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Andean music in Santiago, Chile: a niche of diversity for the aesthetic-musical and ideological convergence aimed to the creation of an indigenous identity.

This work is intended to characterize the Andean music in Santiago, Chile as a product of the diversity of musical and ideological aesthetic trends that contain it, and how such trends work towards the creation of an identity, which is a determining factor of its recognition as a part of the diversity of expressions that shape the Chilean musical heritage.

Historic background of Andean music in Santiago, Chile

What we presently understand as 'Andean music' in Santiago is part of a wide range of events that shaped such expression along an extended process of consolidation of both musical and extra-musical aspects. The development of broadcasting, the music industry, the migration and immigration of intellectuals from and to the Old World, the exile resulting from political processes (military dictatorships mainly), contributed to the dissemination and development of this expression throughout the world, as well as to the appearance of new forms, philosophical and aesthetic approaches of a varied nature that were introduced in Latin America and acquired features and characteristics of their own according to the socio-political and cultural context where such expressions took place. These new features, either exported from mother countries to the colonies or vice versa, materialized as 'innovating elements' that are assimilated and then disseminated again as new hybrid forms' (P.van der Lee: 1999). For example, in the intellectual-academic environment Cubism in particular (1907) 'awakened the interest for all non European art conceptions, especially black art' (J.Franco:1985). This was followed by a number of avant-garde 'isms' the common denominator of which was an anti-intellectual and anti-rational attitude. This also joined the cult of primitive expressions' (J.Franco:1985). Along the same line, Oswald Spengler's book 'The Western decadence' leads to look towards other worlds, beyond the Western one. In this connection, J. Franco sustains that this book 'had a strong impact on Latin American people, especially due to its suggestion that the agonizing Western civilization had only been one of many civilizations throughout the world, and perhaps not even the most important of them all. This theory suggested that indigenous cultures in the Americas could match and even surpass the European culture and that there was consequently no reason why they should not develop in the New World'. This vision from the European intellectual sphere contributes to a different and more tolerant approach to local expressions.

This new European vision, the modernist expectations of Latin American intellectuals who subscribe it, together with the rightful aspirations of ethnic development, shape the framework of legitimacy of local expressions, particularly of those from the indigenous world that coexist and overlap with creole expressions.

One of the first results of this relationship materialized in the development of Andean music and the earliest record of its presence and recognition in Santiago dates back to the

50s. At that time, both Margot Loyola and the pampas musician Calatambo Albarracín devoted themselves to disseminate this music in the central area through the university and show worlds. The first of them responded to academic research purposes, while the second had culture-oriented folklore objectives to be developed within the show business. Nevertheless, the Andean tones took some time in becoming a part of the musical creativeness of the Chilean groups. There was some distrust about this type of tones as the instruments that produced them were considered to be natural from Bolivia. In this connection, Carlos Necochea, founder of *Los Curacas*, a musical group created in 1968, in an interview with the *Paloma* magazine, answered the journalist: *that is your error, to think that our music is of Bolivian origin. There are also high plains in the North of Chile* (*Revista Paloma*: 1973 p.36).

The migration of generations of Latin American intellectuals to Europe, and particularly to France in the 50s, was in turn a determining event in the consolidation of what we currently know as Andean music. Among them, Violeta Parra, who met the Swiss musician and clarinetist Gilbert Favre in Paris; he had visited Latin America and had become acquainted with the quena flute, and had learned how to play it by introducing techniques and aesthetic features belonging to the Western music. Among them, *the use of vibrato, an ample sound with a wide range of dynamic changes, glissandos of third or more, a distinctive phrasing and a personal seal, such as the raising of subsequent notes in one phrase by a minimal tone, thus creating a sort of queue*. Whether deliberately or accidentally, this structure was imitated by other groups (G.Wara:).

