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Chapter Three

The Chilean New Song's *cueca larga*

Laura Jordán González

[3.0] The Chilean New Song—*Nueva Canción Chilena*—has been mainly understood as a cultural “movement” rather than as a musical genre in and of itself. Most academic research has addressed this movement’s political dimension regarding its social agency during the government led by Salvador Allende, or its involvement in the resistance struggles during the subsequent dictatorship, in Chile as well as in exile. In several instances, some works have explored the Chilean New Song’s sound dimension, taking the risk of defining it as a musical genre and not merely as a movement. Thus, as I will show in more detail throughout the following pages, certain musical traits have been considered to be characteristic of pieces composed or performed by CNS musicians, among which hybridization¹ (or the mixing of different styles, genres and instruments) is one of the most prominent. The coming together of musicians from both erudite and popular music traditions is one clear example. This hybridization also embraced the configuration of an eclectic instrumental ensemble and the construction of performance styles applicable to a wide variety of rhythms and forms.

[3.1] The main aim of this chapter is to examine the place² held by the complex musical-poetical-choreographic form known as the *cueca*, within the Chilean New Song foundational project of building a “soundtrack” for revolutionary Latin America during the sixties, seventies and eighties. As such, the examination I undertake seeks, first, to respond to a broader question regarding the sound qualities of the Chilean New Song, using the particular case of the *cueca* as a case study. Secondly, I intend to propose an understanding of the relation between the selection/exclusion/predilection of certain musical traditions within the Chilean New Song repertoire and the political discourse held by its musicians.

This chapter has three main sections. The first section is devoted to defining what I understand by Chilean New Song, discussing both its political and sound dimensions, and by defining the term *cueca*, underlining some formal characteristics that have a stake in this study. The second section approaches the *cueca* within the Chilean New Song in two parts: first, I give an overview of the *cueca*'s place in the general repertoire of this genre; second I analyze four specific pieces of *cueca*, two by Aparcoa and two by Quilapayún. The analyses emphasize various aspects of form and vocal performance, observing their relation to traditional³ and innovative practices. The third and final section ponders the results of my analyses and provides some meanings associated with the *cueca*, especially related to exile, to reveal the negotiations of *chileanidad* within the Latin-Americanist discourse.

[3.2]

PRIMERA PATITA—FIRST ROUND:
CHILEAN NEW SONG AND CUECA

[3.3]

The Sound Dimension of the Chilean New Song

[3.4]

Recently, Tamar Dubuc proposed that the Chilean New Song be considered a musical genre, taking into account its prevailing musical aspects, as observable in Victor Jara's work (2008). In reality, since the beginning of the movement, various authors have tried to identify typical sound features, such as the case of Rodrigo Torres' *Perfil de la creación musical en la Nueva Canción Chilena desde sus orígenes hasta 1973*, an essay (1980) that offers the first systematization of this genre.

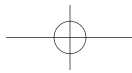
[3.5]

In a definition of "canto popular," including both the *Canto Nuevo* that emerged in Chile during the dictatorship and the *Nueva Canción* developed before and after the coup d'état, Torres identifies a variety of musical traditions nourishing it: art, popular and folk music. Stefano Gavagnin later expanded the same argument, suggesting that the CNS is characterized by the integration of materials, techniques and procedures from those three fields. For instance, the heritage of classical tradition would be manifested, following Gavagnin, through performance excellence, original formal schemes, use of erudite models such as cantata and *gebrauchsmusik*, and an instrumental style similar to chamber music. All these elements appear fragmentarily across the diverse musicians and bands, nevertheless a common awareness of the sound material seems evident to the author (Gavagnin 1986: 303–308).

[3.6]

Other than the convergence of these three traditions, the second main characteristic is the seeking of a Latin-American sound, widening the Chilean musical universe of reference. Both characteristics are expressed through creating a heterodox orchestra of vernacular instruments, diversifying forms and rhythms that serve as a basis for composition, developing heteroclite arrangements, creating large and complex pieces, and performing

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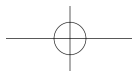
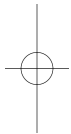
vocal polyphony and multi-instrumentalism. This musical portrayal was combined with a motivation to denounce social injustice and to promote social changes especially in Latin America.

