleague responded, "There's not too much doubt there. It's masculine." For this very reason, however, I see canto a lo poeta as a valuable area for studying the social and musical articulation of gender. Through consideration of canto a lo poeta, we may come closer to understanding the ways in which patriarchal social structures are reproduced, and how a musical instrument plays a part in this process. The guitarrón, difficult to acquire and learn for both genders, presents additional challenges for a woman who wishes to join the men on stage. She must create new toquíos, as opposed to those commonly taught, or obtain a guitarrón tuned to her voice. While the guitarrón demands creative labor from a woman, joining in performance imposes limits on her expressive ability. She enters a terrain where her gender identity is defined by her

male colleagues. While it is not a question of submitting all expressive control, it does imply acceptance of the patriarchal structures of the tradition. In what ways is this process similar or dissimilar to women's roles in politics, religion, and education today? How will gender affect the reception and perceptions of Michelle Bachelet (Chile's first female president inaugurated in 2006) within a patriarchal societal framework? What is the relation between the polarized representation of women in canto a lo poeta (wife, mother, daughter, respected colleague vs. sexual object) and Chilean society at large? With the recent passage of legislation legalizing divorce and making the morning-after pill readily available, the dynamics of debate over gender, family and sexuality are changing, and women are taking a more prominent role in public arenas where the government and the Catholic Church have dominated discourse. How does performance of poetry reflect or contest these changes? If "music and its adjunct behaviors can either limit or expand the social, ritual, and political access and awareness of women, men, and children" (Robertson 1989, p. 225), what impact will the increased national projection of canto a lo poeta and the guitarrón have on gender identities in Chile?

The answers to these intricate questions will involve more focused research on gender in canto a lo poeta. There are multiple discourses, in Chile and within canto a lo poeta, that depend greatly on specific cultural and social factors. In future inquiry, it will be critical to consider representations of women within canto a lo divino, the influence of Catholic Church on the discourse of male and female poets alike, the difference between rural and urban performers, the differences between different generations of performers, and most importantly the motivations and goals of female poets and guitarroneras. At the present, I would assert that female performance on guitarrón and in canto a lo poeta does not challenge the patriarchal structures of performance, but rather conforms to dominant gender expectations. This does not mean that the possibility does not exist for female

performers to find spaces for alternate visions and subtle critique of their representations by men. Although framed in performance like other payadoras, Myriam expresses a desire to transmit an alternate message, one that downplays the rarity of her presence and highlights the history of women's contributions to canto a lo poeta. In other words, she wishes to challenge the discursive framing that isolates women to a tangential, ornamental or "special" position in the tradition. By the same token, she also is not sure to what degree the tradition of canto a lo poeta will be changed fundamentally:

> I think it's something cultural [low number of women in canto a lo poeta] that I don't know if it can change, but it's progressing, the doors are opening more to true diversity. Now that we, women, have won more terrain, you can tell, in the area of popular poetry as well (Ponce 2007).[184]

It will be interesting to see in the future course of canto a lo poeta and the guitarrón, whether the spaces occupied by women will expand and generate different articulations of feminine identity, or whether women will continue to be the special guests, sexual objects and delicate flowers defined by the men of canto a lo poeta. There are many women involved in canto a lo poeta, many women who are close to the guitarrón, although their roles and contributions are less public than those of men. If the community of female poets and guitarroneras continues to grow, it will be important to observe if new performance spaces emerge wherein women wield greater authority in the representation of feminine identities.

184 "Yo creo que es una cosa cultural que no sé si puede cambiar, pero que se está desarrollando, se están abriendo más las puertas a la diversidad verdadera. Ahora como hemos ganado más terreno, la mujer, eso se nota, en el campo de la poesía popular también."