For their part, the work accomplished by the Parra family, particularly Violeta, on behalf of the dissemination and recognition of the indigenous culture and above all of the Andean tones, was decisive for their introduction in the musical movement of the *New Chilean Song* and especially in the *Quilapayún* group.

...The Parra family was the only group that disclosed this type of music but there was not yet any other group devoted to disseminate these songs. We felt a strong urge to find our roots, to discover our origin, to know what we were and what we had been; we did not conceive this as an expression of romantic solidarity to our people's ruins discovered by the Spaniards upon their arrival to the Continent, but as a true response to our own cultural inconsistency (E.Carrasco;1988).

Quilapayún (*three beards* in the *mapudungun* language) was a representative and evocative group in the 70s that rejected the *Anglo Saxon penetration* by resorting to the indigenous cultural foundations as a form of responding to such cultural problems as identity.

...we turned back to what was strictly indigenous, which was then almost unknown in Chile (E.Carrasco; 1988). In spite of that, the name selected for the group was an invention that reflected a sort of counter-reaction to the model imposed by such *typical* music groups as *Los de Santiago*, *Los de las Condes*, *Los de Ramón* rather than a true indigenous interest.

The contribution of Angel Parra to this group, particularly in teaching and introducing indigenous Andean tones, is recognized as well:

Although our work with Angel was rather brief and inorganic, it taught us some lessons: Ö we finally learned where we should place our fingers to play the quena or the charangoÖ (E.Carrasco; 1988).

In this sense, both Isabel and Angel made significant contributions to this consolidation

process; when they visited France, particularly Paris, they became acquainted with other expressions from the Latin American continent. In this connection, Osvaldo Rodríguez argues that Isabel as well as Angel opened themselves to new influences, and it was Paris where they learned the rhythms of that widespread, painful and anonymous America of the singers from the Latin Quarter. There they became familiar with the Venezuelan cuatro, with the charango from Alto Peru, Bolivia and Argentina, with the Colombian tiple, the tumbadora, the various drums and especially the quena and the pincuyo. This was of paramount importance because a series of new rhythms from all over the continent became part of the birth of the New Song. (O. Rodríguez:) Víctor Jara's contribution is also highly significant: his influence on staging (performing) and musical aspects were decisive factors on the aesthetic nature of what is known as Latin American music, in which the basic source of consolidation was the Andean music, especially that one created in Paris and subsequently in Bolivia by such Latin American groups as Los Jairas (C. Acevedo: p.50).

The Transversal Nature of Andean Music: its relationship with other repertoires. As observed, the consolidation background of the Andean music in Santiago reflects the convergence of various musical and extra-musical trends that articulated over time on the basis of several ideological and aesthetic actions. From this perspective, the Andean music involves complex cultural processes of appropriation, semantic development, elaboration and re-elaboration resulting from its use and functions allocated and performed by the social community that performs, creates and consumes such music. In this respect, we may say that Andean music in the Santiago context was inserted in a vast and complex cultural process with a distinctive political definition, which in some cases even expressed clear partisan positions, either of right or left wing, as well as its impact on the religious music industry, both Protestant and Catholic, without leaving aside of course the capitalist music industry that developed a type of music production which did not contribute any further than including Andean tones (like the Zampoña) into the reproduction of well known melodies (examples include The Beatles in the Andes). Art music was also seduced by its tones and contents. One clear example is the composer Moisés Vivanco who had learnt Inca music since he was eight years old. In 1937 he met Yma Sumac (she was 14) and they formed a group that is considered by many to be unrepeatable; Yma's voice emulating the indigenous world and Vivanco's virtuosity established a major Andean music precedent within the context of Art music (Audience Guide, Latin American Music Collection). During the 60s, Luis Advis opened a new niche for the development of this expression with Canto para una semilla and Cantata Santa María de Iquique, through a new approach of the relationship between music (pop-classical) and musicians (conservatoire and pop), thus contributing to a new aesthetic form, the so called Latin American music where Andean tones act as the core sound theme for evocative connection. Víctor Jara's contribution has also been very significant; Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt considers him a key character in the development of Chilean music due to his capacity of relating and combining pop and classical music (C. Acevedo: p.53).