[3.8] In this chapter, I will focus on discussing both arrangements as well as a diversification of forms and rhythms as expressions of an attempted Latin-Americanism, which is noticeable in the following quotes by Horacio Salinas and Gustavo Becerra, respectively:

[3.9] We [Chileans] have many lacks. If we put our musical heritage side by side with the heritage of Colombia, Brazil, Venezuela or Cuba we will see that our music is less attractive, a bit more hermetic and that it has been more difficult to develop. Therefore, since the sixties, we Chilean musicians have looked outside and based almost all our experience on the musical wealth of our continent. By contemplating other people's music with astonishment, we have finally felt Latin Americans. [. . .] We integrated, little by little, different instruments and built a kind of eclectic band, which speaks a lot about the Latin American being situated in the depths of the Chilean musical culture⁴ (Miranda and Salinas 2002: 103–104).

[3.10] Chile is culturally and economically indistinguishable from Argentina, Bolivia and Peru. This is something we need to start understanding so then we can understand why in our popular music we hear *quenás*, *pincullos*, light drums, and why in our folk music we need to talk about Bolivian, Argentine and Peruvian folk [music]⁵ (Orellana 1978).

[3.11] By the early seventies a well-established CNS orchestra including *charango* and *quena* would be recognizable, following Boyle and Canepa, a format that was later disseminated in exile (1987: 236). Regarding its configuration as a sort of “New Latin American orchestra” (Torres 2003: 294), Gavagnin emphasizes a “linguistic” purpose related to the ambition of building a new style recognizable as Chilean⁶ (1986: 309–310). Hence, as Torres implies, constructing these new ensembles entails a strategy of distinction from other bands interpreting folk music (1980: 39). In order to distinguish themselves from *conjuntos de huasos*⁷ such as Los Huasos Quincheros, the new ensembles resisted playing at the so-called commercial circuit,⁸ and to distinguish themselves from *conjuntos de proyección folclórica* (folk projection combos) such as Cuncumén and Millaray, they explored new repertoires. CNS bands, as a primary feature, perform repertoire and use traditional instruments from the Andes. Therefore, integrating Latin-American elements involved not only diversifying instruments, but also varying the repertoire considerably. Thus, Torres understands this process undertaken by musicians that consists of opening themselves in relation to a discourse about the natural evolution of popular traditions, suggesting that musicians conceived their innovations as a continuation of people's culture. In musical terms, the result was the creation of original timbre constellations.



Bearing in mind the words of Horacio Salinas, who articulated the purpose of recalling an imaginary village where all Latin Americans live (2002: 102), integrating musical genres and forms should be comprehended within the framework of political and cultural demands. From this perspective, it is worthwhile to interrogate the selection processes at work in order to see a potential canonization⁹ of certain genres and forms absorbed and rearticulated within the *genre* of Chilean New Song.

[3.12]

An overview of the repertoire reveals an effort to cover traditions from multiple Latin American countries: vals, landó, festejo, huayno, cueca, tango, zamba, chacarera, joropo, corrido, bolero, balada, tonada, sirilla, pericona, resbalosa, costillar, milonga, vidala, samba, bailecito, marinera, triste, malambo, galopa, décimas, son, guajira, mazurca, polka, trote nortino, etc. (Orellana 1978; Barraza 1972: 31; Rodríguez 1989: 69). Some genres such as pop (Rolle 2005), American protest song¹⁰ and rock (Richards 2005) were also incorporated from other geographies, although in a stylistic rather than on a formal level. Yet while Chilean New Song embraced diversity, despite the songwriters' best intentions, certain expressions found a privileged niche while others were marginalized. Although this study does not offer a systematic approach to the presence of diverse genres and forms in the repertoire, analysis of some examples will provide context for the place of *cueca* in Chilean New Song.

