Choral Arrangements of *Nueva Canción Chilena*: Exploring Socially Committed Song in the Choral Context

by

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Abstract

The dissertation for this degree comprises this document and two public-juried recitals. These were given on June 16, 2017 at First Mennonite Church in Edmonton, Alberta and May 16, 2019 at Sargent Avenue Mennonite Church in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

The vibrancy of rhythm and impassioned sense of storytelling in Latin American singing contribute a distinctive character to the world of song. However, during the latter half of the 20th century, the stories of Chilean song were perturbed by increasing indignation towards long-standing socio-economic and political injustice. Socially committed poetry and singing became the foundation for a folk-inspired popular song movement in Chile known as *Nueva Canción Chilena* (NCCh) that identified with the people's struggle. Though not originally associated with choral singing, the development of a body of choral literature constituting arrangements of NCCh points to the ongoing relevance of this repertoire. Recontextualizing poems and melodies rooted in a former socio-political climate, choral arrangements of NCCh play a part in sustaining the cultural memory of a shared political past. Furthermore, they act as a means of bringing to light significant aspects of Chilean musical identity within choral literature and, in doing so, claiming a more authentically Chilean choral voice.

The significance of NCCh within Chilean collective memory is explored through the perspectives of five present-day Chilean choral musicians. Their stories are paired with an analysis of four representative examples of NCCh arranged for choral ensemble to highlight specific markers of identity carried within each song. The originating context and poetic content of the songs link identity to socio-historical narrative. Musical identity is connected to traditional dance in Pablo Ulloa's arrangement of "Según el favor del viento" by Violeta Parra, to the juxtaposition of duple and triple metric subdivision in William Child's arrangement of "El

Aparecido" by Víctor Jara, and to harmonic language in William Child's arrangement of "Manifiesto" by Víctor Jara. Furthermore, diversity of choral language is explored in settings of Víctor Jara's "Te recuerdo Amanda," comparing choral arrangements by Eduardo Gajardo and William Child.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Allison Pauls. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board under the project name “Development of the Latin American Choral Protest Song”, No. Pro00071516. Ethics approval was granted on December 14, 2017.

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Introduction

Research Question and Background

The vibrancy of rhythm and impassioned sense of storytelling in Latin American singing contribute a distinctive character to the world of song. However, during the latter half of the 20th century, the stories of Chilean song were perturbed by increasing indignation towards long-standing socio-economic and political injustice. Emerging from an investigative ethnomusicological endeavor in the mid-20th century of unearthing a truer Chilean essence within folklore and popular song, socially committed poetry and singing became the foundation for the *Nueva Canción* movement in Chile. Known as *Nueva Canción Chilena* (NCCh), the movement consolidated in the late 1960s after which it spread to and interacted with a growing number of socially committed song movements throughout Latin America. Live performances and recordings of songs like "Gracias a la vida" and "Luchín" transmitted the voices of artists such as Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara, who came to be identified with the people's struggle, celebrating the dignity of life while speaking out against economic and political injustice.

Though not originally associated with choral singing per se, several foundational NCCh ensembles sang newly composed polyphonic pieces, or polyphonic arrangements of songs by fellow NCCh solo artists. The continuing practice of arranging songs original to the NCCh tradition for contemporary choral ensemble suggests an ongoing relevance of this repertoire. This project is concerned with the recuperative impulse of choral conductors, arrangers, and ensembles in Chile whose activities recontextualize poems and melodies rooted in a former socio-political climate. It considers not only how these activities might be suggestive from the standpoint of shared political memories, but also how they communicate on a collective level: inviting communities of singers to interact directly with texts whose original aim was one of collective persuasion, inspiration, and motivation. As much as sustaining the cultural memory of

a shared political past, choral settings of NCCh are a means of bringing to light the essence of Chilean song in the context of an otherwise European art form and, in doing so, claiming a more authentically Chilean choral voice.

Methodology

This project falls within the parameters of qualitative research. Focused on the construction of a written document that ties contemporary choral literature and practice to cultural trends and socio-political developments in Chile's history, the methodologies used to collect data comprised historical, ethnographic, and hermeneutic investigation. The original *Nueva Canción Chilena* movement belongs to a bygone era, its originating impulses inextricably tied to socioeconomic and political events of a specific time and place. As such, historical research—incorporating published texts, academic dissertations and theses, and journal articles along with primary and secondary oral accounts—was necessary to develop an understanding of political events which precipitated the movement and the social and economic situations which fostered the thematic content of its poetry and music.

Historical events were considered as a means of informing contemporary practice through a hermeneutical ethnographic method. Specifically, the historical approach was interpreted through a cultural lens, in dialogue with Chilean musicians, academics, and activists, as well as through a collection of choral arrangements of socially committed song that act as cultural texts. These dialogues or interviews—guided by a set of predetermined questions (see Appendix A) and follow-up questions for clarification—sought to explore contemporary perspectives and experiences of socially committed song in Chile, and answer questions related to the cultural significance of arranging and programming this repertoire in Chilean choral practice. As well as offering an authentic cultural voice, these interviews were necessary due to

an absence of published material regarding underlying impulses and motivating factors for the continued performance of NCCh within the choral milieu. The following participating interviewees are either currently active choral musicians or have significant connections to research in the field of NCCh.

Andrés Bahamondes González has long been a choral enthusiast, beginning with his participation in the *Crecer Cantando* Choir at the age of 14. He has been the choral director at the University of Santiago in Chile (USACH) since 2016. At the end of 2018, Andrés rejoined the *Crecer Cantando* team as program coordinator and in 2019 he assumes direction of the *Crecer Cantando* Choir.

William Child Goldenberg[1] has focused his musical career in the field of choral music and education. He teaches Musical Language, Harmony, Score Reading, and Choir at the Institute of Music of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile in Santiago and directs the Hakaripa women's ensemble. Child is one of Chile's foremost choral arrangers of popular music, producing arrangements of songs by Violeta Parra, Víctor Jara, and The Beatles that have been performed by outstanding Chilean and international choral ensembles.

Felipe Elgueta Frontier is currently undertaking a Master's Degree in Latin American Musicology at the Alberto Hurtado University. His musical interests have led him into the field of music criticism and program-note writing, through which he has collaborated with the University of Concepción Symphony Orchestra for 13 years and today advises the Laurencia Contreras UBB Conservatory and the Fanjul & Ward talent agency.

[1] William Child Goldenberg, henceforth referred to only as William Child as he is commonly known in Chile, is a Chilean choral arranger and director. Though his name still attests to his family's English heritage, it was Child's great-grandfather who emigrated from England to Chile. William Child is a third-generation Chilean-born citizen.

Paula Elgueta[2] works in the fields of music and psychology. Apart from her work as a psychologist, she is a lyric soprano soloist and the music director of the *Pneuma* women's ensemble and mixed chorus *Ensemble Libre*. Paula is a section lead for the University of Chile Symphonic Choir and participates in projects such as *Música de Resistencia*.

Claudia Herrera is a sociologist by profession whose area of research was focused on the culturally transformative function of the Chilean popular musician's socio-political message between 1970 and 1980. Claudia has also worked with indigenous peoples and in the areas of cultural development and community building.

Moisés Mendoza is a musician and human rights educator in Santiago, Chile. He has been a member of *Camerata Vocal*, a professional chamber choir of the University of Chile in Santiago, and a section lead for the same institution's Symphonic Choir since 2000. In 2012, Moisés developed an ongoing project of producing musical programs with socially committed political content by the name of *Música de Resistencia*. Since 2015, he has worked for the education branch of Santiago's National Stadium National Memory of Ex Political Prisoners Corporation developing a Non-Formal Popular Education project.

Juan Pablo Villarroel is the Artistic Director of the University of Chile's Symphonic Choir and professional chamber ensemble *Camerata Vocal*. Hailing from a family of musicians, maestro Villarroel has invested his professional career in the study of choral music and the furthering of choral development in Chile.

Literature Review

Literature discussing choral arrangements of NCCh is extremely limited. This project therefore aims to contribute to the topic by highlighting the significance of this repertoire in

[2] Paula Elgueta is no relation to Felipe Elgueta; the name "Elgueta" is a commong surname in Chile.

Chile as a space for collective cultivation of cultural memory and as a marker of Chilean identity within the choral idiom. Arrangements of NCCh are presented as a dynamic body of choral literature that can enhance choral programming outside of Chile as well. Scarcity of literature notwithstanding, much has been written about the socio-economic and political context that precipitated the NCCh movement, its development and significance within Chile, and the ramifications of the socially committed song movement during and since the military dictatorship in Chile (1973–1989) and through exiled artists in various other parts of the world. In order to develop a narrative of the significance of these choral arrangements, this paper relies heavily on literature articulating the cultural weight of NCCh and articles discussing choral development and practice in Chile. Furthermore, the available literature is paired with stories of personal experience gathered from interviews with practicing Chilean choral artists and with choral arrangements themselves as primary sources of information.

Discussions of NCCh place the Chilean song movement within a broader context of socially committed voices across Latin America. In the latter half of the 20th century, a variety of musical movements emerged in Latin America speaking against political dictatorships and/or economic oppression often resulting from US foreign policy. Pablo Vila's and Roberto Illiano and Massimiliano Sala's collections of essays, titled *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina* (2014) and *Music and Dictatorship in Europe and Latin America* (2009) respectively, as well as Joshua Katz-Rosene's article "Música Latinoamericana: Cultural Projects from Nueva Canción to Colombian Canción Social" (2015) explore several of the Latin American movements that use song to challenge socio-economic and political structures. Katz-Rosene specifically discusses economic influences as well as aspects of musical unity across Latin American traditions.

Some of the literature discussing these song movements explores the purpose or function of song itself. In her collection of essays and interviews titled *Song and Social Change in Latin America* (2013), Lauren Shaw presents song as a "democratic art form" possessing the potential to create solidarity, give voice to and amplify voices that might not otherwise be heard. She clarifies that the essays collected do not purport a cause-and-effect relationship between music and social change, but discuss the practice and experience of music and song as important at crucial social, political, and historical junctures. Author Juan Ramos in his dissertation titled "Latin American Decolonial Aesthetics: Antipoetry, Nueva canción, and Third Cinema as Counterculture (1960-1975)" (2011) and Nelson Maldonado-Torres in his brief essay "El Arte como Territorio de Re-Existencia: una Aproximación Decolonial" (Art as Territory of Re-Existence: a Decolonial Approach) (2017) give a broader artistic context for Latin American socially committed song in their respective discussions of "decolonial" art. Both define the creation of art as an act of decolonization; Maldonado-Torres, specifically, refers to art as a plain of reclaiming cultural, if not geographical space, basing his argument on the idea that resistance necessarily seeks new ways of existing, of "re-existing," that reclaim cultural identity.

Staking an artistic claim in the vision of their local realities was the mission of NCCh and other parallel song movements. Singer-songwriters and ensembles used song variously to serve local causes of socio-economic and political struggle. In "Music as Memory and Torture: Sounds of Repression and Protest in Chile and Argentina" (2004), Robert Neustadt provides an informative summary of the multifaceted and changing functions and perspectives of NCCh as *música comprometida* (committed song). It was at once oppositional (protesting social injustices and the exploitation of the working poor) and supportive (calling for solidarity to uphold the leftist ideology of social justice characteristic of Allende's government). It served as a form of

cultural recovery and memory (embracing indigenous cultures which the elite had rejected and opposing the growing influence of US popular culture which represented Imperialism).

Innumerable texts focus on the Chilean context of NCCh specifically. Musicologist Juan Pablo González is one of the most prolific authors on the subject, beginning with its origins in the work of Violeta Parra ("Creadora de mundos y canciones," in *Violeta Parra: Tres discos autorales*, 2018) and its relationship to folk song ("Evocación, modernización y reivindicación del folclore en la música popular chilena: el papel de la performance," 1996, and "'Inti-Illimani' and the Artistic Treatment of Folklore," 1989). González's lecture "Los 50 años de la Nueva Canción Chilena/50 Years of Chilean New Song" (2014) gives an account of the movement's development, briefly mentioning influential socio-economic, cultural, and political factors, as well as contributing musicians such as Violeta Parra, Victor Jara, Rolando Alarcón, etc. and musical ensembles such as Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani, Tiempo Nuevo, etc. He contextualizes NCCh in the trajectory of Chilean popular song leading up to the 1980's ("Chilean Musicians' Discourse of the 1980's: A Collective Poetics, Pedagogy, and Socio-Aesthetics of Art and Popular Music," 1990), and describes the relationship of indigenous and popular song in Chile ("Estilo y función social de la música chilena de raíz mapuche," 1993). González also describes NCCh in the context of the military dictatorship ("Nueva Canción Chilena en dictadura: divergencia, memoria, escuela (1973–1983)," 2016).

Other resources that provide in-depth explorations of socially committed song in Chile include books by Marisol García, *Canción Valiente. 1960–1989. Tres décadas de canto social y político en Chile* (2013), and J. Patrice McSherry, *Chilean New Song: The Political Power of Music, 1960s–1973* (2015). García's text explores effects of changing historical context on several song movements (NCCh, *Canto Nuevo*, and 1980's Chilean Rock). McSherry examines

specifically the NCCh movement as a social phenomenon, discussing its ties to the leftist Allende government of 1970–1973, the musical and political influences within that context, the effect of the 1973 coup d'état on the movement, as well as its connection to contemporarily developing trends in the artistic community.

The trajectory of NCCh's development was abruptly interrupted by the Chilean military coup in 1973 which precipitated the 17-year dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. As contemporary Chilean society continues to deal with the aftermath of oppressive dictatorship, projects focusing on the restoration of cultural memory are indicative of a desire to remember, lest history repeat itself, and heal through the telling of common experience. Memory has become a politicized concept in Chile; in fact, several texts suggest a similar phenomenon in various post-dictatorial societies across Latin America. Eugenia Allier and Emilio A. Crenzel's collection of essays *The Struggle for Memory in Latin America: Recent History and Political Violence* (2015) and Richard Elliott's chapter "Public Consciousness, Political Conscience, and Memory in Latin American *Nueva Canción*" (2011) explore the challenges of remembering in societies where collective memory is clouded by a history of government-induced fear, violence, and censorship.

Shane Border contextualizes the cultivation of communal memory through storytelling within the female experience in "Women's Stories: The Politics of Memory in Latin America" (2001). She points to the art of literary storytelling in which the witness of storytellers acts as a means of resistance to the official story of oppressive regimes. In this process, art becomes activism. Patricia Vilches, in her article "De Violeta Parra a Víctor Jara y Los Prisioneros: Recuperación de la memoria colectiva e identidad cultural a través de la música comprometida" (2004), insists that this type of artistic activism is crucial to counteracting a sort of national

amnesia that seems widespread throughout Chile. She views the continued performance of *Nueva Canción* and other forms of "testimonial" or "committed" song as a means of restoring collective memory and cultural heritage. Vilches suggests that the sentiments found in texts sung by Parra, Jara, Los Prisioneros, and others continue to challenge the status quo so that the collective social consciousness isn't lulled into believing that socio-economic oppression and struggle no longer exist.

The Chilean singer-songwriters and ensembles who strove to speak out against socio-economic inequality and political oppression also endeavored to define or recover a musical language more descriptive of their contemporary reality and distinguish a Chilean voice in the face of mass-mediated European and US influences. The premise of searching for a Chilean musical voice and the challenges associated with this concept are highlighted by José Miguel Varas and Juan Pablo González in their book whose title translates as *In Search of Chilean Music: History and Anthology of a Sonorous History* (2013). Identifying NCCh as one of the voices of the Chilean people, Winston Moya Cortes links this search for Chilean music to the choral context in his compilation of choral arrangements of NCCh whose title translates as *Choral Anthology. Arrangements by William Child for Mixed Choir and Choir of Similar Voices of Chilean Popular Music Classics, for Purposes of teaching and Performance* (2017).

Discussions directly relating NCCh and choral music are rare; however, those that have been published support the premise that NCCh's continued performance in various contemporary iterations such as the choral idiom is indicative of its cultural legacy. Of interest in this context, Cristián Guerra Rojas' 2012 paper "La práctica de la versión como juego de la cultura: el caso de 'Gracias a la vida' de Violeta Parra" addresses the cultural significance of arrangements of Violeta Parra's song "Gracias a la vida." He presents an in-depth discussion of the longevity of

the song itself, focusing on how its arrangement for ensembles not traditionally associated with popular song inform its cultural voice. This project puts forward the idea that the makeup of choral literature, comprising poetic-musical texts tied to socio-historical communities, places choral repertoire and arrangements of NCCh specifically among the contemporary artistic expressions contributing both to the cultivation of memory and exploration of musical identity.

Articles dealing specifically with development and practice of choral music in Chile are available in the *Revista musical chilena* (Chilean Music Journal) (see Víctor Alarcón Díaz and Guido Minoletti, 2000). Generally, this journal stands out as an excellent resource for discussions of musical issues relevant to the Chilean context, presenting an almost uninterrupted publication of material since 1948 (years 1953 and 1965 are missing). Furthermore, the online archives of the National Library of Chile include a large number of digital holdings gathered under the name "Memoria Chilena" (Chilean Memory). Many of these relate to *Nueva Canción*, including pdf files of historical journals and articles from newspapers, links to presentations, documents, images, and audiovisual and bibliographic resources.

Published choral arrangements of NCCh are not readily available for purchase, nor are they easily accessible outside of Chile. Much of the literature arranged to date is published by the arrangers themselves, as is the case with several of the scores included for analysis in this paper, and distributed to ensembles as requested or shared via photocopy. Despite informal distribution practices, several choral anthologies containing arrangements of NCCh have been produced in the past few years. Moya Cortés' 2017 compilation of NCCh arrangements by Chilean arranger William Child includes a transcription of the original melody of each song followed by separate arrangements for ensembles of mixed and similar voices. This anthology is instructive in that, in its preface, Cortés highlights the need for arrangements of Chilean song, a

sentiment echoed by a variety of active Chilean music professionals in the anthology's concluding "Testimonials" section. It also provides a brief discussion of the harmonic, metric, and rhythmic structures. Other anthologies containing choral arrangements of NCCh among other genres of repertoire include *Nuevos Cantos para Atacama: Libro de Arreglos Corales* (2017) compiled by Nestor Zadoff, Rodrigo Tapia, Álvaro González, Javier Rojas, and Gabriel Zepeda and *Antología Coral de Alejandro Pino González* (2005) compiled by Alejandro Pino González and edited by Guido Minoletti.

Choral singing is an active field of musical development in Chile. Organized national and local choral associations and organizations focus on the continuous and productive growth of choral programs, as evidenced by Chile's *Crecer Cantando* Festival and educational program. Much emphasis is placed on expanding Chilean choral practice, but less on exploring, cataloguing, and publishing Chilean choral repertoire. The catalogue of choral arrangements of NCCh included as Appendix B contributes to this process by identifying a category of choral literature that is instrumental in developing the Chilean choral voice and by providing a succinct list of many of the available arrangements as a point of reference.

Paper Contents

This monograph takes as its point of departure the interviews conducted with contemporary Chilean musicians, and the compilation of scores collected from active choral directors in Chile. These are examined as part of the historical trajectory of socially committed song in Chile, focusing on NCCh's development and continued significance within the contemporary Chilean context. Comprising three chapters, the main body of text ties contemporary choral arrangements to the socio-musical import of the original song movement and puts forth their vital contribution to the development of cultural memory and of a national

voice within the developing body of Chile's choral repertoire. Following this discussion, the text concludes with considerations for the acquisition and performance of choral arrangements of Chilean socially committed song outside of Chile.

Chapter One delineates the development of socially committed song in Chile, focusing on the emergence of NCCh. The chapter opens by developing a definition of *Nueva Canción* as a sociopolitical movement whose emergence was fueled by leftist ideologies of class equality and the rights of common labourers, as well as the wave of Latin American liberation movements seeking to foster local power and identity apart from colonial culture and economic imperialism. Furthermore, it presents several artistic and ideological communities which led to the consolidation of the movement and introduces its musical and poetic protagonists. Finally, the chapter discusses thematic and musical characteristics of NCCh, based on a representative selection of socially committed songs.

Chapter Two draws the historical narrative of NCCh into the choral realm, focusing on this contemporary expression of socially committed song as important to building collective or cultural memory in post-dictatorship Chilean society. Relying on constituent voices of contemporary Chilean society, this chapter's perspectives of NCCh in a choral context emerge from the stories of present-day Chilean musicians, some whose lives have been steeped in the NCCh tradition while others have interacted with NCCh primarily through the choral context. These perspectives were gathered from personal interviews with five active performers and academics: Paula Elgueta, Felipe Elgueta, Moisés Mendoza, Andrés Bahamondes, and William Child. Subsequently, motivational impulses for the choral performance of socially committed song are explored, considering aspects of the continued relevance of NCCh as shared cultural memory and as historical text potentially serving to address current issues of injustice.

Chapter Three names the search for cultural identity as a motivating impulse underlying the choral arrangement of socially committed song, tying the folk-inspired popular songs of the 1960s and 70s to the contemporary choral context. Following the previous chapter's evaluation of NCCh's contribution to Chile's cultural memory, this chapter examines choral arrangements as musical texts that bear the poetic, musical, and socio-historical identity markers underlying this cultural significance. A brief overview of the Chilean choral context is presented, with an emphasis on the historical trajectory of choral practice in Chile as significant to the desire for cultivating an identifiably Chilean choral voice. Choral settings of four songs serve to illustrate various aspects of musical identity: "Según el favor del viento" by Violeta Parra, arranged by Pablo Ulloa; "El Aparecido" and "Manifiesto" by Víctor Jara, arranged by William Child; and a comparison of choral language in arrangements of Víctor Jara's "Te Recuerdo Amanda" by Eduardo Gajardo and William Child. Pieces are examined with regard to overarching thematic content, as well as unique musical and textual characteristics.

The paper concludes with brief considerations regarding the continued relevance of this repertoire within Chile and its performance outside the country. As heard through the words of project interviewees, choral arrangements of NCCh have much to offer to choral programming, both musically and in terms of their socio-cultural content. Mentioning challenges of accessibility with regard to acquiring repertoire and unfamiliarity, the paper's conclusion points to the need for further work in this field, using as its starting point the catalogue of choral arrangements of NCCh included as Appendix B.

I. Nueva Canción Chilena: Background and Historical Development

"Yo no canto por cantar	*"I do not sing merely to sing*
ni por tener buena voz,	*nor because I have a good voice,*
canto porque la guitarra	*I sing because the guitar*
tiene sentido y razón.	*contains meaning and reason.*
[...]	*[...]*
Ahí donde llega todo	*There, where everything culminates*
y donde todo comienza	*and where all begins,*
canto que ha sido valiente	*song that has been valiant*
siempre será canción nueva.	*will always be new song.*

"Manifiesto" ~Víctor Jara (1932–1973)

Definition of Nueva Canción Chilena

From an analytical perspective, *Nueva Canción Chilena* (NCCh) is somewhat cumbersome to place as its musico-poetic characteristics are subservient to defining parameters that reach beyond the bounds of musical or poetic form, traditional or folk rhythms, specific literary devices, or stylistic musical gestures. As its name suggests, the trend in Chilean singing dubbed "New Song" in the late 1960s identified a shift in popular song. Its inception was not an isolated phenomenon, manifesting instead an dynamic web of national and international cultural and socio-political activity. Globally, the mid-20th century saw a general rise of movements advocating for civil rights and liberties, and popular song in different contexts became a voice speaking out against structures that oppressed disadvantaged populations. The Chilean framework that fostered the emergence of this type of socially committed song included a struggle to assert a sense of unique identity in a context marked historically by European colonization and contemporarily by intrusive US and European foreign and economic policies.

Bearing in mind the functional aspect of NCCh, definitions of the song form rarely refer to musical or poetic elements in isolation—these are always tied to contextual aspects of time, place, and socio-political process. Chilean music author and critic Felipe Elgueta underscores its rootedness in historical chronology: "What is *Nueva Canción*? *Nueva Canción* reflects a time.

Before the time when I lived. When people found a voice."[3] Andrés Bahamondes, music educator and choral director at the University of Santiago de Chile (USACH), limits these parameters of time to the brief administration of Unidad Popular (UP) led by Salvador Allende.

> There, a movement was born. But it was a brief movement. A movement that emerged inherently cast in a political light. It was tinted politically and socially. [...] The movement was popular; it was truly popular to the level of radio broadcasting. [...] It was a phenomenon that was seriously being promoted by the current government.[4] It was popular, shall we say, not that it pertained to an exclusive circle of people who enjoyed folklore. No, it was truly establishing itself as a culture based upon the roots [of Chilean folklore].[5]

Identifying NCCh with social process, choral conductor and psychologist Paula Elgueta says, "[*Nueva Canción Chilena*] is a movement. It is a musical movement originating in Chile, [...] that has its basis in traditional Chilean music and develops a poetic art form. And develops these completely from an ideology, shall we say, of the left—develops an expansive poetic art. Enormous. Very prolific and quite varied as well."[6] Both Bahamondes and Elgueta refer to an underlying musical foundation or root from which NCCh grows. As a choral arranger, conductor, and an instructor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, William Child has explored a variety of musical languages and styles within Chile. He links NCCh's folk roots to popular musical expression. "I believe [*Nueva Canción*] is popular music; it is music rooted in the folkloric tradition and is cast, in principle, I believe, in a political light."[7]

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[3] Felipe Elgueta, Personal Interview with Allison Pauls, August 24, 2018.
[4] This is in reference to its existence during Salvador Allende's Socialist government from 1970 to 1973.
[5] "Ahí nació un movimiento. Pero fue un movimiento corto. Fue [...] un movimiento que naturalmente vino teñido de política. Vino teñido políticamente y vino teñido socialmente. [...] El movimiento era *popular*; de verdad era popular a nivel radial. [...] Era una cosa que realmente se estaba promovido por el gobierno de la época. Era *popular*, digamos, no es que perteneciera a un círculo exclusivo de gente que le gustara folclor. No, realmente se estaba instalando como una cultura entorno a las raíces." [Andrés Bahamondes, Personal Interview with Allison Pauls, August 22, 2018.] Note: unless otherwise inicated, all quotations originally written or spoken in Spanish have been translated by the author of this paper.
[6] "Es un movimiento. Es un movimiento musical que se dio en Chile [...], que tiene base en la música de raíz y que desarrolla una poética. Y desarrolla totalmente a partir de una ideología, digamos, de izquierda—desarrolla una poética enorme. Enorme. Muy prolífica, muy variada también." [Paula Elgueta, Personal Interview with Allison Pauls, September 1, 2018.]
[7] "Yo creo que es música *popular*, es música de *raíz* folclórica y que tiene, en principio, creo, un tinte político." [William Child, Personal Interview with Allison Pauls, August 27, 2018.]

The significance of NCCh's texts is underscored by Juan Pablo Villarroel, artistic director of the University of Chile's professional ensemble *Camerata Vocal* and its symphonic choir. "[*Nueva Canción*] is a music with a social message. It is music with an important text; with something to communicate, shall we say. With problems that are *our own*."[8] Villarroel's emphasis on his final words of this definition allude to a central component of the socially committed song movement: the search for a people's identity, a very real part of which was the desire to convey a voice marginalized by inequality and injustice. Pointing to the specific nature of this voice, counter-tenor, arranger, and human-rights educator Moisés Mendoza suggests that "[...] in *Nueva Canción Chilena*, the music is at the disposal of the political programme. [...] It is a tool with which to enter into discourse,"[9] a concept which sociologist Claudia Herrera expands, clarifying as well several of the relevant problems or issues alluded to by Villarroel.

> From the 60s on, socialist revolutions began to unfold not only in Chile, but also in Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil. There was a kind of people's revolution in which music accompanied that political process. In this way, art was put in service of politics as a tool of communication and was an immense tool. In other words, the manner in which we reach people with our discourse. How do we reach people; how do we make them aware so that they know that a labourer is a labourer but feels proud to be a labourer. That a teacher is a teacher who feels proud to be a teacher. That they function as part of a social revolution such as the one which took place here with Salvador Allende, for example.[10]

Emerging from these various descriptions of NCCh is a phenomenological definition of a popular movement shaped by a culturally rooted socio-political process. Eduardo Carrasco,

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[8] "Es una música con un mensaje social. [...] Es una música con un texto importante; con algo que decir, digamos. Con problemas *nuestros*." [Juan Pablo Villarroel, Personal Interview with Allison Pauls, August 30, 2018.]
[9] "[...] en la Nueva Canción, la música se pone a disposición de la propuesta política. [...] Es una herramienta para entrar en un discurso." [Moisés Mendoza, Personal Interview, September 3, 2018.]
[10] "Desde los 60 en adelante empezaron a vivirse revoluciones socialistas no solamente en Chile, sino que, en Argentina, en Uruguay, en Brasil. Hubo una especie de revolución del pueblo en donde la música acompañaba ese proceso político. Entonces, fue en donde el arte se puso en la función de lo político como una herramienta de comunicación y que fuera una herramienta masiva. O sea, como llegamos a la gente con nuestro discurso. Como llegamos a la gente, como la concientizamos, que sepa que un obrero es un obrero pero que sienta orgulloso ser obrero. Que un profesor es un profesor que sienta orgulloso ser profesor. Que están en función de una revolución social que fue lo que pasó aquí con Salvador Allende, por ejemplo." [Claudia Herrera, Personal Interview with Allison Pauls, August 31, 2018.]

member of the NCCh ensemble Quilapayún, indicates his sense of the imperative felt by Chile's popular-music community living in that socio-political climate. "It is of utmost importance to consider that the only truly popular music of that moment had to become entangled with the social struggle that was at the core of the life of our people. Chilean new song is, therefore, simultaneously the fruit of the necessity of having a national music and, on the other hand, the result of the demand to make of that music a fighting weapon."[11] What becomes clear is that the "new" direction of Chilean popular song in the 60s and early 70s served a twofold purpose: responding to immanent socio-political circumstances and defining a musical voice definitive of its originating community. Chilean composer and musicologist Juan Orrego Salas sees this purpose most clearly evidenced in the poetic element of NCCh.

> The circumstances that determine the emergence and development, in the decade 1960–70, of the so-called Chilean New Song are easier to discern in light of the elements that shape its poetry rather than those related to its music. The politico-social content contained within its texts is a tangible element that transmits without difficulty, engendering ideas and dramatic images closely linked to the historical reality of the moment, both at national and continental levels. This defines it as a committed expression, not always partisan in its political tone, but certainly comprising "revolutionary impetus," as described by Víctor Jara, one of its most illustrious cultivators. The "newness" contained within the poetic matter then becomes quite evident, it responds to real historical circumstances, to the delineation of a new national consciousness, determined by cultural values rather than strictly geographical ones.[12]

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[11] "Es importantísimo considerer que la única verdadera música popular en ese momento tenía que confundirse con la lucha social, que era como el centro de la vida de nuestro pueblo. La nueva canción chilena es, entonces, al mismo tiempo fruto de la necesidad de tener una música nacional y, por otro lado, resultado de la exigencia de hacer de esa música un arma de lucha." [Eduardo Carrasco in Luis Bocaz, "Discusión sobre la música Chilena," *araucaria de Chile*, no. 2 (1978): 123, http://publicacionesperiodicas.cl/2018/08/06/revista-araucaria-2/.]

[12] "Las circunstancias que determinan el surgimiento y desarrollo, en la década 1960–70, de la llamada Nueva Canción Chilena son más fáciles de discernir a la luz de los elementos que afectan a su poesía que de aquellos relacionados con su música. El contenido político-social que sus textos acarrean constituye un elemento tangible que trasciende sin dificultad, generando ideas e imágenes dramáticas estrechamente ligadas a la realidad histórica del momento, tanto en el plano nacional como continental. Esto la define como una expresión comprometida, no siempre de tono político partidista, pero si, de 'ímpetu revolucionario', como la describió Víctor Jara, uno de sus más ilustres cultivadores. Lo 'nuevo' del asunto poético resulta entonces muy evidente, responde a circunstancias históricas reales, al perfilamiento de una nueva conciencia nacional, determinada por valores culturales más que estrictamente geográficos." [Juan Orrego Salas, "La Nueva Canción Chilena: tradición, espíritu, y contenido de su música," *Literatura Chilena en el Exilio* XIV (April 1980): 2, http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0005296.pdf.]

Socio-political context

Nueva Canción Chilena and the Unidad Popular

As the quote from Bahamondes above indicates, the historical moment in which NCCh existed as a consolidated movement was brief. Identified in name for the first time after the *Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena* (Festival of Chilean New Song) that took place in the nation's capital in 1969, NCCh is now recognized as a discernable musical and poetic aesthetic in Chile from 1970 to 1973.[13] Its active period corresponds to Salvador Allende's campaign and presidency as leader of the Unidad Popular (UP, Popular Unity). Orrego Salas' assertion that the tone of the poetic texts was not always directly partisan is true to a certain extent—NCCh artists also sang of the realities of daily life apart from political activity.[14] Nonetheless, these realities were viewed from a left-leaning, socialist perspective with real connections to partisan interests. Allende's government officially endorsed the activity of the movement; NCCh artists sang at official functions and promoted the government's platform of social improvement through song and speech. In fact, throughout Allende's presidential campaign, musicians were essential in garnering support for and disseminating the UP's platform.[15] They toured the country on a bus and sang the political agenda promoting nationalization of industries within Chile, improved treatment and conditions for labourers, free public services such as healthcare and education, and dignity of life for all.[16]

[13] These parameters will be broadened for the purposes of this paper. See discussion of Violeta Parra on pp. 29–32.
[14] See analysis of Víctor Jara's song "Te recuerdo Amanda" beginning on pg. 120.
[15] Nancy Morris, "Canto Porque Es Necesario Cantar: The New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983," *Latin American Research Review* 21, no. 2 (1986): 121, http://www.jstor.org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/2503359.
[16] Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018; Herrera, Personal Interview.

In December of 1970, the vocal-instrumental ensemble Inti-Illimani produced an album supporting Allende's successful bid for the presidency[17] titled *Canto al Programa* (Song to the Programme). The album laid out the UP's political agenda in a series of songs and spoken monologue. (See Table 1. Note: even-numbered tracks are omitted from the table as they are labeled only as "Monologue" and numbered according to their order on the album).

TABLE 1 Musical tracks on Inti-Illimani's *Canto al Programa* (1970) album

Track #	Track Title	Composer	Time
1	Musical Introduction / Introducción musical	Luis Advis	1:20
3	"Song of popular power" / "Canción del poder popular"	Luis Advis	2:50
5	"The waltz of the deepening of democracy" / "El vals de la profundización de la democracia"	Sergio Ortega	2:33
7	"Cueca of the Armed Forces and Police Force" / "Cueca de las Fuerzas Armadas y Carabineros"	Sergio Ortega	3:32
9	"The rin of the new Constitution" / "El rin de la nueva Constitución"	Luis Advis	2:07
11	"Song of social and private property" / "Canción de la propiedad social y privada"	Luis Advis	2:40
13	"Song of agrarian reform" / "Canción de la reforma agraria"	Sergio Ortega	2:13
15	"Tonada and sajuriana of social responsibilities" / "Tonada y sajuriana de las tareas sociales"	Luis Advis	5:03
17	"Song of the new culture" / "Canción de la nueva cultura"	Sergio Ortega	3:50
19	"Waltz of education for all" / "Vals de la educación para todos"	Luis Advis	3:24
21	"Song of international relations" / "Canción de las relaciones internacionales"	Sergio Ortega	2:14
23	"We will conquer" / "Venceremos"	Sergio Ortega	2:29

Source: DICAP Catalogue on Discogs.com (https://www.discogs.com/Inti-Illimani-Canto-Al-Programa/release/7074440) and Perrerac: "La canción, un arma de revolución..." (https://perrerac.org/chile/inti-illimani-canto-al-programa-1970/3993/)

[17] Allende was elected president on his third bid for this government office. [Paula Elgueta, interview] The military coup of 1973 marked the end of his presidency and the end of his life, as he committed suicide in its final hours. Allende's final discourse broadcast during the coup referred to the artists of NCCh, thanking Chileans for their work in creating a better nation. He specifically mentioned those "who sang and dedicated their joy and their fighting spirit" ("que cantaron y entregaron su alegría y su espíritu de lucha"). [Patricia Vilches, "De Violeta Parra a Víctor Jara y Los Prisioneros: Recuperación de la memoria colectiva e identidad cultural a través de la música comprometida," *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 25, no. 2 (Autumn–Winter, 2004): 197, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3598728.]

The back cover of Inti-Illimani's original LP illustrates the interconnectedness NCCh musicians understood between their artistic purpose and the UP's political agenda, identifying several of the most significant socio-political struggles that precipitated the evolution of NCCh.

> With the triumph of the Popular Unity, September 4, 1970 has opened for the people of Chile, for the workers, the concrete possibility of achieving profound social changes that allow them to pass from object to active subject, creator and constructor of their own destiny, that is, to free themselves forever from the exploitation by the few of the majority, through the realization of a truly popular Government that makes possible an anti-imperialist revolution that allows us to be the true owners of our basic riches, which today are exploited by foreign, mainly Yankee, capital; an anti-oligarchic revolution that puts an end to the great bourgeoisie, owner of the big financial centers and the monopolies that impede our economic development and, finally, an agrarian revolution that brings to an end the big landowners and gives the land to the peasants, who work it.
>
> For this to be possible, the most impenetrable unity of the people is required, the only force capable of wiping out the difficulties that they want to impose on us, to make us advance without fail, to make possible a better life for all Chileans.
>
> This Unity will be possible to the extent that the people become aware of the concurrence of their own interests with the objectives of the Popular Unity Government Program and, therefore, with the success of the Government of Comrade President Salvador Allende.
>
> The Communist Youth, aware of their responsibility and the need to use all the means of communication within their reach, developed the idea of disseminating the Program through a recording. This was made possible thanks to the creative contribution of Luis Advis and Sergio Ortega in the aspect of music and Julio Rojas in the poetic adaptation of the text who, after an arduous collaboration, give us this collection of songs, SONG TO THE PROGRAM, that take the forms of our folklore and that achieve, through INTI-ILLIMANI's interpretation, a great artistic quality.[18]

[18] Con el triunfo de la Unidad Popular, el 4 de Septiembre de 1970 se ha abierto para el pueblo de Chile, para los trabajadores, la posibilidad concreta de lograr cambios sociales profundos que le permitan pasar de objeto, a sujeto activo, creador y constructor de su propio destino, es decir, liberarse para siempre de la explotación de unos pocos sobre la mayoría, mediante la realización de un Gobierno verdaderamente popular que haga posible una revolución anti-imperialista que permita que seamos los dueños verdaderos de nuestras riquezas básicas, hoy explotadas por capitales extranjeros principalmente yanquis; una revolución anti-oligárquica que ponga fin a la gran burguesía, dueña de los grandes centros financieros y de los monopolios que impiden nuestro desarrollo económico y, por último, una revolución agraria que termine con los grandes terratenientes y entregue la tierra a los campesinos, que la trabajan. / Para que esto sea posible se requiere de la más granítica unidad del pueblo, única fuerza capaz de arrasar con las dificultades que, quieren imponernos, de hacernos avanzar sin desmayo, para hacer posible una vida mejor a todos los chilenos. / Esta Unidad será posible en la medida de que el pueblo tome conciencia de la coincidencia de sus intereses con los objetivos del Programa de Gobierno de la Unidad Popular y, por lo tanto, con el éxito del Gobierno del Compañero Presidente Salvador Allende. / Las Juventudes Comunistas conscientes de su responsabilidad y de la necesidad de usar todos los medios de comunicación a su alcance concibió la idea de difundir el Programa mediante un disco. Esta, se concretó gracias al aporte creador de Luis Advis y Sergio Ortega, en lo musical y Julio Rojas en la adaptación poética del texto, quienes después de un arduo trabajo colectivo nos

Class-stratification and socio-political unrest

Inti-Illimani's declaration grounds the "new national consciousness" identified by Orrego Salas with far-reaching historical roots, fed by longstanding socio-economic inequality. Chile's social history is marked by pronounced class stratification due, in no small part, to European colonization.[19] This legacy pervades Latin America,[20] and its ramifications are considered to be among the most divisive components of Chile's social fabric. In her study of class and identity in Chile, Claudia Bucciferro identifies class as perceived to be more significantly prejudicial within contemporary Chilean society than race or gender. Quoting study-participant Mariela Cantero, Bucciferro writes "Chilean society is very clasista ['classist']. Not sexist or racist, at all, I would say. Classist. And we are all classist, more or less. It is so entrenched in Chilean society that everybody makes a point of it."[21] Bucciferro does identify race and gender as constituents of social stratification and discrimination;[22] however, she emphasizes that the perception of barrier or discrimination between social strata—often distinguished by dress and/or speech (accent, speech patterns, and pronunciation) rather than skin colour or gender—relates more directly to identity within a class system than within a racial grouping or gender category.[23]

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entregan este conjunto de canciones de CANTO AL PROGRAMA que toman las formas de nuestro folklore y que logran, en la interpretación del conjunto INTI ILLIMANI una gran calidad artística. ["Inti-Illimani: Canto al programa (1970)," *Perrerac. "La canción, un arma de la revolución..."*, updated 2018, https://perrerac.org/chile/inti-illimani-canto-al-programa-1970/3993/. Confirmed by Bahamondes, Personal Interview, March 20, 2019.]