Epilogue: The Life and Death of Folklore

"Transforming culture into a national emblem, is not only to crucify it, but also to crystallize it in rite that doesn't change."[185]

--Rodrigo Torres (cited in "Cueca urbana" 2002, para. 13)

In this study, my goal has been to illustrate how the guitarrón's polysemous quality places it at a dynamic intersection of aesthetic, political, social and spiritual currents. Passing under the radar of national consciousness for a great part of the twentieth century, this instrument has emerged as a potent emblem for individuals and institutions seeking to define 21st century Chile through folk and popular expressive forms. The guitarroneros of Pirque, Catholic clergymen and *cantores,* and politically engaged payadores compete for the discursive authority to infuse the guitarrón with a specific cultural meaning in the nation's imaginary. Ideological distinctions between musicians become palpable in guitarrón technique, vocal timbre, poetic style as well as in the physical instrument itself. In this process, style acts as a "political tool no less than a language of feelings" (Qureshi 1997, p. 3) as musicians represent themselves in performance.

Folklore in Latin America, particularly in Chile,[186] has been a powerful means of articulating class, ethnic and ideological difference. While state-sponsored institutions have sought to foster national consensus through folklore, popular factions have used it to contest the status quo. The prohibition of specific folk instruments following the 1973 military coup speaks to the capacity of a musical object to transmit such specific and strong social meaning. Pinochet's dictatorship understood "national unity as its most

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[185] Transformar la cultura en emblema nacional, no sólo es crucificarla, sino también cristalizarla en un rito que no cambia."

[186] See Salman 1996 "Culture and Politics in Chile: Political Demands in an 'Apolitical' Society."

prized objective," disallowing "any conception that entails and encourages irreducible antagonism between social classes…" (National Truth and Reconciliation Commission 1993, p. 81, cited in Parson 2005, p. 80). In musical realms, the military regime effectively silenced styles that had sought to highlight social inequity and mobilize class struggle. They imposed a singular vision of Chilean folklore that excluded indigenous, lower class and rural identities that did not convey pastoral portraits of social harmony. In 1979, Pinochet declared the *cueca* the official national dance of Chile. As Torres' comments at the start of the chapter suggest, this transformation to a Chilean emblem was a cultural "death" of sorts as the national vision of the dance was narrowed, standardized and virtually frozen in time.

Although the term "folklore" has lost some currency, ceding terraing to "popular culture," the underlying character of its conceptual history persists. In contemporary Chile, popular culture remains a realm for the exploration and construction of identity. A vital urban movement has emerged with a new generation of musicians who are "compensating for what happened during the dictatorship, when a tremendously rigid form of folklore, absurdly stereotyped, dominated" ("Cueca urbana" 2002, para. 13).[187] Along with the *cueca brava*, the guitarrón has become a focus of this new and energetic embrace of marginalized folk forms. These two musical practices have resisted cultural crystallization, inhabiting a space outside the national canon of folklore. Their histories, on the periphery of national consciousness, make them particularly alluring avenues for expressing contemporary Chilean identities. They are forms of expressive popular culture with a "life" unfettered to the social weight of previous folk genres such as *Música Típica, Neofolclore,* or *Nueva Canción*.

187 "…compensando lo que ocurrió en la dictadura, cuando primó un modo de folclor tremendamente rígido, absurdamente estereotipado".

The incorporation of *cueca brava* in to a concert of guitarrón (see Chapter Four) reflects a resonance between these two musical traditions that is not only recognized by urban youth, but also by researchers and older musicians. Besides constituting urban revitalization movements today, *cueca brava* and the world of the guitarrón (*canto a lo humano* and *a lo divino*) were both masculine terrains characterized by fierce competition in their "golden ages." The *cuequero* and the *guitarronero* were men who had to cultivate a profound capacity for retaining musical texts and melodies, adorning their song, and singing with power, volume and emotion:

> In the olden days the cuecas were duels, especially in the lower class neighborhoods. To sing with those people you had to be a good singer and tough because they formed ruedas de cantores [rounds of singers]. The one that messed up, they threw him out or they made him serve (H. Núñez, cited in Torres 2003, p. 154)[188]

> …in all the parties that they had the first thing they did, the old guys, the poetas, was to sing at who know more versos, more puntos, fundamentos, like that, and they played a lot…they would get mad just like that, because there were some that cried because they knew less…and before, not just anybody sang. If he didn't know versos for the fundamento that the guitarronero was going to sing, he passed. (O. Ulloa, personal communication, March 10, 2005)[189]

In contemporary guitarrón performance, this competitive heritage has been minimized to some extent in both sacred and secular performance where public arenas create pressure to keep things "comfortable." Some guitarroneros highlight the contention between poets of the past as an unfortunate legacy to be overcome: "The worst moments in *canto a lo poeta* of the past: --The rivalry that existed between *cantores a lo divino* in the years 1930s, 40s and 50s who did not estimate the negative consequences of making popular

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188 "Antiguamente eran duelos las cuecas, sobre todo en los bajos fondos. Para cantar con esa gallada había que ser buen cantor y guapo porque se formaban ruedas de cantores. El que se pifiaba lo echaban para afuera o lo hacían servir."