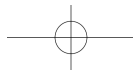
[3.13]

Some years ago, Agustín Ruiz examined the *cubanidad* in Quilapayún's work, underlining the integration of Cuban rhythms and sounds in order to provide a festive aura, while simultaneously indicating solidarity with the Cuban revolution (Ruiz 2006). Other case studies have exposed the revival of *sirilla* within CNS (González 1997) and the employment of pop and light music as a tool for irony in music (Rodríguez 2008). So-called Andean genres have been overlaid with a higher political value, either by virtue of their "marginal" origin in relation to a hegemonic¹¹ national culture (Bodiford 2007: 50–61), or for the sake of their predictable allusion to indigenous population as the quintessential subject representing relegated social classes (Fairley 1989); yet for being veritable transnational genres, which enables to obliterate the distinction between national and Latin American belonging. After the coup, the political meaning of Andean genres was also enhanced by the commitment of certain bands mainly associated with Andean sound, namely Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani (Van der Lee 1997: 28–33).

[3.14]

Having said all this, I now return to my original question: how does the *cueca* fit into this panorama? Does the *cueca* play any specific role in it? How present is it? How does it sound? Many more questions could be asked about the *cueca*'s place within the CNS, given the enormous value of the *cueca* in the context of Chilean popular music.¹² However, given that this is a thoroughly unexplored topic, I will limit my inquiry to addressing some

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considerations about the articulation of the *cueca*'s Chilean character within the frame of the Chilean New Song's Latin-Americanist stamp.

[3.16] The political dimension of the sound dimension

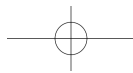
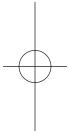
[3.17] With singer-songwriters such as Rolando Alarcón, Patricio Manns, Víctor Jara, Isabel Parra, Ángel Parra, Gonzalo "Payo" Grondona, Osvaldo Rodríguez, Kiko Álvarez, Richard Rojas, Julio Numhauser, among others,¹³ and bands like Inti-Illimani, Quilapayún, Tiempo Nuevo, Aparcoa, Aman-cay, Illapu, Huamari, Conjunto Lonquimay, the Chilean New Song is usually portrayed as a cultural cornerstone of Salvador Allende's coalition—*Unidad Popular* (UP). This portrayal has resulted not only because many of these musicians participated in various election campaigns (Rolle 2005), or simply because they were militant members of leftist political parties, or even because of their adherence to the protest song genre, but rather because their songs integrated the political experience of listeners, who participated in the "thousand days' government"¹⁴ led by Allende.

[3.18] As I previously stated, this has been the most discussed dimension of the Chilean New Song, particularly stressing the horrendous death of Víctor Jara and the exile of several musicians. Thus, many of the songs' "content" has been analyzed, various musicians' biographies have been told, and some songs' political uses examined in relation to clandestine practices (Bravo and González 2009, Jordán 2009) and to exile (Bessière 1980, Fairley 1989, Jordán 2010).

[3.19] Even though there appears to be a consensus that the CNS undertook a political project side by side with the left parties, promoting and accompanying social changes, I would like to stress the fact that the political dimension of the CNS exceeds the militant activity undertaken by some musicians inside political parties or government institutions as some of them officially became "cultural ambassadors." In reality, the very artistic project, in its material and sound qualities, was erected on the aspiration of *creating* an actual *Latin-American* sound, a genuine expression of the continent to which these musicians belonged.

[3.20] Here we see a different and less-explored facet of the political dimension of CNS coming to light: the construction of a cultural project whereby Latin-Americanist and pro-socialist musicians sought to implement the revolutionary principles of popular struggles through their music. The result was nothing less than a soundtrack for social changes carried out by Latin American peoples. This attempt was combined with a curiosity for learning and adopting music from neighboring countries.