During the 70s, the upcoming political and economic crisis that gave rise to a series of coups d'état in the Southern Cone tabled once again the question on the true Latin American identity. As this situation aggravated during the celebration of the 500 years of

the arrival of Westerners to the Americas, the indigenous trend gained a new momentum but with a rather sociological than anthropological orientation (unlike in its early stage). This sociological approach is preferably inclined to the construction of those models that Larrain, following G. Sunkel, calls 'Dramatic Symbolic Models', which emphasize images, dramatic performances and rites, besides resorting to sensibility.

During this period new actors appear on the stage with a strong cultural impact: Latin American post-modernism and the environmental dimension. The first one rejects totalitarian trends and assumes the existence of 'the other' emphasizing the differences as to geographic location, gender, sexuality, ethnic group, etc. Among other things, this meant that such diverse groups as ethnic minorities or groups of all kinds are able to express by themselves, on their behalf and for their purposes, thus creating their own institutions and niches. The environmental dimension is a product of an indigenous-oriented approach (Indianism) which is present in ethnic groups of indigenous origin, in the creation of which the indivisible man-Nature unit plays a decisive role as a force opposing the illustrated and rational European world (a cultural model that is present in the creole world).

Nevertheless, the major absence throughout this process related to the indigenous Andean world of Aymara origin. Its musical language was always the inspiration source for creole composers or the object of study by researchers. Its presence only became evident through caricatures still performed by some folklore groups where the show notion, the staging 'postcard' provides the creole world with idealized landscape images that, together with fancy outfits, are the closest reference to which the Santiago community has access, loaded with implicit prejudices and distortions, and occasionally promoting a 'fossilized' concept of the indigenous culture. This situation started changing in the late 80s through the discourse of Indians (Indianism) as opposed to the discourse on behalf of the Indians (Indigenism). From the music viewpoint, this situation materialized in the presence of groups that convey such discourse, such as Ark Pasha, Granary, and Naira Hoary.

Three-fold framework of analysis for a musicological approach to Andean music. The practice of Andean music in Santiago is the result of the dynamic interaction of three dimensions: cultural niche, cultural grouping, and Music (role, use and meaning). These three aspects are the foundations of the urban indigenous music activity in Santiago. The three dimensions ensure permanence over time and allow for structuring an Indian discourse (Indianism) and its music in a transient juxtaposition. The past, by nurturing traditions that are assumed as such, and the present through an equally assumed modernity, with all the problems and contradictions that this implies for the indigenous community that is in permanent conflict with the creole world. The need to be evident, to be present in this identity-building process is expressed by means of both musical and extra-musical aspects, by the construction of aesthetic forms according to their needs and expectations as an indigenous and native community within such an urban space as Santiago.

Therefore, when we refer to the Andean Music in Santiago we address a series of variables that become evident in this three-fold approach (niche, grouping and music), the different levels of which are affected by and are the channel of feelings, ideological aspirations and expressive needs that symbolically reflect in music and its expressions.

This musical context is formed (in a first approach) by a combination of Andean-based music, understanding as such the identity-defining tones produced by traditional Andean instruments and their corresponding melodic relations that evoke the indigenous world. Thus, a repertoire with an emblematic evolution is established where the sound of traditional instruments becomes the identity link with the community that it represents. Therefore, music often serves as a major indicator of social identity and cultural forms acquire their relative status and the acceptance of social groups to which they are associated (Turino: 1988). So considered, music involves identity marks that would ensure the permanence of the social community with an assumed awareness of group identity. In this sense, identity marks are essential for the existence of social cohesion; they legitimate and locate the group members and gather them thus affecting the groups of power- and the unit becomes legitimate and distinguishes itself from other unions (Adams: 1975, quoted by Turino: 1988). So, the identity phenomenon acquires an ethnic meaning that is basically defined by the belonging to a given human group that is determined by a series of eminently socio-cultural attributes (J. Marti: 1996); it reflects in some cultural products, such as music, as a form of meeting the need for expressive contents that justify the reality of the social construction taken as reference (J. Marti, 1996). Within such context, the groups that participate in this approach gain a great importance as bearers of various poetic and musical symbolic forms, thus creating a sound-music indigenous nature that openly assumes the influence of cultural aspects pertaining to the Western modern world. In this case it may be said that, by means of art expressions, the process-identifying marks or traits act as special keys or codes within the ensemble of determining features of man's creative actions and spiritual forms of exchange, communication and development (D. Orozco 1992).