189 "…en todas las fiestas que hacían lo primero que hacían, los antiguos, los poetas, era de cantar a cuál sabía más, cuál sabía más versos, más puntos, fundaciones así y se tocaba mucho ...se enojaban así no más, porque habían otros que lloraban porque sabían menos...y antes tampoco cualquiera cantaba. Si no sabía versos por el fundamento que iba a cantar el guitarronero, pasaban."

poetry competitive" (Astorga 2000, p. 59). From this perspective, competition contaminated the canto, threatening its livelihood. Other guitarroneros feel that this competitive ambience, although not always "brotherly," was ultimately a richer performance environment that stimulated musical, poetic and spiritual growth (A. Rubio, personal commentary, April 2005). From this perspective, the framing of performance in "brotherhood" or in "comfortable" apolitical unity is also a form of stagnating creative processes and personal growth. It stifles the aesthetic pleasure of hearing distinct voices in controversy, in *contrapunto.*

During my year in Chile, Alfonso Rubio's workshop in Puente Alto was a locus of guitarrón activity and innovation. From week to week we practiced different entonaciones as well as experimenting with new ornaments and tunes arranged for two or three instruments. We experimented with different arrangements of strings, and looked over instruments that Manuel Basoalto was constructing or repairing. In the winter Alfonso began scheming for the next guitarrón encuentro, and Miguel Angel Ibarra suggested that a theme, such as "Poets of Chile," be chosen for the event. One of the most exciting ramifications would be that the *payadores* would have to prepare for the performance. In the spirit of the "desafíos de sabiduría" [challenges of knowledge][190] of past generations of guitarroneros in Pirque, the rounds of improvisation would not only test one's skill for making witticisms, but also test the depth of one's knowledge. As the Chapters Three, Four and Five have indicated, staged performance of canto a lo humano tends to tread fairly safe discursive terrain in interpersonal debate. Although payadores launch jokes and insults at one another, they tend to offer light-hearted teasing as opposed to serious challenges to the other's skill. On occasion this teasing can cross the line, yielding uncomfortable, yet incredibly compelling results.

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[190] See discussion in Chapter Three.

At a student recital organized by Alfonso, the interchanges between two guitarroneros became heated. I remember feeling surprised and suddenly extra alert to what was transpiring. Alfonso took the microphone and announced that he was changing the course of the evening's performance. Seeing these two young men "with strong desire to face off," he invited them to stay on stage and continue their debate in a *contrapunto en décimas*. Whereas the early personifications and payas were punctuated with regular applause and laughter, the energy in the room had changed, and the public remained silent as the musicians artfully sculpted their offensive and defensive metaphors:

Eres un niño aunque adulto	You're a child, although grown-up
Y te gustan las mujeres	And you like women
Y veo que bueno eres	And I see how good you are
Para irte sacando el bulto	At taking off your layers.[191]
No te hago ningun insulto	I'm not insulting you at all
Pues yo brillo como el sol	Because I shine like the sun.
Traigo mi propio arrebol	I bring my own light
Y verseo si usted insiste	And I'll versify if you insist
Y que bueno que viniste	And it's good that you've come:
Necesito un punching ball	I need a punching ball.
Yo sigo el rumbo parejo	I follow a straight course.
Yo soy un joven cultor	I am a young cultor
Que no es mi culpa ser menor	And it's not my fault that I'm younger
Y de que usted sea viejo	And that you are old.
Soy menor, más le aconsejo	I'm younger, but I advise you
En este lindo momento	In this beautiful moment
Que desde el fondo lo siento	That very deeply I am sorry,
Digo yo sin ser tacaño	I say without being sly:
Puedes superarme en años	You can exceed me in years,
Pero lo dudo en talento	But I doubt in talent.
Es talento y me molesta	It's in talent, and it bothers me,
Se lo digo sin orgullo	I tell you without arrogance,
Entre cada verso suyo	That between each verse of yours

[191] This poet had been a target of teasing earlier in the evening for the large scarf he had wrapped around his neck.