[19] J. Patrice McSherry, *Chilean New Song: The Political Power of Music, 1960s–1973* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 26.

[20] 1993's *CEPAL Review*, a journal put forward by the United Nations regional commission responsible for Latin America and the Caribbean, published an article titled "The history of the *social stratification* of Latin America." Author Enzo Faletto asserts that "social groups and classes" are "an inherent part of Latin America" and "were determinants of the patterns which the development process [of the region] would follow." CEPAL stands for Comisión Económica para America Latina y el Caribe (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean). [Enzo Faletto, "Formación histórica de la estratificación social en América Latina," *Revista de la CEPAL*, no. 50 (August 1993): 163, https://www.cepal.org/es/publicaciones/38003-revista-la-cepal-no50.]

[21] Claudia Bucciferro, *For-get: Identity, Media, and Democracy in Chile* (Lanham: UPA, 2012), 106, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[22] Ibid., 109, 112.

[23] Ibid., 106, 109.

This prominence of class stratification has contributed to challenges in Chile's political history. Constitutional democracies have governed Chile for significant portions of the country's history since its independence from Spain in 1818. Nonetheless, democracy's reach was defined narrowly and controlled within an oligarchic elitist framework; a social pyramid allowing for "the exploitation by the few of the majority," as stated in *Canto al programa*'s LP inscription. The predominant electorate belonged to a wealthier class, the percentage of working-class voters was relatively small, and corruption of wealth and power materialized frequently through purchased votes or a proprietor's dictation of how an employee would vote. In shaping and directing their national economy, the Chilean population was gradually restricted as the country's wealth of natural resources, which employed the largest sector of the nation's workers, was sold by governing bodies to foreign investors.[24]

Despite oligarchic control, 20th-century Chilean democracy comprised a multi-party system that included Communist and Socialist parties. The early decades of 20th-century Chile saw the organization of a popular labourers' movement, consolidating the concept of the Chilean *pueblo* or "people,"[25] a unified entity struggling for recognition and validation.[26] Peter Gould's dissertation on the work of Víctor Jara nuances this translation of the Spanish term.

> I have translated "pueblo" as people, but with this proviso: the word means more than it appears to. It is a collective noun that can refer to the specific group of people Víctor comes from: workers, or Chileans, or campesinos. But to get it right, you have to think of a collectivity from which no individual stands out—as in the "first people," as some indigenous Americans referred to themselves historically. It is almost as if you were speaking of one organism, one pair of hands, one creative force.[27]

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[24] McSherry, *Chilean New Song*, 26–27.
[25] In this context, "pueblo" can basically be understood as the proletariat: a non-governing, working class.
[26] Rodrigo Torres Alvarado, "Cantar la diferencia. Violeta Parra y la canción chilena," *Revista Musical Chilena* 58, no. 201 (January–June 2004): 56, http://www.revistamusicalchilena.uchile.cl/index.php/RMCH/article/viewFile/12448/12761.
[27] Peter Gould, "'Mi pueblo creador:' Remembering Víctor Jara" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 2002), 177, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global (UMI 3045890).

Prompted by class inequality, socially oriented political parties advocated for workers' rights and encouraged the creation of labour unions. Though banned by various governing administrations, leftist Chilean parties such as the Communist Party, associated elsewhere with violent revolution, generally advocated for constitutional involvement in the political process, preferring labour strikes and protests to militant action.[28] Adverse working conditions, particularly within the substantial mining industry, led to numerous union strikes and protests. At times, worker push-back was militant; nonetheless, it could not compare to the violence perpetrated by the military towards significantly outnumbered and outgunned labourers. Within a span of thirteen years, the government-backed Chilean military carried out four massacres quashing dissident workers, peasants, Mapuches, and other protestors. These include the massacre of San Gregorio in 1921, La Coruña and Antafogasta in 1925, and Ranquil in 1934.

One of NCCh's most significant choral-orchestral works is the cantata *Santa María de Iquique* which memorializes the 1907 military massacre of striking saltpeter miners. Composed by Luis Advis and premiered by Quilapayún in 1970, the cantata incorporates popular musical style within a loosely defined cantata form. In her article discussing the representation of the pampa-labourer within the musical narrative, Eileen Karmy Bolton underscores the importance of this work in shedding light on a story otherwise safeguarded by selective amnesia. The cantata's historical interpretation "[...] sought to raise awareness about the possibilities of building a new future. Thus, this work, in addition to making visible a historical event, calls for

[28] McSherry, *Chilean New Song*, 26, 31–32. Militancy was favored by extremist factions in Chile; however, violent revolution was not part of the official agenda of leftist parties in Chile. McSherry discusses dissatisfaction among more radicalized leftist groups in the mid 1960s who viewed the constitutional and electoral participation of Communist and Socialist parties to be ineffective, particularly in light of the most immediate example of Communist Revolution in Cuba. [McSherry, *Chilean New Song*, 37, 47–49.]

awareness of social injustices and for maintaining unity in order to prevent events such as the narrated ones from happening again."[29]

Musical trends fuelling NCCh's search for a Chilean Voice

Inextricably tied to the socio-political unrest that led to the development of socially committed song in Chile was a growing cultural consciousness focused on self-determination in the sense of endeavoring to define a uniquely Chilean identity. This was confronted intentionally beginning in the 1920s by academic musical circles that expanded their area of study to explore folk and popular musical realms. In many ways, it is this intermingling of musical practices and languages essentially foreign to each other that brings into focus the challenges implicit in the claim of a Chilean national music. Acclaimed Chilean writer José Miguel Varas and musicologist Juan Pablo González have grappled with this issue, publishing a book in 2005 whose translated title reads, *In Search of Chilean Music: Chronicle and Anthology of a History in Sound*. Citing conversations with composers and academics in the field, the authors recognize a culture which, through colonization, imperialism, migration, and globalization, has become diversified to the extent that no single language could represent the multiplicity of indigenous cultures intermingled with European, North American, and other foreign influences.[30] With this in mind, the following discussion presents markers significant to the trajectory of the search for national musical identity in 20th-century Chile. Recognizing limitations of scope with regard to

[29] "[...] buscaba crear conciencia sobre las posibilidades de construir un nuevo futuro. Así, esta obra además de visibilizar un acontecimiento histórico, llama a tomar conciencia sobre las injusticias sociales y a mantener la unidad para evitar que hechos como los narrados volvieran a ocurrir." [Eileen Karmy Bolton, "La Cantata Popular Santa María de Iquique: Representaciones del Obrero Pampino y del Hombre Nuevo," in *Palimpsestos Sonoros: Reflexiones sobre la Nueva Canción Chilena*, comp. Eileen Karmy Bolton and and Martín Faría (Santiago: CEIBO Ediciones, 2014), 103.]

[30] See "Un docto interludio" in José Miguel Varas and Juan Pablo González, *En busca de la música chilena: Crónica y antología de una historia sonora* (Santiago de Chile: Catalonia, 2013), location 586–749 of 10622, Kindle Electronic Edition.

the full complexity of Chilean social demographics, this paper presents the intention of defining identity as a foundational impulse underlying the definition of a "new" Chilean song.

Música Típica

Early 20th-century definitions of Chilean folk identity emerged largely from the urban, elite academy, led by the work of composers trained in academic environments modeled after the traditions of European colonizers.[31] The introduction of radio transmission and broadcasting corporations as a form of mass-media communication, owned in Chile by an urban business class, allowed for an ideologically streamlined musical content to establish itself as representatively typical of the newly defined folk tradition.[32] Though this tradition was cultivated in urban centres, the concept of "folklore" was associated with rural life, particularly as a significant percentage of city-dwellers maintained immediate rural affiliations, either having relocated recently or still owning land in rural areas.[33]

By 1927, a folk-type had been set, identified as *Música Típica* translated as "typical" music.[34] Representing musical trends pertaining primarily to certain classes of the central and, to a lesser extent, southern regions of the country, the predominant narrative of the texts in this

[31] Early ethnomusicological activity between the 1920s and 1950s was fostered by composers such as Carlos Isamltt, Pedro-Humberto Allende, Jorge Urrutia- Blondel, Pablo Garrldo, Ramon Campbell, Carlos Lavin, Juan Uribe-Echeverria, and Eugenio Perelra-Salas. [Juan Pablo González, "Chilean Musicians' Discourse of the 1980's: A Collective Poetics, Pedagogy, and Sodo-aesthetlcs of Art and Popular Music" (PhD diss., University of California, 1990), 37–38, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global (9105881)]. For a discussion of European influence within the academic community see discussion in section IV, "Un docto interludio" of Varas and González, *En busca de la música chilena*, location 586–749 of 10622.

[32] Varas and González, *En busca de la música chilena*, location 170–213 of 10622.

[33] Juan Pablo González, "Evocación, modernización y reivindicación del folclore en la música popular chilena: el papel de la performance," *Revista Musical Chilena* 50, no. 185 (January–June 1996): 26, https://revistamusicalchilena.uchile.cl/index.php/RMCH/article/view/13833.

[34] The term "typical" is somewhat problematic in this context as it does not truly imply representative characteristics of Chilean music; the idea of "type" is perhaps better understood as "stereotype." The incorporation of idyllic images associated with rural life and criollo or mestizo music – the heroic figure of the *huaso* (cowboy) and the beauty of the land – was part of early 20th-century nation-building in Chile, of endeavoring to find images of Chilean life that could be held up as national symbols of identity. While these images did, indeed, exist in Chile, the definition of them as "typical" is problematic as they did not represent the reality of much of the population.

music was escapist, inhabiting an idyllically nostalgic notion of simple rural life.[35] The protagonists of these songs were often the honorable and gallant *huaso* (Chilean cowboy) and an idyllic woman. Each character portrayed romanticized traits: the man was patriotic, courageous, honest, and hardworking—often disillusioned by love; the idealized woman could be amorously virtuous and sweet, or elusive and severe. Significantly, the *huaso* in question was a mestizo land-owner, as *Música Típica*'s "folk" narrative rarely strayed beyond the parameters of elegant country living, excluding the lives of the rural majority who worked the land or had purely indigenous roots.[36]

Performers of *Música Típica*, primarily male-quartet ensembles, dressed to match the part of the rural proprietor in fine, colourful ponchos. Representative ensembles include Los Cuatro Huasos, Los Huasos Quincheros, and Los Provincianos established in 1927, 1937, and 1938 respectively.[37] Performances frequently incorporated somewhat mannered rural gestures to add "typical flavour" such as enthusiastic yelps or hollers. The primary musical genres comprised polished and stylized adaptations of the peasant dance and song forms *cueca* and *tonada,* and generally maintained a strict periodicity and formulaic formal structure (strophic with or without a refrain).[38] Melodies were lyrical, diatonic, and formulaic in structure; harmonies comprised tonal progressions of primary chords with limited extension.[39] Instrumental accompaniment

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[35] García, *Canción Valiente*, location 349 of 8131; González, "Evocación," 25–26; Torres Alvarado, "Cantar la diferencia," 55.
[36] Morris, "Canto Porque Es Necesario Cantar," 117; González, "Evocación," 26–27; Herrera, Personal Interview; Mendoza, Personal Interview.
[37] Tânia de Costa Garcia, "Canción popular, nacionalismo, consumo y política en Chile entre los años 40 y 60," *Revista Musical Chilena,* 63, no. 212 (2009): 16, https://revistamusicalchilena.uchile.cl/index.php/RMCH/article/view/198; González, "Evocación," 26. Ensemble names translate as: The four *huasos*, The *huasos* from mud and reed homes (quincha), and The provincial ones.
[38] Torres Alvarado, "Cantar la diferencia," 55; González, "Evocación," 26–27; Orrego Salas, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 4; Herrera, Personal Interview.
[39] Luis Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena. Memoria de una música comprometida." *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 1 (1996): 250, http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/CMIB/article/view/61318.

included guitar and Chilean harp,[40] and the entertainment factor was increased by incorporating virtuosic flourishes of rapid arpeggiations or doubling of the melodic line in thirds or sixths.[41] Discussing the development of *Música Típica*, Juan Pablo González is careful to note that the refined stylization and musical idealism was not necessarily ill-intentioned. Nevertheless, it was developed within a social class distanced from the reality it supposedly represented and, as such, functioned as a musical souvenir in which traditional elements of Chilean culture underwent an aesthetic transformation and were ideologically reoriented.[42]

Rock-and-Roll

A further challenge to establishing authenticity in the voice of Chilean song presented itself in the form of Rock-and-Roll. In the 1950s and 1960s, rock artists from the United States began to figure prominently on Chilean airwaves, and their musical style was adopted by what would become known as Chile's *Nueva Ola* or "New Wave" movement.[43] Comprising Spanish rock covers or original songs with Spanish texts set in the Rock-and-Roll style, Chilean *Nueva Ola* artists adopted English stage-names: Patricio Enríquez became "Pat Henry," Ricardo Toro became "Buddy Richard"; further Chilean artists included William Reb, Danny Chilean, Peter Rock and the Carr Twins.[44] US musical influence was by far the strongest foreign cultural infiltration of the mid-century; however, trends from Europe (Spain, France, and Italy), and other

[40] The Chilean harp is a diatonic harp distinct from the concert harp. Various regions in Latin America developed creole harps descendent from the Spanish Baroque diatonic harp. Creole harps became essential to musical equivalents of "musica típica" across the Latin American territories.
[41] González, "Evocación," 26.
[42] Juan Pablo González, '"Inti-Illimani" and the Artistic Treatment of Folklore.' *Latin American Music Review/Revista De Música Latinoamericana* 10, no. 2 (1989): 268, http://www.jstor.org/stable/779953.
[43] The label of "new" in this context referred specifically to the contrast of musical style between Música Típica and the imported Rock-and Roll style. [Claudia Herrera Elgueta and Constanza Quildorán Peralta, "El Mensaje Socio-político del Músico Popular como rol de Transformación Cultural entre los Años 1970 y 1980 en Chile" (Bachelors Thesis in Sociology, Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, 2012), 6].
[44] Orrego Salas, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 3; Herrera and Quildorán, "El Mensaje Socio-político del Músico Popular," 7; Varas and González, *En busca de la música chilena*, location 953–954 of 10622.

Latin American countries (Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Cuba, and the Caribbean) also figured prominently in radio broadcasting.

Rock-and-Roll was one of the multifaceted socio-economic and political entanglements of the United States in Latin America. The surge of rock in Chilean radio programming and mass-media marketing was part of what Lauren Shaw identifies as the "footprint of US policies" in Latin America[45]—a capitalist cultural infiltration encouraged and driven by US foreign policy looking for any possible inroads into a society exhibiting ever-more "dangerous" socialist leanings.[46] The economically dominant conservative elite and business classes of Chile welcomed Rock-and-Roll, perceiving the musical genre born within the safety of a non-socialist super-power, as useful in fostering a social consciousness that would fall in line with their preferred capitalist economic agenda.[47] As the seeds of human rights and liberation movements grew throughout Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s, *Nueva Ola* factored into the mechanism attempting to subdue the dissenting voices of a younger generation whose critique of inequitable internal Chilean realities and of exploitative foreign policies was growing.

Critiques of socio-economic and political policies attested to the increasing disillusionment with mass-mediated cultural expressions far removed from the reality lived by a majority of Chileans. The entertainment value of *Nueva Ola* could not mask the fact that it

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[45] Lauren Shaw, *Song and Social Change in Latin America* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2013), 2, 5.
[46] Herrera and Quildorán, "El Mensaje Socio-político del Músico Popular," 6; Shaw, *Song and Social change*, 77. This "footprint" had been growing as the mid-century drew near, involving several US investments in the economy, increasing Chile's dependence on the northern funds and imports [McSherry, *Chilean New Song*, 33]. It also included a US-funded educational program supporting Chileans to undertake studies in Economics, focusing on Milton Freedman's Free-Market Model. These students, known as the "Chicago Boys" were called upon after the installation of the military dictatorship to implement policies privatizing national industries such as healthcare. Later, this print became much larger and consequential within the Chilean social fabric with the US government and CIA's backing of the September 11, 1973 *coup d'état* that would lead to the installation of Augusto Pinochet and his government's 17-year military dictatorship. [Shaw, *Song and Social change*, 82–3]
[47] Contrary to *Rock Nacional* in Argentina which was censored throughout the military dictatorship there, Chilean rock was not suspect by Pinochet's government until it gathered a more politically subversive tone in the 1980s, especially through the work of a band called Los Prisioneros. Shaw, *Song and Social change*, 77, 79–80, 81–83.

represented a sort of foreign economic imperialism. Furthermore, *Música Típica*, which figured prominently as the definition of Chilean musical folklore until the mid-20th century,[48] was in many ways more of an effort to sing *for* the people than to truly present songs *of* the people. Citing García Canclini's text on hybrid cultures, Rodrigo Torres Alvarado underscores this as a challenge common to many people groups in Latin America: that a people may present themselves through cultural expression rather than be represented by others.[49]

The NCCh Movement

Foundations: ethnomusicological explorations and Violeta Parra

Impelled by rising interest in cultural self-identification, a new surge of ethnomusicological exploration began in the mid-20th century. Already in 1943, the Institute of Research of Musical Folklore had been founded and was incorporated into the University of Chile's Fine Arts musical research branch three years later.[50] This academic community encouraged the work of field-researchers and folk musicians such as Margot Loyola, Gabriella Pizarro, Hector Pávez, and Violeta Parra, who traveled the country learning, recording, and compiling songs and dance styles traditional to Chile's diverse rural peoples.[51] Linguistic and musical investigation went beyond white European and mestizo cultures to include songs of indigenous tribes such as the Mapuche, Aymara, Diaguitas, Atacameños, and Pascuenses.[52]

This work laid the socio-cultural foundations for NCCh, expanding the poetic narrative and aspects of musical language to include a focus on modal sonorities and diversifying the pool of accompanying musical instruments. Though Loyola, Pizarro, and Pávez were invaluable in

[48] Rodrigo Torres Alvarado, "Cantar la diferencia," 55.
[49] Ibid., 54.
[50] González, "Chilean Musicians' Discourse of the 1980's," 38.
[51] Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena. Memoria de una música comprometida." 245.
[52] Varas and González, *En busca de la música chilena*, location 558 of 10622.

diversifying the voice of Chilean song within the national consciousness, Violeta Parra is attributed with building on the musical and poetic styles she encountered and forging new trends. "Through Violeta Parra, the originating personality of this more-or-less organic movement is born. […] Violeta introduced folkloric investigation, re-creation, elaboration, and abstraction that broadened the creative possibilities of all other artists. In her we have a fundamental point of reference; an immense fount of popular knowledge and an example of development."[53]

The trajectory of Violeta Parra's career marks a watershed in the conception of folk music and direction of popular song in Chile. Born in 1917 in the southern Chilean rural community of San Carlos, Chillán Violeta grew up with first-hand knowledge of injustice as industrialization displaced peasant farmers and created a population of disenfranchised migrant workers. Moving to Santiago at the age of 15, Violeta became known as a *folclorista* or folk singer, singing *Música Típica* in night clubs to earn a living. By 1953, she had tired of perpetuating urban stereotypes of Chilean folk identity, and began searching for music more authentically representative of the *pueblo*. To do so, she traveled throughout the country, living in diverse rural and working-class urban communities, and learning the songs and dances, poems, traditions, superstitions, and ways of life in distinct geographic and cultural regions.[54]

She learned from lyric poets still practicing the art of the *Lira Popular* who used the guitar and guitarrón[55] as primary accompanying instruments. She adopted the traditional poetic form of the *décima* and embraced the role of storyteller over that of performer. *Décimas*, stanzas

[53] "Con Violeta Parra nace la personalidad madre de este movimiento más o menos orgánico. […] Violeta entrega investigación folklórica, recreación, elaboración y abstracción que amplían las posibilidades creativas de todos los demás artistas. En ella tenemos una referencia fundamental, fuente inmensa de sabiduría popular y ejemplo de desarrollo." [Inti-Illimani in Luis Bocaz, "Discusión sobre la música chilena," *araucaria de Chile*, no. 2 (1978): 124, http://publicacionesperiodicas.cl/2018/08/06/revista-araucaria-2/.]
[54] Torres Alvarado, "Cantar la diferencia," 68-69; Vilches, "De Violeta Parra a Víctor Jara y Los Prisioneros," 199;
[55] Twenty-five string acoustic bass guitar. [Orrego Salas, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 4]

comprising ten lines of octosyllabic verse, were fundamental to central Chilean folk poetry. From the mid-19th to early-20th centuries, *Lira Popular* or popular poetry appearing as loose-leaf publications of *décimas* acted as a literary outlet for socio-political commentary on the human condition within Chile's often-unstable socio-political climate.[56] Itinerant popular poets and *payadores* (singers) acted as did medieval minstrels—as chroniclers and spokespeople carrying the memory and experience of their community.[57]

> In the verses of the Lira, the vivid relationship of current events—from crimes, natural catastrophes and all sorts of prodigious phenomena, to the vicissitudes of the Pacific War, the electoral races or the political crisis during the government of José Manuel Balmaceda—was mixed with references to biblical cycles and figures characteristic of [songs] to the divine, or with tributes, *payas*, *cuecas*, *tonadas* and poetic counterpoints typical of songs to the human, the two streams of traditional poetry of the Central Chilean Valley.[58]

Violeta immersed herself in the testimonial spokesperson-chronicler model of the *payador* or itinerant lyric poet who engaged in, "on one hand, poetic and musical practice and, on the other, an alternative form of communal communication."[59] The narrative of her texts was situated within the unjust socio-economic and political realities lived by those she encountered, presenting these as dichotomies within the social fabric—patron-worker, rich-poor. At times her tone is indignant, denouncing governing institutions in songs such as "Según el favor del viento" (discussed in Chapter 3's choral analysis), "Y arriba quemando el sol," "Miren como sonríen," and "La carta." She critiques the church and the pope for acting as an opiate to the poor who

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[56] Patricia Díaz Inostroza, *El Canto Nuevo de Chile: Un Legado Musical* (Santiago: Universidad Bolivariana, 2007), 32; Marisol García, *Canción Valiente. 1960–1989. Tres décadas de canto social y político en Chile* (Santiago: Ediciones B Chile, 2013), location 141 of 8131, Kindle Electronic Edition.
[57] Torres Alvarado, "Cantar la diferencia," 58.
[58] "En los versos de la Lira se mezclaba, así, la relación vívida de los sucesos de actualidad—desde crímenes, catástrofes naturales y toda suerte de fenómenos prodigiosos, hasta las vicisitudes de la Guerra del Pacífico, de las contiendas electorales o de la crisis política durante el gobierno de José Manuel Balmaceda—con referencias a ciclos y personajes bíblicos características del a lo divino o con los brindis, payas, cuecas, tonadas y contrapuntos poéticos típicos del canto a lo humano, las dos vertientes de la poesía tradicional del Valle Central chileno. ["Lira Popular," *memoriachilena: Biblioteca Nacional Digital de Chile*, updated 2018, http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-printer-723.html.]
[59] Torres Alvarado, "Cantar la diferencia," 59, 62.

have no other recourse than to blindly hope for a better life after the one on earth in "¿Qué dirá el Santo Padre?," and "Porque los pobres no tienen." Other times she struggles with the difficulties of love, as in "Maldigo del alto cielo," and the meaning of life in the face of death, heard in "Rin del angelito," or "Cantores que reflexionan." In songs such as "Que vivan los estudiantes," Violeta declares the value of liberty, exalting those who worked for social change, and in "Gracias a la vida," she celebrates the dignity of life.[60]

Violeta adopted song as an expressive vehicle for communication, rather than for festive or dance purposes.[61] "By unearthing and honoring marginalized Chilean musical forms, by setting her political sentiments to folk rhythms, and by using traditional styles to undergird her own compositions of astonishing creativity, she opened the way for exploration and renewal."[62] In this way, she was instrumental in shifting the popular voice towards a musico-poetic narrative that grew from and invested in the life, work, and struggle of the Chilean *pueblo.* Violeta is considered a foundational precursor to the NCCh movement, dying in 1967 prior to its official consolidation as a movement. Her artistic purpose of expressing Chilean identity more sincerely through song and advocating for dignity and justice, however, are inextricable from the movement. As such, references in this paper to cultural, musical, and poetic characteristics or functions of NCCh or Chilean socially committed song encompass her work as well.

Consolidation of the NCCh Movement and Contributing Communities

The 1960s and 70s saw new directions in popular song formulate in various parts of the developing world where people's liberation movements struggled against political and economic

[60] Ibid., 63–65.
[61] Ibid., 62, 66.
[62] Pablo Vila, ed., *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014), 23.

imperialism and advocated for civil rights.[63] Juan Ramos situates the work of musicians and poets of the period within an interpretational framework of "decolonial aesthetics," a paradigm that challenged external historical and contemporary influences on cultural development, particularly the dominant musical discourse.[64] Nelson Maldonado-Torres' does not name "new song" movements specifically; nevertheless, his brief discussion of art and resistance points to the underlying motivation for their emergence and is particularly relevant to this period. "In the modern/colonial world, resistance in its most radical sense should perhaps be understood as an effort for re-existence. That is, resistance is not only a matter of denying oppressive power but also of creating ways of existing, including ways of feeling, thinking, and acting [...]."[65] In the context of both Ramos' and Maldonado-Torres' texts, "decolonial" art can act as an affirmation of life as well as a critique of injustice; as a space for constructive discourse but also for resistance. In Chile, this discourse upheld the value of the labourer's struggle; it confronted the internal polarity of capitalist and socialist economic systems, at the same time connecting Chile to a broader socio-economic and political struggle playing out globally in the Cold War, the Cuban Revolution, the war in Vietnam, for example.[66]

Across Latin America, popular song movements began engaging socio-economic and political struggle through musical discourse. Apart from Chile's *Nueva Canción*, similarly

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[63] García, *Canción Valiente*, location 613 of 8131.
[64] Ramos, Juan, "Latin American Decolonial Aesthetics: Antipoetry, Nueva Cancion, and Third Cinema as Counterculture (1960–1975)" (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2011), 3, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global (UMI 3482657).
[65] "En el mundo moderno/colonial, la resistencia en su sentido más radical quizás deba ser entendida como un esfuerzo por la re-existencia. Es decir, que resistencia no se trata solamente de una cuestión de negar un poder opresor, sino también de crear maneras de existir, lo que incluye formas de sentir, de pensar, y de actuar en un mundo que se va construyendo el mismo a través de variadas insurgencias e irrupciones que buscan constituirlo como un mundo humano." [Nelson Maldonado-Torres, "El Arte Como Territorio de Re-Existencia: una Aproximación Decolonial," *Iberoamérica Social: Revista-red de estudios sociales* 5, no. VIII (July 2017): 26, https://iberoamericasocial.com/arte-territorio-re-existencia-una-aproximacion-decolonial/.]
[66] McSherry, *Chilean New Song*, xvii–xviii.

named movements grew in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Venezuela; Cuba developed the *nueva trova*, *Nuevo Cancionero* appeared in Argentina, *nuevo cantar* in Mexico, *Canto Popular* in Uruguay, the *cantaderas* in Panamá, and *Tropicália* in Brazil, to name the most prominent.[67] Latin American artists from the various socially committed song movements developed a socio-artistic network through which musical exchange created a sense of international solidarity. While each movement was inspired by its local socio-political context, kinship rooted in shared struggles created trans-continental solidarity, which was fostered by the interchange and adoption of each other's musical style, rhythm, and instrumentation.[68] In August of 1967, the "Encuentro Mundial de la Canción Protesta" in Havana, Cuba brought future NCCh musicians Rolando Alarcón, and Isabel and Ángel Parra (children of Violeta Parra) in contact with singer-songwriters from regions across the globe including Africa, Australia, Europe, North America, and various other Latin American countries.[69] NCCh artists and audiences were impacted strongly by visiting singer-songwriters, or *cantautores*, such as Atahualpa Yupanqui from Argentina and Silvio Rodríguez from Cuba.[70]

The convergence of artists that formed the NCCh movement in Chile was not an instantaneous nor homogenous phenomenon; it was pointillistic in its development—a gradual merging of musical communities, of scattered counter-cultural expressions that came into focus through the common lens of commitment to social justice.[71] The dissemination of songs recorded

[67] Shaw, *Song and Social change*, 3–5; Orrego Salas, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 7; Vila, ed., *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America*, 3; Joshua Katz-Rosene, "Discourse in *Música Latinoamericana* Cultural Projects from *Nueva Canción* to Colombian *Canción Social*," *Volume!* 11:2, no. 1 (2015): 68, 71, https://journals.openedition.org/volume/4500#text; Gloria Martín, *El perfume de una época* (Caracas: Editorial Alfa, 1998).
[68] Katz-Rosene, "Discourse in *Música Latinoamericana* Cultural Projects," 71.
[69] Orrego Salas, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 3; Herrera and Quildorán, "El Mensaje Socio-político del Músico Popular," 15.
[70] Díaz Inostroza, *El Canto Nuevo de Chile*, 73.
[71] Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 245.

by Loyola, Pizarro, Pávez, and Parra sparked interest within academic and popular music circles. Courses exploring Chilean Musical Folklore were offered through the Institute of Musical Extension at the University of Chile. Taught by Margot Loyola, an ensemble of interested musicians gradually formed and, in 1955, the folk ensemble of *Cuncumén* gave an early musical voice to NCCh contributors Rolando Alarcón and Víctor Jara.[72] From 1966 to 1973, the same university's National Conservatory established the *Escuela Musical Vespertina*, an evening study program offering musical instruction to lay and popular musicians. This contributed to the training of artists who would become essential to NCCh such as the members of Inti-Illimani, Isabel Parra, Tita Parra, Patricio Castilla, and others.[73] Increased interaction between academic and popular music communities created interest among composers originally trained in and composing European art music in collaborating with socially committed popular artists: Quilapayún worked with composers Luis Advis, Gustavo Becerra, Juan Orrego-Salas, Sergio Ortega, and Cirilo Vila; Inti-Illimani worked with Luis Advis and Sergio Ortega; Aparcoa with Gustavo Becerra.[74]

By 1965, a definitive ideology of social commitment had emerged within a sector of popular song, especially in central regions surrounding the capital of Santiago. A movement had yet to be labeled or defined as such; however, private performance venues known as musical or folkloric *peñas*[75] became hubs for the new folk-inspired popular music with social messaging. *Peñas* had a long history in the Chilean popular music tradition, particularly within organized

[72] "Biografía," *Cuncumén*, http://www.cuncumen.scd.cl/Bio.html; Díaz Inostroza, *El Canto Nuevo de Chile*, 82, 88; Costa García, "Canción popular, nacionalismo, consumo y política," 13.
[73] González, "Chilean Musicians' Discourse," 58.
[74] Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 248; González, "Chilean Musicians' Discourse," 59.
[75]Varas and González indicate *peñas* served the basic social principle of gathering friends to engage in a common activity. These could centre around anything from music or other hobbies to gambling or sports-fandom, etc. [Varas and González, *En busca de la música chilena*, location 1377 of 10622.]

communities such as workers' unions. They were places of social gathering (there was usually food and drink involved!) and ideological, aesthetic, and artistic performance, exchange, and debate.[76] Emerging artists could network and perform new music for an invested audience; performers and listeners alike were involved in the exchange of ideas. In 1965, the Parra family *peña* was founded by Violeta and her children Isabel and Ángel, known as *Peña de los Parra*, and contributed significantly to the early development of socially committed song in Santiago.

University communities also played a significant role in the consolidation of the NCCh movement. In these bustling centres of youthful debate, *peñas* flourished. Contributing student organizations included the *Peña de la Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad Técnica del Estado* (Peña of the Student Federation of the State Technical University)[77] on Santiago, Valdivia, and Antofagasta campuses and the *Peña de la Universidad de Chile de Valparaíso* (Peña of the University of Chile of Valparaíso).[78] All mainstay artists and ensembles of the NCCh movement participated in peñas at some point, including Rolando Alarcón, Víctor Jara, Patricio Manns, Ángel Parra, Isabel Parra, Quilapayún, and Inti-Illimani.[79]

Peñas were essential in establishing a niche community for the fledgling socio-musical movement and allowing it to focus ideologically; however, a broader public ultimately embraced this popular musical agenda with the development of an interested recording label and the establishment of the *Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena* (Festival of Chilean New Song). Responding to the growing number of independent popular artists and ensembles singing socially committed music, *Juventudes Comunistas* (the Communist Youth organization) developed a

[76] Varas and Gonzáles, location 1377–1383 of 10622; Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 246.
[77] The Universidad Técnica del Estado is known today as the Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH).
[78] Varas and Gonzáles, location 1383, 1423–1430 of 10622; Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 246.
[79] Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 246.

recording label in 1968/9[80] to support artist development and aid in the dissemination of this new style of popular song. Named *Discoteca del Cantar Popular* (DICAP; Record Collection of Popular Singing), the label set up an alternative distribution system without intermediaries, selling recordings at *peñas*, through university associations and labour unions. In this way, it functioned parallel to the established record industry, which was less interested in artists promoting a socialist message.[81] DICAP became a recognizable central agency and conduit channelling recordings of NCCh. Albums by Víctor Jara, Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani, Isabel and Ángel Parra (recording together and individually), and Illapu make up the largest portion of DICAP's production.[82] The label functioned within Chile until the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet came to power in 1973, after which it continued producing records in France.[83] A new label with the name ALERCE was founded by radio-broadcaster Ricardo García in 1975 to try and carry on NCCh's legacy within Chile, promoting *Canto Nuevo* and *Nuevo Rock Chileno* artists.[84]

1969 marked a decisive point of departure for the NCCh movement, specifically with the establishment of the *Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena* in Santiago. Conceived by Ricardo García, a left-leaning radio broadcaster, and funded by the Universidad Católica's Vice-Rectory

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[80] The exact date of the foundation of DICAP is unclear from available sources. 1968 is given by Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 247; Costa Garcia, "Canción popular, nacionalismo, consumo y política," 26; the DICAP online catalogue (https://www.discogs.com/label/163371-Dicap); Juan Pablo González, "Nueva Canción Chilena en dictadura: divergencia, memoria, escuela (1973–1983)," *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 27, no. 1 (2016): 65, http://eial.tau.ac.il/index.php/eial/article/view/1398. However, González also presents 1969 as the year of DICAP's foundation ("Chilean Musicians' Discourse," 45; "Juan Pablo González, 'Los 50 años de la Nueva Canción Chilena/50 Years of Chilean New Song.'").

[81] Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 247; "Juan Pablo González, 'Los 50 años de la Nueva Canción Chilena/50 Years of Chilean New Song.'"

[82] See DICAP's online catalogue at https://www.discogs.com/label/163371-Dicap.

[83] Iñigo Díaz, "Sin los artistas clásicos sello Dicap celebra 40 años," *Emol*, January 7, 2009, https://www.emol.com/noticias/magazine/2009/01/07/338699/sin-los-artistas-clasicos-sello-dicap-celebra-40-anos.html.

[84] "Alerce: la otra música (1975–2011)," *memoriachilena: Biblioteca Nacional Digital de Chile*, updated 2018, http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-340744.html.

for Communications (a democratic, Christian, centrist institution), the festival sought to raise awareness within the public consciousness of new trends developing in popular song, while still allowing space for the recognition of established folk traditions. Artists of *Música Típica* such as Los Huasos Quincheros sang alongside Víctor Jara and Quilapayún.[85] In his inaugural speech, Rector of the Catholic University Fernando Castillo pointed specifically to a need for genuine exploration of national identity in genres of song created for and by the people of Chile.

> Perhaps popular song is the art that best defines a community. But lately in our country we are experiencing a reality that is not ours.... Our purpose here today is to search for an expression that describes our reality.... How many foreign singers come here and get us all stirred up, only to leave us emptier than ever when they leave? And isn't it true that our radio and television programs seldom encourage the creativity of our artists...? Let our fundamental concern be that our own art be deeply rooted in the *Chilean* spirit so that when we sing—be it badly or well—we express genuine happiness and pain, happiness and pain that are our own.[86]

The festival's *raison d'être* was later streamlined to focus exclusively on NCCh repertoire. Realized annually on only three occasions (1969, 1970, 1971), the festival was sponsored for a second time by García and the Catholic University. The second iteration premiered Luis Advis' popular cantata *Santa María de Iquique*, which remains an emblematic work of the movement. The third and final festival was publicly sponsored by Allende's Department of Culture and performed under the ideological auspices of the Unidad Popular.[87]

Contributing Artists

Defined mostly in retrospect, NCCh is identified as comprising a variety of *cantautores* as well as vocal and/or instrumental ensembles. The primary *cantautores* beginning in 1965 are as follows: Rolando Alarcón, Víctor Jara, Patricio Manns, Isabel Parra, Ángel Parra, "Gitano"

[85] García, *Canción Valiente*, location 1159–1169 of 8131; Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 247.
[86] Fernando Castillo, Opening address at the Primer Festival de Nueva Canción Chilena, Santiago, Chile, 1969, transcribed from an archive recording and translated by Nancy Morris, "Canto Porque Es Necesario Cantar," 120.
[87] Díaz Inostroza, *El Canto Nuevo de Chile*, 79; García, *Canción Valiente*, location 1180–1193 of 8131.