An Andean indigenous niche in downtown Santiago

The cultural centre is called CONACIN, National Indianist Coordinator. This cultural grouping is the juridical frame that provides the indigenous culture with a niche of musical art expression through Tambo. This niche also stamps in the Chilean society a mark of cultural distinction (through music and dance) providing for options to the non indigenous environmental-cultural decay, thus reasserting an identity by means of differentiation. This allows the indianist social community for developing a competitive and permanently conflicting relationship with the rest of the Chilean society that is more closely identified with creole Western values than with indigenous ones. To be an Indian is something else that bearing genetic traits or names of indigenous origin; from an ideological perspective, to be an Indian represents a strong burden of political, social and cultural aspects that reflect in a strongly competitive attitude vis-à-vis the other. Therefore, it is evident that the term Indian not only designates a specific cultural group but also a social and political stratum. It does not only refer to individuals belonging to an Indian community, who perceive themselves as Indians. It applies to something else, and not only to a symbolic content or to a special material, but to a type of relationship with national society. At present, the term Indian has been recovered by Indians themselves as a sign of identity and struggle (L. Arizpe, 1986).

In strictly musical terms, the above translates into three interpretation dimensions. One of them is related to traditions, another is linked to the show world, and the third is a combined one but with a strong Indian and environmental contents.

CONCLUSIONS

There is no doubt that this new age, that materializes in the so called globalization, imposes on us new and significant challenges that may be not too different from those that ñright or wrong (as per the results and interests involved)- we have already faced in other times when the world was subject to global impact situations. Music is not alien to this problem; similarly to other ambits of human activity it is also affected by discrimination which in its case is two-fold: on one hand, as a professional activity that is segmented by groups of power which rate repertoires according to consumers or creators, assigning priority to some parameters in order to determine an aesthetic form that responds to their values and economic interests.

In the economic and social areas, the intensification of cultural inflow keeps generating discrimination and inequality; in the cultural sector it gives rise to fragmentation and standardization as opposed to diversity, causing conflicts between local and ñuniversalî worlds. In spite of the apocalyptic diagnoses in this connection, globalization not only tends to universalize a cosmic vision (a unique truth) but also generates changes in the perception of the key categories of human life structures, such as the ñspace-timeî relationship. All this leads to the need of raising awareness on the difference, on individuality as a different space-time dimension, and ultimately awareness on an identity. It should be understood as a result, not simply as an origin, as this approach would unavoidably lead us to essentialism ñaccording to which there would be one single original identity while everything else would be a loss, thus leading to a conservative and ultimately discriminating policyî (J.Ortega: 1990).

As previously mentioned, this work is intended to characterize the Andean repertoire in Santiago, but also to show how this difference is expressed in music on the basis of the three interaction modes that were described, with the certainty that musical diversity will be maintained as long as a practical and proactive forum is created for the purpose of articulating the ñversusî situations (homogeneous-heterogeneous, universal-local, inclusion-exclusion) for the benefit of a true and democratically structured cultural integration. In the 18th century, JosÈ MartÌ (1853-1895) said: ñLet the world be grafted into our republics, but let us keep our republics being the main trunkî.

Translated by Francisco Susena

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