Puedo dormirme una siesta	I can take a nap.
Yo solo soy una fiesta	By myself I am a celebration
Y se lo digo a gran voz	And I say it with loud voice
Con el favor de mi Dios	By the favor of my God
Solo voy a destacarme	I shall make myself stand out alone.
Pues sepa yo soy la carne	Know then that I am meat,
Y usted solo es el arroz	And you are just rice.[192]
Me saliste cocinero	You turned in to a cook on me
Y eso mi verso subraya	And this my verse points out
Que para cantar la paya	That to sing paya
Yo lo hago como quiero	I do it however I want.
Mi canto es tan verdadero	My song is true
Y el gallito ha de apretar	And it will suppress the "frog in my throat"
No acostumbro desafinar	It's not my habit to be out of tune
Pero ahora yo bien veo	But now I see well
A un polluelo en aleteo	A baby chick with fluttering wings
Que ha pretendido volar	That has attempted to fly.

At the end of the contrapunto the two payadores attempted to reconcile in a décima *a dos razones* stating that song is their common ground. Although their on stage manner suggested that their had been no resolution to earlier offenses, the audience applauded energetically for several minutes. Unlike many staged performances, they left the "safe" bounds of quick-witted, but inoffensive humor. The public appreciated the vigor with which these poets strove to outshine one another. With this anecdote I wish to suggest that the vitality of the guitarrón today may lie in the unsettled state of debate over its appropriate use and meaning: in the energy generated by dynamic discursive discord. Nowadays, the debate is not only interpersonal, but also institutional as the guitarrón brings together professional associations of poets, academic institutions and religious organizations in a struggle for representative power in national arenas.

At a time when the Catholic Church is losing discursive ground in contemporary debate over family, sexuality and reproductive rights, clergymen and *cantores a lo divino*

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[192] A typical meal is *arroz con carne,* rice with meat (beef).

have redoubled their efforts to project the guitarrón as a tool of evangelization. Collier and Sater have noted in the 1990s a relative social conservativism in legislation despite a series of *Concertación*[193] governments (2004, p. 399). While improving health care and education, anti-divorce laws remained untouched and film and T.V. production was heavily censored. Collier and Sater have attributed this to a "re-clericalization" of society as a byproduct of the military dictatorship (ibid., p. 399). During Pinochet's regime the Church maintained a high degree of independence, providing protection, legal aid and professional opportunities to victims of violence and repression (ibid, p. 362). The Church's positive public image leant it a degree of primacy in questions of "moral" issues during the 1990s. The position of power is receding, however, evidenced by the legalization of divorce as well as the availability of the controversial "morning-after" pill. In fusing the aesthetic vitality of popular devotional practice with the form and structure of Catholic ritual, they seek to consolidate a renewed spiritual identity for the country and reclaim, perhaps, a degree of discursive authority in society and politics.

Urban youth, on the other hand, engage with the guitarrón through *canto a lo humano*, engaging with a model of artistic social critique influenced by turn of the century poets and the innovators of *Nueva Canción* in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Some musicians see the embrace of a folk practice such as popular poetry as a gesture of protest in itself:

> …the genes of this are not lost, let's say. And youth, or society, is always wanting to return to aspects of social life that are more human than invented. The market is dehumanizing society and in this empty space, in this search, to find popular poetry is a way of returning to humanitarian values…[popular poetry is] …an opportunity to express yourself, to speak. So, with expression, with poetic

[193] Alliance of polical parties of the left.

> writing, people empty the anguish and the frustration that the free-market system produces in them…(M. Chaparro, personal communication, August 2005).[194]

Although mostly middle-class, these young musicians are often from families with working-class and rural background. They embrace the guitarrón with a political discourse that idealizes the struggles of Chile's marginalized social and ethnic classes. With a folk instrument, they arm themselves against the ravages of the free-market in the hopes of forging a renewed spirit of humanism, as opposed to consumerism, for Chilean society.