[3.21] It is interesting to recall that many CNS's musicians had been trained in ensembles dedicated to studying and diffusing the national folk tradition. Víctor Jara, Rolando Alarcón and Patricio Manns are clear examples of this



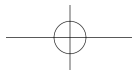
trend. From the *conjuntos de proyección folclórica*, the CNS conserved the objective of learning multiple traditions, but this time its scope was not limited to the national territory. It is worth remembering that various Latin American international genres were profusely dispersed in Chile. For instance the bolero had an exceptionally strong presence (Cf. González et al.: 509-563). It was this influx of traditions, which up until that time were considered foreign, that the CNS transformed into elements of a Chilean Latin-American music proposal: the Chilean New Song played Latin-American music. Gavagnin described this phenomenon in which a Latin-Americanism “of content” becomes one “of structure” (Gavagnin 1986: 305). Bolye and Canepa also observed the strong relationship between the idea and its sound result: “[I]t would seem that Chilean New Song in the 1960's was based in a search for 'Chileanness' and subsequently for 'Latin-Americaness' with the consequent processes of decantation, selection and integration of musical poetic styles and, above all, folklore instruments” (Boyle and Canepa 1987: 236).

So how does this Latin-Americanism sound in the context of the Chilean New Song? Or maybe a better question is: in recognizing the challenge of such a broad inquiry, what sound elements helped to configure Latin-Americaness in the CNS? More specifically, I wonder if the construction of Latin-Americaness operates, at some extent, by a process of differentiation from a configuration restricted to Chileanness,¹⁵ and how Chilean traditions were inserted in the melting pot. By examining the place held by the *cueca* in the CNS, largely considered the “Chilean national dance,” I will attempt to advance some understanding of this issue.

The *cueca*

The *cueca* is much more than just a kind of music. It is a type of choreography, a poetic form, and several styles of vocal and instrumental performance.¹⁶ When one takes into account the places where it is practiced, its values systems, its circuits of fans and its specialized musicians, the *cueca* can surely be considered to be a musical genre on its own according to Franco Fabbri's definition (2006). At the same time, the *cueca* can also be considered a musical form, a more limited category that includes specific compositional elements as well as some performative aspects, which directly affect the actual form.

In view of defining the *cueca* as a form, I make use of Serge Lacasse's conceptualization of musical parameters, which he divides between abstract, performative and technologic. Abstract parameters include rhythm, melody and form, all aspects related to composition; performative parameters refer to particularities of both vocal and instrumental performances; whereas technologic parameters are related to recording practices and effects, considered as



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creative elements that are constitutive of songs (Lacasse 2005: 27-33). Although in theory the three kinds of musical parameters can be clearly distinguished, when analyzing the *cueca* certain performance elements overlap with formal ones, in such a way that its form can only be extracted by considering some specific ways of singing it. Conversely, not all the vocal characteristics impact directly on the form, such as polyphony, timbre and vocal technique, which belong to the realm of *cueca* as genre and not merely as a musical form. In defining the form, two main performance elements participate: disposition and repetition of poetical lines throughout the musical performance. On its own, i.e. before it is performed, the *cueca*'s abstract poetical form contains a very rigid and invariable structure. However, when the *cueca* is sung, its abstract form is transformed through the introduction of vocal interjections, lines disposition and repetitions. The results are varied based on traditional norms of the genre.

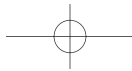
[3.26] Regarding *cueca*'s most consistent musical traits,¹⁷ there is a consensus about the poetical form, which consists of three sections: *cuarteta*, *seguirilla* and *remate*.¹⁸ In their abstract form, so before being materialized in sound, a *cueca* appears as follows:

[T03_001. [T03_001.t1] Table 3.1. Poetical form of "Cueca de Balmaceda"

Cuarteta	(1)	Ganó el bando liberal
	(2)	Y el conservador ganó
	(3)	Viva viva Balmaceda
	(4)	Cuyo partido triunfó.
Seguirilla	(5)	Triunfó como se sabe
	(6)	Es evidente
	(7)	Castigar al pechoño
	(8)	Por insolente.
	(9)	Por insolente sí,
	(10)	Y a los banqueros
	(11)	Y a los explotadores
	(12)	Por usureros.
Remate	(13)	Seré mientras yo exista
	(14)	Balmacedista.