Rodríguez, “Payo” Grondona, Héctor Pavez, Patricio Castillo, Silvia Urbina, and Tito Fernández. Musical ensembles include: Quilapayún, Aparcoa, Inti-Illimani, Tiempo Nuevo, Amerindios, and Illapu.[88] The names assumed by many ensembles are borrowed words from indigenous languages in an endeavor to show solidarity with disenfranchised peoples of Latin America. Ensemble dress was also significant, again intentional in showing solidarity towards indigenous and rural communities, as well as critiquing the posh dress of colourful, finely woven cloth worn by musicians of *Música Típica*. NCCh ensembles wore simple ponchos, for example, Quilapayún wore solid black ponchos; Inti-Illimani wore red.[89]

Textual Considerations

Poetic content is likely the most easily identifiable characteristic of NCCh; however, as indicated by Paula Elgueta, the subject matter was varied and communicated with a diversity of underlying intention. In her text *Canción Valiente*, Marisol García discusses various categories of thematic material within NCCh. The following categories are an expansion of her discussion.[90]

> Solidarity and service to the *pueblo*:
>
> I don't sing just to sing, / nor because I have a good voice. / I sing because the guitar / has sensibility and reason. / Its heart is of earth / and has wings of a little dove, / it is like holy water, / it blesses joy and grief. / Here, my song has found its place, / as Violeta would say, / a working guitar /with the smell of spring. / A guitar that doesn't belong to the rich, / nor anything of the like. / My song is of the scaffoldings / used to reach the stars. “Manifiesto” by Víctor Jara[91]

[88] Names in quotation marks indicate a well known nickname. “Juan Pablo González, ‘Los 50 años de la Nueva Canción Chilena/50 Years of Chilean New Song,’” produced by Profesor Espinoza, February 5, 2014, YouTube video, 56:25, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OykMrlx7jZA; Orrego Salas, “La Nueva Canción Chilnea,” 4.
[89] Díaz Inostroza, *El Canto Nuevo de Chile*, 75–76; “Juan Pablo González, ‘Los 50 años de la Nueva Canción Chilena/50 Years of Chilean New Song.’”
[90] See specifically García, *Canción Valiente*, location 1769 of 8131.
[91] “Yo no canto por cantar / ni por tener buena voz, / canto porque la guitarra / tiene sentido y razón. /Tiene corazón de tierra / y alas de palomita, / es como el agua bendita / santigua glorias y penas. / Aquí se encajó mi canto / como dijera Violeta / guitarra trabajadora / con olor a primavera. / Que no es guitarra de ricos / ni cosa que se parezca / mi canto es de los andamios / para alcanzar las estrellas.”

The people united will never be defeated, / Standing, sing / for we will triumph. / Advance now, / flags of unity. / And you will come / marching together with me, / and in doing so you will see / your song and your flag flourish. / The light / of a red dawn[92] / announces now / the life which is to come. / Standing, fight, / the people will triumph. / It will be better, / that life which will come / to capture / our happiness, / and with one cry, / a thousand voices of battle will rise-up, / they will proclaim / the song of liberty, / with decisiveness / the nation will be victorious. / And now, the people / which rises up in the fight / with the voice of a giant / shouting: forward! / The people united [....] "El Pueblo Unido" (The People United) by Quilapayún[93]

Commentary on the life and difficulties of the working proletariat:

I remember you, Amanda, / the wet street / running to the factory / where Manuel worked. / Your wide smile, / rain in your hair, / nothing else mattered / you were going to be with him. / It's five minutes / life is eternal, in five minutes / the siren sounds, / back to work / and you, walking, / illuminate everything / the five minutes / they make you blossom. / I remember you, Amanda [...] / [Manuel,] who departed to the mountains / who never did harm, / who departed for the mountains / and in five minutes was destroyed / the siren sounds, / back to work / many did not return, / neither did Manuel. "Te recuerdo, Amanda" (I remember you, Amanda) by Víctor Jara[94]

Denunciation:

Ladies and gentlemen, we have come to tell / that which history does not want to remember. / It happened in the Great North, / Iquique was the city. / Nineteen hundred and seven / marked fatality. / There, the poor pampa-dweller / was killed for the sake of killing. / We will be spokespeople, / we will speak the truth. "Pregón" (Outcry) from the popular cantata *Santa María de Iquique* by Luis Advis, premiered by Quilapayún.[95]

Direct indictment:

You must explain, / Mr. Pérez Zujovic, / why a defenseless people was retaliated against with a gun. / Mr. Pérez, your conscience, / you buried it in a coffin, / and your hands will

[92] Reference to Communism.

[93] "El pueblo unido, jamás será vencido. / De pie, cantar / que vamos a triunfar. / Avanzan ya / banderas de unidad. / Y tú vendrás / marchando junto a mí / y así verás / tu canto y tu bandera florecer. / La luz / de un rojo amanecer / anuncia ya / la vida que vendrá. / De pie, luchar / el pueblo va a triunfar. / Será mejor / la vida que vendrá / a conquistar / nuestra felicidad / y en un clamor /mil voces de combate se alzarán, / dirán / canción de libertad, / con decisión / la patria vencerá. / Y ahora el pueblo / que se alza en la lucha / con voz de gigante / gritando: ¡adelante! / El pueblo unido, [....]"

[94] "Te recuerdo, Amanda, / la calle mojada, / corriendo a la fábrica / donde trabajaba Manuel. / La sonrisa ancha, / la lluvia en el pelo, / no importaba nada, / ibas a encontrarte con él. / Son cinco minutos, / la vida es eterna / en cinco minutos. / Suena la sirena, / de vuelta al trabajo, / y tu caminando / lo iluminas todo. / Los cinco minutos / te hacen florecer. / [...] Que partió a la sierra, / que nunca hizo daño, / que partió a la sierra, / y en cinco minutos / quedó destrozado. / Suena la sirena, / de vuela al trabajo / muchos no volvieron / tampoco Manuel."

[95] "Señoras y señores, venimos a contar / aquello que la historia / no quiere recordar. / Pasó en el Norte Grande, / fue Iquique la ciudad. / Mil novecientos siete / marcó fatalidad. / Allí al pampino pobre / mataron por matar. / Seremos los hablantes, / diremos la verdad."

not be cleaned / even by all the rains of the South. "Preguntas por Puerto Montt" (Questions about Puerto Montt) by Víctor Jara[96]

Indignation in the face of inequality:

There are few who have much, / there are many who have little, / there are few who steal much, / and many who eat little. / The few who know much are few, they work little. / The many who eat little / are many, they work much. / I hope that little by little, / I wish that much by much, / the few become many, / the many become few. "Ni poco, ni mucho" (Neither little, nor much) by the Amerindos[97]

Sarcasm directed at various groups:

a) the powerful

Alone in my room, in a corner / remembering my estate and my mansion. / How many hours do I spend doing nothing more / than planning a total strike? / We are friends of the ITT[98] / and because of that the green bill[99] can be seen. / Tonight I will go out with you, / I want to feel like the king of the CODE[100]. "Frei, ayúdame" (Help me, Frei[101]) by Quilapayún[102]

b) the ostentatious

Misia Toti Rerricagoitía is coming / strolling through the avenues of El Golf / with her lovely little Pekingese dog / [...] one to the other is heart and soul: / complete tenderness and chaste passion. "Misia Toti Rerricagoitía" by Fernando Ugarte[103]

c) the willingly short-sighted

How beautiful is democracy / in this beautiful country, / how beautiful are the shanties / that can be built. It ensures that the poor and the rich equally have the same rights when they are called to vote. I am a democrat, a technocrat, a plutocrat and a hypocrite. I like democracy because it allows us to appreciate the overwhelming progress of the one who

[96] "Usted debe responder, / Señor Pérez Zujovic, / ¿por qué al pueblo indefenso / contestaron con fusil? / Señor Pérez, su conciencia / la enterró en un ataúd, / y no limpiarán sus manos / ni toda la lluvia del sur."
[97] "Hay pocos que tienen mucho, / hay muchos que tienen poco, / hay pocos que roban mucho, / hay muchos que comen poco. / Hay pocos que roban mucho, / hay muchos que comen poco. / Los pocos que saben mucho / son pocos, trabajan poco. / Los muchos que comen poco / son muchos, trabajan mucho. / Espero que poco a poco, / quisiera que mucho a mucho, / los pocos, que sean muchos, / los muchos, que sean pocos."
[98] International Telephone and Telegraph.
[99] American Dollar.
[100] Confederación de la Democracia or Democratic Confederation was a conservative or right-centrist party.
[101] Eduardo Frei Montalava was President of Chile from 1964 to 1970. He campaigned against and defeated Allende in the 1964 election. Frei opposed Allende's platform, though he too attempted such things as agrarian reform and the nationalization of the copper-mining industry. ["Eduardo Frei Montalava (1911-1982)," *memoriachilena: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile*, updated 2018, http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-3366.html.]
[102] "Solo en mi cuarto, en un rincón, / recordando mi fundo y mi mansión. / ¿Cuántas horas me paso sin nada más / que preparando un paro total. / Somos amigos de la ITT / y por eso el billete verde se ve. / Esta noche contigo voy a salir / rey de la CODE me quiero sentir."
[103] "Viene Misia Toti Rerricagoitía / paseando por las avenidas de El Golf / con su hermoso perrito pekinés / […] de uno para otro es alma y corazón: / toda ternura y célibe pasión."

> has the freedom to exploit many and increase his/her capital. / [...] And without problems of [social] classes / or religious creeds / we shall be able to see in the moon when the "pretty people" arrive / and in platform or gallery watch Colo Colo[104] triumph. / [...] Of course, some broken people / who are bursting with hunger, / surely out of envy, / would like this to change. / To the population I say: "Let the dogs bark." / I like democracy, / I say it with dignity, / if you hear the noise of sabers / it is pure chance. "La Democracia" (The Democracy) by Ángel Parra.[105]

Musical considerations

Musical aspects of NCCh are less definitive to its classification; however, certain characteristics were generally adopted. The brief description presented here will be developed in the analysis of choral arrangements of NCCh in Chapter 3. Generally, songwriters increasingly expanded the harmonic vocabulary present in mainstream popular or folk music. They explored the fluidity between Western tonality that was central to *Música Típica* and mainstream popular music and modal sonorities more common to indigenous song. Melodic and harmonic chromaticism increased, sudden modulations became more common, and chordal structures were extended to diversify harmonic colour. Melodic accent and rhythm followed that of the text, and formal structure depended largely on the dramatic evolution of the poem instead of relying on formulaic patterns.[106] Essentially, the music served as the vehicle to convey an important text which was intended to be performed for an invested audience.

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[104] Colo Colo is one of the most popular Chilean soccer teams. The terms "platform" or "gallery" ("tribuna" and "galería") refer to seating areas in a stadium: premium and cheap seats, respectively.

[105] "Qué linda es la democracia / en este hermoso país, / qué hermosas son las callampas / que se pueden construir. / Ésta permite que el pobre / y el rico de igual a igual / tengan los mismos derechos / cuando llaman a votar. / Soy demócrata, tecnócrata, / plutócrata e hipócrita. / Me gusta la democracia / porque permite apreciar / el arrollador avance / del que tiene libertad / para exprimir a unos cuantos / y aumentar su capital. / [...] Y sin problemas de clases / ni de credos religiosos / podremos ver en la luna / cuando llegan los mononos / y en tribuna o galería / ver triunfar al Colo Colo. / [...] Claro que algunos rotosos / que se revientan de hambre, / por envidia de seguro, / quisieran de que esto cambie. / A la población les digo: / 'Dejad que los perros ladren'. / Me gusta la democracia, / lo digo con dignidad, / si sienten ruido de sables / es pura casualidad."

[106] Orrego Salas, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 4; Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 249–250.

Rhythmic Considerations

Rhythmically, NCCh artists explored a diverse palate, using "mainstream" traditional dance and song forms such as the *cueca*, *tonada*, and *refalosa* (though these were less stylized and formulaic than heard in *Música Típica*, for example), as well as rhythms popular in the northern and southern extremes of the country such as *sirilla* (discussed in the analysis of "Según el favor del viento" in Chapter 4)*, chilota, trastrasera, cielito, rin, atacameño huayno*, *trote,* and *cachimbos*. Latin American rhythms not original to Chile were also used, such as the *zamba*, *baguala*, *bolero*, *tango*, and *joropo*; at times these were combined to create a sort of pan-American rhythmic synthesis. Despite the rhythmic diversity within the body of NCCh's repertoire, the emphasis remained on communication of message. Songs were not intended as dances though some had origins in dance rhythms, and the strict formal periodicity and rhythmic formulae of traditional dance forms were frequently abandoned in favor of poetic tone, structure, and narrative development.[107]

Instrumentation

The guitar was the most commonly used instrument by *cantautores*; however, the groundwork laid by mid-century folk-research as well as trans-national interaction of new-song musicians inspired an expansion of accompanying musical forces. Exploring musical identity through instrumentation, NCCh musicians began incorporating instruments from diverse communities within Chile: the *guitarrón* played by *payadores* and popular *decimistas*[108] in central Chile; percussion instruments from the region of Chiloé including the *caja*, *tormento*, *bombo*, and tambourine; from the Mapuche people, the *trutruka* and *pifilka* (wind

[107] Orrego Salas, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 4; Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 249–250.
[108] Lyric *décima* poets.

instruments),and *kultrún* (drum); wind instruments such as the *quena*, *siku* or *zampoña*, as well as the stringed *charango*, and percussive *sonaja* from the northern high-plains region. Instruments from the high-plains Andean regions also connected NCCh to Bolivian, Peruvian, and Argentine communities. Intentionally seeking musical means of identification with Latin American communities beyond Chilean borders, NCCh artists incorporated the Ecuadorian *rondador* (panpipe), Colombian *tiple* (12-string guitar), Venezuelan *cuatro* (a smaller guitar already used by Violeta Parra since 1965), the mandolin, and bandurria.[109] Inti-Illimani was a primarily instrumental ensemble, known for featuring a diversity of instruments as well as for expanding the techniques used to play the instruments.[110]

Summary

Though expressed musically though song, *Nueva Canción Chilena* is as much an ideological platform as a musical genre. The *cantautores* and ensembles embodying this ideology were essentially spokespeople and advocates, creating an artistic space that allowed for a discourse that challenged the values upheld by disenfranchising social and political structures. Performance shifted from presentation of spectacle to mediation of intentional communication, in which the listener should be able to understand him- or herself as subject. Musical aspects were valued particularly as enhancements of this communication; however, they also carried markers of identity in terms of their musical language, style, and instrumentation. The lifespan of the movement was brief: growing out of the renewed style of folk-inspired song developed by Violeta Parra in the late 1950s, reaching its apex with the military campaign and presidency of Salvador Allende in the early 1970s, and being forced underground and into exile after the

[109] Orrego Salas, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 4; Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 249.
[110] Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 249.

military coup of 1973. However, just as its origins had far-reaching roots, ensuing trends in Chilean popular song would long be affected by NCCh. As is heard in the concluding verses of Víctor Jara's "Manifiesto," any "song that has been valiant"—working, as did his guitar, towards the betterment of the life of the people—"will always be new song."

II. Nueva Canción Chilena: The Choral Context and Collective Memory

I had no expectations about this [Víctor Jara Sinfónico] *concert. Listening to these songs was something "normal" by then, [….] But there was such emotion when those songs sounded in OUR theater, played by OUR orchestra, sung by OUR choir. And that was clearly because of what these songs represented as part of our shared history of oppression and then (incomplete) liberation. […] when the concert was done, it just felt NECESSARY, because we needed to make this kind of connection with our history, and to proclaim in our own way, space and time how important Víctor Jara has been for us.*
~Felipe Elgueta, 2019[111]

The active period of NCCh's development in Chile was brief. As the dust of the 1973 coup settled in the years following, Chilean social reality became one of systematic repression of dissent. Public, non-military gatherings were considered dangerous, performances were prohibited, and instruments specifically associated with NCCh were banned. The popular song movement that had become immediately relevant to the lives of a large portion of Chileans was violently terminated as a space of public concourse. Attempts made to silence the movement forced it underground and into exile overseas: Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani were on tour in Europe at the time of the coup and, unable to return, established themselves in France and Italy, respectively; Patricio Manns left for Cuba soon after the coup.[112] Víctor Jara, one of NCCh's most influential proponents, was arrested during the military coup on September 11, 1973 and detained at the Estadio Chile[113] where he was beaten, his hands broken, and eventually killed.

Nonetheless, the seeds sown by NCCh within the Chilean musical community and population at large continued to grow. Within three years of the military coup, popular song

[111] Felipe Elgueta, Follow-up Electronic Communication with Allison Pauls, April 29, 2019.
[112] Felipe Elgueta, Personal Interview, August 24, 2018; Herrera, Personal Interview; Julián Córdoba Toro, "La música e resistencia en la dictadura chilena," *Iberoamérica Social: revista-red de estudios sociales* VIII (July 2017); 15, https://iberoamericasocial.com/la-musica-resistencia-la-dictadura-chilena/.
[113] Chile Stadium would become a long-term detention centre during the dictatorship. [Díaz Inostroza, *El Canto Nuevo de Chile*, 84; Patricia Vilches, "De Violeta Parra a Victor Jara y los Prisioneros: Recuperación de la memoria colectiva e identidad cultural a través de la música comprometida," *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 25, no. 2 (Autumn–Winter, 2004): 197, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3598728; "Estadio Victor Jara (Estadio Chile)," *Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales de Chile* http://www.monumentos.cl/monumentos/monumentos-historicos/estadio-victor-jara-estadio-chile.]

again became a platform for social critique. With the name of *Canto Nuevo* (CN),[114] a new song movement active from 1975–1985[115] comprised songs whose lyrics necessarily veiled their agenda of socio-political critique in poetic metaphor.[116] As the 1980s progressed, artistic expression became more explicit in its dissent, through voices such as those of the rock band *Los Prisioneros* (The Prisoners). Stylistically, their music was unrelated to NCCh; however, their socio-political messaging is understood as a reverberation of the earlier movement.[117]

Outside of popular song, musicians devised new ways of claiming a voice amid the uproar of political oppression. For example, instruments characteristic of NCCh such as the *quena*, *zampoña*, and *charango* were considered subversive by the military regime. Baroque music, as part of the established academic tradition, was not suspect. In 1974, a group of instrumentalists received approval to form a Baroque ensemble, comprising only Andean instruments, named *Barroco Andino*. Unquestioned by government censorship, *Barroco Andino* included in their target audience communities who associated these instruments with NCCh. The mere act of playing the *quena* or *charango* was a means of opposing the military regime and, in this way, playing Bach became a form of dissidence, resistance, and artistic re-existence.[118]

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[114] The English translation of "Nueva Canción" and "Canto Nuevo" is "new song," and the linguistic similarities in Spanish were not unintentional. Nancy Morris indicates: "Canto Nuevo was both the resurrection of Nueva Canción and a response to the changed situation in Chile. One Chilean musician commented, 'the only thing *nuevo* about Canto Nuevo is the conditions under which it is being produced.'" [Morris, "Canto Porque Es Necesario Cantar," 124.] Note: The "Chilean musician" in Morris' citation remains anonymous. Her interview was conducted in 1983, prior to the fall of Pinochet's government, and naming sources was potentially dangerous to the interviewees.

[115] CN was active from 1975–1985; its highest levels of productivity took place in the early 1980s (1980–1983). [González, "Chilean Musicians' Discourse of the 1980's," 55.]

[116] For example, CN artist Pato Valdivia's song "Cuando llega el invierno" (When winter comes) uses the sensation of cold to represent post-coup reality. "When winter comes, / nights bring cold sleep. / When winter comes, / life gets harder, / our souls frost over, / hope freezes. / [...] Stay, my friend. / This bad storm is passing. / When the sky clears, / we will fly again." ["Cuando llega el invierno, / las noches se duermen frías. / Cuando llega el invierno, / más se endurece la vida, / se nos escaracha el alma, / se congela la esperanza. / [...] Quédate, compañera. / Ya pasa el temporal. / Cuando se aclare el cielo, / volveremos a volar." English translation from Morris, "Canto Porque Es Necesario Cantar," 127.]

[117] Vilches, "De Violeta Parra a Victor Jara y los Prisioneros," 197.

[118] Herrera, Personal Interview; Morris, "Canto Porque Es Necesario Cantar," 123; González, "Nueva Canción Chilena en dictadura," 74-76. In the second half of the 1970s this Andean musical trend expanded significantly,

Church and academic communities offered relatively protected spaces for socially committed voices to re-emerge; their somewhat insular context lying farther on the periphery of government vigilance.[119] Within the blanket programme of cultural promotion, individual pieces of socially committed song such as those of Violeta Parra might be included in a performance program. In such settings, the choral voice played a role in preserving the performance of NCCh. Existing within an artistic medium that belonged to the European academic tradition and thus removed from the "subersive" voices of NCCh artists, choral arrangements of some socially committed songs could be sung with relative safety in school and church concerts.

Reverberations of the texts and melodies sung by *cantautores* and ensembles of NCCh remain present within Chilean society today. Though it lacks the urgency of communication that guided NCCh's ideological compass in the 1960s and early 70s, socially committed song has become entrenched in popular musical practice. Markers of NCCh are found in the contemporary day-to-day of life in Chile, carrying echoes of a momentous legacy in collective cultural memory.[120] Composer Víctor Jara's songs can still be heard through the voice of buskers in the stairwells of subway stations. Murals such as those by the Brigada Ramona Parra[121] often depict

becoming known as the Andean *boom*. The government allowed for its evolution in part due to its own political interest in claiming these instruments as a Chilean musical voice. Shared by traditional musics of Peruvian and Bolivian Andean communities, the predominance of these instruments in Chile seemed to act as a symbolic victory over nations with whom Chile historically had a contentious relationship, particularly considering the Pacific War of 1879-1883. [González, ""Nueva Canción Chilena en dictadura," 75-76.]

[119] González, ""Nueva Canción Chilena en dictadura," 70, 77.

[120] Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018; González, "Nueva Canción Chilena en dictadura," 79.

[121] The Brigada Ramona Parra or Ramona Parra Brigade was a group of activist-muralists belonging to the Communist Youth in the 1960s and 70s. They often painted under cover of night, and their murals addressed social and political issues concerning Chilean society. The Brigade has continued in various forms and contemporary murals frequently include references to the Unidad Popular and NCCh. Several such brigades or mural crews have existed in Chile historically, engaging in social activism through street art. [Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018; Paloma Abett de la Torre Díaz and Marcela Acuña, "El arte muralista de las Brigadas Ramona Parra 1967–1973" (Bachelors Thesis, Universidad de Chile, 2004), 12-13, 17, 23, 77, 79, http://repositorio.uchile.cl/bitstream/handle/2250/110120/El%20arte-muralista-de-las-Brigadas-Ramona-Parra-1967-1973.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y; "Portafolio Brigada Ramona Parra," https://www.camara.cl/pdf.aspx?prmID=144946&prmTIPO=DOCUMENTOCOMISION.]

the guitar, an essential instrument to NCCh which Jara qualified as "trabajadora," a "working" instrument serving the *pueblo*.[122] Official Memory Sites underscore the significance of NCCh, as does Estadio Víctor Jara—formerly known as Estadio Chile—the stadium, bearing Jara's name as of 2003, where he and hundreds of other Chileans were detained and tortured.

NCCh is heard through a variety of artistic media, and choral singing continues as one of the contemporary echoes of NCCh that actively engages a diverse Chilean population. As a colonially imported medium of musical expression, choral singing in Chile traditionally comprised primarily European religious or art music, thriving among a more highly educated and wealthy social demographic. However, in present-day Chile, a much broader cross-section of society is involved in choral singing, ranging from professionally trained chamber singers, to community music-lovers, to niche ensembles such as instructor choirs, to children singing in elementary school choirs. Within the historical timeframe of choral singing in Chile, arrangements of NCCh play a small role appearing only within the final decades of the 20th century. Their significance in Chile lies not in the longevity of existence within the choral canon, but in the socio-cultural markers introduced by the historical song movement, and by the musical and poetic content of socially committed song as components of collective cultural memory.

Collective Memory and the Chilean Context

The exploration, communication, and discussion of memory in Chile is referred to as *trabajo de memoria* or "memory work," a designation which implies conscious and active effort. Memory work is an essential component of post-dictatorship Chilean society, central to the

[122] See discussion of Jara's "Manifiesto" beginning on pg. 114. The reference to the guitar as a "working" instrument points to the functionality of vocation assumed by NCCh artists as well as an instrument belonging to the labourers or the proletariat: the guitar, by association with song, was charged with the important work of conscientization and advocacy.

vision of its vibrant Human Rights activist community. Fostered through truth-commissions[123] and projects of institutional research,[124] commemorative activities, monuments, and events such as concerts, memory becomes a form of active contemplation that informs the ethical compass of collective consciousness, transforming it to preclude the repetition of atrocities past. The Museum of Memory and Human Rights inaugurated in Chile's capital of Santiago in 2010 provides a representative vision for numerous memory projects. The institution declares a goal of being "a space that contributes to a culture of human rights and democratic values becoming the foundation for collective ethics." As a place of memory, this work is done through extensive exhibits, educational workshops, lectures, and performative events including musical concerts. Collectively, the institution's activities grow out of three primary tenets of memory work in Chile: "to give visibility to human rights violations committed by the Chilean State between 1973 and 1990; to dignify the victims and their families; and to stimulate reflection and debate on the importance of respect and tolerance, so that these events will never happen again."[125]

Consciously fostering a sincere and transparently functional cultural or collective memory is a topic of concern in Chile as in several Latin American post-dictatorial societies.[126]

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[123] Post 1990, truth-commissions such as the Rettig and Valech commissions began an ongoing process of searching for accurate data regarding disappeared detainees, and victims of political execution, imprisonment, and torture. Gruadually, searches for truth extended beyond the numbers of victims to the evaluation of reasons given for injustices brought by governing bodies upon the Chilean population. [Claudio Javier Barrientos, "Memory Policies in Chile, 1973–2010," in *The Struggle for Memory in Latin America. Recent History and Political Violence*, eds. Eugenia Allier-Montaño and Emilio Crenzel (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 54, 67.]

[124] As an example, memory and human rights investigations figure prominently on the research agenda of educational institutions such as the University of Chile, whose thematic umbrella of "Memory, History, and Human Rights" covers issues of "Social Psychology of Memory," "Memory and Social Movements," "Memory Study Networks," "Memory and Identity," and "Londres 38: memories in construction." (Note: "Londres 38" is the name of a detention centre active during Chile's military dictatorship which now exists as an official Memory Site and museum.) A significant interdisciplinary project is dedicated to this research, which can be explored further through links on the following website: http://www.uchile.cl/domeykoSociedad2.

[125] "Sobre el Museo," *Museo de la Memoria y los Drechos Humanos*, https://ww3.museodelamemoria.cl/sobre-el-museo/.

[126] See essays on the emphasis on memory in post-dictatorial Latin America societies in Eugenia Allier-Montaño and Emilio Crenzel, eds., *The Struggle for Memory in Latin America*; María del Carmen Sillato, *Huellas. Memorias de Resistencia (Argentina 1974–1983)* (San Luis, Argentina: Nueva Editorial Universitaria, 2008); and Richard

Public spaces and spheres of public consciousness including artistic activity were long inoculated with unrepresentative official narratives and strictly surveilled to prevent deviation therefrom.[127] Sociologist Iwona Irwin-Zarecka frames the building of collective memory as a means of reconciling past events—whether personally lived or inherited—using the resources of shared experience. This memory is fostered by the layering of ideas, experiences, feelings, and images "located not in the minds of individuals, but in the resources they share."[128] Articulated in another way, Shane Boeder's "Women's Stories: The Politics of Memory in Latin America" highlights the significance of creating memory in a publicly transited cultural concourse. She writes that collective memory must be developed in public spaces, "through dialogue between individuals and public texts."[129] Irwin-Zarecka and Boeder both emphasize the importance of public spaces that allow for multifaceted discourse, generating a contrapuntal intersection of voices and interpretations as opposed to stating unilateral perspectives.[130] To that end, spaces for public interaction with historical texts must be created—spaces where voices can emerge, claiming validity by the processing of shared experience.

Artistic voices can offer a public platform for the confluence of individual and public narratives. Influenced by and reflecting cultural narratives, artistic expressions draw from and feed into collective memory. Within this process, cultural theorist Ignacio Corona highlights the

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Elliott, "Public Consciousness, Political Conscience, and Memory in Latin American *Nueva Canción*," in *Music and Consciousness: Philosophical, Psychological, and Cultural Perspectives*, David Clarke and Eric Clarke, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 327–342, *Oxford Scholarship Online*, 2012, https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199553792.003.0089.

[127] See Paula Elgueta, interview; Allier-Montaño and Crenzel, eds., *The Struggle for Memory in Latin America*; Sillato, *Huellas.*

[128] Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994), 4.

[129] Shane Boeder, "Women's Stories: The Politics of Memory in Latin America" (The Union Institute, 2001), 107, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global (3016184).

[130] Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance*, 4. Boeder cites Irwin-Zarecka frequently in her discussion of memory in Latin America. She also underscores the importance of multiple voices to the healthy development of collective memory, particularly in post-dictatorial societies. [Boeder, "Women's Stories," 106–107, 147–148, 153–154.]

significance of song which, as a lyrical form of storytelling, "gives form to a collective memory."[131] His statement can be further interpreted to identify song as a sort of tangible entity, focusing shared experience in a concrete narrative. A song's poetic text and musical expressivity create a space to which individuals can connect their own experience, and in which this experience is magnified and validated in its connection to the experience of another. Such frames for collective memory create an interactive channel, or what testimonial literature scholar María del Carmen Sillato refers to as a "porous discourse,"[132] allowing for fluid interchange of meaning expressed and absorbed—meaning constituted and reconstituted in the creation of art, the performance of artists, and the internalization of art through the perception of its audiences.

Boeder presents a multidimensional perspective of artists' contributions to public spaces of consciousness. Based on ideas of Adam West Boeder writes, artists are "*Mirrors* who focus on representation; *Mapmakers* who promote a sense of collective identity; *Shamans or Magicians* who remind us that the power to change lies within us; and *Storytellers* who restore the oral tales and traditions of folk knowledge and informal knowledge to the tales told about who we are." Adding her own perspectives, she characterizes artists as

> *Historians and Soothsayers* who are witnesses to history and keep the collective memory alive. *Healers* who use narrative art for healing and wholeness in order to empower the powerless and restore community identity to the marginalized. They are *metaphysicians* who question the relationship between aesthetics and politics and ask who controls meaning. *Resistance fighters and Survivors* who show the value of art and culture as a means of drawing a line between the oppressors and themselves.[133]

As illustrated in the previous chapter, Chilean socially committed song of the 1960s and 70s took an active role in exploring cultural memories, particularly of incorporating into the sphere of public consciousness the concerns and stories of voices previously unrepresented.

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[131] Shaw, *Song and Social Change in Latin America*, 4.
[132] Sillato, *Huellas,* 31.
[133] Boeder, "Women's Stories," 53.

Though Boeder's text does not discuss NCCh specifically, it does present the act of storytelling, of bearing witness, as crucial to the building of collective memory. In written, oral, and performative form, the dynamic and publicly interactive process of storytelling is essential to the claiming of voice in societies where a collective voice has long been silenced.[134] Social and cultural historian Javier Osorio indicates that, though it was heavily censored during the time of Chile's dictatorship, "the function of popular music and of the collective practice of singing was to create a suture in social memory; to once again give meaning to the present by lending an ear to the past."[135] Storytelling becomes a valuable form of discourse, intersecting verifiable events with interpretations of meaning through personal experience, which give value to the past.[136]

Song as musical storytelling or narration, presents a voice that speaks beyond factual reporting. It folds rational data into a plane of visceral experience that invites those who interact with it—both performers and listeners—to invest more deeply in its narrative.[137] As articulated by Lauren Shaw, "Song, with its ability to put into words a particular moment in time and the experience of a whole collective of people, accesses and articulates the feelings of individuals who might otherwise consider their plight a singular struggle."[138]

NCCh Remembered: Individual Stories of Experience

Contemporary appreciation of NCCh's significance within Chilean cultural memory is varied. The concept of a "national culture" is multifaceted in any place, particularly within a social fabric marked by sharp class stratification, ethnic diversity, economic disparity, and

[134] Boeder, "Women's Stories," 7–8, 107.
[135] "[…] la función de la música popular y de la práctica colectiva del canto fue la de construir una sutura en las memorias sociales; volver a otorgar sentido al presente, a partir de una escucha del pasado." [Javier Osorio in González, "Nueva Canción Chilena en dictadura," 71.]
[136] Ibid., 49, 148.
[137] Ibid., 152.
[138] Shaw, *Song and Social Change in Latin America*, 5.

political divisiveness. Even as they searched for cultural musical roots, Violeta Parra and the NCCh musicians unearthed much diversity in the styles, rhythms, and instruments they incorporated to represent the nation's people. As such, the experience and reception of this music is shaped by the constituency of its recipient community. Those who identified strongly with NCCh's ideology or musical language have found ways to carry it forward. Others remain at a distance, either wilfully or by nature of their socio-economic context, religious affiliations, or political priorities. For some, NCCh in its various contemporary expressions is an innate component of their life's soundscape; for others, secondary expressions of NCCh such as choral singing make up their most immediate interaction with socially committed song.

Considering present-day practice of NCCh as a significant component of Chilean cultural memory benefits from a discussion of stories that represent distinct facets of the contemporary Chilean voice. The following presents a glimpse into the life and musical experience of five Chilean musicians as an illustration of the varied influence of NCCh. Information presented for each person's story was gathered through in-person interviews conducted in Santiago, Chile in late August and early September of 2018 and through follow-up electronic communications. Each person interviewed has a connection to contemporary choral practice in Chile; however, their unique trajectories of life experience bring to light different dimensions of NCCh's historical and contemporary importance. Furthermore, the stories highlight varied dimensions of NCCh's place within Chile's developing canon of national choral repertoire. The stories included are those of Paula Elgueta, a psychologist, lyric soprano, and choral director of the *Pneuma* women's ensemble and mixed chorus *Ensemble Libre*; Felipe Elgueta, music consultant and program writer for the Symphonic Orchestra of the University of Concepción; Moisés Mendoza, human rights educator, countertenor, and music arranger; Andrés Bahamondes, music educator

and choral director at the University of Santiago de Chile; and William Child, choral arranger, choral director, and instructor at the Catholic University of Chile in Santiago.

Paula Elgueta

Paula Elgueta's life story holds close ties to the NCCh movement. Reflecting on her early childhood, Paula identifies the music of Violeta Parra and NCCh as having accompanied her since birth. The daughter of popular musicians who met as teenagers at a *peña*, Paula recalls her mother singing political or socially committed songs such as those of Violeta Parra and others. This was in keeping with family tradition, Paula's mother having heard such music from her own mother who would have sung politically oriented songs relating back to the turbulence of the Spanish Civil War. Going back as far as her great-grandmother, Paula indicates that the singing of popular song and involvement at *peñas*—usually politically oriented towards socialist or communist ideologies—was part of her family tradition.

Paula's father was part of the wave of young musicians in the 1960s inspired by the socio-political winds of change that led up to the 1970 election of the Unidad Popular. Around the time the NCCh ensembles Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani were gaining in popularity, he became the lead vocalist and guitarist of an ensemble by the name of Quilmay.[139] He was influenced by the broader Latin American socially committed song community, connecting particularly to the music of Silvio Rodríguez on the Cuban musician's tour through Chile in the early 1970s.[140] Rodríguez's music became a household fixture and the singer one of Paula's favourite artists. She recalls Rodríguez as culturally significant in Chile, particularly after the

[139] "Quilmay" is a Mapuche term that refers to a type of climbing plant. ["Palabras originarias de lenguas amerindias," *Curiosidario: curiosidades de la lengua española*, https://www.curiosidario.es/palabras-originarias-de-lenguas-amerindias/.]

[140] Silvio Rodríguez performed in Chile in September of 1972, as confirmed by "Silvio Rodríguez habla de su primera visita a Chile en 1972 | Audio", *Perrerac: "La canción, un arma de la revolución*," https://perrerac.org/notas-y-noticias/silvio-rodriguez-habla-primera-visita-chile-1972-audio/9244/.

military coup in the early 1980s when his music was shared through unofficial and clandestine cassette tape recordings. He became an influential voice of resistance in Chile, without officially selling recordings in the country.

Not only did NCCh figure prevalently as a musical preference within her home, the movement's ideological premises reflect Paula's family's political lineage. Born in 1972 during the UP Administration, Paula was embraced by a tradition of left-leaning musicians, teachers, and humanist ideologues on both her mother and father's sides. Her maternal grandparents met as activists in the Communist Youth. Her paternal grandparents worked in the educational system; however, the 1973 coup resulted in the designation of both grandfather (a high-school principal) and grandmother (a university administrator) as political subversives and in their immediate dismissal. At the age of 24, Paula's father fell victim to *Operación Condor*, the US-backed anti-communist military operation carried out by governments of the Southern Cone of South America. He was disappeared[141] when Paula was four years old.

When asked if the socio-political overtones of NCCh were overtly understood within Chilean society, Paula affirmed that, even among her peers growing up shortly after the coup, these were unmistakable. The extra-musical function of NCCh was ingrained in the communities where it originally flourished, giving meaning and purpose to those who sang it privately in homes or in the gradually re-established *peñas* held by close communities during curfew. The effect of socially committed song on post-coup Chilean society—even played or heard in

[141] Use of the passive voice, i.e. she/he "was" disappeared, has become common usage in countries such as Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay where 20th-century dictatorial governments secretly and illegally detained (and often killed/disposed of) thousands of people who became known as disappeared persons. Indicating that a person "was" disappeared essentially implies an external subject as perpetrator of the disappearance; the person becomes the object that was made to disappear.

clandestine isolation—was that of a binding agent, a common voice of resistance giving purpose to those whose voice had been publicly silenced.

Presently, Paula understands the singing NCCh as projecting a different tone to that of its earlier voice. The original ambitions of bettering Chilean society, the solidarity and hope infused in singing socially committed songs during the dictatorship have been muted by a certain disenchantment at democracy's reinstitution. The great anticipation of the return of democracy has been met with disillusionment: the governing capitalist structures again favor the few over the many and public services and national industry are supersaturated with foreign investment. Within this new social and political context, Paula lamentingly hears a hollowness in contemporary cries of "The people united can never be defeated."[142] She suggests, "There are some people that can still say this, but they are few, very few, and quite downhearted, shall we say, because it isn't true."[143] Paula still believes in the value of NCCh, insisting that it is important to uphold music that, in principle, celebrates the dignity of life. Paula underscores that the issues addressed by NCCh persist and suggests that socially committed song must find new meaning within its contemporary context.