As the guitarrón gains visibility on national stages, the *cultores* of Pirque have stepped forth to remind their country and their own community of the instrument's local identity. They wish to communicate that the revitilization of guitarrón owes its growth to the unbroken transmission of this tradition in Pirque. More importantly they want to demonstrate the contemporary vitality of this rural practice. By forming an association of "inheritors" they consolidate a specific aesthetic (that of the "cultor") and a discourse of cultural-historical authenticity, assuring that the Pirque roots of the modern guitarrón not be obfuscated in its national projection by other groups. In their teaching, they form a new generation of players with strong ties to this localized aesthetic. While the guitarroneros of Pirque are most concerned with the instrument's local identity, investigators affiliated with these players also explore the question of indigenous origins. Through studies of ritual structure, the spiritual role of the singer/guitarronero and acoustic properties, they postulate a definitive mestizo identity for an instrument whose European ties were of most interest in previous scholarship. On one hand, the

194 "…los genes de esto [poesía popular] no se pierden, digamos. Y los jóvenes, o la sociedad… siempre está queriendo volver a aspectos de la vida social más humanos que inventados. El mercado está deshumanizando la sociedad y en este vacío, en esta búsqueda, el encontrar la poesía popular, es una forma de volver a valores humanitarios…[poesía popular es]…oportunidad de expresarse, de decir. Entonces con la expresión, con la escritura poética, la persona vacía la angustía y la frustración que le produce el sistema de libre mercado…"

guitarroneros of Pirque and their students critique institutional involvement in Chilean folk practices, particularly those that fundamentally alter the structure, function, context and spirit of traditional music and ritual. On the other, the members of the Pirque "school" must immerse themselves in these institutional struggles to project their particular vision of the guitarrón.

With the approach of Chile's bicentennial celebration (2010) the question of Chilean identity has come to the fore in popular and academic discourse. Participants in panels organized by the Subcommittee of Identity and History[195] have attempted to reexamine the past with new eyes, exploring plurality, conflict, competition and discord underneath multiple discursive efforts to depict unified national identity. As they have deconstructed representations of Chilean history, they have given special attention to the voices that have been excluded from official constructs of cultural identity, specifically those of women, indigenous, youth, and underprivileged rural and urban classes. In a time when shopping malls have become "sites of recognition, of the purchase of identities," Montecino and others (Navarrete 2003) describe that a cultural deterritorialization distances society from an appreciation of rural and popular traditions (Montecinos 2003, p. 23). Contemporary efforts to reconnect to popular sources have embraced both the guitarrón and cueca brava, and young Chileans play a central part in these musical revitalizations. In the case of the guitarrón, instrumentalists question contemporary Chilean identity, denouncing consumerism, embracing causes of the poor, exploring indigenous identity and defending local culture. Amidst the musical and poetic evocations of marginalized voices, it will be interesting to see the roles that women will realize in cultural realms where men have dominated both past and present practice.

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[195] Part of Chile's Bicentennial Commission.

Perhaps even more than cueca brava, the guitarrón unites performers and publics of extremely different social background, political orientation and spiritual beliefs. As in a *rueda de cantores,* none of the guitarrón's spokesmen wish for other voices to ring louder than their own. With carefully honed musical and discursive skills, individuals and institutions compete to represent the guitarrón and their visions of Chilean identity on the national stage. In this respect, I believe that the instrument's revitalizaiton is a particularly interesting terrain for appreciating the climate of social dialogue in post-dictatorship Chile. Futhermore, the diverse perspectives that intersect in the physical and symbolic space of the guitarrón may guarantee the instrument's continued growth and vitality. As long as there is debate and discord surrounding folklore, there is cultural "life" as opposed to standardization, stagnation and "death."