Largo Fariás, 1976: 11

[3.27] When compared with the study of its history, origins and cultural meanings, the *cueca*'s musical form is not an issue that has been extensively addressed by researchers. A considerable exception is Carlos Vega's study *Forma de la cueca chilena* (1947), which minutely shows the conversion of poetic lines into musical phrases. Other authors have also described the way in which the



[T03_002.t1] Table 3.2. Repetition of lines in the cuarteta of “Cueca de Balmaceda” [T03_002.t1]

A) 1 1 2 2 3 4 1	B) 1 1 2 3 4 1	C) 1 2 2 3 4 1
Ganó el bando liberal	Ganó el bando liberal	Ganó el bando liberal
Ganó el bando liberal	Ganó el bando liberal	Y el conservador cayó
Y el conservador cayó	Y el conservador cayó	Y el conservador cayó
Y el conservador cayó	Viva viva Balmaceda	Viva viva Balmaceda
Viva viva Balmaceda	Cuyo partido triunfó	Cuyo partido triunfó
Cuyo partido triunfó	Ganó el bando liberal	Ganó el bando liberal
Ganó el bando liberal		
D) 1 2 2 3 4 1 1	E) 1 1 2 2 3 4	F) 1 2 2 3 4 4
Ganó el bando liberal	Ganó el bando liberal	Ganó el bando liberal
Y el conservador cayó	Ganó el bando liberal	Y el conservador cayó
Y el conservador cayó	Y el conservador cayó	Y el conservador cayó
Viva viva Balmaceda	Y el conservador cayó	Viva viva Balmaceda
Cuyo partido triunfó	Viva viva Balmaceda	Cuyo partido triunfó
Ganó el bando liberal	Cuyo partido triunfó	Cuyo partido triunfó
Ganó el bando liberal		

Santander, 1983: 145–146

poetic text is transformed when sung to the detriment of metrics, rhythm, harmony, and form.

Vega recognizes eight different forms of the *cueca*, created by means of diverse developments of the *cuarteta* and the *seguirilla* sections. These developments implicate subdividing the original phrases. The main result is the transformation of the *cuarteta* in *octava*,¹⁹ meaning that four lines give way to eight lines per stanza. At the same time, the transformed lines are repeated, according to different patterns of repetition that determine the *cueca*'s extension. In this way, following Pablo Garrido (1976) and Margot Loyola and Osvaldo Cadiz (2010), different patterns of repetition produce three standard durations, containing 48, 56 and 58 measures respectively. Examples of repetitions are shown in table 3.2.

[3.28]

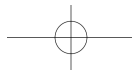
Gano el ba
 Gano el bando liberal
 Y el conser
 Y el conservador cayó

[3.29]

[3.30]

[3.31]

[3.32]



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- [3.33] Viva vi
- [3.34] Viva viva Balmaceda
- [3.35] Cuyo par
- [3.36] Cuyo partido triunfó
- [3.37] Octava in “Cueca de Balmaceda”

[3.38] The *seguirilla*, which splits in two parts, also suffers transformations when it is sung. In the first part, from line (5) to line (8), a pair of lines is usually repeated, whether (5) and (6) or (7) and (8), although sometimes none of them are. In the second part, from line (9) to line (12), the repetition of (11) and (12) is optional. Lines in the *remate* are not repeated. Additionally, besides the lyrics corresponding to the poetic form, both the *cuarteta* and the *seguirilla* sections may include some interjections (*ripios* or *muletillas*) that not only alter the poetic form but also add new words or utterances.

- [3.39] *Mi vida* Gano el ba
- [3.40] Gano el bando liberal
- [3.41] *Mi vida* Y el conser
- [3.42] Y el conservador cayó
- [3.43] *Mi vida* Viva vi
- [3.44] Viva viva Balmaceda
- [3.45] *Mi vida* Cuyo par
- [3.46] Cuyo partido triunfó
- [3.47] *Cuarteta* transformed into *octava* plus the interjection “*Mi vida.*”

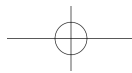
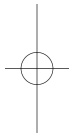
[3.48] Other musical elements, such as melodic profile, harmony and arrangement will not be examined in this chapter.²⁰

[3.49] **SEGUNDA PATITA—SECOND ROUND: THE CHILEAN
NEW SONG'S CUECAS**

[3.50] **Violeta Parra and Hector Pavez: The most recalled and other cuecas**

[3.51] As I already indicated, the *proyección folclórica* groups had a strong impact on some of the Chilean New Song musicians, particularly on their training. Two figures implicated in the research on folk traditions, whose influence on the CNS was critical, produced probably the two most important *cuecas* within the CNS's repertoire, namely Violeta Parra and Héctor Pavez.