As a choral conductor, Paula does not include arrangements of socially committed Chilean repertoire in her programming. She supports the practice of performing high-quality arrangements,[144] sharing that she has been moved to tears at hearing this music performed. Nonetheless, her studies as a psychologist have led her to take a psychoanalytical approach to

[142] "El pueblo unido jamás será vencido." This was upheld as an anthem of victory sung by Inti-Illimani. See Felipe Elgueta's comments regarding the masses singing this piece near the end of the military dictatorship when Inti-Illimani returned from Italy. [Felipe Elgueta, Personal Interview, August 24, 2018.]
[143] Paula Elgueta, interview.
[144] Paula is dissatisfied with the quality of certain arrangements, lamenting a lack of formal training among choral arrangers in Chile. [Ibid.]

poetic interpretation and analysis. Understanding first-hand the weight enveloped in much of this poetry, Paula struggles to feel comfortable processing such ideologically fraught texts.

Felipe Elgueta

NCCh marks critical moments of life-experience for Felipe Elgueta. It is linked to memories of his early childhood, to his musical training and academic development, and to his experience of the volatile socio-political conditions of life in Chile in the late 1970s and 80s. Various stages of Felipe's childhood held distinct feelings of connection to NCCh: early recollections of the warmth and intimacy associated with his father's voice singing *Duerme Negrito*, a Latin American folk cradle song recorded by Víctor Jara; the realization already as a child that this specific body of repertoire represented something beyond musical entertainment.

> I was raised under a dictatorship[145] and we were listening to some old LPs with Quilapayún singing *Cantata Santa María*. […] I heard that it was kind of forbidden and it was dangerous to listen to that at that time, and the lyrics were about some terrible injustice and somehow it had to do with injustice that was happening right then. So, I grew up with that. The idea that there was something important going on and it had to do with that music.[146]

Felipe's understanding of the activism associated with NCCh as a musical movement became less veiled throughout the 1980s as he moved into his youth. Participating as a teenager in the few *concentraciones* or massive meetings held in squares and broad avenues in his hometown of Concepción, he marched with masses of Chileans chanting *consignas* or slogans demanding free democracy. In the late 1980s the winds of change were blowing, and Chilean society was rife with energy demanding the end of Pinochet's regime. Hope loomed large, fueled by the return of exiled NCCh musicians who performed at select *concentraciones* such as the one recalled by Felipe in which he heard Inti-Illimani sing.

[145] Felipe was born in during the brief period of the UP government, but was barely a year old when the coup took place in September of 1973.
[146] Felipe Elgueta, Personal Interview, August 24, 2018. Felipe's interview was conducted in English; thus, no translation is necessary.

> I heard them [live] in Concepción. They had been living in Italy as exiles, but they returned to participate in the *concentraciones* in the last days of dictatorship, campaigning for the *NO*[147] in the 1988 referendum that decided if Pinochet should continue or we should have free elections. [...] They came from Italy and they sang there, and we were all singing "El Aparecido."[148] It was a liberating experience, you know? Because [we had been] secluded to our homes and then we were in the square in an open space, thousands of us singing those songs. It was exhilarating![149]

Considering different categorizations of socially committed song such as "committed," "testimonial," or "protest" song, Felipe highlights nuances of NCCh's social significance in different historical periods. He says of this rally with Inti-Illimani, "It was a protest because we were giving the testimony. We were witnesses that there was another reality and we wanted to make it happen."[150]

Felipe enrolled in a Bachelor of Arts Degree with a major in Music Theory at the Universidad de Chile in Santiago in 1996, where he interacted with NCCh in new ways. His History of Art Professor was Luis Advis, composer of the *Cantata Santa María*. Connecting with a proponent of NCCh so directly was deeply meaningful, particularly with a man involved in the development of some of the most significant repertoire to Felipe's life thus far. NCCh also formed part of casual musical experiences, sung among Felipe's friends. "When I was starting University, my classmates spontaneously sang the same songs of Inti-Illimani, making many, many different voices, different harmonies, so it was astonishing. It was so natural for them."[151]

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[147] Referred to as the "NO Campaign" (Campaña del NO), Felipe is referring to the side of the 1988 plebiscite that strongly campaigned against Pinochet's continued dictatorship.
[148] A song written and sung originally by Víctor Jara referring to the persecution of Che Guevara. See further discussion in Chapter 3 which presents the analysis of the choral arrangement of *El Aparecido* by William Child.
[149] Felipe Elgueta, Personal Interview, August 24, 2018.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.

A highlight of Felipe's experience with NCCh was the 2006 choral-symphonic concert of Víctor Jara arrangements, *Víctor Jara Sinfónico*, which he heard in Concepción. Looking back, he contextualizes this life-changing event within the trajectory of his experience of NCCh.

> When I *met* this music [for the] first time—I say "met" because it's like meeting someone else, so human—it was so intimate, it was in my home. Then, suddenly it was in these meetings and then again it was a more intimate space with my classmates or well, some concerts, but concerts by Inti-Illimani in places like the [gymnasium of the University]. Then we were in the theatre with the orchestra, with the choir, the soloists, arranged by a well-known composer. So yes, something socially changed at that point. And, the political situation, because we had been for 16 years in democracy and it was quite disappointing. We continued with the same inequity or even worse inequity. People were losing faith in politicians, [in] a lack of direction. It was much easier when we had a dictatorship: we knew where we had to go. But then it was like, "well, [...] there's no dictatorship, let's leave the politicians to their work," and the politicians just aren't up to it, to the system that was installed [….] And suddenly these dreams of justice, these voices appeared in this concert again. [...] So, I think psychologically it was very interesting. Because, we see the people were [...] feeling the need of living these dreams of justice again. You had them presented in this so impressive way with the orchestra and the choir.[152]

Felipe perceived a certain aesthetic ambiguity within this performance space, holding in tension the popular music characterized by its distinct social commitment—advocacy, education, testimony, and protest—and its new formal choral-symphonic dress. On one hand, he heard the dreams of justice rejuvenated, shown in a new musical light. On the other, the formal polish of this new performance platform made the songs "more [widely] acceptable—aesthetically acceptable—, but probably without giving so much importance to the message."[153] When asked if he was suggesting that the text might not confront listeners as strongly in this context, Felipe replied, "but it *did*! [...] that's the important thing." He clarified that the performance platform made the music portable across socio-political boundaries; this music that was the voice of the *pueblo* would be heard even by "important" figures such as presidents or government ministers.

[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.

Contemplating the varied trajectory of his experience with NCCh, Felipe returns to its origins. "For me the most significant experiences were the early childhood; the *sound* of Víctor Jara's voice. It's something unique—so, so warm. I can't imagine my life without it, and no one can reach that warmth. It's like, it's there with the love of my parents. It's like someone else who was with me. So, that's the most significant."[154]

Moizés Mendoza

Unlike the previous two artists, NCCh was tangential to Moisés Mendoza's early development, having marked the socio-political constructs that defined his immediate historical context, but not intersecting directly with the socially isolated Protestant community of the late 1970s in which he grew up. However, as a current human rights educator, music arranger, and professional countertenor, socially committed song and NCCh's ideology traverse his work in multiple arenas, combining activism and art in projects such as *Música de Resistencia* ("Music of Resistance," described briefly in the ensuing text) and annual concerts dedicated to the building of collective memory.

Born in 1975 in the city of Concepción, Moisés is the son of a Protestant pastor. As such, he grew up in a relatively segregated community which he characterizes as follows: "The discourse of my parents and of the [Chilean Protestant] Church in general in those years was, 'we are not of this world, but of another that is to come. We are not of this life, but of another life that is coming in the hereafter. For the moment let us function in accordance with whoever is 'playing the music'.'"[155] From this perspective, it is not surprising that his parents shared no interest in the ideology or music of NCCh. Moisés' religious milieu did, however, contribute to

[154] Ibid.

[155] "El discurso de mis papas y en general de la iglesia en aquellos años era, "nosotros no somos de esta tierra, sino de otra que viene. No somos de esta vida, sino de otra vida que viene más allá. Por el momento, funcionemos de acuerdo a quien está tocando la música." [Mendoza, Personal Interview.]

an early interaction with and love for music and song in particular as this is central to the congregation's involvement in the context of protestant worship. Moisés recalls an early interest in improvising harmonic voice-parts, sensing that, to some extent, unison singing was viewed as a lower artform. As a boy, he participated in the church choir as well as receiving musical encouragement from family at home where he learned how to play guitar and accordion.

External cultural influences apart from the religious community were also limited, as Moisés grew up without a radio or television in his home. This contributed to him becoming an avid reader, and it was through his developing literary interest that he was briefly exposed to certain stark realities of the world around him. Moisés recalls his older brother lending him books brought home from school, which he read from cover to cover. Two titles by the same author struck a particularly poignant chord: *Los zarpasos del puma. La caravana de la muerte* ("Clawings of the puma. The caravan of death") and *Rodrigo y Carmen Gloria: Quemados Vivos* ("Rodrigo and Carmen Gloria: Burned Alive").[156] Barely past ten years of age, Moisés recalls these accounts of violence perpetrated in Chile—in the first text by helicopter missions of the Chilean Army massacring civilians in the early months of the dictatorship, and in the second, by military officials who burned alive two young activists protesting the Chilean government's violence[157]—as windows into a reality which he did not explore until his late teens.

Moisés attributes his integration into the choral community at the University of Concepción with the spark that finally lit his interest in opening these windows to peer beyond

[156] These texts were written by Chilean author, journalist, and human rights activist Patricia Verdugo and published during Pinochet's regime, in 1985 and 1986 respectively.

[157] On March 21, 2019, *Reuters*' online wold news website posted an article reporting that three retired soldiers involved in the 1986 burning of Rodrigo and Carmen Gloria were each given a 10-year prison sentence for their torturous actions. [Erik Lopez, Cassandra Garrison, and Susan Thomas, "Chilean ex-military trio sentenced to prison for Pinochet-era murder," *Reuters*, March 21, 2019, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-chile-rights/chilean-ex-military-trio-sentenced-to-prison-for-pinochet-era-murder-idUSKCN1R22CO.]

the bubble in which he grew up and understand and participate in the broader community. Here he discovered people with a completely different worldview to that which he was accustomed. He encountered people who were interested in politics—particularly left-leaning, Communist ideologies—, in what was happening with the military dictatorship, in secular artistic expression including folk and popular trends such as those that had contributed to the development of NCCh. Invited to join the University's Chamber Choir one year after joining the Symphonic Choir, Moisés was introduced to repertoire beyond the classics of European Choral-Symphonic music and encountered for the first time the music of Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara. Moisés recalls being intrigued by the quality and complexity of repertoire, giving as an example an eight-part, mixed choral arrangement of Jara's "Te recuerdo Amanda" by Mario Cánovas, the ensemble's conductor at the time. Music such as this sparked his interest in knowing who Jara was. Furthermore, he developed personal connections to singers who had grown up in contexts in which NCCh was extremely relevant, such as his friend and present partner who hailed from Coronel, a coastal coal-mining town whose history is marked by socio-economic struggle and labour controversies, as much as by the strong sense of solidarity and belonging of those labourers.[158]

These influences were among those guiding Moisés on a career path in which politics and music are inextricably intertwined. Presently he forms part of the team working towards the conservation of national memory and promotion of human rights at the *Corporación Estadio Nacional, Memoria Nacional Ex Prisioneros Políticos* ("National Stadium Corporation, National Memory of Ex Political Prisoners"). Presenting workshops and educational tours of the Memory

[158] This characterization of miners in Coronel is taken from Héctor Uribe Ulloa's discussion of popular mining songs from the coastal region of Biobío, Chile. [Héctor Uribe Ulloa, "Soy Minero Señorita: Canciones populares del minero del carbón de la región del Biobío Chile," *Revista NEUMA* 7, no. 2 (2014): 123, http://neuma.utalca.cl/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Hector-Uribe.pdf.]

Site, the organization encourages a conscientious practice of collective remembering, a practice that Moisés underscores as multi-functional. Commemoration as a means of acknowledgement can be a place of healing working towards restitution of dignity to victims of violence. Remembering can also serve to shed constructive light on current injustice: encouraging those who experienced tragedy to actively work towards the construction of a future in which this cannot be repeated, and educating and challenging those who may not have experienced said tragedy to consider how history can inform the present, in hopes that deliberate consideration of past injustice may encourage positive dialogue on methods of confronting present social conflict.

Moisés indicated that musical performances may serve as significant spaces of memory and conscientization. To this end, he helps organize an annual Memory Vigil Concert, held in September to mark the anniversary of the military coup. The event takes place in the lower galleries of the National Stadium of Chile Santiago where hundreds of Chileans were detained during the military dictatorship. Furthermore, he has developed a performative work by the name of *Música de Resistencia*. Debuting in 2012 and performed most recently in January of 2019, the work incorporates multiple performance media (choral and solo singing, instrumental music, and dance) with the intention of addressing contemporary social issues. Similar in ideological foundation to the socially committed projects of the 1960s and 70s, *Música de Resistencia* could be compared to Inti-Illimani's *Canto al Programa*, alternating music and spoken monologue.

Moisés' libretto and song arrangements address issues of discrimination based on class stratification, homophobia, and anti-Semitism. They also explore gender violence, child abuse, slavery, dictatorship in Latin America, political exile, genocide, etc. Each theme is addressed variously: monologue provides statistical facts regarding contemporary situations in Chile, as well as poetic commentary. This is expanded musically through song and/or dance. One of the

most poignant moments identified by Moisés occurs when addressing issues of disappeared loved ones. Here the traditional *cueca*—a partner dance—is presented; however, as its name suggests, "La cueca sola" ("The lonely *cueca*") is danced by solitary dancers. Without the embrace of their disappeared loved ones, multiple dancers perform alone wearing portraits of their former companions hanging around their necks. The songs comprising *Música de Resistencia* are not only of Chilean origin; Moisés includes arrangements of songs from around the world that have stood in service of social causes or have grown out of contexts of oppression such as African-American Spirituals and the French socialist anthem *L'Internationale*.

Moisés holds the strong opinion that the act of making music is itself a political decision: the type of music one chooses, the venue at which one chooses to perform, the ensembles in which one chooses to participate. Whether political affiliations are actively acknowledged, passively unacknowledged, or willfully ignored, the act of performing music is political. He identifies his own professional decisions as reflecting dichotomous political implications. On one hand, he is a musical activist participating in projects such as *Música de Resistencia* and often creating choral and vocal arrangements of Chilean song including NCCh. On the other, he relies on income from the University of Chile where he sings as a section lead in the Symphonic Choir and a professional chorister in the *Camerata Vocal* chamber ensemble. He enjoys participating at both extremes of the spectrum, performing as an activist and as an elite chorister in ensembles which generally perform classical, Western repertoire belonging to the tradition of Chile's colonizers, in venues whose ticket price may limit the audience to a specific social demographic.

Moisés also points out a complex dichotomy in the socio-political implications of performing NCCh in the context of an elite academic performance medium. "It is like a permanent noise that has to do with the fact that the academic training we engage in as musicians

is elitist and is European and we struggle with that. Yes, it is complex. Complex." Considering a formal concert presentation of NCCh choral arrangements he says, "one cannot even speak of returning to the people something that at some point was theirs, because not even in the three years of the Unidad Popular can we say that the Municipal Theatre was filled with the *pueblo*."[159]

Andrés Bahamondes

Working as a choral conductor at the Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH), Andrés Bahamondes spends much of his time in a context which is historically bound to the narrative of NCCh. Víctor Jara was employed in the Department of Communications of the university. As a publicly funded institution established originally to develop superior skills in technical trades and professions,[160] the university—named Universidad Técnica del Estado ("Technical University of the State") until several years after the military coup—was supported strongly by Allende's government and, as such, was directly hit by the military coup of 1973. It was the location of Jara's arrest, leading to his eventual death as a prisoner of Pinochet's military regime. On a tour through the university campus, Andrés highlights a central monument depicting a guitar whose fretboard and strings become the outstretched arm and hand of the tortured musician. He points out the university's left-leaning educational philosophies, which attract a demographic of instructors and students generally more familiar with NCCh, musically and ideologically, a fact reflected in the choral membership of USACH ensmbles.

Born in 1980, Andrés' early years were spent within a socio-political climate in which NCCh had publicly ceased to exist. However, below the surface, behind closed doors, within

[159] "Y es como un ruido que está permanentemente ahí que tiene que ver con que la formación académica de nosotros los músicos es elitista y es europea y hay que luchar contra eso. Sí, es complejo. Complejo." "Ni siquiera decir devolverle al pueblo lo que en algún momento fue de él, porque ni siquiera en los tres años de la Unidad Popular vamos a decir de que el Teatro Municipal se llenó del pueblo." [Mendoza, Personal Interview.]
[160] "Fondo UTE," *Archivo Patrimonial Universidad de Santiago de Chile*, http://archivopatrimonial.usach.cl/fondos/ute.

isolated spaces NCCh could still be heard in clandestine performances and unauthorized recordings. Andrés recounts,

> I remember when I was young, very young; I remember my family having begun to receive, for example, clandestinely recorded cassettes of Inti-Illimani or Illapu. Of course, one couldn't, on a Sunday at four in the afternoon, play Illapu for the whole neighbourhood [to hear]. It was not a good situation. But we began receiving this music: *nueva trova* from Cuba, [...] Silvio Rodríguez, Pablo Milanés appeared. They were hidden and during that period they began appearing and were gradually heard more overtly.[161]

Andrés ties his love of music and singing to his experience in a choral context. He began singing chorally as a 13- or 14-year-old boy, and remembers this experience fondly as the first time he "fell in love with singing."[162] He participated in Chile's youth-choir program *Crecer Cantando* (Growing up Singing), and though most of the repertoire he sang as part of this program fell within the category of Western Art Music (Mozart, Beethoven, etc.), he recalls having encountered arrangements of NCCh in his early choral experience. Today, Andrés joins the adjudication panel for the *Crecer Cantando* competition, in which school choirs frequently perform arrangements of NCCh or songs of Violeta Parra.[163]

As a music educator and conductor, Andrés sees choral music as inhabiting an ambiguous space between art and popular cultures, and views NCCh as fitting naturally into the choral art-form. Highlighting the community aspect of choral singing, the numerous amateur and school choirs active in Chile today, he characterizes choral singing as a democratic art form.

> Perhaps that is the most beautiful aspect of our choral discipline: that it transits with one foot in very formal academia, shall we say, it transits with one foot in this very structural academic space where there are many conservative people, certainly. However, it has this

[161] "Yo me acuerdo cuando chico, muy chico; me acuerdo haber empezado a recibir, por ejemplo, casetes de Inti-Illimani o Illapu en mi familia de forma clandestina grabado así. Por supuesto que no se podía un día domingo a las cuatro de la tarde poner Illapu para todo el vecindario. No era una buena cosa. Pero empezamos a recibir esta música. La nueva trova cubana, la trova cubana: Silvio Rodríguez, Pablo Milanés aparecieron. Estaban escondidos y en esa época empezaron a aparecer y empezaron a sonar de manera más descarada. [Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018.]

[162] "Mi primer enamoramiento también con el canto." [Ibid.]

[163] I had the privilege of accompanying Andrés to one of the rounds of competition and heard several of these arrangements.

> other foot in the popular realm, because our discipline is massive and democratic [...] and reaches everyone. [...] In this way, I believe that arrangements of NCCh were just waiting until they could be created, to be sung without fear.[164]

Further to his discussion of choral democracy, he identifies choirs as a place where people from varying backgrounds—social, political, economic—come together. He does, however, recognize that the USACH Ensemble, with whom he often performs choral arrangements of NCCh, comprises mainly singers that would identify with the political left. Nonetheless, in ensembles he has conducted comprising a more diverse socio-political constituency, Andrés has experienced singers with opposing political views express common appreciation for arrangements of NCCh. This appreciation may not relate to the poetic essence, but to the value found in this repertoire as well-crafted Chilean music.

William Child

A choral arranger, conductor, and music-theory instructor, William Child's most immediate connection to socially committed song has been its potential as a source of repertoire within the choral context. William identifies closely with musical aspects of the Chilean folk or popular-music narrative, i.e., the musical vocabulary that has become traditional or culturally definitive.[165] He sees the practice of folk art—of singing and playing music of the people whose subject matter is culturally relevant—as foundational to the work of Violeta Parra and of the NCCh movement, and while he defines NCCh as a politicized movement, his connection to the

[164] "Quizás eso es lo más lindo que tiene nuestro ámbito coral: es que transita con un pie en la academia muy formal, digamos, transita con un pie en esta cosa muy estructural de la academia donde hay mucha gente conservadora, por cierto, pero tiene este otro pie en lo popular porque nuestra actividad es muy masiva y democrática. Es enorme, masiva, democrática, y llega a todo el mundo. [...] Entonces, yo creo que los arreglos de música de la Nueva Canción Chilena estaban esperando que se puedan *hacer* no más, que se puedan *cantar* sin miedo." [Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018.]

[165] In Child's perspective, musical vocabulary (rhythms, harmonic components, melodic gestures) is not indicative of a people's nature, i.e., it does not describe who a people are. It can be a cultural identifier because it becomes part of common historical practice. He identifies text and poetry as much more descriptive with regard to a people's identity. [Child, Personal Interview].

music is not through its socially committed messaging. As a young man prior to the 1973 military coup, William did not identify with the political left; even today, he would not associate fully with leftist-policy. Nonetheless, the brutality of the coup and military dictatorship immediately distanced him from his formerly conservative political affiliations. What drew William to NCCh was the potential and interest within its musical content. He does not ignore the political significance of this repertoire, in fact, he identifies continued relevance of socially committed song in speaking out against oppression and its applicability to contemporary issues such as class inequality. However, aspects of musical vocabulary—the intricacies of coexisting duple and triple rhythms and lyrical melodic gestures—are of primary value to him.

Explaining his interest in arranging NCCh, he points to his early position as high-school choral conductor, often working with treble ensembles. "As part of that choral work, with time, I did not want to do only the European thing or the existing repertoire, shall we say. Rather, I wanted to do music that was more popular, and you see, there I had this closer connection to *Nueva Canción* [...] because of personal taste, shall we say. [...] If I wanted [such repertoire], I had to create something."[166] William's early work with NCCh was engendered by necessity, which can be seen in the voicing of these arrangements. "For example, 'Luchín.' That was a [treble] arrangement we performed in a high-school and later, much later, I created the version for mixed chorus. Not so the 'Manifiesto.' The 'Manifiesto' was an original arrangement for mixed chorus that I later transferred to similar voices."[167] Reiterating the *raison d'être* of

[166] "Dentro de ese trabajo de coro, con el tiempo, yo no solo quise hacer la cosa europea o lo que había, digamos. Sino que, quise hacer música más popular, y mira, ahí tenía esta cercanía con la Nueva Canción, [...] por un gusto personal, digamos. [...] Si quería algo, tenía que hacer algo." [Ibid.]

[167] "Por ejemplo, 'Luchín.' Eso fue un arreglo que lo montamos en un colegio y después, mucho tiempo después, yo le hice la versión para coro mixto. Y eso con, la verdad con una buena parte de mis arreglos, fue de esa manera: primero voces iguales y después coro mixto. No así el 'Manifiesto.' El 'Manifiesto' fue una versión original para coro mixto que después la traspasé a voces iguales." [Ibid.]

arrangements he indicates, "[…] so it was due to necessity. There is the question of personal taste and of necessity for, from where can one take an arrangement that doesn't exist?"[168]

Expanding this necessity into artistic craft, William has become one of the predominant arrangers of NCCh in Chile. He began creating arrangements during the time of the military dictatorship. However, framed by a professional backdrop in which the performance medium and performance contexts and venues were removed from political controversy, there was little concern that these arrangements would be perceived as subversion.

> We did not sing in any place that could be construed as any sort of manifestation or a form of protest. We sang in high-schools, choral festivals, or in the choral competition that has existed here for quite some time that is very good: *Crecer Cantando*. [...] So, in truth, [...] we never cast the matter politically. Now, naturally, there will always be people who interpret matters politically, not? But that is their concern. And fortunately, nothing ever happened; there was not really a moment or an instance in which something could have happened. In this regard, it was simply music, shall we say. Of course, it has a background, but it was primarily music, more than anything else."[169]

William's neutrality towards NCCh's ideological "background" notwithstanding, he accepts that political motivations may inform the interpretation of his arrangements for some performers and listeners. Creating from a perspective of engaging music he enjoys and connecting with choral singers and audiences through a musical and poetic language with which they identify, William generously releases his work to be performed, whatever the aesthetic or ideological vision.

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[168] "[...] entonces era por tanta necesidad. Hay una quistión de gusto personal y de necesidad porque, de dónde saca uno arreglos que no hay." [Ibid.]

[169] "...no cantamos nosotros en ninguna parte que pudiera ser una especie de manifestación o un tipo de protesta. Cantamos en colegios, o encuentros corales, o en un concurso coral que hay acá hace mucho tiempo que es muy bueno: Crecer cantando. [...] Entonces, la verdad es que [...] nunca le dimos un tinte político al asunto. Ahora, naturalmente siempre hay gente que interpreta las cosas políticamente, ¿no? Pero eso es problema de ellos. Y afortunadamente no, no…nunca paso nada. No hubo mucho el momento ni la instancia como para que algo pasara. Así que era simplemente música, digamos. Bueno, tiene un trasfondo, pero era principalmente música, más que otra cosa." [Ibid.]

Choral Arrangements of NCCh as components of Collective Memory

Multilateral storytelling aids in discerning layers of meaning and impact of socially committed song in Chile and its relationship to the choral context. The snapshots shared in the stories of Paula, Felipe, Moisés, Andrés, and William are not exhaustive of their own musical experience, and they could be supplemented by the stories of many more Chilean musicians. Nevertheless, a basic narrative may be developed based on stories of those who have interacted with NCCh in the choral context first hand. As suggested by James Fentress and Chris Wickham "Social memory is a source of knowledge. This means that it does more than provide a set of categories through which, in an unselfconscious way, a group experiences its surroundings; it also provides the group with material for conscious reflection. This means that we must situate groups in relation to their own traditions, asking how they interpret their own 'ghosts', and how they use them as a source of knowledge."[170]

From within the choral community expressions have come forward evaluating arrangements of NCCh through their experience of a socially committed song movement, and offering these arrangements as material that may feed into this conscious reflection. In the introduction to his collection of arrangements by William Child, Professor Winston Moya Cortés writes,

> It is expected that the material we are editing and publishing with care and dedication can be useful for all kinds of people directly or indirectly related to music, since we have selected works that belong to the people, that live and occupy an important place in the collective musical memory and have accompanied for years the life of a country that at this moment strongly demands the recovery of its cultural heritage.[171]

[170] James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 26.
[171] "Se espera que el material que con cariño y dedicación estamos editando y publicando, pueda ser de utilidad para todo tipo de personas relacionadas directa o indirectamente con la música, pues se han seleccionado obras que pertenecen a la gente, que viven y ocupan un lugar importante en la memoria musical colectiva y han acompañado por años la vida de un país que en este momento reclama con fuerza el rescate de su patrimonio cultural." [Winston Moya Cortés, "Introducción," in *Antología Coral. Arreglos de William Child para coro mixto y coro de voces*

Cortés' purpose for this compilation provides important information in situating choral arrangements of NCCh within the Chilean tradition. He identifies value in the relationship of these songs to the people who sing them, or for whom they are sung: they "belong to the people," they have accompanied the life of Chilean people, carrying within them a heritage that continues to be significant within cultural memory. The stories of artists such as Paula Elgueta and Felipe Elgueta illustrate this significance of NCCh and its arrangements as connected inextricably to their life story. These stories show NCCh making visible treasured moments, significant events, and difficult realities of life beyond musical performance: the voice of a loved one, the loss of a disappeared parent, the milestone of University studies, the solidarity and passion of protesting an oppressive dictatorship, the disillusionment at a failed democracy. In this sense, reiterations of NCCh celebrate and commemorate life stories. As suggested by the first two tenets of memory work proposed in the mission of the Museum for Memory and Human Rights, they function as a platform for awareness or visibility and to honour or dignify victims and their families.

Reflecting on the function of memory as it relates to experiencing and interpreting the socio-political surroundings in Chile, Moisés Mendoza asserts that music and arts in general are well suited to the primary objective of memory, which is identified here as commemoration. Commemoration functions in a restorative capacity, as a means of offering respect to bring dignity to those who suffer violence. Acknowledging the importance of memory in informing the present and transforming the future (see ensuing discussion of resignification), he pauses to indicate, "But there are certain times of the year in which we concern ourselves with the first goal of a memory site, which is to repair the dignity of our fallen, of course. In that sense, I

iguales, sobre clásicos de la música popular chilena, para su enseñanza e interpretación, ed. Winston Moya Cortés (Santiago de Chile: Departamento de Música de la Facultad de Artes de la Universidad de Chile, 2017), 17.]

believe that music and art in general are more in charge of this first great objective of memory work, which is to repair dignity, to remember."[172]

It may be noted that memory work in Chile focuses primarily on rebuilding the social fabric of a nation having survived military dictatorship and that the music of Violeta Parra and NCCh musicians does not address aspects of memory or commemorate explicitly the struggles lived due to Pinochet's dictatorial rule.[173] However, as songs written to advocate for social justice and the dignity of life, the socially committed songs predating the Chilean dictatorship represent that which the regime would see shattered. Recalling the inaugural speech given at the initial festival of NCCh, "Let our fundamental concern be that our own art be deeply rooted in the *Chilean* spirit so that when we sing—be it badly or well—we express genuine happiness and pain, ***happiness and pain that are our own***."[174] As a movement, NCCh sought to be descriptive of its surrounding reality, it unified a community and when that community was tyrannized, socially committed song became, as Richard Elliott states, a "form of symbolic exchange among those opposed to the dictatorship."[175] Singing NCCh is not descriptive of the disappearance of thousands of Chilean citizens, but for some it does recall and represent a social demographic targeted by the dictatorial regime. It makes visible, by their absence, those no longer singing who fell victim to an unjust government. This music now bears the mark of tragedy, of survival, and of solidarity; it recalls and rekindles the hope of creating a more just society; it carries the

[172] "Pero hay ciertos momentos del año en el que nos preocupamos del primer objetivo de un sitio de memoria, que es reparar la dignidad de nuestros caídos, claro. En ese sentido, yo creo que la música y el arte en general se encargan más de este primer gran objetivo del trabajo de memoria, que es reparar la dignidad, recordar." [Mendoza, Personal Interview.]

[173] As noted previously, NCCh was essentially banned during Pinochet's dictatorship; however, the tradition of musical activism through song carried forward in the music of *Canto Nuevo* and *Rock Nacional*, which presented texts arising from the socio-political climate of the late 1970s and 1980s.

[174] See Chapter 1, pg. 38. Fernando Castillo, Opening address at the Primer Festival de Nueva Canción Chilena, Santiago, Chile, 1969, transcribed from an archive recording and translated by Morris, "Canto Porque Es Necesario Cantar," 120.

[175] Elliott, "Public Consciousness, Political Conscience, and Memory in Latin American *Nueva Canción*," 335.

disappointment of justice not realized. Layers of meaning have been added through the voices of experience, reshaping the understanding of social justice originally addressed in the socially committed song of the 1960s and early 1970s.

Current iterations of socially committed song, such as choral arrangements, can further act as texts within collective memory used to focus a historical lens on contemporary issues. Interweaving his interests in the fields of music and human rights, Moisés points to a second function of intentional memory which he designates as resignification. This transformative approach to memory fits into the third tenet of the museum's mission statement, evoking the past to stimulate reflection and debate and challenge present conceptions and means of dealing with violence and inequality. This approach to memory further concurs with one of the functions Boeder presents for storytelling, which is to give life to the past as a moral compass for the future—presently unfolding narratives held in dialogue with memories past so they can illuminate the future.[176] Boeder's discussion features Mexican novelist Elena Garro's text *Recuerdos del provenir* or "Recollections of Things to Come." Garro understands memory as timeless, encompassing the past in present consciousness and informing the future: "memory holds all times and their order cannot be foreseen."[177] Warning of the effects of oblivion, Boeder interprets Garro's text saying, "but memories unshared presage disaster."[178] Applying memory to examine the present and inform the future, giving it a new significance, is what Moisés calls resignification.

> Resignification, of course. Past-present connection. How would I have functioned; what would I have done; what would I have thought? What do I think of the defense of the doctor who applied the electric current which was said to be intended to save the life of the prisoner? What do I think of that soldier who freed the Uruguayan prisoner only to end up getting him killed? How would I act or have I acted? What do I think of the Swedish

[176] Boeder, "Women's Stories," 50, 68.
[177] "La memoria contiene todos los tiempos y su orden es imprevisible." [Ibid., 50.]
[178] Ibid.

> ambassador who freed prisoners on a single day? What do I think about the hooded man who betrayed fellow prisoners; what would I have done? All this to [consider] how I function today […] so that—since this story affects me so deeply—I may identify the patterns of violence that have been repeated until the present and whether I repeat them or not; whether I also take charge in preserving the dignity of the diversity that surrounds me. This is done almost 365 days a year at memory sites such as the National Stadium, Villa Grimaldi […].[179]

Although Moisés classifies art's function within projects of memory work primarily as commemoration, he also positions arrangements of socially committed song in the function of resignification in his *Música de Resistencia* project. Described briefly in his experience of NCCh above, *Música de Resistencia* uses socially committed song in conjunction with dance, poetry, and spoken monologue to create a performance space in which contemporary issues of injustice are made visible. These issues are contextualized in such a way as to provoke contemplation or consideration of how they are approached presently, so they may be different in future. In a comment for *Diario Uchile*'s news article, Paula Elgueta describes her sense of the project as a performing participant,

> We are happy to work on the subject of memory through artistic expression; making it relevant. For me, that is fundamental: to make it relevant, because the subject of memory is not only institutional, but also familial and individual. The important thing is that the conscience is pervaded by the idea that things can still be modified. People are moved by specific themes[180] in this concert. It is very beautiful.[181]

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[179] "Resignificación, claro. Conexión pasado-presente. ¿Como habría funcionado yo; que habría hecho yo; que habría pensado? ¿Que pienso yo de la defensa que hace el medico que aplica la electricidad que dicen que es para salvar a la vida del prisionero? ¿Que pienso yo de este militar que sacó al prisionero uruguayo y finalmente lo terminan matando? ¿Como actuaría o habría actuado yo, que pienso yo del embajador de Suecia que sacó prisioneros un día? ¿Que pienso yo del encapuchado que delataba a compañeros, como habría funcionado yo? Y luego todo para llevarlos a como funciono yo hoy […] que si me afecta tanto esta historia, que identifique cuales son los patrones de violencia que se repitieron hasta hoy y si los repito o no; si me hago cargo también de reguardar la dignidad de la diversidad que me rodea. Eso se hace casi los 365 días del año en los sitios de la memoria, como en el Estadio Nacional, como en la Villa Grimaldi […]." [Mendoza, Personal Interview.]

[180] The themes to which she refers are the themes presented earlier in the description of the project: class stratification, homophobia, and anti-Semitism, gender violence, child abuse, slavery, dictatorship in Latin America, political exile, genocide, etc. See pp. 64–65 for the description of *Música de Resistencia*.

[181] "Estamos felices de trabajar en el tema de memoria desde el arte, actualizando. Para mí, eso es fundamental: hacer una actualización, porque la temática de memoria no solo es institucional, sino también es familiar e individual. Lo importante es que se traspase la conciencia de que algo aún se puede ir modificando. La gente sale tocada por temas particulares de este concierto. Eso es muy bonito." ["Música de Resistencia: 'Estamos felices de

The value of NCCh in Chile, evidenced by its continued performance and arrangement, can be partially attributed to the general recognition that certain socio-economic concerns addressed by popular songs of the 60s and 70s remain problematic.[182] Class inequality and economic oppression were highlighted by interviewees such as Moisés Mendoza, Paula Elgueta, William Child, and Andrés Bahamondes as significantly challenging issues within contemporary Chilean society.[183] William, whose ideological commitment to the original song movement was tenuous, highlights Violeta Parra's songs as having current relevance, specifically her lament over the disparity between rich and poor. "Her texts," he writes, "are tremendously current; […] she speaks of the rich and she is certainly forthright. Violeta Parra is totally forthright in her texts."[184] Andrés Bahamondes underscores certain non-partisan moral standards of NCCh as indicators of continued relevance.

> When I say […] that a poor person should no longer be poor, I am not speaking either of Salvador Allende nor of Pinochet; I am not speaking of the Unidad Popular nor of the Military Government. I am speaking of a universal value: that the poor should no longer be poor, that the rich should not oppress the poor, what have you. These are issues that belong to universal consciousness. It is not necessary to be so politically oriented to say that this is what is right.[185]

Universal consciousness notwithstanding, Andrés points to ensemble demographics in discerning the perceived relevance of NCCh within present-day choral contexts.

> I think it depends on the choir—it depends on the people. In my choir, I have people older than myself who lived through the difficult period of the dictatorship. And I think that for

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trabajar la memoria desde el arte,'" *Diario Uchile*, Tuesday, January 29, 2019, https://radio.uchile.cl/2019/01/29/musica-de-resistencia-estamos-felices-de-trabajar-la-memoria-desde-el-arte/.]

[182] Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018; Child, Personal Interview; Paula Elgueta, Personal Interview.

[183] Mendoza, Personal Interview; Paula Elgueta, Personal Interview; Child, Personal Interview; Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018.

[184] "Sus textos tremendamente actuales; […] habla de los ricos, y esa sí que es directa—la Violeta Parra es totalmente directa en sus textos." [Child, Personal Interview.]