Appendix

Upper left: *Clavijero* with wooden friction pegs
Upper right: *Orejas* [ears] that hold the tuning pegs for four *diablito* strings, inscription reads "VIVA CHILE" ["Long live Chile"]
Middle left: *Brazo* ["arm"/neck] with mother of pearl inlay; *cejezuela/sijesuela* [nut]; movable frets of gut and string
Middle right: *Pontezuelo, puente* [bridge] holding a mix of gut and metal strings
Lower left: Movable frets, sometimes woven together in a braid called *chapecao*.
Lower right: guitarrón top decorated with coin, mother of pearl, buttons, and black ink; *puñales* [daggers] are drawn on this instrument as opposed to wooden extensions of the bridge found on other guitarrones; inscription below soundhole reads "RECUERDO" ["I remember"].
(Guitarrón of the Universidad de Chile, Centro de Musicología. Photographs by the author; terminology drawn from Lenz 1919 and Barros and Dannemann 1960)

Other guitarrones:

Upper left: Guitarrón of Isaías Angulo next to guitarrón made by Segundo Tapia.
Upper right: Guitarrón of Patricia Chavarría (made by Edgardo Insunza).
Lower right: Guitarrón of Manuel Saavedra, inherited from Juan de Dios Reyes.
Lower left: Guitarrón by Manuel Basoalto in construction, modeled after Manuel Saavedra's guitarrón (all photographs by the author).

Guitarrón dimensions:

	1. Rodolfo Lenz (Aniceto Pozo)	2. Manuel Saavedra (inherited from Juan de Dios Reyes)	3. Centro de Musicología, (Universidad de Chile)	4. Fidel Améstica (mid-20th cent.)	5. Osvaldo Ulloa (made by Guillermo Salvo, 1960s)	6. Segundo Tapia (contemporary guitarrón maker)	7. Anselmo Jaramillo (contemporary guitarrón maker)
Body							
Depth	13	11.5	11	13	11.5	11	13
Upper width	24	24	23.5	28	26	25.5	23
Lower width	32	31.8	29.3	35.5	33	31	29
Length	(45)	44.3	44.5	47	44	47.5	44
Neck							
Nut to body	23	23.5	25.6	(22.5)	25.5	25.5	29
Nut	6	5.5	5.5			6.5	6.5
Frets	7	7	7	10	8	9	8
Peg head							
Length	23	28.5	27.3	27.5	30	26	24
Lower width	(6)	5.5	5.5			6.5	6.5
Upper width	(11)	12.5	10.3			8	9
String courses							
I	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
II	4	3	3	3	4	3	3
III	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
IV	5	6	6	6	5	6	6
V	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Diablitos	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
TOTAL LENGTH	(91)	96.3	97.4	(97)	99.5	(95.5)	97

( )=approximate value
The first three guitarrones are examples from the early twentieth century.
Data for guitarrones 1, 2, 3 and 7 as well as table format drawn from Bustamante and Astorga 1996, p. 13.

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Vita

Emily Jean Pinkerton was born in Valparaiso, Indiana on August 5, 1976, daughter of John W. Pinkerton and Jane R. Pinkerton. After graduating from Valparaiso High School, she attended Butler University in Indianapolis where she received a B.A. in Music (Voice), French, and Spanish (1998, *cum laude*). During her studies at Butler she completed a summer term at *Université Laval* in Sainte-Foy, Québec and two semesters of study at *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile* and *La Universidad de Chile* in Santiago. After graduation, she spent the 1998/99 academic year as an English instructor for the French Ministry of Education in Vendée. She entered the graduate program in ethnomusicology at the University of Texas at Austin in 1999 under the supervision of Gérard Béhague. At the University of Texas she received a Preemptive Fellowship and worked as a Teaching Assistant (Andean Ensemble, Music of the Andes, Introduction to Western Music, Music of Brazil and Argentina), the Assistant Editor for the *Latin American Music Review*, and an Assistant Instructor for the department of Spanish and Portuguese. In 2000, she was awarded a Tinker Field Research Grant for travel to Santiago and Chiloé. This summer research provided the basis for her Master's Report on the Chilean *rabel,* completed in 2002. Her dissertation research (2004/2005) was made possible by a Fulbright/IIE fellowship and a grant from the Organization of American States. Emily is an avid Old Time musician and an active vocalist, performing Latin American classical and popular repertoire, new music and original songs. As a violinist, she toured nationally for two years with Divahn, a professional quartet that performs Sephardic and Middle Eastern Jewish music. Currently, Emily lives in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania with her husband Patrick Burke, composer and co-founder of

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