[3.52] Violeta Parra's role as an indispensable precursor for the development of the Chilean New Song has gained a consensus among scholars and musicians. This is evident through the spread of her songs that had become a central part of the genre's repertoire, as well as her political ideas about the relationship between Latin-American musics and peoples. Daniel Party summarizes the expression of her influence through the construction of a Pan-



American sound (Party 2010: 673). According to Rodrigo Torres, her heritage manifests by means as diverse as broadening popular song topics, creating awareness about the need of voicing social consciousness with veracity, musicalizing national poetry, expanding musical forms, instruments and arrangements, etc. (1980:18–20). Moreover, her son Angel and her daughter Isabel, whose first musical experiences involved Violeta, had an outstanding participation in building the Chilean New Song movement and sound. Regarding the *cueca*, Violeta’s brother Roberto Parra contributed numerous original pieces, the so-called ‘*cuecas choras*,’²¹ many of which were recorded by Angel Parra, as I will examine later.

[T03_003.t1] Table 3.3. Lyrics of “*Los pueblos americanos*”

[T03_003]

Los pueblos americanos	The American People
Se sienten acongojados	They feel distressed
Porque los gobernadores	Because the rulers
Los tienen tan separados	Have them so separated
Cuándo será ese cuando,	When will the time come
Señor fiscal	[Mister prosecutor]
Que la América sea	That America will stand
Sólo un pilar	As one pillar
Sólo un pilar, ay sí	One pillar, ay yes
Y una bandera:	With one flag
Que terminen los ruidos	That ends the commotion
En las fronteras	At the borders
Por un puñado ‘e tierra	Because I do not want a war
No quiero guerra.	For a handful of earth.

Translated by James Ryan Bodiford, 2007: 80

Thus, it is not by chance that the most emblematic Chilean New Song’s *cueca* is one composed by Violeta Parra under the title “*Los pueblos americanos*” (“The American Peoples). Between 1968 and 1974, Isabel Parra and Patricio Castillo, Ángel Parra, Víctor Jara and Quilapayún made different recordings of it.²² It seems remarkable that, being one of the few “famous” CNS’s *cuecas*, it addresses *latinoamericanism* rather than national or local topics. Yet, acknowledging the *cueca*’s ancient function of accounting for historical facts, people’s realities and social demands,²³ Violeta’s lyrics

[3.53]

in this song clearly express the understanding of a common historical situation shared by people throughout the continent.

[T03_004. [T03_004.t1] Table 3.4. Repetitions of lines in the cuarteta of “Los pueblos americanos”

Mi vida	(1)	Los pueblos americanos
Mi vida	(1)	Los pueblos americanos
Mi vida	(2)	Se sienten acongojados
Mi vida	(2)	Se sienten acongojados
Mi vida	(3)	Porque los gobernadores
Mi vida	(4)	Los tienen tan separados
Mi vida	(1)	Los pueblos americanos

[3.54] In its description of the May 1 demonstration held in Chile in 1972, René Largo Farías accounts for the symbolic meaning of “*Los pueblos Americanos*” when he states that “after a heart-rending ovation, this *cueca* emerged as a flame among flags”²⁴ (1977: 26). In turn, Osvaldo Rodríguez Musso explains that both this *cueca* and Rolando Alarcon’s song “*Si somos Americanos*” (“If we are Americans”) unveil the fact that “what was at stake during that period in Chile was not a problem about the Chilean music but one about the Latin-American music as a common expression”²⁵ (1984).