[185] "Cuando yo digo […] que el pobre no sea más pobre, no estoy hablando ni de Salvador Allende ni de Pinochet; no estoy hablando ni de la Unidad Popular ni del gobierno militar. Estoy hablando de un valor universal: que el pobre no sea más pobre, que el rico no oprima la pobre, y qué sé yo. Son cosas que son como de conciencia universal. No hay que estar tan abanderado políticamente para decir que eso es lo correcto." [Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018.]

them it may be different than for my choristers that are 21 years old, whose parents were the ones that lived through the dictatorship in that sense. However, the discussion in Chile continues; […] it is something that you see on the news, shall we say, every day. Every day there are discussions about the larger issue that is, on one hand, reconciliation, on the other, truth, on another hand, forgiveness—these three things. Because, there are still many people, as one can fully understand, that are in pain. That are in pain because their relatives disappeared, because their relatives died and they knew nothing [of what happened to them]. There are people who […] know that their loved ones died and never had a body to bury. And these are not a few people, they are many people. [….] So, from the point of view of how I teach music or how each person lives the text, I think it is a very discrete and very personal thing. […] all the people who are linked to [this] university are very committed socially and are not unaware—they know a lot. They know well how things transpired; they have close ties to people who suffered. [They are] very open minded and do not want to close the wounds of the past yet, for they do not have reason to close them if these are truly still open. […] I think that, in other choirs, in other places in Chile, it can be a bit more difficult."[186]

Finally, the contextualization of NCCh within choral literature illustrates not only the song-movement's significance within a constructed memory, but also the extension of its reach within contemporary cultural consciousness. This can be examined both in terms of audience demographics and performing forces. As highlighted in various ways by the interviewees, the choral art is a European import to Chile. Though choral singing has become widely and in some cases very successfully practiced, the longest standing and best developed choral programs are modeled after a European tradition and program predominantly European repertoire. Appealing to a high-society or academic audience, such traditional choral practice in Chile stands in

[186] "Yo creo que depende del coro—depende de la gente. Yo, en mi coro, tengo gente mayor que yo que sí vivió el periodo duro de la dictadura. Y yo creo que para ellos pueda ser distinto que los integrantes que tengo de 21 años, que fueron sus papas los que vivieron la dictadura en ese sentido. No obstante, la discusión en Chile sigue; […] es cosa que tu veas las noticias, digamos, a diario. Todos los días se discute acerca de el gran tema que es, por un lado, la reconciliación, por otro lado, la verdad, por otro lado, el perdón - estas tres cosas. Porque, todavía hay mucha gente, que uno puede comprender que sea así, que esta dolida. Que esta dolida porque sus parientes desaparecieron, porque sus parientes murieron y nunca supieron nada. Hay gente que su…que saben que su gente querida murió y nunca tuvieron un cuerpo que enterrar. Y no es poca, es mucha gente. [….] Entonces, desde el punto de vista de cómo yo enseño la música o de cómo vive cada uno el texto yo creo que es una cosa bien particular y bien personal. ¿Sí? Yo tengo aquí la facilidad además que esta es una universidad donde toda la gente que está ligada a la universidad está muy comprometida socialmente y no desconoce—conoce mucho. Sabe bien como pasaron las cosas, tienen gente cercana que sufrió. Gente que, con…—muy abierta de mente que no quiere cerrar las heridas del pasado todavía porque no tienen por qué cerrarlas, sí es que todavía están realmente abiertas. Entonces en ese sentido a mí no me cuesta. Pienso que, en otros coros, en otros lugares de Chile, puede ser un poco más difícil." [Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018.]

opposition to the ideological foundation of NCCh.[187] As Moisés pointed out, not even during Allende's administration, when NCCh practically acted in the capacity of political ambassador for the UP, did the concerts performed at Santiago's Municipal Theatre cater to the *pueblo*. On the other hand, Felipe Elgueta highlights the implications of bringing NCCh into the Municipal Theatre of Concepción through the the *Víctor Jara Sinfónico* concert. Translated into choral-orchestral vocabulary, this repertoire is relatable to a different socio-economic demographic.

Felipe's example is illustrated further by an article by Cristián Guerra Rojas in which the latter discusses various arrangements of Violeta Parra's song "Gracias a la vida." Citing it as one of Parra's best known contributions within the canon of Chilean song, Guerra Rojas points to distinct arrangements and transcriptions of "Gracias a la vida" as part of a network of cultural expressions.[188] His discussion highlights the concept that the distinct musical languages through which the popular song is expressed—including "academic" languages such as the choral idiom or a wind quintet—, signify ideological (ideológicas) or aesthetic traditions, values, or audience membership. For Guerra Rojas, the crossover of musical languages points to an increasing political, cultural, and artistic openness.[189] As with the *Víctor Jara Sinfónico,* these arrangements broaden the platform for public discourse and, in doing so, create space for an expanding body of voices to intersect in the public narrative that shapes collective consciousness.

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[187] It should be noted, though, that NCCh had many connections to the academic community, and has been discussed in terms of its bridging of popular and academic traditions, nevertheless, it is predominantly popular in style.

[188] The article references arrangements for choral ensemble by Santiago Vera Rivera, Alejandro Pino Gonzales, Eduardo Gajardo, and Mario Cánovas Beltrán; as well as arrangements by Guillermo Rifo Suárez for wind quintet, jazz ensemble, and voice and orchestra; and by Juan Mourás Araya for solo guitar, for guitar quintet and mandolin, for flute and guitar, for flute, oboe and guitar, and for instrumental ensemble. [Cristián Guerra Rojas, "La práctica de la versión como juego de la cultura: el caso de 'Gracias a la vida' de Violeta Parra" *Actas del X Congreso de la Rama Latinoamericana de la IASPM, Córdoba, Argentina* (April 1–22, 2012): 19, 26–27. http://iaspmal.com/index.php/2016/03/02/actas-x-congreso/.]

[189] Ibid., 26–27.

Considering the performing forces, the choral context introduces Chilean socially committed song to an increasingly varied and growing performance demographic, but not necessarily in the context of a politicized performance medium. Conductors such as Paula Elgueta, Andrés Bahamondes, and William Child all identify in some way that a choral community is representative of the larger social fabric of Chile, involving singers from distinct communities, backgrounds, and creeds.[190] The choral context offers a platform for the intersection of communities, with music as its primary point of departure. Paula indicates, "Here you find yourself with people from different ideologies, and the point of connection is not intellectual, in fact, it is energetic, sonorous, vibrational, and there is also something of the content."[191] Some musicians and audiences approach the musical text with strong ideological intentions; some, as illustrated by the story of Moisés, are introduced to the NCCh movement through choral arrangements; some primarily enjoy the arrangements for their folk-popular musical language and well-crafted poetic content, as shared by William Child.

Child's early involvement with NCCh as source material for school-choir repertoire illustrates its significance to performing choristers within the educational community. Choral singing has become essential to the vibrant music education programs in schools across Chile, as evidenced by the development of the *Crecer Cantando* Festival and educational program, which regularly includes repertoire arranged by Child.[192] Since its establishment in 1984, the program's evolution has grown to involve annually more than 6,000 students from educational institutions across the country in a variety of programs including choral encounters, festivals, and performances of major choral-orchestral works. The organization focuses not only on singing

[190] Paula Elgueta, Personal Interview; Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018; Child, Personal Interview.
[191] "Ahí tú te encuentras con gente de distintas ideologías y el punto de unión no es mental, de hecho, es energético, sonoro, vibracional, y hay algo también del contenido." [Paula Elgueta, Personal Interview.]
[192] See comments by conductor Víctor Saavedra, in Moya Cortés, ed., "Testimonials," *Antología coral*, 165.

opportunities for students, but on offering continued training to conductors.[193] Within this growing choral community, young students—removed by several generations from the NCCh movement, the 1973 coup, even from the fall of the dictatorship—are introduced to the cultural narrative of socially committed song through the artistic platform of choral singing.

Novelist and human rights activist Ariel Dorfman encourages the cultivation of collective memory as a means of taking ownership of the tone of a cultural narrative. Having lived in Argentina and Chile, both nations which endured oppressive dictatorships in the 1970s and 80s, he recognizes that memory work will not alter events of the past. Nonetheless, he emphasizes that the process of taking ownership of the narrative tone, determining which aspects are significant to its content, and what meaning past events will carry forward makes the difference between inheriting the past and constituting its significance through recollection and commemoration.[194] Choral arrangements of NCCh act as musical texts that are important to Chilean cultural memory for their identification with the *pueblo*, containing indicative markers of identity within Chilean song and choral repertoire. The continuing practice of arranging and performing NCCh illustrates the desire within Chile to sustain this voice, a voice originally seeking to represent the people, as an active artistic voice.

[193] "Projecto Crecer Cantando," *Crecer Cantando Municipal de Santiago*, updated 2019, https://www.crecercantando.cl/proyecto-crecer-cantando/; Víctor Alarcón Díaz, "Crecer Cantando: una visión hacia el futuro de la música coral en Chile," *Revista Musicl Chilena* 55, no. 195 (Jan. 2001): 70-72, http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0716-27902001019500007.
[194] Dorfman's discussion of memory is cited in Boeder, "Women's Stories," 135, 143.

III. Nueva Canción Chilena: NCCh as a marker of identity in Chilean choral music

It is expected that the material we are editing and publishing with care and dedication can be useful for all kinds of people directly or indirectly related to music, since we have selected works that belong to the people, that live and occupy an important place in the collective musical memory and have accompanied for years the life of a country that at this moment strongly demands the recovery of its cultural heritage.
~Winston Moya Cortés, *Antología Coral*[195]

The search for cultural identity was a motivating impulse underlying the development of the NCCh movement and, in part, this is why socially committed song of the 1960s and 70s is valued so highly as a constituent of Chilean cultural memory. Engaging these songs outside of their original historical context and performance medium, it is helpful to identify the poetic, musical and socio-historical identity markers that contribute to their continued cultural relevance. The construct of identity is a complex phenomenon. For the purposes of a discussion partnered with the conception of choral arrangements as components of collective memory, identity will be functionally defined here as a narrative construct shaped by cultural practice, socio-economic and political environment, and the individual's understanding of his or her story in relation to the unique characteristics defining these enveloping surroundings. Chilean composer Gustavo Becerra discusses the concept of a Chilean musical identity as follows.

> Provisionally, we would have to use as a definition of Chilean music, that music made by Chilean people, for it would be premature to treat Chilean music as a music that is clearly distinguishable, original, or as a music that possesses exclusive elements in terms of language or in terms of form, or that has a tradition clearly differentiated from any other music. To simplify things, let us depart from the foundation that Chilean music is that [music] made by Chileans. Bound to the idea that music is Latin American when it refers to Latin American problems, when it is a reflection of Latin American reality, when it bears

[195] "Se espera que el material que con cariño y dedicación estamos editando y publicando, pueda ser de utilidad para todo tipo de personas relacionadas directa o indirectamente con la música, pues se han seleccionado obras que pertenecen a la gente, que viven y ocupan un lugar importante en la memoria musical colectiva y han acompañado por años la vida de un país que en este momento reclama con fuerza el rescate de su patrimonio cultural." [Moya Cortés, "Introducción," in Moya Cortés, ed., *Antología Coral*, 17.]

> upon Latin American cultural life, when it is a function of the Latin American historical-cultural process, when it accomplishes Latin American objectives.[196]

Music carries strong connotations of identity and serves a semantic function in channelling meaning through cultural communication and emotional connection. Its performance opens a public artistic space in which performer and listener engage in a socio-culturally contextualized exchange of emotions, intentions, and meaning creating what can be understood as musical identity.[197] This sense of identity develops depending on how an individual participates in this shared space, interacting with the narrative of the music/poetry performed and with the performing and listening community. The various definitions of NCCh in Chapter 1 and the stories shared by Chilean musicians in Chapter 2 illustrate distinct experiences and perceptions of the significance of NCCh as a relevant socio-political movement and/or as an art form invested in developing musical idiosyncrasies recognized as "Chilean."

Discussions of music linked to national identity tend to include that which grows out of a folk or popular context where music is tied to the stories of a people and, as choral director Juan Pablo Villarroel insists, in Chile this discussion almost inevitably circles back to Violeta Parra and NCCh.[198] Violeta Parra and the musicians comprising the NCCh movement endeavored to find a musical voice that could be claimed as genuine among an often-underrepresented people; to sing a story with a poetic voice and musical vocabulary through which the *pueblo* could self-

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[196] "Provisionalmente tendríamos que utilizar como definición para la música chilena la música que hacen los chilenos, porque sería prematuro tratar la música chilena como una música claramente distinguible, original, o como una música que posea elementos exclusivos en cuanto a lenguaje o en cuanto a formas, o que tenga una tradición claramente diferenciada de cualquier otra música. Para simplificar las cosas, partamos, pues de la base que la música chilena es la que hacen los chilenos. Ligada a la idea de que la música es latinoamericana cuando se refiere a problemas latinoamericanos, cuando es un reflejo de la realidad latinoamericana, cuando incide en la vida cultural latinamericana, cuando es una función del proceso histórico-cultural latinoamericano, cuando cumple tareas latinoamericanas." [Gustavo Becerra in Luis Bocaz, "Música Chilena e identidad cultural. Entrevista a Gustavo Becerra," araucaria de Chile, no. 2 (1978): 97, http://publicacionesperiodicas.cl/2018/08/06/revista-araucaria-2/.]
[197] Kadri Põder and Kristi Kiilu, "The formation of musical identity," *The European Journal of Social and Behavioural Sciences EJSBS* XII (January 2015): 1705–1706, http://dx.doi.org/10.15405/ejsbs.153.
[198] Villarroel, Personal Interview.

identify. This vision led to the cultivation of a body of repertoire which a significant portion of the Chilean population claims as uniquely their own, identifying with one or all elements of the history of the movement, the poetic content, and/or the musical language. The intensity of this claim and the weight it carries within cultural memory was amplified by a socio-political context in which this voice was forcefully suppressed. As a symbol of resistance to the policies of the military dictatorship, NCCh grew in significance not only through connection to its musical or poetic content, but through the solidarity of being bound as a people by the act of listening to or performing music that carried a story so culturally significant.

Choral singing, on the other hand, is not a component of the musical tradition that originated with the story of the Chilean people. As a general point of departure, discussions of Latin American choral music define choral music in Latin America as an imported European practice brought to Chile in the sixteenth-century with the arrival of Catholic missionaries that followed Spanish conquistadores to the southern continent.[199] Chilean choral director Andrés Bahamondes specifies that for most of its history, Chilean choral practice has been dominated by an academic European model in terms of the repertoire composed and performed.[200] Presently, choral singing engages an increasingly broad cross section of Chilean singers, especially in amateur and community ensembles whose musical interests connect more closely to local repertoire. As observed by Latin American choral scholar María Guinand in connection with the broader scope of Latin American choral music, the process of infusing local or national musical

[199] Child, Personal Interview; Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018; Maria Guinand, "A hundred years of choral singing in Latin America 1908–2008," in *The Cambridge Companion to Choral Music*, edited by André De Quadros, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 130, https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL9780521111737.010. The "imported" nature of choral music in Chile is highlighted in most discussions of its presence and development there. See also Guido S. Minoletti, "Una visión de la vida coral en Chile," *Revista Musical Chilena* 54, no. 194 (July 2000): 87, http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0716-27902000019400012.
[200] Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018.

identity into choral singing began with the arrangement of folk and popular songs.[201] Bahamondes specifies that, in Chile specifically, this localization did not occur until the latter half of the 20th century and has been heavily influenced by arrangements of NCCh.[202]

To create a framework within which to understand the significance of NCCh's role in claiming a unique voice within the choral performance medium, the subsequent overview of choral development and practice in Chile will be followed by an exploration of specific choral arrangements that belong to the growing body of choral repertoire stemming from the NCCh movement. The arrangements included are Violeta Parra's "Según el favor del viento" arranged by Pablo Ulloa and Jara's "El Aparecido" and "Manifiesto", both arranged by William Child. Distinct choral approaches to Jara's "Te recuerdo Amanda" will be illustrated by comparing the choral arrangements of William Child and Eduardo Gajardo. In these choral settings, musical identity will be examined with regard to elements of socio-historical significance, poetic narrative, musical characteristics, and the intersection of popular musical styles and choral language. An exhaustive analysis of choral settings of socially committed Chilean song would exceed the parameters of this paper; however, a catalogue of repertoire explored to date is included in this project as Appendix B.

Overview of Choral development in Chile

Sixteenth-century choral singing in Chile revolved primarily around religious practice.[203] Discovering that music was an already-vibrant and deeply rooted component of indigenous cultures, Catholic missionaries used song as a tool to aid in their mission of Christianization. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Catholic Church established itself in the

[201] Guinand, "A hundred years of choral singing in Latin America 1908–2008," 134.
[202] Andrés Bahamondes, Follow-up Electronic Communication with Allison Pauls, April 2, 2019.
[203] "Coro Filarmónico," *memoriachilena: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile*, http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-97893.html.

southern American lands as a powerfully wealthy institution, funding intellectual and artistic development, of which choral singing was a part. Urban centres were the focal point of religious and cultural activity and, in Chile, the cathedrals of Santiago and Concepción became central to choral development.[204] As was typical of Latin America's colonized territories, social stratification allotted musical opportunities unequally between ethnicities in the diverse population. The title of "musician" could open doors to higher social classes; however, few musicians of mestizo or indigenous origin were permitted to take high-level posts.[205]

Endeavoring to connect more immediately with local communities, missionaries turned to non-liturgical religious songs classified in Spain as *villancicos* or *chanzonetas a lo divino*.[206] These simple strophic songs, often marked by a refrain, comprised vernacular texts intertwining religious stories with elements of local culture, well-known or legendary characters, or landmarks. Musically, they were infused with an appealing rhythmic vitality, a testimony, in part, of the African rhythmic vibrancy Spanish music had absorbed through generations of slave-trading. In fact, the *sesquialtera*[207] rhythm—combining duple and triple pulse divisions sequentially or in juxtaposition—that supersaturates Latin American folk and popular styles can be traced to Spanish absorption of West African rhythmic structures.[208]

The 19th century brought change to the Chilean choral framework, recasting its governing institutions and musical vocabulary. Influenced by the spirit of Enlightenment, formal arts expanded their scope into the secular realm, and Chile embraced European Opera and

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[204] Minoletti, "Una visión de la vida coral en Chile," 87.
[205] Diana V. Sáez, "Cantemos a Coro: An Anthology of Choral Music from Latin America" (DMA diss., University of Maryland, 2011), 43, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global (UMI 3461580); Guinand, "A hundred years of choral singing in Latin America 1908–2008," 131.
[206] Sáez, "Cantemos a Coro," 7–8.
[207] The *sesquialtera* rhythm essentially combines 6/8 and 3/4 meter. This may occur simultaneously with different voices governed by the distinct metric patterns at once, or in one or all voices sequentially, alternating between 6/8 and 3/4 meters. See subsequent analyses of *Según el favor del viento* and *El Aparecido*.
[208] Sáez, "Cantemos a Coro," 21.

Symphony. Although enlightenment-thought would not challenge the Church's authority in Latin America to the same extent it had in Europe, effects of the philosophical wave manifest politically. As they had in the United States and France, ideals of self-determination, liberty, and human solidarity strengthened desires for freedom from colonizing or monarchical control. Wars of independence swept Latin America; between 1810 and 1825, all Spanish- or Portuguese-controlled territories in Central and South America gained independence, excepting Cuba, creating 18 new nations. Endeavors to define a sense of national identity would be explored through musical avenues, focusing particularly on folk and popular song and dance.[209]

Chile's struggle for independence from Spain was finalized in 1818; however, the impetus towards developing a sense of cultural nationalism in Chile is historically observed as being weaker than in surrounding nations. Attributed to factors such as a high rate of European immigration and geographic isolation,[210] European influence remained strong.[211] The development of secular musical institutions was actively nurtured, but initially patterned after professional and academic archetypes. To some extent, it was an interest in operatic singing that carried the practice of collective song through the mid-19th century in Chile.[212] In the latter decades of the century, amateur singing began to gain prominence.[213]

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[209] Guinand, "A hundred years of choral singing in Latin America 1908–2008," 132–133; Sáez, "Cantemos a Coro," 37–43.

[210] Chile's geographic features make it unique in that it is surrounded by naturally occurring geographic barriers: the Andes span its Eastern border and the Pacific Ocean encompasses its entire Western coastline. Not only is Chile isolated from the South American continent, it's extremely narrow yet elongated geographic dimensions (infringed upon by may mountainous regions) challenge a sense of unity from North to South. [Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018.]

[211] Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018; Sáez, "Cantemos a Coro," 44, 53; Guinand, "A hundred years of choral singing in Latin America 1908–2008," 141.

[212] "Coro Filarmónico," *memoriachilena: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile*, http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-97893.html; Minoletti, "Una visión de la vida coral en Chile," 87.

[213] Chilean conductor Guido Minoletti identifies the emergence of several philharmonic choirs, whose performances include standard Western choral-orchestral works: "There are records in Chile of the existence in 1877 of an Italian Musical Society in Copiapó, which gained renown for its choral concerts at the Church of Mercy. We also know of a Musical Society that presented itself on the 12th of December of 1881 at the National Theatre of Valparaíso with an amateur orchestra of 61 instrumentalists and a choir of 74 voices. There are no records of the repertoire. In 1895, in

Chilean choral practice up to the mid-20th century remained relatively separate from the wave of interest that sparked early endeavors to shape a folkloric Chilean musical vocabulary.[214] Choral composition retained strong ties to late-European Romanticism, Impressionism, Expressionism, or Neo-Classicism.[215] Performance practice featured "the classics" of the European canon, from Renaissance to 20th-century repertoire. In 1924, the Bach Society was founded, which is largely responsible for the dissemination of early European choral music. Director of the Universidad de Chile's Symphonic Choir and the professional *Camerata Vocal* Juan Pablo Villarroel recalls his love of choral music stemming largely from a family tradition of singing Renaissance repertoire together; an early monumental experience marking his trajectory as a choral musician being the opportunity to sing J. S. Bach's *Magnificat*.[216]

This reverence for a foreign musical vocabulary over a local vernacular was not unobserved, and voices calling for "Chilean" representation in choral concerts can be heard after the mid-20th century. In his 1957 editorial article in the *Revista Musical Chilena*, composer and music educator Alfonso Letelier Llona (1912–1994) identified the concept of a "choral tradition" in Chile as a newly tangible reality that was engaging a larger portion of the population

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that same port, the British Charitable Society premiered *Messiah* by Haendel, and in Santiago *The Creation* by Haydn is performed at the National Conservatory." ["Tenemos noticias, en Chile, de la existencia, en 1877, de una Sociedad Italiana Musical de Copiapó, que adquirió fama por sus conciertos corales en la Iglesia de la Merced. Sabemos también de una Sociedad Musical que se presentó, el 12 de diciembre de 1881, en el Teatro Nacional de Valparaíso con una orquesta de aficionados de 61 instrumentistas y un coro de 74 voces. No tenemos noticia del repertorio. En 1895, en ese mismo puerto, la Sociedad Británica de Beneficencia estrena *El Mesías*, de Haendel, y en Santiago se presenta *La Creación*, de Haydn, en el Conservatorio Nacional." Minoletti, "Una visión de la vida coral en Chile," 88.] Note: Copiapó is a northern Chilean city, 800 km north of the capital of Santiago; Valparaiso is a coastal, port city, 120 km north-west of the capital of Santiago.

[214] Bahamondes, Follow-up Electronic Communications, April 2, 2019; See also discussion of *Música Típica* in Chapter 1, pp. 25–27.

[215] Sáez, "Cantemos a Coro,"44, 53; Gerard Béhague, "Latin American Music, c. 1920–c. 1980," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 319, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521495943.007.

[216] Villarroel, Personal Interview.

particularly through the education system.[217] On one hand, he praised the perfection, beauty, proportion, and balance of Renaissance polyphony, esteeming the discipline required to learn this music as exemplary for all music-learning in schools.[218] He upheld this tradition as having "universal" transferability but recognized the value of a local musical voice and implored Chilean composers to explore this in their work.

> Another condition of vital importance arises from this choral activity in schools and it is that Chilean composers should write more music for choir. We have seen with satisfaction that the compositions of Chilean composers have occupied an important place in the choral programs of this year. A two-fold benefit of this occurrence is evident. On one hand, this encourages greater knowledge of Chilean values among children, youth, and the general public, and on the other, composers are stimulated to write more choral music.[219]

Six years later, Enrique Rivera, a contributing editor for the *Revista Musical Chilena*, commented on the overwhelming foreignness of repertoire performed by Chilean choirs at the First Festival of Choirs of America hosted in Antafogasta, Chile. The 1963 festival included ensembles from various Latin American countries; however, Rivera's challenge was directed to the Chilean choral community and addressed a local vernacular missing within their repertoire. He writes, "Where was the autochthonous element of each region in the choirs that represented it? Where was our popular music? Why this insistence on cosmopolitan programs that are becoming 'clichés' of national choirs?"[220] His discussion of the festival's repertoire suggests that

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[217] Alfonso Letelier Llona, "El canto en Chile," *Revista Músical Chilena* 11, no. 55 (1957): 3–4, https://revistamusicalchilena.uchile.cl/index.php/RMCH/article/view/12428.
[218] Ibid., 3.
[219] "Otra condición de importancia vital surge de esta actividad coral escolar y es la de que los compositores chilenos escriban más música para coro. Hemos visto con satisfacción que las composiciones de autores chilenos han ocupado un lugar importante en los programas corales de este año. El doble beneficio de esta circunstancia es evidente. Por una parte se impulsa el mayor conocimiento de los valores chilenos entre los niños, la juventud y el público en general, y por otra se estimula a los compositores para que escriban más música coral." [Ibid., 4.]
[220] '¿Dónde estaba lo autóctono de cada región en los coros que la representaban? ¿Dónde estaba nuestra música popular? ¿Por qué esa insistencia en programaciones cosmopolitistas que se están convirtiendo en "clisés" de los coros nacionales?' [Enrique Rivera, "Acerca del Primer Festival de Coros de América y el Movimiento Coral Chileno," *Revista Musical Chilena* 17, no. 86 (October–December 1963): 108, https://revistamusicalchilena.uchile.cl/index.php/RMCH/article/view/13191/13466.]

the designation of programs as "cosmopolitan" referred to the predominance of European content.[221]

Jumping to the present, choral directors continue to echo the call for a more intentional development of a Chilean voice in choral music.[222] This is presented as the *raison d'être* for Chilean choral director, arranger, and educator Winston Moya Cortés' compilation and publication of William Child's arrangements of NCCh. In his introduction to the *Choral Anthology*, Moya Cortés commends the Chilean arranger for his work with NCCh, calling Child's arrangements an "incalculable contribution to Chilean heritage and its musical scene."[223] The late choral director and program coordinator of *Crecer Cantando* Víctor Alarcón praises Child as one of the most distinguished arrangers of Chilean music, citing his NCCh arrangements specifically as having renovated Chilean choral repertoire.[224] Chilean pianist and composer Jean Pierre Karich Jacomet says of Child's work, "his arrangements speak to us of a country, of its people, its musicians, without leaving anything out."[225]

The reflections and questions of Letelier and Rivera were indicative of growing interest within the Chilean choral community in embracing artistic expression definitive of their country and its people. This was the same interest that inspired Margot Loyola and Violeta Parra's ethnomusicological research. Bahamondes asserts that changes to choral content, specifically the incorporation of Chilean characteristics, emerged after the mid-20th century. Highlighting Chile's world renowned poetic tradition which features poets such as Gabriela Mistral and Pablo Neruda, Bahamondes qualifies his assertion by specifying that poetic content was the first

[221] Rivera, "Acerca del Primer Festival de Coros de América y el Movimiento Coral Chileno," 107–108.
[222] Paula Elgueta, Personal Interview, Bahamondes, Personal Interview, August 22, 2018; Child, Personal Interview.
[223] "…aporte incalculable al patrimonio y escena musical chilena." [Moya Cortés, ed., *Antología Coral*, 17.]
[224] Víctor Alarcón in Moya Cortés, ed., *Antología Coral*, 166.
[225] "[…] sus arreglos nos hablan de un país, de sus gentes, sus músicos, sin dejar fuera nada." [Jean Pierre Karich Jacomet in Moya Cortés, ed., *Antología Coral*, 165.]

authentically Chilean aspect to appear in newly composed choral repertoire around the mid-20th century.[226] In terms of Chilean definition of the sonic landscape, national idiosyncrasies were introduced primarily through choral arrangements of folk and popular song; eventually such arrangements comprised overwhelmingly songs by Violeta Parra and those classified as NCCh.[227]

A series of recordings produced in Chile between 1998 and 2010 to feature national choral music illustrates that, in fact, a significant body Chilean choral repertoire does exist.[228] These recordings all comprise choral music by Chilean composers—some newly composed, some folk or popular song arrangements—most of whose compositions set Chilean poetry. Stylistically, the musical language is varied and tends, as suggested by Bahamondes, towards academic or popular vocabulary depending on whether the piece is an original composition or a choral arrangement. For example, stronger influence of late French or German Romantic part-songs is heard in Alfonso Letelier Llona's (1912–1994) original setting of Gabriela Mistral's

[226] Scarce examples of Chilean poetry in choral repertoire appear already after 1910, with individual examples such as Pedro Humberto Allende's *Paisaje Chileno* for mixed chorus and orchestra setting text by Carlos Mondaca (1913), *Mensajero de Dios* for mixed chorus with text by Gabriela Mistral (1920), *Sé bueno* for mixed chorus setting text by the composer (1920); or Domingo Santa Cruz's *Dos canciones corales* for mixed chorus setting texts by Max Jara and Gabriela mistral (1926). After 1939, Chilean choral composers begin setting national poetry with more frequency, especially composers such as Alfonso Letelier, Domingo Santa Cruz, Sylvia Soublette, and Claudio Spies. However, this intensifies after 1950 adding more composers such as Alfonso Montecino, Gloria Lopez, Juan Amenabar, and León Schidlowsky, to name only a few. [Roberto Escobar and Renato Yrarrazaval, *Música compuesta en Chile 1900–1968* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1969), 50–55, 205–223.]

[227] Bahamondes, Follow-up Electronic Communication, April 2, 2019. Bahamondes did not make specific reference to Violeta Parra in this conversation; however, repertoire examined for this project suggests that, apart from NCCh artists, Violeta Parra's songs make up a significant portion of choral arrangements of Chilean popular song.

[228] The following is a list of recordings featuring exclusively Chilean Choral music. In 1998, the Catholic University of Tamuco's Chamber Choir recorded an album titled *Paisaje Musical Chileno* ("Chilean Musical Landscape"). The Chamber Choir of the Metropolitan University of Educational Sciences recorded a CD titled *Música Coral Chilena* ("Chilean Choral Music") in 2001. In the following year, the Chamber Choirs of the Catholic University of Chile and Codelco-Chile joined the Cum Laude Vocal Ensemble to record a *Antología Coral Chilena* ("Chilean Choral Anthology"). A second album titled similarly, *Antología Coral Chilena, volume II* ("Chilean Choral Anthology, volume II") was recorded by the University Choir of Santiago and released in 2006. Founded in 1984, the *Conjunto de Madrigalistas* or Madrigal Ensemble is a choral ensemble of the University of Playa Ancha whose mission after 2001 became to focus specifically on the exploration of 20th-century Chilean choral repertoire, along with earlier interests in Latin American Baroque and European Renaissance and Baroque music. This ensemble has put forward two recordings of choral music setting Chilean poetry titled *Antología de Música Chilena volumen 1* ("Anthology of Chilean Music volume 1") (2003) and *volumen 2* ("volume 2") (2010).

(1889–1957) poem "Hallazgo,"[229] Federico Heinlein's (1912–1999) setting of "Pena de la mala fortuna" by Pablo Neruda (1904–1973),[230] and Pedro Humberto Allende's (1885–1959) setting of "Se Bueno" by Carlos Mondaca (1881–1928).[231] Sylvia Soublette's (1923–) setting of Neruda's "Dos amantes dichosos"[232] introduces *sesquialtera* rhythmic figures into this more traditional language, bringing it closer to a popular style. The soundscape of *Música Típica* is introduced to choral vocabulary in Hernán Ramírez Avila's (1941–) *cueca* arrangements such as "En el campo hay una yerba" and "El gallo de mi vecina."[233] Broadening the scope of choral vocabulary are Eduardo Cáceres settings of "Xekayawun Mawida Mew," "Maciluwvn Pewma," and "Rakiduwammaken Tañi wvnen Pu Ce." These indigenous ceremonial songs employ melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic gestures endeavoring to reflect the song of the Mapuche people.[234]

Notably, song arrangements of NCCh and songs by Violeta Parra are mostly absent from these Chilean choral recordings, though Santiago Vera's arrangement of "Gracias a la vida"

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[229] "Discoveries." Letelier's setting can be found on the albums *Antología de Música Chilena, volumen 2* ["04. Hallazgo – Conjunto de Madrigalistas (Chile)," produced by Conjunto de Madrigalistas, July 8, 2016, YouTube video, 1:35, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZDSW7Fc1pMY] and *Antología Coral Chilena*. Mistral's poem was also set by Ernesto Guarda, included in *Paisaje Músical Chileno* ["Hallazgo – Ernesto Guarda," produced by Manuel Suazo, August 10, 2012, YouTube video, 2:01, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DHO3p6lC7Tg].

[230] "Pain of misfortune." Heinlein's setting is included on the album *Música Coral Chilena* ["Pena de mala fortuna – Ensemble Libre," produced by Byron Castillo Pipuul, July 14, 2016, YouTube video, 3:29, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zm3f4qU3Mgw].

[231] "Be kind." Allende's setting is featured on *Antología de la Música Coral Chilena, volumen 1* ["07 Se Bueno – Conjunto de Madrigalistas Chile," produced by Conjunto de Madrigalistas, October 14, 2016, YouTube video, 2:47, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RwosYJK7l1w].

[232] "Two happy lovers." Soublette's setting is included on the albums *Antología Coral Chilena* and *Música Coral Chilena* ["Dos amantes dichosos CCE Usach," produced by Luis Mendoza, November 24, 2015, YouTube video, 2:12, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WXWV0RWrva8].

[233] "In the countryside there is an herb" and "My neighbour's rooster." These settings of Ramírez Avila are found on volume 1 of the *Antología de Música Chilena* ["10 En el campo hay una yerba – Conjunto de Madrigalistas Chile," produced by Conjunto de Madrigalistas, October 14, 2016, YouTube video, 3:14, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6hThebUsJ48; "12 El Gallo de mi Vecina (cueca) –Conjunto de Madrigalistas Chiledescargaryoutube com," produced by Conjunto de Madrigalistas, October 14, 2016, YouTube video, 1:03, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=isWo-aJzwZ0]. See Chapter 1 for discussion of *Música Típica*, pp. 25–27.

[234] "Walk in the forest," "Initiation," and "I think of my ancestors." Eduardo Cáceres' arrangements are included on the *Antología Coral Chilena, volumen II* ["Cantos Ceremoniales para Aprendiz de Machi (2004) para coro," *Múcia en Línea, Ministerio de Educación Gobierno de Chile*, https://www.curriculumnacional.cl/musica/609/w3-article-34134.html].

appears on *Música Coral Chilena*. Observing this absence, Argentine music critic Ricardo Javier Mansilla highlights the link between popular music and national identity in his 2004 review of the *Chilean Choral Anthology* appearing in the journal *Resonancias: Revista de investigación musical* published by the Catholic University of Chile. Mansilla seemingly takes the nomenclature of the album's title to task with the implication that an album typed as a "Chilean anthology" might also encompass musical styles reflecting more broadly practiced or popular musical language. Without the intention of diminishing the value of the repertoire included on the album, Mansilla's review reiterates Rivera's urging for a musical vernacular in choral programming. "With regard to the genres, one misses the Chilean popular music, which is rich in its rhythmic and melodic aspects, and indispensable in a selection of this type. However, this is unquestionably a great contribution to the dissemination of Chilean culture, especially through this widespread activity."[235]

Choral singing in Chile has seen exponential growth in the 20th and 21st centuries, finding a niche among expressions of popular song. In many ways, choral practice has embraced the democratic characteristics suggested by Andrés Bahamondes, becoming an activity of widespread involvement in terms of the demographics of constituent members and audience base. Letelier's 1957 identification of the (then) newly-emerging "tradition" as a valuable component of Chilean education has since been substantiated by the establishment and proliferation of programs such as *Crecer Cantando*. *Coros de Chile* ("Choirs of Chile"), a national choral association established in 2017, lists membership from all geographic regions of

[235] "La selección de este CD es despareja desde varios ángulos. La mayoría de las obras son lentas lo que resta contraste a la audición de toda la antología. Tampoco sigue un criterio temático o estructural ni de lenguaje composicional. En cuanto a los géneros se extraña la música popular chilena muy rica en sus aspectos rítmicos y melódicos e indispensable en una selección de este tipo. Pero indiscutiblemente es un gran aporte a la difusión de la cultura de Chile sobre todo en esta actividad tan difundida." [Ricardo Javier Mansilla, "Antología Coral Chilena: Tres coros, un director," *Resonancias: Revista de investigación musical* 8, no. 14 (May 2004): 48–49, http://resonancias.uc.cl/images/PDF_Anteriores/Separatas_n14/Comentario_2_Antolog%C3%ADa_Coral.pdf.]

the country including youth, adult, senior, religious, professional, community, university, gender, teacher association, cultural association, chamber, and symphonic ensembles.[236]

Just as choral singing is a growing activity of the Chilean populace, so is the interest in a repertory that reflects this population—a popular voice, a Chilean choral vernacular. Asserting that the largest portion of choral singers are active in amateur and community ensembles, Bahamondes insists on a growing need for popular choral repertoire.

> The presence in choral ensembles of this repertoire that is closer to the popular style, firstly, draws people towards choirs, […] it is a vehicle introducing these people to [choral] language and repertoire [….] In my understanding, the more amateur a choir, the more it must work with repertoire that is its own so that singers engage from a place of motivation; […] that their work is always motivated by this feeling of meaning: that music means something to me because it is music that I recognize as *my* music [...] and after I identify with my music I can—knowing the choral instrument—I can begin to introduce people to other music and, generally, they are enthused [about this] as well.[237]

Echoing the sentiments William Child expressed with regard to his inspiration for arranging NCCh, Bahamondes senses a link between this repertoire and musical identity that creates interest among singers and audiences alike, a valuable criterion for concert programming. "I think the repertoire is included because it is current. Because people want to sing it; because people want to hear it; because it has a very unique language; because it has a language that is very digestible for people and that same language even offers the possibility of exploring new sounds, new types of harmonies."[238]

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[236] "Agrupaciones," *Coros de Chile*, http://www.corosdechile.cl/category/agrupaciones/.

[237] "la existencia de este repertorio más cercano a lo popular en coros, en primer lugar, acerca a la gente a los coros, […] es un vehículo para que estas personas también conozcan el lenguaje y las obras [….] Entiendo que el coro, mientras más amateur, […] debe tener repertorio mucho más propio para que los cantantes partan desde la motivación; […] que el trabajo siempre sea un trabajo motivado por esta sensación de significancia. De que la música me significa algo porque es música que yo reconozco como música mía. […] Y después que reconozco muy bien la música mía puedo, en conocimiento del instrumento coral, puedo empezar a hacer que la gente conozca otras músicas, y generalmente se entusiasman mucho también." [Bahamondes, Follow-up Electronic Communication, May 30, 2019.]

[238] "Pienso que el repertorio se incluye porque está vigente. Porque la gente lo quiere cantar; porque la gente lo quiere escuchar; porque tiene un lenguaje muy propio; porque tiene un lenguaje que para la gente es muy digerible y dentro de ese mismo lenguaje incluso da la posibilidad de explorar nuevas sonoridades, nuevos tipos de armonías." [Bahamondes, Follow-up Electronic Communication, April 2, 2019.]

It is difficult to prescribe a set of characteristics that define Chilean identity; nor is it productive to identify a single musical genre as representative of cultural identity. Distinguishing NCCh as significant in this definition is by no means an effort to name it as an all-encompassing voice. The sense of identity carried within socially committed song in Chile has much to do with the nature of this voice: the content of stories told, the language used to tell them. Recalling definitions of NCCh presented in Chapter 1, Felipe Elgueta identified NCCh as reflective of a time "when the people found a voice," and Juan Pablo Villarroel connected that voice to the identity of a Chilean reality; the music had to do "with *our* problems."[239] Using these voices to translate Gustavo Becerra's foundational concept of musical identity strictly to the Chilean choral context demonstrates that arrangements of this genre of popular song—the song of Violeta Parra and NCCh musicians—is integral to Chilean choral identity. Choral music is Chilean when it refers to Chilean problems; when it is a reflection of Chilean reality, when it bears upon Chilean cultural life, when it is a function of the Chilean historical-cultural process, when it accomplishes Chilean objectives.[240] Within this definition, choral arrangements of NCCh lay claim to a portion of Chilean identity within the choral vocabulary.

Analysis of Choral Arrangements

To ascertain concrete characteristics that are helpful in understanding Chilean musical identity, the following discussion explores aspects of poetry, music, and social meaning present in the choral arrangements of four songs by two of the most representative figures of socially committed song in Chile: Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara. The songs arranged are Parra's "Según

[239] Felipe Elgueta, Personal Interview, August 24, 2018; Villarroel, Personal Interview. See pp. 14–15, 16.
[240] Original quote on pp. 81–82. "To simplify things, let us depart from the foundation that Chilean music is what Chileans that which Chileans make. Bound to the idea that music is Latin American when it refers to Latin American problems, when it is a reflection of Latin American reality, when it bears upon Latin American cultural life, when it is a function of the Latin American historical-cultural process, when it accomplishes Latin American objectives."

el favor del viento" (arr. Pablo Ulloa), and Jara's "El Aparecido" (arr. William Child), "Manifiesto" (arr. William Child), and "Te recuerdo Amanda" (arr. William Child and Eduardo Gajardo).[241] The criteria by which pieces were selected for inclusion in this analysis include: a) distinction as emblematic pieces within Chile's socially committed song repertoire; b) narrative content as a representative sample of poetic themes common to socially committed song in Chile; c) musical characteristics in relation to historical practice; and d) aspects of choral setting that illustrate distinct approaches to incorporating popular musical language into the choral idiom. Based on aspects of textural, melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic complexity and vocal range, the arrangements included are appropriate for accomplished youth- and higher-level ensembles. This aspect of uniformity was considered in part for ease of comparison, but primarily because these arrangements are widely performed and thus contribute actively to the building of collective memory and articulation of identity in Chilean choral repertoire.

Purely musical characteristics of NCCh are less straightforward to determine than those relating to poetic and ideological content; nonetheless, considerations of musical language were essential to the song movement. Endeavoring to set itself apart from the stereotypes of *Música Típica* and the foreign musical styles disseminated widely by mainstream media, *cantautores* and NCCh ensembles searched for melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic elements that represented the identity of Chilean song more authentically. Due, in part, to the breadth of the search for identity, a process that gathered musical material from communities across the country, Chilean socially

[241] Musical examples within this chapter have been transcribed from the following scores. Pablo Ulloa, arr., "Según el favor del viento" (SSAA), published by arranger, 1999; William Child, arr., "El Aparecido" (SATB and guitar), published by arranger, n.d.; William Child, arr., "Manifiesto" (SATB), published by arranger, n.d.; William Child, arr., "Te recuerdo Amanda" (SATB), in *Antología Coral. Arreglos de William Child para coro mixto y coro de voces iguales, sobre clásicos de la música popular chilena, para su enseñanza e interpretación*, ed. Winston Moya Cortés (Santiago de Chile: Departamento de Música de la Facultad de Artes de la Universidad de Chile, 2017), 108–113; Eduardo Gajardo, "Te recuerdo Amanda," published by arranger, n.d. Note: Child's arrangements of "El Aparecido" and "Manifiesto" also appear in the Moya Cortés anthology, on pages 61–65 and 91–98 respectively.

committed song varies greatly in melodic style and rhythmic patterns. Furthermore, NCCh's musical vision included the broader unification of the peoples of Latin America, which they illustrated symbolically though common elements of musical language and instrumentation. This analysis of choral arrangements illustrates some of the representative musical aspects of NCCh. Some characteristics are unique to each arrangement, while other elements overlap. To avoid redundancy, not all characteristics will be discussed for each piece.

Reviewing the larger body of NCCh, beginning with the songs of Violeta Parra, there is a general tendency away from strictly tonal vocabulary towards modal sonorities, a characteristic generally maintained throughout the arrangements included here (see harmonic analysis in Examples 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 19). The work of mid-century ethnomusicological explorations of Violeta Parra, Margot Loyola, and others had given prominence to this harmonic orientation set apart from the Western tonality that dominated *Música Típica*, mass-media imports such as Rock-and-Roll, and *Nueva Ola*. Generally, mainstream music was grounded in Western tonality's definitive V–I relationship, using secondary dominants to modulate, contrasting parallel minor and major sonorities between verse and refrain. Harmonic diversity was minimal, relying on primary chords (I, IV, and V).[242]

The origins of modality in Chile's varied music tradition are not precisely traceable: are they purely of indigenous origin; do they have roots in the medieval Spanish tradition? The answer is likely a combination of the two—these sonorities evolved through a gradual mixing of indigenous and conquistador cultures. For the purposes of this discussion, modal analysis will use the names of Western modes, following the precedent of Chilean musicologists Juan Pablo

[242] J. Aravena Décart, "Opciones armónicas, estilo musical y construcción identitaria: una aproximación al aporte de Violeta Parra en relación con la música típica." *Revista Musical Chilena* 55, no. 196 (2001): 39–40, https://revistamusicalchilena.uchile.cl/index.php/RMCH/article/view/31587/33356; Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 243.

González and J. Aravena Décart.[243] Both have authored articles focusing on Chilean identity in popular musical expression, and highlight modality as one of the distinguishing musical elements used by mid-20th century popular and folk musicians to connect to their musical roots.

A variety of possible "roots" are suggested. Décart and Chilean music scholar Lorena Valebenito Carrasco point to modal influence from the central-Chilean peasant tradition of *canto a lo poeta* especially connected to the work of Violeta Parra. This likely carried some medieval Spanish influence.[244] Décart further explores the connection to Andean[245] music, whose diversity of instrumentation and rhythmic-melodic characteristics was a source of influence for various NCCh ensembles, and likely a source of modal influence as well.[246] Juan Pablo González identifies modality, along with other harmonic and rhythmic elements (such as compound beat division in binary meter) as an influence traceable to the traditions of the Mapuche people.[247]

González further distinguishes several melodic characteristics of Mapuche song he considers influential in the context of Chile's popular song.[248] Among these he notes the prevalence of pitch repetition. The melodic construction of three of the four songs included for analysis in this paper demonstrates the prevalence of pitch repetition, illustrated by the excerpts from "Según el favor del viento", "El Aparecido", and "Te recuerdo Amanda" presented in Example 1a. González also highlights melodic contours descending by third-arpeggiation, often creating extended chordal structures including 7ths and 9ths (repeated tones may extend each

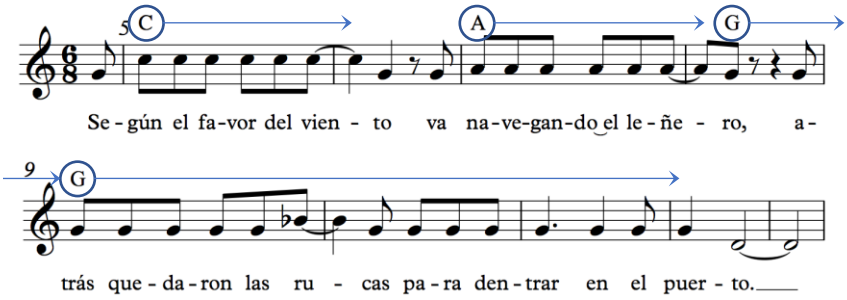
[243] Juan Pablo González, "Estilo y función social de la música chilena de raíz mapuche," *Revista Musical Chilena* 47, no. 179 (1993): 78–113, https://revistamusicalchilena.uchile.cl/index.php/RMCH/article/view/1683/1556; Décart, "Opciones armónicas, estilo musical y construcción identitaria," 33–58.
[244] Lorena Valdebenito Carrasco, "What Type of Music Did Violeta Parra Make? Her Multiform, Musical, Authorship," in *Mapping Violeta Parra's Cultural Landscapes*, edited by Patricia Vilches (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 29.
[245] Though the Andes span Chile north to south, the region categorized as originating "Andean culture" (music, dance, etc.) comprises only the northern region of the mountain range with connections to Bolivia and Peru.
[246] Décart, "Opciones armónicas, estilo musical y construcción identitaria," 50.
[247] González, "Estilo y función social de la música chilena de raíz mapuche," 79–113.
[248] Ibid., 87, 103, 110.

arpeggiated pitch). The melodic contour of the final phrase in each stanza of "Según el favor del viento" proceeds by third-arpeggiation through B♭ , G, and E, extending each of these pitches by melodic repetition or decoration (see Example 1b, mm. 17–22). This phrase considered in its entirety, beginning with the leap to the repeated C in m. 15, outlines pitches that create a triad based on C including the minor 7th: C–E–G–B♭. "Te recuerdo Amanda"'s opening melody, seen in Example 1A, also comprises descending third-arpeggiation (A–F#–D), passing through the lowered 7th (C) to outline the D^7 chord. González's final observation regarding possible melodic influences highlights the tritone interval. In the songs of NCCh, this interval is not often present as a direct melodic leap; however, the tritone is outlined in modal melodies emphasising the lowered 7th and major 3rd scale degrees. The descending third-arpeggiation in "Según el favor del viento" outlines a tritone from B♭ to E in Example 1b. "Te recuerdo Amanda" also includes a tritone relationship outlined between its repeated pitches of F# and C (see Example 1a).

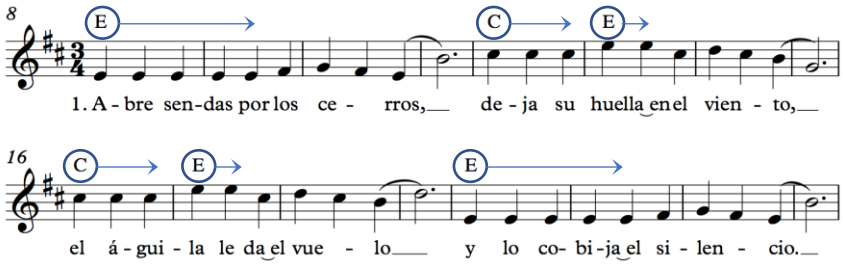
EXAMPLE 1 Melodic excerpts that suggest possible influence of the Mapuche melodic tradition

a) melodic pitch repetition

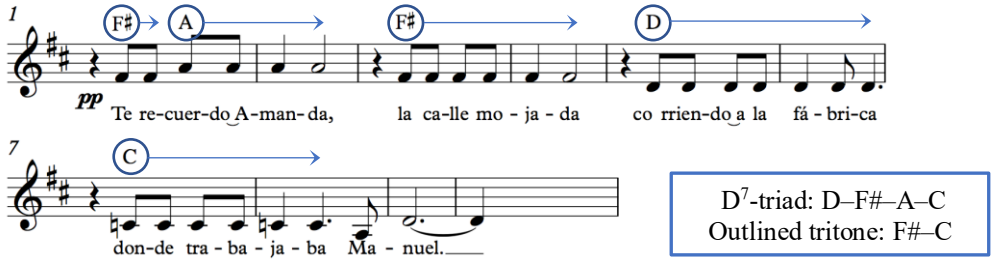
"Según el favor del viento" – arrangement by Pablo Ulloa



"El Aparecido" – arrangement by William Child

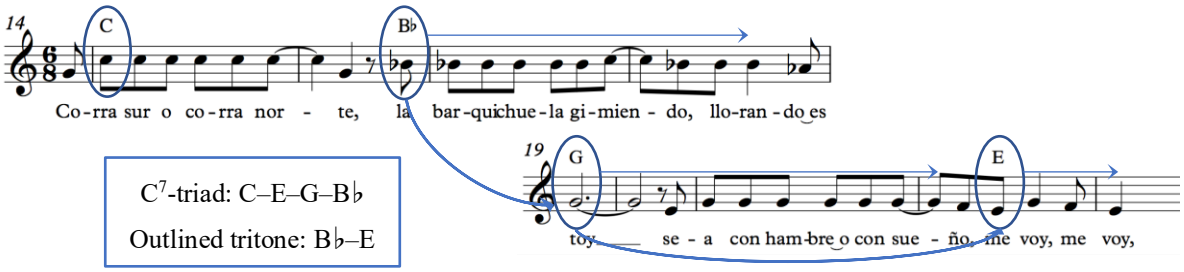


"Te Recuerdo Amanda" – arrangement by Eduardo Gajardo



b) descending melodic third-arpeggiation, extended by pitch repetition and melodic decoration

"Según el favor del viento" – arrangement by Pablo Ulloa



"Según el favor del viento" by Violeta Parra, arranged by Pablo Ulloa

Throughout her career as a *cantautora*, Violeta Parra endeavored to be as much a student of Chile's diverse national culture as a proponent thereof. The brief harmonic and melodic details noted above are essential to her adaptation of traditional song which she expanded further through exploration of textual and stylistic features of her heritage. Having little formal education, her musical, poetic, and artistic development was the result of personal exploration and practical mentorship. Apart from being a family activity, music and song were a necessary source of income—Violeta and her sister played and sang in pubs and circuses to help sustain the

family financially.[249] Gradually, singing and the creation of art generally—music, poetry, tapestry, painting—became her way of processing the realities of life.[250] Knowing first-hand the socio-economic struggle lived by the poor and itinerant working class, yet finding this nowhere in the traditional music supposedly representative of the people, Violeta began searching for a more authentic voice.[251] Outspoken, indignant, and unafraid of challenging those above her social station, Violeta not only sang songs she learned on her journeys throughout Chile but also composed songs that shared the people's story poetically, yet plainly. Her work is described by Léonidas Morales as being "at once of exaltation and of agony, where song and lament live side by side or entwine their tones."[252]

"Según el favor del viento," first released in 1962 on the album *El folklore de Chile según Violeta Parra* ("Chilean folklore according to Violeta Parra"),[253] is one of many songs she wrote expressing her understanding of an authentic folk tradition. In this song, Violeta's protagonists hail from Chiloé, the largest island of Chile's southern archipelago, where the *cantautora*'s field research took her in 1959.[254] As with many of her poetic texts, the song laments the struggles of a common person's life while condemning a government coldly indifferent to this plight. The poem is not narrative in the sense of telling an unfolding story; instead, it sets up a series of tableaus that vividly illuminate distinct realities and experiences. Situated in relative isolation, most Chilotes lived a rustic life with few opportunities to better

[249] Lorna Dillon, "Introduction," in *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, edited by Lorna Dillon (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Tamesis, 2017), 3.
[250] González, "Creadora de mundos y canciones," in *Violeta Parra: Tres discos autorales*, edited by Juan Pablo González, Fernando Charrasco, and Juan Antonio Sánchez (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado), 11.
[251] Dillon, "Introduction," 3–4.
[252] Leónidas Morales, "Violeta Parra: the genesis of her art," in *Violeta Parra: Life and Work*, edited by Lorna Dillon (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Tamesis, 2017), 14.
[253] Miguel Naranjo Ríos, "Discografía de Violeta Parra," *Estudios Públicos*, no. 146 (July 2017): 248, https://www.cepchile.cl/discografia-de-violeta-parra/cep/2017-07-13/112137.html.
[254] González, "Creadora de mundos y canciones," 26.

their socio-economic conditions. Local infrastructure and income relied on the ability to transport goods (lumber, fish, etc.) on wooden boats, a task often made difficult by downpour, burning heat, or tempestuous waters. There seems to be no recourse against this life's arduousness, particularly in light of an indifferent government that offers no aid, protections, nor benefits. Condemning inaction of the powerful, Violeta rains down an indictment using apocalyptic imagery of the last trumpet.

Throughout her description of struggle, Violeta laments with the repeated interjection "I am crying." To a certain extent, her lament suggests impotence, an interpretation strengthened by the title of the song which puts forth the idea of fate dependent on such a fickle force as the wind—volatile and undependable. And yet, as with many of her songs, Violeta attempts to be proactive by making injustice visible, by telling its story. Her wish is to sing justice. Justice that begins with truth. As the final stanza of the poem states, the golden letters of Violeta's just-song do not profess the arrival of an idyllic life: the islander remains fatherless, implying isolation and lack of protection. The function of these letters is to reveal truth, "the truth being that there is no justice in the midst of such isolation and that fate has only to do with the favor of the wind."[255]

1. Según el favor del viento[256]
va navegando el leñero,
atrás quedaron las rucas,
para dentrar en el puerto.
Corra sur o corra norte,
la barquichuela gimiendo
–llorando estoy–,
sea con hambre o con sueño,
me voy, me voy.

1. Lead by the favour of the wind
the woodcutter is sailing,
left behind are the huts
to get into the port.
If he goes south or north,
the boat groans
—I am crying—
with hunger or tiredness,
I go, I go.

[255] "Va escribir un libro de oro que diga la verdad: la verdad es que no hay justicia en medio de tanta soledad y que el destino solo tiene que ver con el favor del viento." [Bahamondes, electronic communication, June 10, 2019.]
[256] The text presented is based on Ulloa's arrangement as sung by Femme Vocal, a Chilean ensemble who add stanzas 3 and 5 as spoken verse to Ulloa's arrangement. ["Según el favor del viento – Estrella azul," produced by Femme Vocal, June 5, 2016, YouTube video, 5:54, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1FuSKzs7wHE.]

2. Del monte viene el pellín
que colorea en cubierta.
Habrán de venderlo en Castro
aunque la lluvia esté abierta,
queme el sol de lo alto
como un infierno sin puerta
–llorando estoy–,
la mar esté revuelta,
me voy, me voy.

3. De negro van los chilotes,
más que por fuera, por dentro,
con su plato de esperanza
y su frazada de cielo
pidiéndole a la montaña
su pan amargo centeno
–llorando estoy–,
según el favor del viento,
me voy, me voy.

4. Despierte el hombre, despierte,
despierte por un momento.
Despierte toda la Patria
antes que se abran los cielos
y venga el trueno furioso
con el clarín de San Pedro
–llorando estoy–
y barra los ministerios,
me voy, me voy.

5. No es vida la del chilote,
no tiene letra ni pleito.
Tamango llevan sus pies,
milcao y ají su cuerpo;
pellín para calentarse
del frío de los gobiernos
–llorando estoy–
que le quebrantan los huesos,
me voy, me voy.

6. Quisiera morir cantando
sobre de un barco leñero,
y cultivar en sus aguas
un libro más justiciero
con letras de oro que diga:
"No hay padre para el isleño
–llorando estoy–,
ni viento pa' su leñero"
me voy, me voy.

2. Pellín comes from the north
it colours under cover,
they'll have to sell it in Castro
though it is pouring rain,
or if the sun burns from above
like an inferno without a door,
—I am crying—
or the sea is tempestuous,
I go, I go.

3. The Chilotes are clad in black
more inside than out,
with their plate of hope
and blanket of heaven,
asking the mountain
for bitter rye bread,
—I am crying—
led by the favor of the wind,
I go, I go.

4. Wake up, human, awake;
wake up for just a moment.
Awake the nation
before the skies open
and the furious thunder comes
with the trumpet of Saint Peter,
—I am crying—
and wipes clean the government ministries,
I go, I go.

5. It's no life, for those from Chilote,
no education nor legal recourse,
wearing rustic shoes,
and fed with stew and chili peppers,
pellín to warm themselves
against the cold of the governments
—I am crying—
that break their bones,
I go, I go.

6. I'd like to die singing
on a woodcutter's boat,
and cultivate in its waters
a more just text,
with letters of gold which say:
"there's no father for the islander,
—I am crying—
nor wind for his wooden boat,"
I go, I go.

Various aspects of the musical and poetic makeup of "Según el favor del viento" link Violeta's song to Chilean cultural identity. Musically, it presents in the form of a *sirilla*, a dance traditional of Chiloé that originates from the Spanish *seguidilla*. Isolated as the region was, the *sirilla* remained largely unknown in Chile until the work of Margot Loyola and Violeta Parra popularized this dance in the 1960s. The *sirilla* propagated by Violeta, often accompanied by guitar, was framed within a 3/8 meter where the first eighth comprised a muted chord, followed by an accented strum on beat two. The strumming pattern supported a vocal line that placed the textual accent on the downbeat or upbeat of the measure, creating a syncopated counterpoint of rhythmic vibrancy (see Example 2).[257] Harmonically, Violeta steered away from mainstream progressions that dominated *Música Típica*, tending towards a musical language that blended aspects of indigenous and popular practice such as modality and extended harmonies (see Example 5). Further discussion of the harmonic language identified with the Chilean socially committed song tradition is found in the analysis of Jara's "Manifiesto."

Poetically, Violeta used a formal structure common to peasant song of the central region of Chile. Though the Spanish *seguidilla*, and thus the *sirilla*, implied a formal structure of seven-line verse, Violeta often paired her *sirillas* with *décimas*, a poetic form more common to Chilean peasant song.[258] Though also of Spanish origin, the *décima* had been adapted to poetic idioms, particularly to the *canto a lo poeta* ("song according to poetry") tradition. This form of lyrical poetry was cultivated in peasant communities of central Chile, giving rise in the 19th century to *Lira Popular*.[259] Its content was often metaphorical, but rooted in contemporary reality.[260]

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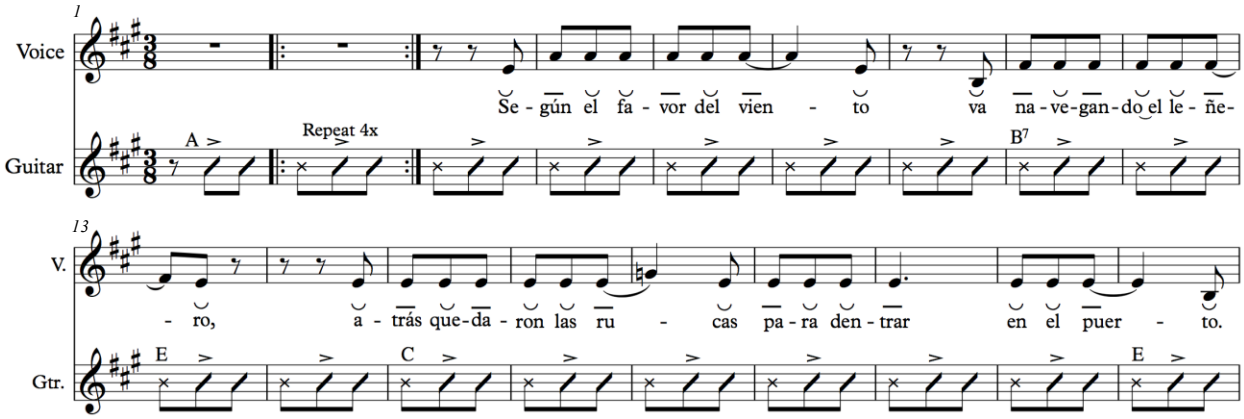
[257] González, "Creadora de mundos y canciones," 26, 27.
[258] Ibid., 26.
[259] See Chapter 1, pp. 30–31.
[260] *Canto a lo poeta* was subdivided into *canto a lo divino* which comprised elements of popular religiosity and *canto a lo humano* which deal with life in a more secular context. ["Canto a lo poeta," *memoriachilena: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile*, updated 2018, http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-3320.html.]

EXAMPLE 2 "Según el favor del viento," Counterpoint of Violeta's *sirilla* and *décima*,[261] mm. 1–21



"Según el favor del viento" adapts the *décima*'s poetic form further, shortening each stanza: lines 1–6 and 8 are octasyllabic; lines 7 and 9 and tetrasyllabic. The seventh and ninth lines, the only consistently rhyming pair, complete each other to balance the octasyllabic verse. Violeta's *décima* presents no clear rhyme scheme, apart from the pair of repeated lines, "llorando estoy, […] me voy, me voy." Acting as an interspersed refrain, these repeated lines recall the rural peasant tradition identified by Margot Loyola as the *tonada en cuarteta* which could contain a brief refrain interspersed within the structure of poetic stanzas.[262] (See Table 2)

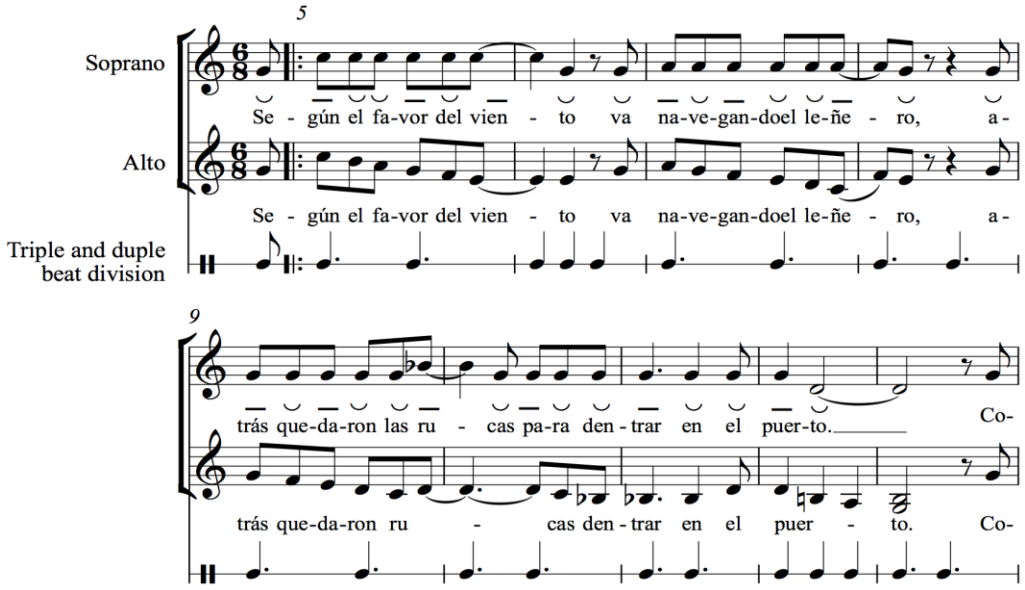
TABLE 2 "Según el favor del viento" Syllabic breakdown of Violeta's abbreviated *décima* form

Line of verse		Number of syllables	
1	Seg.ún el fa.vor del vien.to	8	
2	va na.ve.gan.do‿el le.ñe.ro,	8	
3	a.trás que.da.ron las ru.cas,	8	
4	pa.ra den.trar en el puer.to.	8	
5	Co.rra sur o co.rra nor.te,	8	
6	la bar.qui.chue.la gi.mien.do	8	
7	–llo.ran.do‿es.toy–,	4	Paired lines of rhymed verse (Interspersed refrain)
8	se.a con ham.bre‿o con sue.ño,	8	
9	me voy, me voy.	4	

[261] Note: this transcription, created from an audio recording for the purposes of the paper, uses 3/8 meter in keeping with González's reference to Violeta's practice. Ulloa's choral arrangement sets the song in a 6/8 meter.
[262] Margot Loyola Palacios, *La Tonada: Testimonios para el futuro* (Valparaíso: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, 2006), 89–90.

The choral arrangement of "Según el favor del viento" presented here is a setting for four-part treble voices by Chilean arranger Pablo Ulloa.[263] Ulloa follows Parra's melodic contour and rhythm closely, making adjustments such as the setting in 6/8 meter for ease of choral reading. The textual-melodic lilt remains intact, alternating stressed syllables on down- and upbeats (see Example 3); however, full sense of the *sirilla* is less prevalent without the rhythmic counterpoint of Violeta's guitar accompaniment. Ulloa hints at other popular song rhythms through his occasional incorporation of *sesquialtera* rhythms, presenting these primarily as alternating measures of duple and triple beat-subdivision. The insertion of 3/4 meter at the close of a phrase in 6/8 meter is characteristic of the Chilean *cueca* (see Example 3).[264]

EXAMPLE 3 "Según el favor del viento" (arr. Ulloa), Text stress and *sesquialtera* rhythms, mm. 9–13

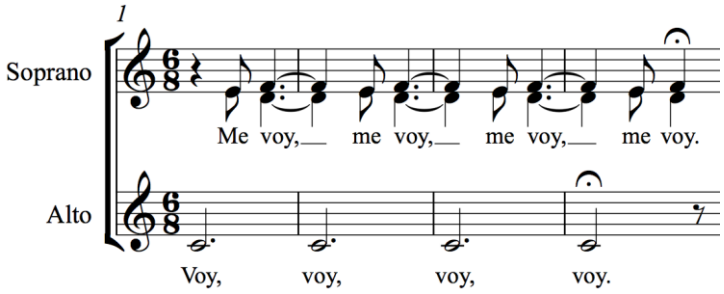


While he clearly remains true to a folk-texture of melody with accompaniment, Ulloa highlights aspects of Violeta's poetry using capabilities unique to the choral instrument such as text-painting through layered voicing and voice-leading. Embracing Violeta's subject matter, he

[263] Ulloa has also arranged this song for four-part mixed chorus.
[264] Bahamondes, Follow-up Electronic Communication, June 17, 2019.

incorporates the concept of water or waves from the outset: the choral arrangement begins with a figure that conjures a sense of rocking. This is created by juxtaposing the Alto dotted half-note sung on the downbeat and the upbeat eighth-note of both Soprano voices leading to the dotted quarter in the second half of the measure. The repetition of this opening gesture suggests the back-and-forth motion of a boat rocking on waves (see Example 4). After each stanza, this passage is repeated, transforming the brief poetic refrain into a musical one as well.

EXAMPLE 4 "Según el favor del viento" (arr. Ulloa), Choral prelude illustrating rocking waves, mm. 1–4

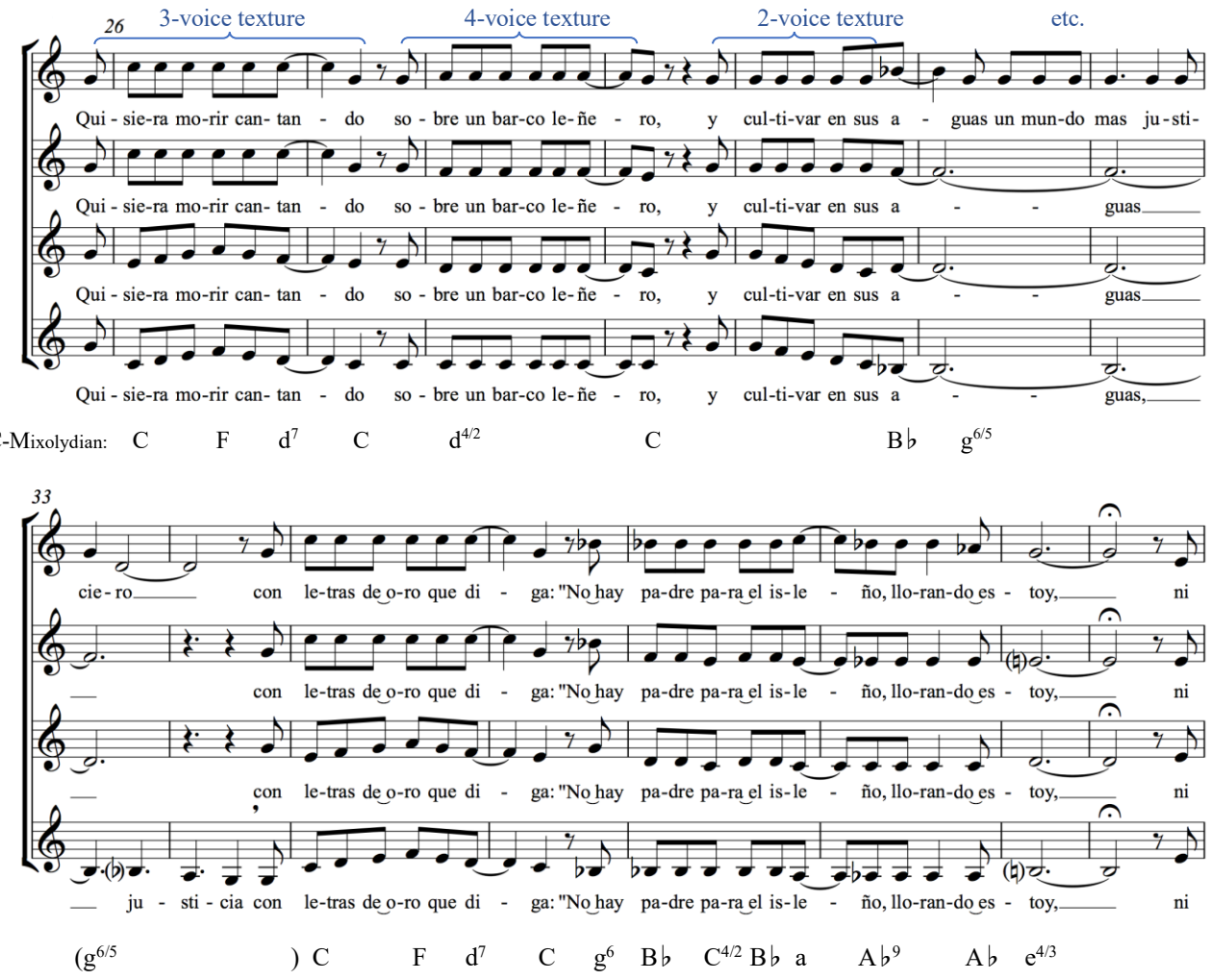


At the outset of the first (and fourth) stanzas, beginning with the pickup to m. 5, Ulloa creates interest within the simple two-part texture through oblique voice-leading. Leaping in unison from dominant to tonic (G–C), the Sopranos maintain Violeta's melody with a series of repeated notes while the Altos present a descending scalar pattern falling to the mediant (C–E). This pattern is repeated at the pickup to m. 7, beginning with a melodic step from G to A and following with a descent of the lower voice to the tonic that briefly leaps back to the mediant through an upper neighbor. These cascading lines below the sustained melodic tones give a sense of fluidity reminiscent of water in motion (see Example 3).

Within the relatively homorhythmic texture maintained throughout the stanzas, the arranger uses density of texture to vary the choral sonority. He alternates the two-voice texture in stanzas one and four with a textural configuration in stanzas two and six comprising four, three, or two distinct voice-parts intermittently. This variety is pleasing to the ear, and further, the

thickening of texture also serves a musical function of increased harmonic richness, filling out and extending chordal sonorities to include non-chord tones characteristic of the harmonic diversity that was being fostered by the work of Violeta Parra, Margot Loyola, and later the NCCh musicians.[265] The richer harmonic texture also aids in illustrating the imagery of song in Violeta's final verse, in which she wishes to "die singing" a more just world (see Example 5).

EXAMPLE 5 "Según el favor del viento" (arr. Ulloa), Textural diversity and harmonic density in Stanza 6, mm. 26–40



[265] See further discussion in the analysis of *Manifiesto* on pp. 117–119.

"El Aparecido" by Víctor Jara, arranged by William Child

"El Aparecido," written by Víctor Jara in 1965[266] before NCCh was christened a movement, signals the intentionally political bent that was becoming pervasive in Chilean popular song of the 1960s. The song's dedication to Ernesto "El Che" Guevara, who is understood to be the subject in Jara's poem, demonstrates partisan allegiance on the part of the *cantautor*, revering a heroic figure within the Latin American Communist cause.[267] Jara's performance of the driving rhythms, enhanced by repeated drum hits that mimic artillery fire, give the song a militant energy befitting a revolutionary character.[268] In contrast to songs such as "Según el favor del viento," which spoke on behalf of a people's plight, "El Aparecido" was more of a political anthem and became a voice of protest during the 1980s.

The song text revolves around its unnamed central character: a revolutionary man aggressively pursued for dedicating his life to a cause. The intensity of pursuit is illustrated poetically in the refrain that appears after each pair of stanzas. Here Jara patterns a rhythmic drive using repeated imperatives with percussive consonants (c, rr, qu, ll) set in anapestic meter: "correlé, correlé, correlá; por aquí, por aquí, por allá" (run, run, run; over here, over here, over there). The motivation for this intensity comes to light in the fourth line of the refrain where Jara admonishes, "run, for they will kill you." The refrain's severity is contrasted in the stanzas, where the protagonist in flight assumes almost messianic characteristics. Though he suffers cold and tiredness, he doesn't complain. He gains a following of poor people. His head is crowned

[266] Fernando Barraza, *La Nueva Canción Chilena, Volume 27, Colección Nosotros los Chilenos*, (Santiago, Chile: Editora Nacional Quimantú, 1972), 76.
[267] Bahamondes, Follow-up Electronic Communication, May 24, 2019.
[268] "Víctor Jara—El aparecido," produced by Luis Prisionero, May 20, 2012, YouTube video, 3:06, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HlFR3t6geLc.

with raven's claws. The threat of his pursuers is associated with crucifixion. His life is given as a gift. Jara's text makes it obvious that Guevara was a person revered.

1. Abre sendas por los cerros,
   deja su huella en el viento,
   el águila le da el vuelo
   y lo cobija el silencio.

2. Nunca se quejó del frío,
   nunca se quejó del sueño,
   el pobre siente su paso
   y lo sigue como ciego.

   Refrán:
   Correlé, correlé, correlá
   por aquí, por allí, por allá,
   correlé, correlé, correlá,
   correlé que te van a matar,
   correlé, correlé, correlá,
   correlé que te van a matar,
   correlé, correlé, correlá.

3. Su cabeza es rematada
   por cuervos con garra de oro
   como lo ha crucificado
   la furia del poderoso.

4. Hijo de la rebeldía
   lo siguen veinte más veinte,
   porque regala su vida
   ellos le quieren dar muerte.

   Refrán:
   Correlé, …

1. He opens paths through the hills,
   leaves his mark in the wind,
   the eagle gives him flight
   and silence shelters him.

2. He never complained of cold,
   never complained about tiredness,
   the poor person feels his step
   and follows him blindly.

   Refrain:
   Run, run, run,
   Over here, over there, over there,
   Run, run, run,
   Run for they are going to kill you,
   Run, run, run,
   Run for they are going to kill you,
   Run, run, run.

3. His head is crowned
   by ravens with golden claws,
   as if crucified by
   the fury of the powerful.

4. Son of rebellion,
   pursued by twenty plus twenty,
   because he gifts his life
   they want to kill him.

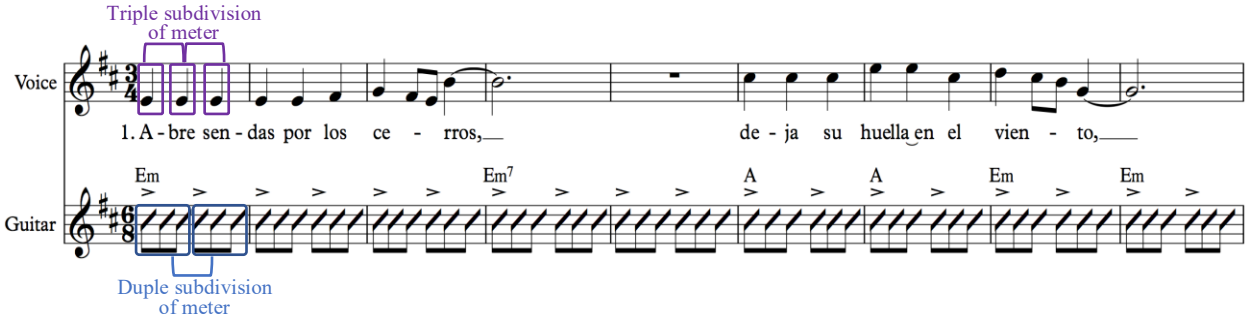
   Refrain:
   Run…

The musical framework Jara establishes with "El Aparecido" points to his broader vision of incorporating musical elements proper to communities across the continent and, in doing so, conveying a sort of Latin American musical language. "El Aparecido" is based on the rhythmic structure of the *sesquialtera*. The vibrancy of this 3-against-2 syncopation, impelled by juxtaposed triple and duple metric subdivision, pervades folk and popular song and dance forms throughout Latin America. Varying in configuration, "typical" rhythms based on simultaneous or consecutive 3-against-2 construction include, among others, the Chilean *cueca*, punctuated by a

vertical *sesquialtera* at the end of each musical phrase; the Paraguayan *polka* and *guarania*, the Argentine *chacarera*, and the Colombian and Venezuelan *jaropo* which contain this vertical juxtaposition throughout. Jara does not use any defined version of the *sesquialtera* in "El Aparecido;"[269] therefore, its predominance within the song points to a possible intent on the part of the *cantautor* of appealing to a broader sense of identity, especially considering Guevara as a figure representative of the vision of leftist movements across Latin America.