[3.55] Recalling the former description of the *cueca*’s form and its various ways of being developed through singing, a quick observation of “*Los pueblos Americanos*”’s form as it appears in Isabel Parra’s performance reveals a form of 56 measures, sometimes called *cueca campesina*,²⁶ as both the first and the second lines are repeated by the singer (see table 3.4), although this is not necessarily true, for every *cueca* of the CNS, as I will show later.

[3.56] *Mi vida*, Los pueblos

[3.57] Americanos

[3.58] *Mi vida*, Los pueblos

[3.59] Americanos

[3.60] *Mi vida*, Se sienten

[3.61] Acongojados

[3.62] *Mi vida*, Se sienten

[3.63] Acongojados

[3.64] *Mi vida*, Porque los

[3.65] Gobernadores

[3.66] *Mi vida*, Los tienen

[3.67] Tan separados

[3.68] *Mi vida*, Los pueblos

[3.69] Americanos

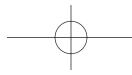
[3.70] *Octava* created through repetitions and interjections

Two other prominent *cuecas* were present in the early stages of the CNS. The first one, “*Cueca de la CUT*,” composed by Hector Pavez and recorded by Inti-Illimani in their album “*Viva Chile*” (1973), illustrated social struggles that were taking place in Chile. It is worth noting that this is the only *cueca* included by Torres in his list of the most important songs of struggle, along with “*Venceremos*” (“We will win”), “*Las ollitas*” (“The small Pots”), “*Ni chicha ni limoná*” (“Neither one thing nor the other”), etc. (1980: 39). The second one is “*Cueca de Joaquín Murieta*,” composed by Sergio Ortega using a poem by Pablo Neruda and performed by Quilapayún in “*X Vietnam*” (1968).²⁷ It exemplifies the fruitful collaboration between classical and popular musicians. Víctor Jara recorded another renowned version of “*Cueca de Joaquín Murieta*” in his album “*Pongo en tus manos abiertas*” (“I Put that in Your Open Hands”) (1969).

[3.71]

Without trying to exhaust all possibilities, an overview of the CNS’s discography from mid-sixties to the end of the eighties, reveals an incipient number of traditional *cuecas*, such as “*Ojitos verdes*” (“Little Green Eyes”) (Víctor Jara, “*Víctor Jara*” 1966), “*Cueca a Balmaceda*” (Quilapayún, “*Basta*” [“Stop—but also Enough is Enough”] 1969), “*Lárgueme la manga*” and “*El músico errante*” (“The Wanderer Musician”) (Inti-Illimani, “*Inti-Illimani*” 1969). Furthermore, an increasing number of original *cuecas* were recorded, such as “*Ta llegando gente al baile*” (“People Are Arriving to the Dance”) (Patricio Manns, “*El sueño americano*” [“The American Dream”] 1965), “*Un cuarto de Tocopilla*” and “*Mataron a mi morena*,” (Patricio Manns, “*Entre mar y cordillera*” [“Between the Sea and the Mountains”] 1966), “*Frente popular (cueca 1)*” (“Popular Front Cueca 1), “*Frente popular (cueca 2)*” and “*Última canción (sajuriana y cueca)*” (“Last Song”) (Humari, “*Oratorio de los trabajadores*” 1972), Julio Rojas and Sergio Ortega’s “*Cueca de los carabineros y las FFAA*” (“Cueca of the Police and the Military”) (Inti-Illimani, “*Canto al programa*” [“Song for the Program”] 1970), Víctor Jara’s “*Cuequita boliviana*” (“Bolivian Little Cueca”) (Quilapayún, “*Quilapayún*” 1966), Cirilo Vila’s “*Cueca de la libertad*” (“Liberty’s Cueca”) (Quilapayún, “*Quilapayún 5*” 1972), “*Cueca de la solidaridad*” (“Solidarity’s Cueca”) (Quilapayún, “*Adelante*” [“Go Ahead”] 1975), “*Recitativo y cueca autobiográfica*” (Quilapayún, “*Patria*” [“Homeland”] 1976), “*Cuecas del pañuelo*” (“Handkerchief Cueca”) (Isabel Parra, “*Isabel Parra de Chile*” 1976), “*Sanjuanito y cueca de Murieta*” and dawn “*Madrugada y cueca*” (“Dawn and Cueca”) (Patricio Castillo, “*La primavera muerta*” [“The Dead Spring”] 1977), “*Cueca sin fronteras*” (“Cueca Without Borders”) (Trabunche, “*Terre chilienne*” [“Chilean Land”] 1976) and “*Aler-ta pueblos del mundo*” (“People of the World Be Alert”) (Hector Pavez in “*Chansons de la résistance chilienne*” [“Songs of the Chilean Resistance”] 1975).²⁸