Jara's solo performance of "El Aparecido,"[270] accompanied by guitar, maintains a vertical metric juxtaposition of 3-against-2 throughout. The guitar sets off this constant course in the prelude, strumming a prominent eighth-note pattern that punctuates the binary subdivision of the 6/8-meter. Above this, the vocal line is contextualized in 3/4-meter, each melodic phrase comprising a steady quarter-note pulse marked by a sustained final note (see Example 6). In the refrain, Jara modifies the meter governing the vocal line to fall in line with the guitar's 6/8 pulse.

EXAMPLE 6 "El Aparecido," *Sesquialtera* rhythm in Jara's performance[271]



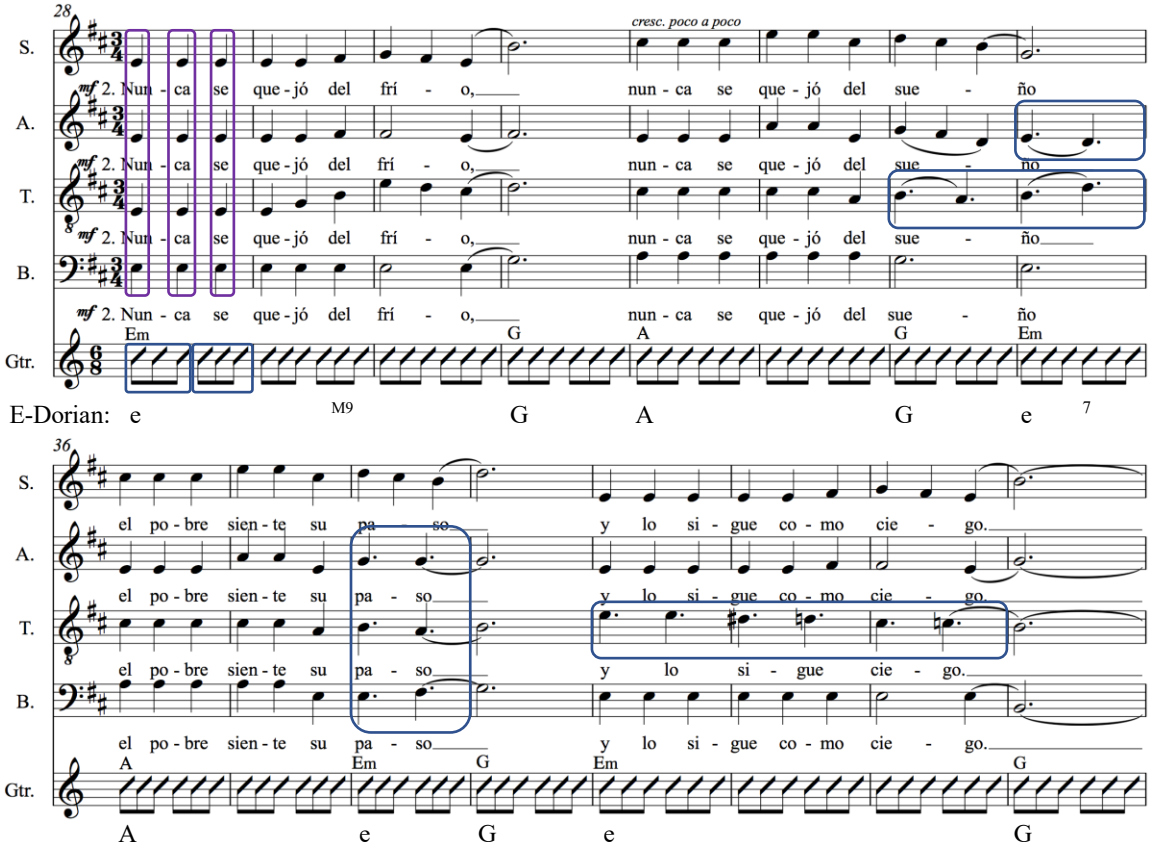
[269] Felipe Elgueta, Follow-up Electronic Communication, June 16, 2019; Bahamondes, Follow-up Electronic Communication, June 17, 2019.

[270] "El Aparecido" was recorded with orchestral accompaniment as well. It was also performed an recorded by Inti-Illimani, the NCCh ensemble that performed this song at the protest in Concepción, to which Felipe Elgueta referred. [Felipe Elgueta, Personal Interview, August 24, 2018.]

[271] As this example was transcribed by the author of this paper from an audiovisual recording, measure numbers are not indicated. See "Víctor Jara—El aparecido," produced by Luis Prisionero, May 20, 2012, YouTube video, 3:06, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HlFR3t6geLc.

William Child's arrangement of "El Aparecido" retains much of the song's popular character. The rhythmic prominence of metric juxtaposition is evident throughout, especially when performing Child's arrangement in which he includes guitar accompaniment.[272] Stanzas one and two are set almost entirely in homophonic style, maintaining the choral voice as a block-instrument singing in 3/4 meter against the 6/8 meter that governs the guitar's musical gestures. Child intersperses single or paired measures of duple metric division in the choral parts, placed in inner voices at the ends of phrases. Such passages are extended towards the end of the second stanza. The Tenor voice, specifically, increases both rhythmic and harmonic tension in the closing phrase of stanzas two and four, where its contrapuntal dotted quarter-note pulse forms a descending chromatic scale (see Example 7).

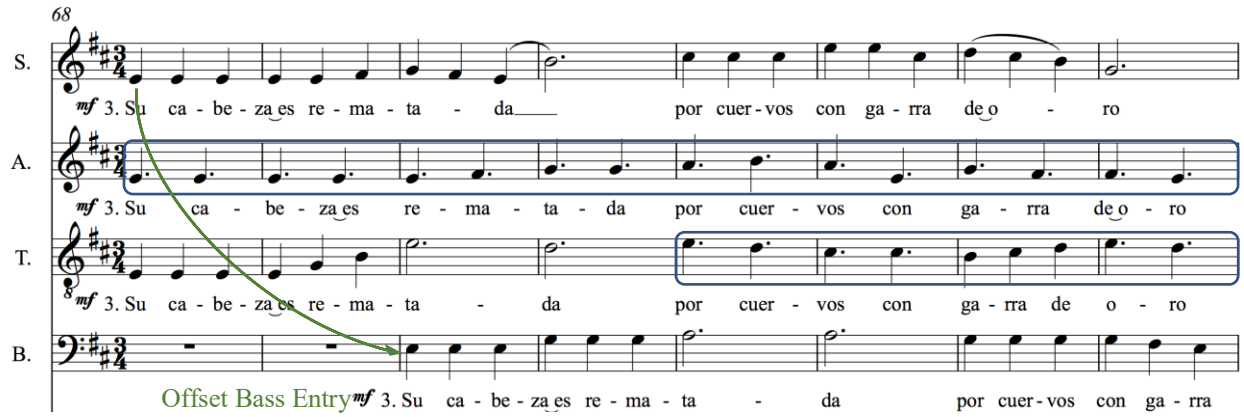
EXAMPLE 7 "El Aparecido" (arr. Child), Vertical *sequialtera* rhythms in stanza two, mm. 28–43



[272] Child's score indicates optional a cappella performance, indicating appropriate modifications in the choral score.

Stanzas three and four mark this rhythm even more prominently, becoming more contrapuntal in their choral texture. The bass entry is offset by two measures, echoing the soprano text. Though Altos and Tenors enter simultaneously with the Sopranos, they present more consistent rhythmic counterpoint: dotted quarter-notes pervade the Altos' line, joined by the Tenors after the first line of poetic verse. In this way, Child incorporates the *sesquialtera* feel even when the song is performed without guitar accompaniment (see Example 8).

EXAMPLE 8 "El Aparecido" (arr. Child), Counterpoint in verse 3, mm. 68–75

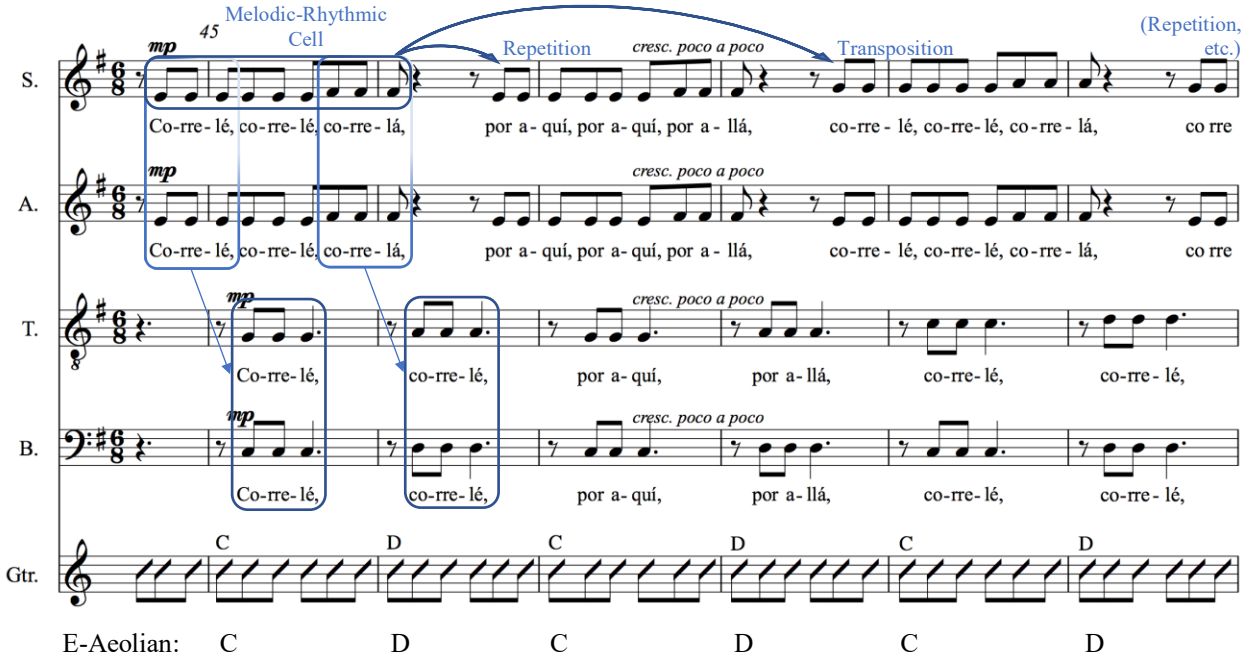


Child scores the choral texture so as to augment the intensity of the refrain through echoed dialogue between Soprano-Alto and Tenor-Bass voice pairings. Here, each line of verse comprises three words or phrase fragments, each made up of three syllables. The lead role is assigned to Sopranos and Altos in this section; Tenors and Basses are added to reinforce the second word or phrase fragment in each line, and add an additional echo of the third word (mm. 45–46) (see Example 9). The insistent patter of text set in dialogue effectively builds energy, augmented by melodic-rhythmic and harmonic elements discussed in the ensuing text.

The melodic-rhythmic and harmonic construction of the refrain is simple; its repetitive structure established within the first line of poetic verse, "Correlé, correlé, correlá" (pickup to m. 45–downbeat of m. 46). The melodic-rhythmic pattern follows the poetic foot of the text,

departing from the two weak eighths of the compound beat into the strong eighth of the next beat. Melodically the vocal lines are repetitive, reiterating the initial E-pitch for the first two words, then rising by step to F# which again repeats throughout the third word. This is echoed in the second line of the refrain, and the third-fourth and fifth-sixth line-pairings present this pattern at a higher transposition (mm. 48–50; mm. 52–54). The final line of the refrain takes these urgent imperatives to their climactic ending, leaping a major third from C to the upper tonic E for the final sustained exclamation of "correlá" (mm. 57–60). Jara develops the urgency of running from place to place over a harmonic foundation of two chords, C-Major to D-Major. These alternate from measure to measure until the climactic return to the minor tonic that concludes the refrain in m. 60. Despite harmonic repetitiveness, Jara's incremental raising of the melodic pitch acts as a built in crescendo and steadily intensifies the energy (see Example 9).

EXAMPLE 9 "El Aparecido" (arr. Child), Refrain: choral dialogue; melodic-rhythmic and harmonic structures, mm. 45–50



"Manifiesto" by Víctor Jara, arranged by William Child

Víctor Jara wrote "Manifiesto" in 1972,[273] during the period of the Unidad Popular Government. It would be one of the final songs written by the *cantautor* and, as its title suggests, put forth Jara's mission statement: not to sing merely for the sake of singing, but because there was a deeper need for song. Song was a portal through which to show solidarity and to create awareness of the struggles and stories of the *pueblo* to which he belonged.

1. Yo no canto por cantar
   ni por tener buena voz,
   canto porque la guitarra
   tiene sentido y razón.
   Tiene corazón de tierra
   y alas de palomita,
   es como el agua bendita
   santigua glorias y penas.
   Aquí se encajó mi canto
   como dijera Violeta
   guitarra trabajadora
   con olor a primavera.

2. Que no es guitarra de ricos
   ni cosa que se parezca
   mi canto es de los andamios
   para alcanzar las estrellas,
   que el canto tiene sentido
   cuando palpita en las venas
   del que morirá cantando
   las verdades verdaderas,
   no las lisonjas fugaces
   ni las famas extranjeras
   sino el canto de una lonja
   hasta el fondo de la tierra.

Coda
   Ahí donde llega todo
   y donde todo comienza
   canto que ha sido valiente
   siempre será canción nueva.

1. I do not sing for the sake of singing
   nor because I have a good voice.
   I sing because the guitar
   has both feeling and reason.
   It has a heart of the earth
   and the wings of a dove,
   it is like holy water,
   blessing joy and grief.
   My song has found a purpose
   as Violeta would say.
   Hardworking guitar,
   with a smell of spring.

2. A guitar that is not of the rich,
   nor anything of the like.
   My song is of the scaffolding
   used to reach the stars.
   For a song has meaning
   when it pulses in the veins
   of one who will die singing,
   the truthful truths
   not the fleeting flatteries
   nor foreign fame
   but the song of a lark
   reaching the depths of the earth.

Coda
   There, where everything comes to rest
   and where everything begins,
   song that has been valiant
   will forever be new song.

[273] Díaz Inostroza, *El Canto Nuevo de Chile*, 166.

Apart from providing a mission statement, the text of "Manifiesto" is significant to the NCCh tradition and to Chilean collective memory in numerous ways. Jara's closing lines of verse give a summary characterization of the "New Song" movement as one that encompassed all valiant or courageous songs standing on the side of ethical principles despite unjust adversity: "song that has been valiant will forever be new song." Setting song apart as a proactive tool, "Manifiesto's" poetic text lays out images, characters, and values that identify NCCh with its intended audience: the guitar's "heart of the earth" connects to the roots of Chilean culture; Violeta Parra as a musical and socio-cultural figure contributed significantly to the voice of the *pueblo*; the denunciation of foreign fame as a rejection of external influences in Chile, specifically those who fell in line with the allure of mass-mediated US culture.[274]

Furthermore, the text makes significant reference to the guitar in connection to Jara's mission. Though Jara incorporated a variety of Andean instruments in his performances, the guitar was his most constant musical companion. As part of the peasant tradition prevalent throughout Chile, the guitar was an important instrument within NCCh. Jara referred to it as a working instrument, a labourer's instrument actively involved in the task of social advocacy.

> I am moved more and more by what I see around me... the poverty of my own country, of Latin America and other countries of the world; I have seen with my own eyes memorials to the Jews in Warsaw, the panic caused by the Bomb, the disintegration that war causes to human beings...but I have also seen what love can do, what real liberty can do, what the strength of a man who is happy can achieve. Because of all this, and because above all I desire peace, I need the wood and strings of my guitar to give vent to sadness or happiness, some verse which opens up the heart like a wound, some line which helps us all to turn from inside ourselves to look out and see the world with new eyes.[275]

[274] Jeffrey F. Taffet, '"My Guitar is Not for the Rich": The New Chilean Song Movement and the Politics of Culture," *The Journal of American Culture* 20, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 100, https://doi-org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/10.1111/j.1542-734X.1997.2002_91.x.
[275] Interview with Víctor Jara in Joan Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1983), 98 cited in Gould, "Mi pueblo creador," 20–21.

The world that Jara wanted brought to light was one he knew well. Though he was, at the time of his death, a well-known *cantautor*, an activist, and a theatre director who worked in the Communications Department of the Universidad Técnica del Estado, Jara sang the peasant life, the labourer's toils, from a place of experience. His journey reflected that of many mid-20th century working-class Chileans: growing up in a family of displaced peasants, moving from a rural to an urban setting in search of employment and stability.[276] Song embraced life's hardships and joys; his mother Amanda sang frequently with her guitar. Like Violeta Parra, Víctor Jara became an itinerant folk musician, absorbing folk culture as much as singing for others.[277]

Apart from the content of its poetry, "Manifiesto" holds additional significance linked to Jara's renown as a cultural martyr, a fact that is highlighted in Chilean memory by prophetic interpretations of "Manifiesto's" verse: "song has meaning when it pulses in the veins of one who will die singing the truthful truths."[278] Especially on the other side of the journey through dictatorship, the concept of truth implies not only authentically narrating the reality of the disenfranchised *pueblo*, it now carries the baggage of wading through years of disinformation, corruption, and of still not knowing what happened to more than 1,000 disappeared citizens.

"Manifiesto" is not based on a traditional Chilean rhythm; along with "El cigarrito" (1964), "El arado" (1965), "El lazo" (1967) "Plegaria a un labrador" (1969), and "Cuando voy al trabajo" (1973), this song forms part of Jara's body of work that moved away from formulaic folk song or dance forms. Invested as well in the world of theatre, the *cantautor*'s primary interest with text expression lay in exploring the dramatic possibilities of text declamation and

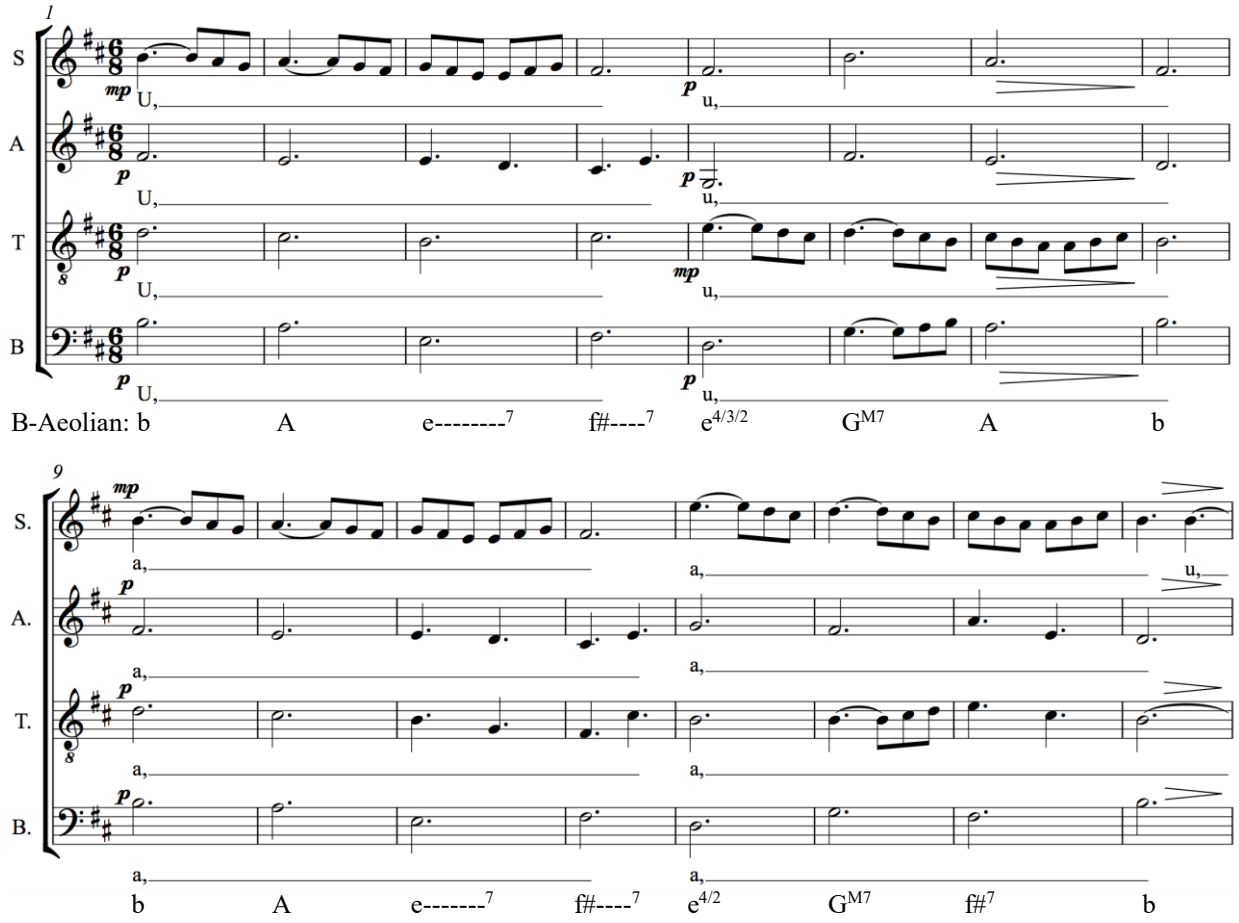
[276] Gould, "Mi pueblo creador," 19; Mauricio Valdebenito Cifuentes, "Tradición y renovación en la creación, el canto y la guitarra de Víctor Jara," in *Palimpsestos Sonoros*, compiled by Eileen Karmy and Martín Farías (Santiago, Chile: CEIBO Ediciones, 2014), 44–45.
[277] Gould, "Mi pueblo creador," 20.
[278] Taffet, "My Guitar is not for the rich," 99.

musical narration through freer formal structures.[279] Setting "Manifiesto's" poetically lyrical text Jara accomplishes this within a formal structure of strophic variation.[280] He maintains regularity through repeated harmonic patterns and pitch contour, but varies melodic phrases with each utterance, based on the declamatory requirements held within each line of verse. Child maintains Jara's form, melody, and harmony as closely as possible in this arrangement. As such, the illustrative musical examples discussing Jara's song will be taken from the SATB score.

The harmonic framework Jara developed for "Manifiesto" exemplifies the modal vocabulary through which socially committed *cantautores* of the 1960s and 70s endeavored to represent the Chilean musical voice more authentically. "Manifiesto" is set in the B-Aeolian mode. Its wistful character is influenced greatly by the prevalence of the B-Minor sonority; however, the modal progressions truly connect the song to NCCh's harmonic identity (see Examples 10 and 11). Child intentionally remains true to Jara's harmonic vision, considering it an important characteristic of the song's make-up.[281] Example 10 presents Child's choral realization of "Manifiesto"'s guitar prelude and introduces the fundamental harmonic essence upon which Jara builds his song. He proceeds away from B-Minor through A-Major, and approaches it through non-tonally functional chords. All B-Minor chords, i.e. chords built on the mode's final note, are approached through D-Major (mm. 50–51, 84–85; not shown here), E-Minor ^{9} or ^{11} (mm. 29–30, 63–64, 114–115, 117–118, 122–123; see Example 11), F#-Minor$^{(7)}$ (mm. 15–16, 24–25, 58–59, 101–102, 109–110; see Example 10), or A-Major (mm. 7–8, 93–94; see Example 10).

[279] Valdebenito Cifuentes, "Tradición y renovación," 49.
[280] "Manifiesto" is set in the form of strophic variation with a coda; in Child's arrangement Verse 1 occupies mm. 20–53; Verse 2 occupies mm. 54–86; the Coda text, preceded by a reiteration of the guitar prelude from mm. 87–104, occupies mm. 105–124.
[281] In the interview with Child, the arranger indicated that his arrangement of "Manifiesto" had endeavored to maintain Jara's harmonic language as faithfully as possible. [Child, Personal Interview.]

EXAMPLE 10 "Manifiesto" (arr. Child), Choral presentation of Jara's guitar prelude in B-Aeolian mode, mm. 1–16

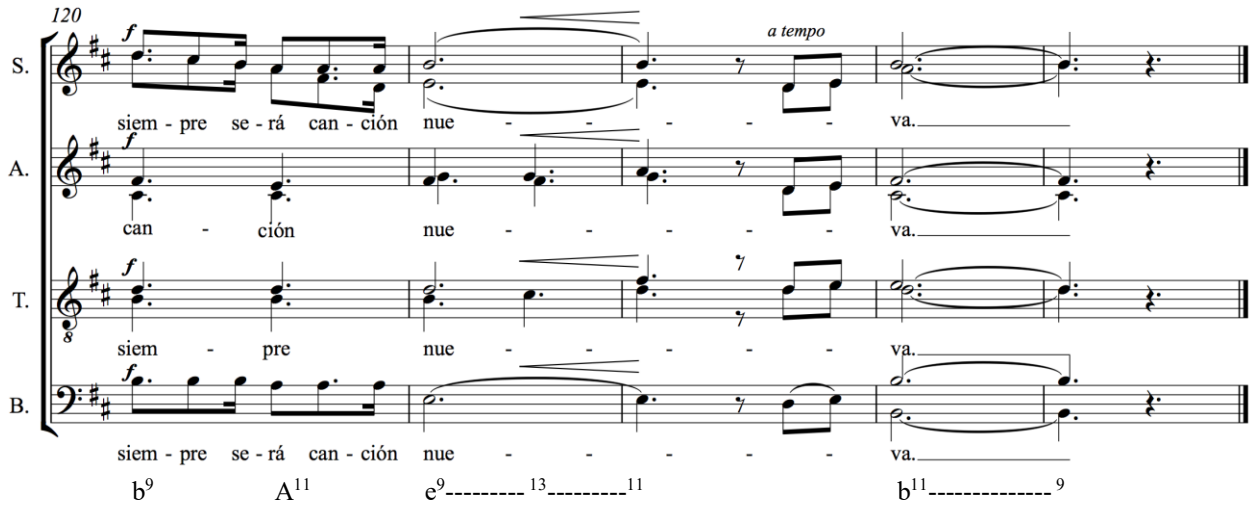


Child's choral realization of this guitar prelude illustrates the harmonic tendency of NCCh musicians to explore extended chordal structures. Juan Pablo González identifies Mapuche song as a potential source of inspiration for extended harmonies in Chilean popular song of the 1960s and 70s, highlighting this indigenous people's incorporation of cluster sonorities in the form of added 6ths, 7ths, and 9ths.[282] Luis Advis, a Chilean composer associated with the NCCh movement, also considers the late-19th and early-20th century expansion of Western tonality as highly influential in Chilean popular song's movement away from a purely

[282] González, "Estilo y función social de la música chilena de raíz mapuche," 89, 100, 110.

tonal language, especially among those artists with connections to university communities.[283] Perhaps some synthesis of traditions can be assumed here, taking into account NCCh's interest in exploring Chilean musical roots and, in particular, Jara's journeys throughout the country to connect more closely with the sounds of the land. Child's choral arrangement uses extended chords throughout; however, the intensity of non-chord tones increases especially in his final cadential gesture (see Example 11).

EXAMPLE 11 "Manifiesto" (arr. Child), Extended chords in Child's choral vocabulary, mm. 120–124



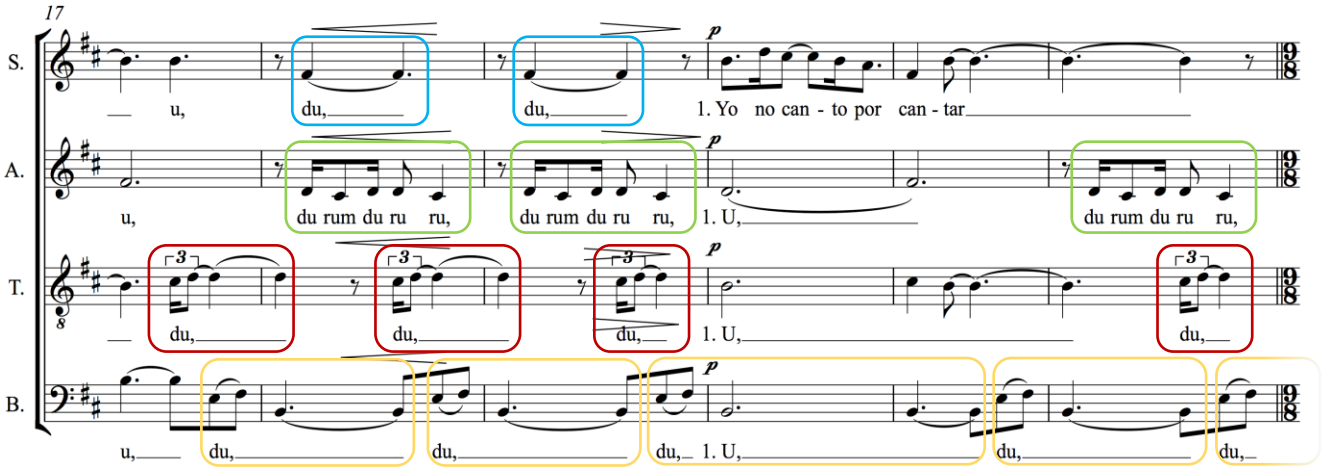
Apart from harmonic construction, the choral arrangement picks up elements of Chilean musical identity by bringing the instrumental texture of Jara's guitar accompaniment into the choral idiom. As stated previously, the arranger maintains much of Jara's musical content and formal structure, beginning with his choral realization of Jara's guitar prelude, presented in Example 10. This is again presented as an interlude from mm. 87–104. Child uses the choral instrument to create interest by passing melodic lines through different voices. For example, he

[283] Advis Vitaglich, "La Nueva Canción Chilena," 250.

sets the melodic line of the guitar prelude first in the soprano voice (mm. 1–4), passes it to the tenors (mm. 5–8), and then returns it to the sopranos to conclude the introduction (mm. 9–16).

Furthermore, the arranger uses choral texture to emulate rhythmic-melodic guitar figures. For the most part, the melodic voice in "Manifiesto" is carried by the soprano voice, with brief melodic appearances by Tenors in mm. 54–56 and 60–61, Basses in mm. 76–77, and Altos in mm. 78–80. Child frequently ends melodic phrases with a contrapuntal accompaniment of rhythmic figures unique to each voice part, the combination of which approximates Jara's guitar rhythm. To invigorate the rhythmic articulation of these figures, Child sets them to the syllables "du," "du-rum-du-ru-rum," or "da-ram-da-ram." The gentle percussiveness of the "d" and "r" consonants in Spanish aid in the simulation of the guitar's plucked articulation. These figures also occur between melodic phrases simulating the guitar interludes, in which case the soprano voice also sings a repeated gesture (see Example 12).

EXAMPLE 12 "Manifiesto" (arr. Child), Layered rhythmic-melodic figures alluding to guitar patterns, mm. 17–22



"Te recuerdo Amanda" by Víctor Jara, arrangements by William Child and Eduardo Gajardo

"Te recuerdo Amanda" is a song recorded by Víctor Jara in 1969. Released as part of the album *Pongo en tus manos abiertas* ("I place in your open hands") (Jota Jota 1969), the song is

significant as one of Jara's best known contributions to NCCh.[284] Its text is a narrative poem sung by the voice of an unidentified narrator who remembers a simple yet emotionally charged life-experience. Amanda and Manuel, the story's protagonists, are described in Jara's own words as two factory workers.[285] "This song is called 'I remember you Amanda,' and it is a song that speaks of the love of two labourers. Two labourers alive today, of those that you yourself see on the streets and sometimes do not realize what exists within their soul. Two labourers from any factory, in any city, in any place on our continent. 'I remember you Amanda.'"[286]

1. Te recuerdo Amanda
la calle mojada
corriendo a la fábrica
donde trabajaba Manuel.
La sonrisa ancha
la lluvia en el pelo,
no importaba nada
ibas a encontrarte con él,
con él, con él, con él, con él.

Son cinco minutos
la vida es eterna, en cinco minutos
suena la sirena, de vuelta al trabajo
y tú caminando lo iluminas todo
los cinco minutos te hacen florecer.

2. Te recuerdo Amanda
la calle mojada
corriendo a la fábrica
donde trabajaba Manuel.

1. I remember you, Amanda,
the wet street
running to the factory
where Manuel worked.
Your smile wide,
rain in your hair,
nothing else mattered
you were going to be with him,
with him, with him, with him, with him.

It is five minutes
life is eternal, in five minutes
the siren sounds, back to work
and you, walking, illuminate everything
the five minutes they make you blossom.

2. I remember you, Amanda
the wet street
running to the factory
where Manuel worked.

[284] Elliott, "Public Consciousness, Political Conscience, and Memory in Latin American *Nueva Canción*," 335–336; "Víctor Jara–Pongo en tus manos abiertas," *Discogs*, updated 2019, https://www.discogs.com/Victor-Jara-Pongo-En-Tus-Manos-Abiertas/release/3136465.
[285] Notably, Víctor's parents were named Manuel and Amanda [Valdebenito Cifuentes, "Tradición y renovación," 44–45.] However, the story is unlikely a reference to them as Víctor's mother left her abusive, alcoholic husband to move to Santiago so she would likely not have been visiting him.
[286] "Esta canción se llama 'Te recuerdo Amanda,' y es una canción que habla del amor de dos obreros. Dos obreros de ahora, de esos que usted mismo ve por las calles y a veces no se da cuenta de lo que existe dentro del alma. De dos obreros de cualquier fábrica, en cualquier ciudad, en cualquier lugar de nuestro continente. 'Te recuerdo Amanda.'" ["Te recuerdo Amanda," produced by Yecolennon, YouTube video, November 12, 2006, 3:29, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GRmre8ggkcY.]

La sonrisa ancha la lluvia en el pelo no importaba nada, ibas a encontrarte con él, con él, con él, con él, con él, con él.	Your smile wide rain in your hair nothing else mattered, you were going to be with him. with him, with him, with him, with him, with him.
Que partió a la sierra que nunca hizo daño, que partió a la sierra y en cinco minutos, quedó destrozado suena la sirena de vuelta al trabajo muchos no volvieron tampoco Manuel.	[Manuel,] who departed to the mountains who never did harm, who departed to the mountains and in five minutes, was destroyed the siren sounds, back to work. many did not return, neither did Manuel.
Te recuerdo Amanda la calle mojada corriendo a la fábrica donde trabajaba Manuel.	I remember you Amanda the wet street running to the factory where Manuel worked.

The story is simple: a factory worker's day affords her five minutes to see the man she loves. She runs through the rain without a care, anticipating the moment she will share with Manuel. These five minutes are precious, encapsulating an eternity of happiness, but they end at the sound of a siren and then it's back to work. The routine is repeated on another day, a day on which Manuel and unnamed others head off to the mountains. Jara's poem is unspecific as to their purpose and their fate, whether Manuel's departure was a routinely mandated work assignment within the mining industry (one of the most common employer of factory workers), or whether the labourer joined a revolutionary militia taking refuge in the mountains. Whatever the case, the journey brought ruin to Manuel and loneliness to Amanda. It is easily conceivable that Manuel died in some labour-related accident, especially the mining industry where daily accidents were common, but again, Jara does not dictate his exact fate.[287]

The song's narration is unembellished, yet it is an emotionally profound social critique of the conditions endured by many working-class Chileans.[288] The situational backdrop points to the

[287] Bahamondes, Follow-up Electronic Communication, June 5, 2019.
[288] Ibid.

harsh reality of the life of factory workers: a work environment known to be bleak, arduous, and often precarious with inequitable compensation. Five short minutes are the only reprieve from strenuous labour, cut short by the commanding blare of a siren recalling its labour force. Upon this ordinary, unrelenting, and unrewarding platform Jara chose to stage the most passionate of human emotions: love in its joyous anticipation and warming glow, and the ultimate loneliness of loss. He captures moments, suspending time: five minutes contain all of life's happiness; Amanda is set aglow. Blink to another five minutes and they contain love's deepest loss.

"Te recuerdo Amanda" was no great political rallying cry; it holds no explicit references to political activity. Jara's narrative may appear apolitical; nonetheless, the nature of its ordinary backdrop—a factory worker's life—encompasses the essence of Chilean socially committed song. The protagonists embody the identity of the Chilean proletariat; their story is the story of the *pueblo*. Jara's point of view is wholly informed by a political ideology, drawing attention to inequitable labour conditions in which five short minutes limit the experience of human relationship. There is no naïve, idyllic vision of love such as is found in *Música Típica*; there are no heroic characters. As one of the few NCCh songs to present a story of love, Jara distances it from a commercial love ballad, contextualizing it within the social narrative targeted by NCCh.

"Te recuerdo Amanda" is one of Jara's subtler ideological statements, a denunciation of labour conditions framed within the story of Amanda and Manuel. These characters, brought to life by Jara's imaginative poetry and expressive voice, became part of Chilean cultural identity. Nueva Canción scholar Richard Elliott describes the effect of Jara's song.

> […] something as seemingly slight as a song—a fragile lament such as "Te recuerdo Amanda"—can grow in stature, becoming a shorthand way to connect people in an act of public consciousness. […] "Te recuerdo Amanda" became a spectral accompaniment to the many performances of opposition to the Chilean dictatorship that took place during the 1970s and 1980s. As arguably Jara's best-known composition, it came to mark both the finality of the singer's death and the necessity for the struggle for democracy to continue.

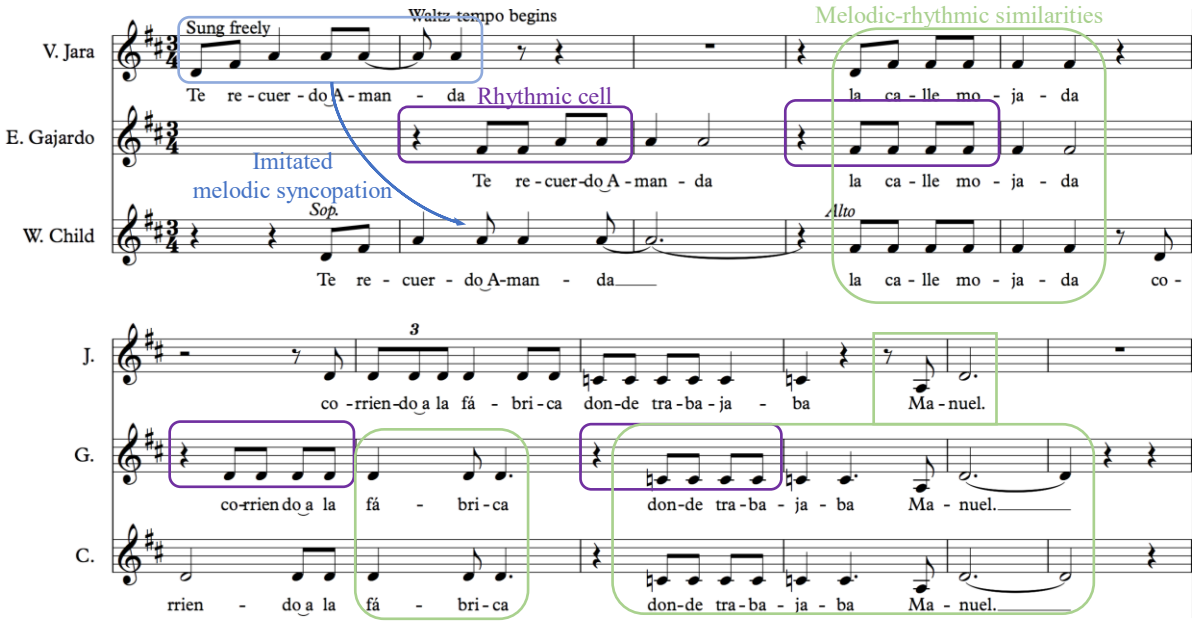
> To sing the song was to partake in a performative utterance that asserted fidelity both to a large event—the opposition to authoritarian terror; and to a smaller or more minor musical event—the creation of musical materials and performances associated with that opposition.[289]

The song has been covered by multiple artists including Silvio Rodríguez, Mercedes Sosa, and Joan Baez. There are arrangements for guitar and for piano, as well as several arrangements for choral ensemble, including settings for mixed chorus by William Child and Eduardo Gajardo. The following comparison of these two arrangements presents aspects of each choral setting in relation to Jara's original song, contrasting the choral language of the arrangements as distinct possibilities for expressing a popular musical style within a choral context.

In arrangements of popular solo-song, the melodic voice is a primary structural component. Both Gajardo and Child alter Jara's melody for their arrangement, transliterating the singer's melodic and rhythmic figures to fit the structured context of the choral idiom. At times, the arrangers agree in their choral adaptations, though Gajardo establishes formulaic patterns which allow for a strophic setting of Jara's song while Child's arrangement is one of strophic variation, changing rhythmic and melodic patterns to suit each stanza. Gajardo's melodic setting presents a relatively straight rhythmic interpretation, beginning each of Jara's brief melodic phrases with the same rhythm: 𝄽♩♫♩♫. These motivic rhythm-cells stand in contrast to Jara's original version and to Child's arrangement, which adopts some sense of Jara's melodic syncopation and rhythmic irregularity (see Example 13).

[289] Elliott, "Public Consciousness, Political Conscience, and Memory in Latin American *Nueva Canción*," 336.

EXAMPLE 13 "Te recuerdo Amanda," Comparison of three melodic arrangements across the three arrangements of this song by Jara, Gajardo, and Child[290]

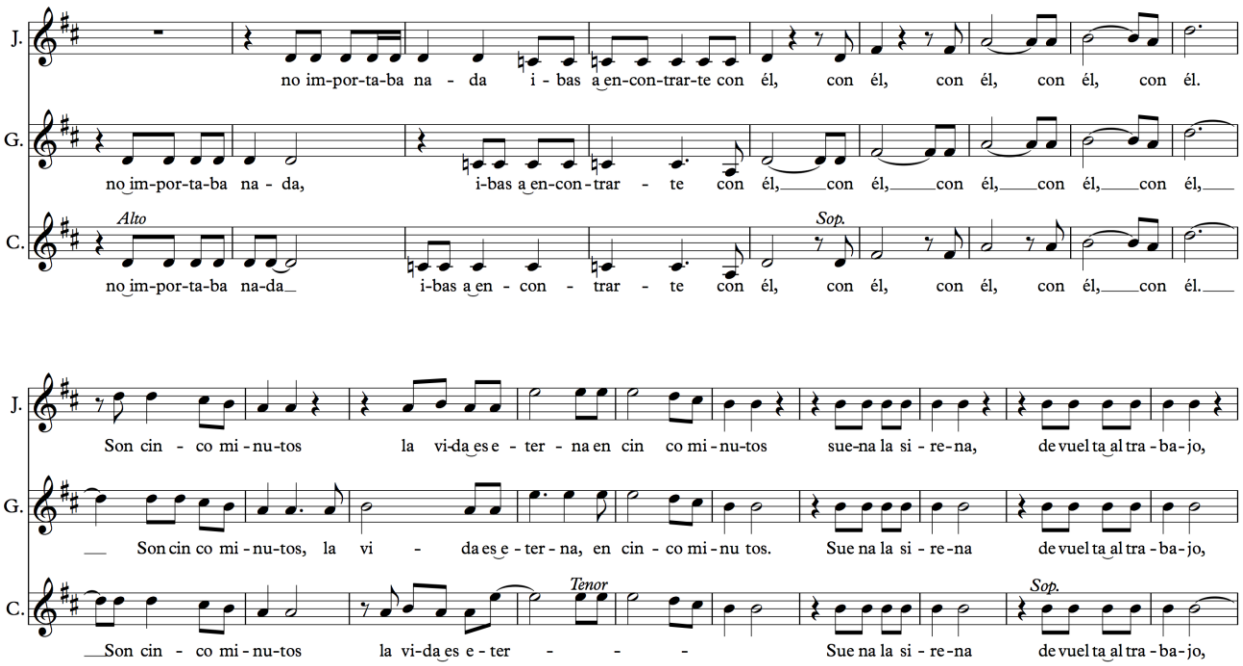


The melodic segments that remain truest to Jara's original song are found at the climactic point of each verse. Both verses begin with the narrator's recollection of Amanda hurrying through the rain in smiling anticipation of seeing Manuel. Amanda's building excitement is conveyed by the repeated text fragment "con él" (with him) (see Example 14), as the idea of Manuel becomes wholly pervasive in her thoughts. Each repetition rises melodically leading to the melodic high-point, which in verse one is the idea of an eternity within five minutes, and in verse two is Manuel's departure. Notably, Jara's rhythmic adherence to pulse is the strongest in this section, as if becoming regimented leading up to the siren's interruption of the five-minute break. As illustrated below, Gajardo and Child follow Jara's lead in building this melodic climax and denouement. Interestingly, Child approximates Jara's vocal performance as closely as

[290] Measure numbers are absent for this excerpt of melodic fragments as the measures do not coincide in the three versions of the song. The excerpt of Jara's original song comprises his first sung phrase; Gajardo's adaptation appears in mm. 1–10 of his arrangement; Child's adaptation appears in mm. 12–22.

possible, breaking, as does the singer, after each of the first three statements of "con él," then tying the next statements together as Amanda's anticipation reaches its peak (see Example 14).

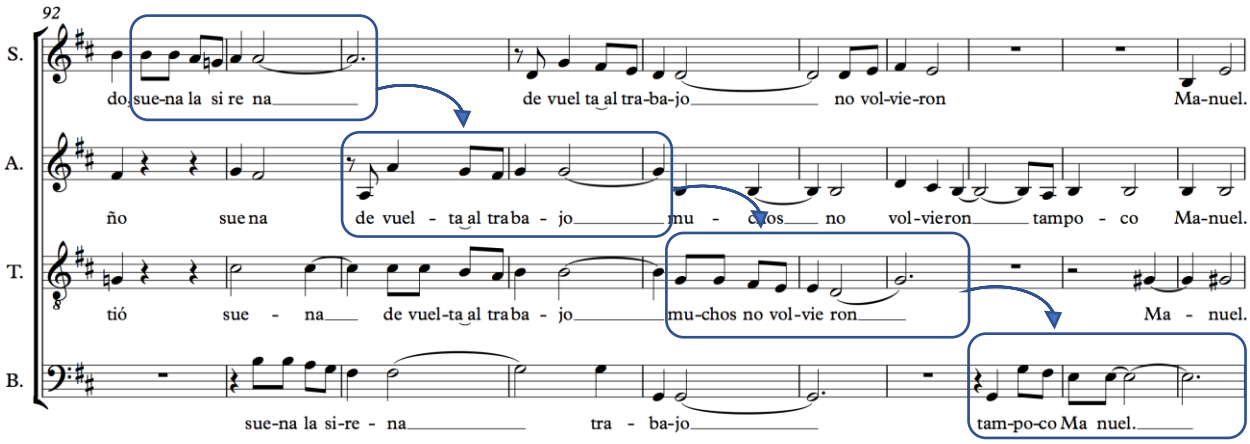
EXAMPLE 14 "Te recuerdo Amanda," Comparison of melodic climax and denouement across the three arrangements of this song by Jara, Gajardo, and Child[291]



Furthermore, the constitution of the "melodic voice" is realized distinctly by each arranger. Maintaining a clearer sense of accompanied solo song, Gajardo retains the melody in a single voice. Child's transliteration is an exploration of the dynamic possibilities of a multi-voice ensemble. He incorporates each voice part in a melodic role at some point during the song, even threading a single melodic phrase through various voices consecutively (see Example 15). Child also uses altered fragments of Jara's melody as motivic ideas that aid in the construction of his choral counterpoint.

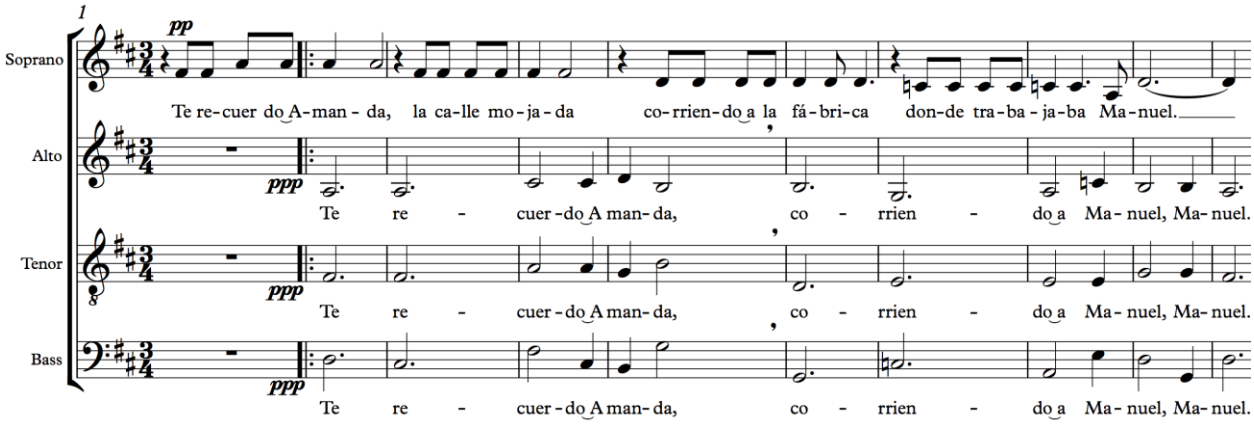
[291] This excerpt of Jara's original song begins in m. 17 after the guitar prelude (inferred from audio recording, see Footnote 279); Gajardo's adaptation appears in mm. 14–32 of his arrangement; Child's adaptation appears in mm 28–46.

EXAMPLE 15 "Te recuerdo Amanda" (arr. Child), Multiple voice-part melody, mm. 92–100



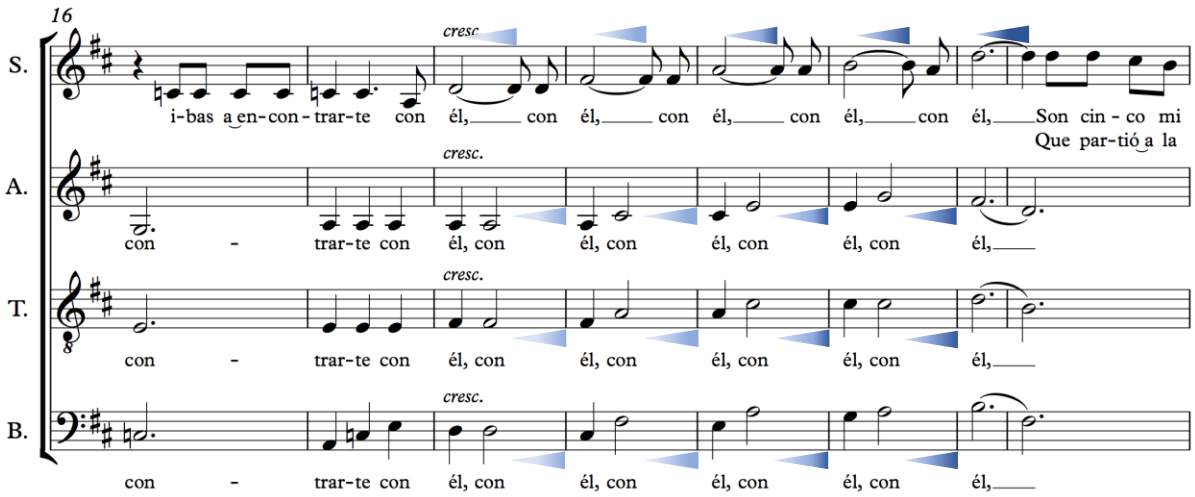
Gajardo presents "Te recuerdo Amanda" in straightforward choral language easily accessible to a youth chorus or less-experienced community singers. His textural treatment of the song easily identifies it as an arrangement of popular song, establishing and maintaining throughout a melodic voice (soprano) with harmonic accompaniment (alto, tenor, bass). The rhythmically active melody is somewhat more measured and less syncopated than what Jara sings (see Example 13); however, Gajardo sets the accompanying voices—treated as a homophonic unit—in counterpoint with the melody in a manner creating interesting textural interplay. The harmonic voices proceed with extended rhythmic values and establish a secure sense of pulse, off of which the melody then has the freedom to play. Though Gajardo avails himself to a lesser degree of the layering possibilities offered by a multi-voice ensemble, the transparency of texture—essentially a melody with block-chord accompaniment—allows the gentleness of Jara's melody to shine (see Example 16).

EXAMPLE 16, "Te recuerdo Amanda" (arr. Gajardo), Melody and block ATB-counterpoint



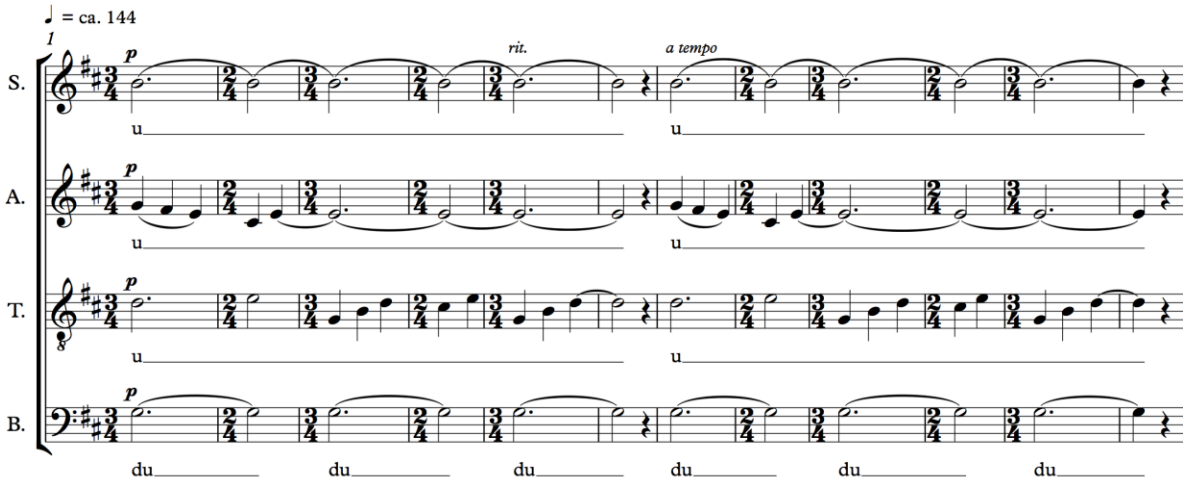
As seen in Example 16, the contrapuntal interplay of melody and block-accompaniment is such that the lower voices remain relatively still while the melody is active, usually articulating new chords when the melody is resting or sustaining a longer note. This rhythmic interplay becomes especially effective as a means of building the melodic crescendo throughout the passage reiterating Amanda's thoughts of being with Manuel, "con él." Where Child chooses to highlight this narrative moment by presenting the only section of complete homophony (see mm. 32–36 and mm. 78–81 in the Child arrangement), Gajardo builds energy using contrapuntal dialogue. His melodic line presents Jara's rising melodic contour, arpeggiating through the D-Major chord with an added sixth (D–F#–A–B–D). Marked with a *crescendo*, the soprano melody has the potential to grow as pitch rises, as well as growing through each of the sustained half notes tied to eighths. This *crescendo* becomes more dynamic when it interacts with the harmonic underpinning. While the sopranos *crescendo* in each measure on beats one and two, the lower voices grow on beats 2 and 3. This overlapping *crescendo*, paired with the contrapuntal interest of distinct rhythms presented between melody and accompaniment, bring out the exuberance of Amanda's anticipation (see Example 17).

EXAMPLE 17 "Te recuerdo Amanda" (arr. Gajardo), Contrapuntal interplay building the melodic crescendo with the text "con él," mm. 16–23



Child's choral texture is more complex in its contrapuntal intricacy, giving all choral voices melodic or supporting harmonic roles at different times. However, as is typical of the arranger's approach to song settings, he incorporates as many aspects of the original singer's performance in his choral vocabulary as possible. The guitar—important to Jara's performance and, indeed, to his conception of the mission of his craft—informs Child's approach to "Te recuerdo Amanda." The arranger includes a variety of musical gestures pointing back to Jara's instrumental accompaniment. As he does with "Manifesto," Child presents Jara's guitar pre- and postlude within the choral texture. While the choral arrangement does not include the intricacy of the *cantautor*'s fingerpicking, the guitar's distinctive musical gestures are recognizable within an alternating 3/4 and 2/4 metric context that recreates the momentum of Jara's unbalanced lilt (see Example 18).

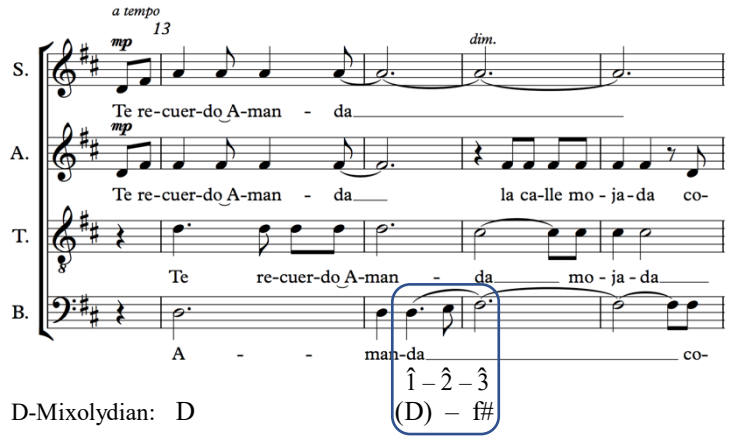
EXAMPLE 18 "Te recuerdo Amanda" (arr. Child), Choral adaptation of Guitar Prelude figure, mm. 1–12



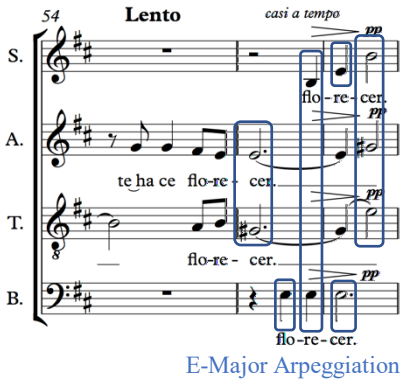
Child also brings the guitar into the choral texture by including recognizable rhythmic figures and harmonic motion. Following the prelude, one of the clearest figures adopted directly from Jara's guitar accompaniment is the rhythmic-harmonic gesture of the bass line that articulates the transition from D-Major to F#-Minor and connects the two opening melodic phrases (see Example 19, a). The figure is simple, a passing tone between tonic and mediant set as an eighth-note up-beat to the new harmonic chord but, as an identifiable musical event, it links choral arrangement to the popular song. Child uses this figure, as does Jara, a total of five times, twice at the outset of each new verse (mm. 14 and 25; 59 and 70), and for the return of the opening fragment at the end of the piece (m. 104). A further guitar-inspired musical gesture appears at the end of the first stanza in mm. 55–56. In his solo performance, Jara draws out the end of the first stanza's final line of verse, "te hacen florecer," and punctuates the stanza's closing with an arpeggiated E-Major chord. Child imitates this gesture chorally, layering distinct rhythmic configurations the final word "florecer." He articulates the various chord-tones of an E-Major chord in succession, creating a closing choral arpeggiation (see Example 19, b).

EXAMPLE 19 "Te recuerdo Amanda" (arr. Child), Choral articulation of guitar gestures

a) Bass figure, m. 14



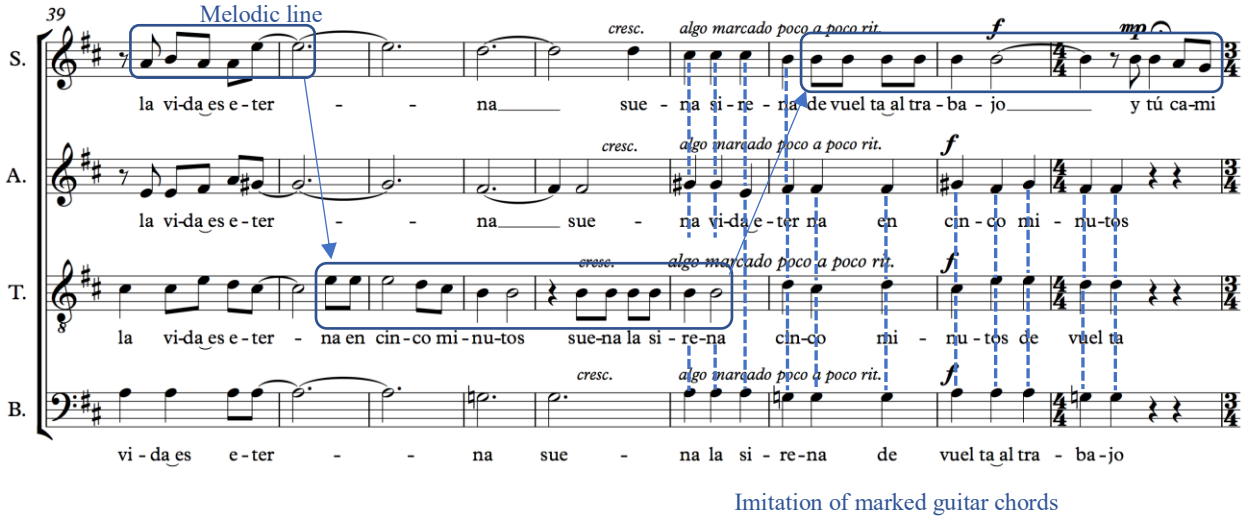
b) Choral arpeggiation, mm. 55–56



Jara's narrative intensification, which he articulates rhythmically with the guitar accompaniment, is also encompassed within Child's choral texture. Most of Jara's performance of "Te recuerdo Amanda" is accompanied by a carefree waltz rhythm that could be interpreted as illustrating at once Amanda's lighthearted anticipation of meeting Manuel as well as the freedom of their five-minute reprieve from work. Following Jara's almost delirious repetition of the thought of Manuel ("con él" or "with him") and the joyous eternity experienced in the span of five minutes, the siren sounds calling the labourers back to their tasks. At this point, Jara intensifies the accompaniment with a more rigid articulation of repeated solid chords, insistent in their quarter-note rhythm as the sound of the siren. Child omits the feeling of waltz in his choral setting, but he does pick up on Jara's insistent chords. The eternity of five minutes begins at m. 39 with the melody in the soprano voice that it promptly passes off to the tenors at the end of m. 40. The melodic line expressing the idea that "life is eternal within five minutes" is supported by extended rhythmic figures of dotted half-note ties that depict an expansiveness while softening the clear articulation of pulse somewhat. Then, when the tenor melody indicates that the siren has sounded (beginning in m. 43; passed to the sopranos in m. 45), the surrounding voices insist

with a homophonic quarter-note rhythm that drives forward for almost four measures, until the characters have returned to work (mm. 44–47). Child adds an indication of "somewhat marked" in the score, emphasizing the insistence of the siren (see Example 20).

EXAMPLE 20 "Te recuerdo Amanda" (arr. Child), Choral imitation of marked guitar chords, mm. 39–47



Future Considerations: Singing Choral Arrangements of NCCh Internationally

An examination of choral arrangements of NCCh highlights poetic and musical content that reference Chilean folk and popular styles and socio-political history, drawing markers of Chilean identity into the choral idiom. No single musical or poetic expression can claim to be wholly representative of Chilean cultural identity. However, NCCh has become prominent within Chilean collective memory as a musical movement that stepped beyond the boundaries of dominant colonial and imperialist traditions. Celebrations of the movement highlight its illumination of a local variety of narrative, poetic, harmonic, rhythmic, and melodic elements that make this song movement effective in establishing a voice that can be claimed as proper to the local context. As such, choral arrangements of NCCh stake a similar claim: by incorporating a musical movement that sought to express a unique popular voice, arrangements of NCCh introduce a relatable poetic narrative and popularly enjoyed melodies, rhythms and harmonies into the Chilean choral idiom.

NCCh's expansion of the Chilean choral repertory has made an important mark on concert programming within the country. Chile's choral audience is still relatively small, comprising mainly a formal concert-going public or those having immediate connections to choristers, i.e., family and friends.[292] However, the incorporation of popular song, and NCCh specifically, infuses programs with broader audience appeal and, as indicated by Bahamondes, is instrumental in increasing interest in chorister participation. In fact, arrangements of NCCh are a great addition to choral literature and programming globally. They create an interesting portal through which to engage not only the musical language and traditions of Chile, but also the story of a people who confronted socio-political turmoil through the vitality and beauty of song.

[292] Child, interview; Villarroel, interview; Mendoza, interview.

When asked about ensembles exploring and performing arrangements of NCCh outside of Chile, interviewees for this project responded unanimously with positive support. As suggested by Felipe Elgueta's response, there is value in sharing a musical voice connected to a sense of cultural heritage.

> Absolutely, it has to be shared, […] because it means if [others] are moved by these stories, they want justice, they want peace, so it's a joy. It's not that they are taking something from me or from our culture. No, it's beyond that. It's a gift for all cultures. […] it's something that has been so important for me that [if it is of] value for people from other cultures or languages, its great! It means that there's a connection with them. Somehow a little piece of my life is appearing there.[293]

From a choral conductor's perspective whose curiosity is sparked by new aspects of musical language, Andrés Bahamondes affirms the potential of arrangements of NCCh to act as vehicles for cultural interchange.

> I hope the quality of choral music generated in arrangements of NCCh is capable of inviting a director from another place to enter into its context, […] to truly take ownership of the context and of what is happening. However, for this to happen one must know the context, one must investigate. […] I believe that, in this sense, this music is a great ambassador because, one encounters beautiful music, beautiful text, one starts looking for the translation of the text, and from there one must go a little further: what happened with this composer? Who is [she]? What did [he] do? Why did [she] write what [she] wrote? What happened in this distant country, […] why was this music created and are there more pieces connected to this one? How many are there? These are questions that are hopefully generated by the beauty of the music. [….] I hope the music of NCCh continues to act as a musical ambassador at an international level: I think it does.[294]

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[293] Felipe Elgueta, interview.

[294] Note: gender pronouns in square brackets are added to facilitate English translation. The original Spanish text carries no reference to gender. "Ojalá la buena calidad de la música coral proveniente de los arreglos de la Nueva Canción Chilena sean capaces de invitar al director de otro lugar *a entrar en el contexto*, […] que se *apropien* realmente del contexto y de lo que sucede, pero para eso hay que conocer contexto, hay que investigar. […] Yo creo que, en ese sentido, esta música es gran *embajadora* porque uno se encuentra con una música linda, un texto bonito, uno empieza a buscar la traducción del texto, y ahí hay que ir un poco más allá: ¿qué paso con este compositor? ¿Quién es? ¿Qué hiso? ¿Por qué escribió lo que escribió? ¿Qué pasó en este país tan lejano […] por qué se creó esta música y hay otras músicas alrededor de esa también? ¿Cuántas hay? Son preguntas que ojalá sean generadas por lo bueno de la música. […] Espero que realmente que la música de la NCCh siga siendo embajadora de la música a nivel internacional: creo que lo *es*." [Bahamondes, interview.]

While they affirm the value of cultural learning afforded by the exploration of repertoire that carries with it a weighty legacy, Moisés Mendoza, William Child, Andrés Bahamondes, and Juan Pablo Villarroel emphasize that this music should ultimately be enjoyed for its musical and poetic richness.[295] Reflecting on the beauty he finds in NCCh, Villarroel says, "I see music as a vehicle leading towards sensitivity. If we were all more sensitive, there would be no hunger in the world. If we were empathetic one to the other, we would concern ourselves with making sure others had enough to eat. […] So, I see [music] as the path towards sensibility."[296] Mendoza's perspective is measured, weighing musical content and historical context.

> I believe the music comes first; one must process the music alone without adding more: just the sound, the text, the melody. […] I believe that the questions that arise should be addressed little by little. Do not overwhelm the listener, […] the narrative carries a lot of emotional content, so it should be measured, of course. But it should be shared because it conveys a moment in the story of Latin America.[297]

The underlying socio-political issues addressed by NCCh are not bound by historical time, nor are they fully unique to the Chilean context. Arrangements of NCCh carry great potential in diversifying choral programing globally. They engage choral ensembles and audiences through their dynamic musical language and impactful cultural narrative. As texts imparting elements of the Chilean musical voice to the choral idiom, they provide opportunities for musical, linguistic, and cultural learning. A well rounded choral program benefits from the incorporation of diversity. In educational settings, especially, the incorporation of repertoire from

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[295] Mendoza, Personal Interview; Child, Personal Interview; Bahamondes, Personal Interview; Villarroel, Personal Interview.

[296] "Yo veo la música como un vehículo hacia la sensibilidad. Si todos fuéramos más sensibles no habría hambre en el mundo. […] Si fuéramos empáticos con el otro, nos preocuparíamos de que el otro tuviese para comer, po. […] Entonces, yo la veo como un camino a la sensibilidad." [Villarroel, Personal Interview.]

[297] "Creo que primero la música; hay que procesar la música sola sin ponerle más: solo el sonido, el texto, la melodía. […] yo creo que las interrogantes que van saliendo se deben ir completando de a poco. No abrumar al auditor, […] es información que lleva mucho contenido emotivo, entonces, hay que dosificar eso, claro. Pero si hay que mostrarlo, porque a través de eso se puede mostrar un momento de la historia de Latinoamérica." [Mendoza, Personal Interview.]

different musical traditions expands learning through the introduction of new poetic and musical content, opportunities of language learning, and exploration of varied cultural contexts.

The challenges of performing this music outside of Chile are primarily those of accessibility and unfamiliarity with the repertoire itself, i.e. knowing what music exists. Issues of accessibility are ongoing and are complicated by matters of copyright and informal publication and distribution methods. As a starting point, however, familiarity with and interest in the repertoire may encourage constructive action in resolving matters of accessibility. Providing an idea of some of the existing arrangements of NCCh, the attached catalogue is intended as an initial point of reference for choral directors to facilitate further exploration into the programming of repertoire less commonly performed. The arrangements included for analysis in this paper present a musical vocabulary rich in rhythmic and harmonic intricacies that offer ensembles an interesting learning challenge. At the same time, connecting to the story of NCCh presents singers and audiences with the possibility of intercultural connection through the voice of a people striving to confront injustice and celebrate life through song.

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Appendix A: Personal Interview Questions

Interviews were conducted as a conversation guided by leading questions. The purpose of the interviews was to collect qualitative data based on personal experience in order to gain a better perception of the effects, impact, and importance of NCCh and its choral arrangements for those participating in the field.

How long have you been active in the field choral music, and in what roles (as a singer/conductor/instructor)?

Why do you participate in the field of choral music?

What role do you feel choral music plays in society? (Is it purely entertainment, important for community building, culturally significant, an educational tool?)

Different literature discusses various categories of NCCh (protest song, testimonial song, socially committed song, etc.). How would you describe NCCh?

What has been your experience with poetry and songs written and performed by artists such as Violeta Parra and Victor Jara, etc.? (Do you have first-hand memories of the impact of the original protest songs, or have you experienced them principally as a historical element of cultural heritage?)

From your point of view, what issues were being addressed by NCCh? Who were the protagonists and antagonists?

Have you experienced art of any kind (performance art or otherwise) to be significant to cultural change or challenging to socio-political institutions?

Why do you think songs from the NCCh, which are songs of a bygone era, have been/are being arranged for choral ensembles and continue to be performed today? / What do you feel would be the motivation for transcribing protest songs as choral arrangements?

How do you experience the impact of these texts/songs presently? What themes (if any) make the choral arrangements of protest songs relevant to present-day life?

Do the choral arrangements of protest songs play a role in the identity of the choral "voice" in Chile?

Is there a difference in impact with a different performance medium (i.e. solo performance vs. choral performance)? Does the function or classification of the song change with its transcription to choral form? (i.e. is the choral piece still active in its social commitment or is it more relevant as a carrier of tradition?)

Appendix B: Catalogue of Choral Arrangements of NCCh Gathered to Date

Song Title	*Cantautor*		Lyricist	
"Arranca, Arranca"	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. Alejandro Pino González		SATB	a cappella	
arr. Santiago Vera-Rivera		SATB	a cappella	
"Arriba en la cordillera"	Patricio Manns		Patricio Manns	
arr. William Child		SATB	a cappella	
arr. William Child		TTBB	a cappella	
"Arriba quemando el sol"	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. Winston Moya Cortés		SATB	a cappella	
"Canción de Lejos"	César Isella		Armando Tejada Gómez	
arr. Hugo C. de la Vega		SATB	a cappella	
"Casamiento de negros"	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. Alejandro Pino González		SATB	a cappella	
"Charagua"	Víctor Jara		Víctor Jara	
arr. Fernando Ortiz Zúñiga		SSATTB	a cappella	
"El Albertío"	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr.		SSA	a cappella	
"El Aparecido"	Víctor Jara		Víctor Jara	
arr. William Child		SATB	a cappella	Optional Guitar
arr. William Child		SSAA	a cappella	Optional Guitar
"El Cautivo del Til Til"	Patricio Manns		Patricio Manns	
arr. Alejandro Pino González		SATB	a cappella	
arr. Rodrigo Tapia		SATB	a cappella	
"El Derecho de Vivir en Paz"	Víctor Jara		Víctor Jara	
arr. Fernando Ortiz Zúñiga		SATB	a cappella	
arr.		SATB	a cappella	Piano
"El Desconfiado"	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. José Nova Z.		SATBB	a cappella	
"El Gavilán"	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. José Nova Z.		SATB	a cappella	
"El Pueblo Unido"	Sergio Ortega			
arr. Gene Glickman		SATB	a cappella	

“El Sacristán”	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr.		SAA	a cappella	
“Gracias a la Vida”	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. Newton W. Macedo		SATB	a cappella	
arr. Alejandro Pino González		SATB	a cappella	
arr. Santiago Vera-Rivera		SATB	a cappella	
“La Exiliada del Sur”	Patricio Manns		Violeta Parra	
arr. Fernando Ortiz Zúñiga		SATB	a cappella	
“La Jardinera”	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. William Child		SATB	a cappella	Optional Guitar
arr. William Child		SAA	a cappella	Optional Guitar
“La Lavandera”	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. Fernando Ortiz Zúñiga		SAA	a cappella	
“La Partida”	Víctor Jara		Víctor Jara	
arr. Fernando Ortiz Zúñiga		SSATTB	a cappella	
“La Rosa de los Vientos”	Horacio Salinas		Patricio Manns	
arr. José Miguel Tobar		SATB	a cappella	
“Lo que más quiero”	Isabel Parra/Luis Advis		Violeta Parra	
arr. Fernando Ortiz Zúñiga		SATB	a cappella	
“Lo único que tengo”	Víctor Jara		Víctor Jara	
arr. Fernando Ortiz Zúñiga		SATTBB	a cappella	
“Los Cachitos de la Luna”	Rolando Alarcón		Rolando Alarcón	
arr. Alejandro Pino González		2-Part Treble	a cappella	
“Luchín”	Víctor Jara		Víctor Jara	
arr. William Child		SATB	a cappella	Optional Guitar
arr. William Child		SSAA	a cappella	Optional Guitar
“Manifiesto”	Víctor Jara		Víctor Jara	
arr. William Child		SATB	a cappella	
arr. William Child		SSAA	a cappella	
“Parabienes al Revés”	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. Alejandro Pino González		SAB	a cappella	
“Plegaria a un Labrador”	Víctor Jara		Víctor Jara	
arr. Rodrigo Tapia		SATB		Chamber Orchestra

“Pupila del Águila”	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. William Child		SATB	a cappella	Optional Guitar
arr. William Child		SAA	a cappella	Optional Guitar
“Que He Sacado con Quererte”	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. Javier Zentner		SATBB	a cappella	Optional Guitar
“Rin del Angelito”	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. Alejandro Pino González		SATB, T solo	a cappella	
“Romance de los Carrera”	Vicente Bianchi		Pablo Neruda	
arr. Ernesto Guarda Carrasco		SATB	a cappella	
“Run, Run Se Fue P’al Norte	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. William Child		SATB	a cappella	
arr. William Child		TTBB	a cappella	
arr. Alejandro Pino González / William Child		SATB, S Solo, B Solo		Chamber Orchestra
arr. Javier Rojas / Nestor Zadoff		SAB	a cappella	
“Según el favor del viento”	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. Pablo Ulloa		SATB	a cappella	
arr. Pablo Ulloa		SSAA	a cappella	
“Si Somos Americanos”	Rolando Alarcón		Rolando Alarcón	
arr. Alejandro Pino González		SATB	a cappella	
“Te Recuerdo Amanda”	Víctor Jara		Víctor Jara	
arr. William Child		SATB	a cappella	
arr. William Child		SSAA	a cappella	
“Une Chilienne a Paris”	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. Fernando Ortiz Zúñiga		SATB	a cappella	
“Vientos del Pueblo”	Víctor Jara		Víctor Jara	
arr. Fernando Ortiz Zúñiga		SATTB	a cappella	
arr. Gabriela Zepeda / Nestor Zadoff		SATBar	a cappella	
“Volver a los 17”	Violeta Parra		Violeta Parra	
arr. Hugo Muñoz		SATB	a cappella	