[3.72]



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[3.73] More extended incursions into the cueca genre were carried out by Ángel Parra, who in addition to the inclusion of some *cuecas* in his first LPs, recorded two whole albums of cuecas: “*Las cuecas de Ángel Parra y Fernando Alegría*” (1967), containing his setting to music of Alegrías’s lyrics, and “*Las cuecas del tío Roberto*” (1972), singing a series of *cuecas choras* with his uncle. Moreover, the band Aparcoa articulated the closest connection between the Chilean New Song and the realm of urban *cueca*. This band dedicated half of their album “*Aparcoa*” (1972) to singing *cuecas*. The same year, they also performed Hernán Nano Nuñez’s *cueca* “*Dicen que Viña del Mar*” (“They Say that Viña del Mar”) at the Festival de la Canción de Viña del Mar, obtaining second place in that folk competition (González *et al.* 2009: 432).

[3.74] In this section I have examined some of the most well-known *cuecas* within the repertoire of the Chilean New Song, such as “*Los pueblos americanos*,” “*Cueca de la CUT*” and “*Cueca de Joaquín Murieta*.” In addition, I have mentioned a number of *cuecas* that occupy a place far from negligible. Even though the *cueca* played an important role for the CNS musicians, it is important to note that the *cueca* was not a form consistently promoted by these artists, which refutes the idea that every CNS album contained at least one or two *cuecas* (González *et al.* 2009: 425).

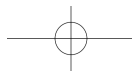
[3.75] **Two peculiar cases: Aparcoa and Quilapayún**

[3.76] Considering the vast history of this musical genre and the variety of its musicians, I will focus this section on two bands that used different performance styles to record several *cuecas*: Aparcoa and Quilapayún. I will examine two main aspects of their *cuecas*: the development of the poetic lines through singing, and the vocal performance; the first relates directly to the definition of form, and the second is links musical style to musical genre.

[3.77] *Lines and forms*

[3.78] Aparcoa’s album “*Chile*” was released in 1975, including two *cuecas* from Valparaíso: “*Me gusta Valparaíso*” and “*Juanito Orrego*.” In both *cuecas* the immediate repetition of the second line as well of the reiteration of the first line at the end of the *cuarteta* stands out. Table 3.5 exemplifies the repetitions in “*Me gusta Valparaíso*,” while the lyrics following that shows the transformation of the *cuarteta* into *octava*, following Carlos Vegas’ terminology.

- [3.79] Me gusta
- [3.80] Valparaíso
- [3.81] Y la flor
- [3.82] De la verbena *ay, morena*



Y la flor	[3.83]
De la verbena <i>ay, morena</i>	[3.84]
Me gustan	[3.85]
Más tus ojitos	[3.86]
Que mi ban	[3.87]
dera chilena <i>ay, morena</i>	[3.88]
Me gusta	[3.89]
Valparaíso <i>ay, morena</i>	[3.90]
<i>Octavas, repetitions and interjections in “Me gusta Valparaíso”</i>	[3.91]

After examining the forms of “*Me gusta Valparaíso*” and “*Juanito Orrego*,” it is not difficult to see their bond with a traditional way of singing the *cueca*, which is understandable in light of Aparcoa’s connection to figures related to the urban *cueca*, such as Hernán Nano Núñez and Fernando González Marabolí. [3.92]

In turn, from a variety of *cuecas* sung by Quilapayún, I would like to analyze two original pieces recorded during the seventies: “*Cueca de la libertad*” and “*Cueca de la solidaridad*.” Neither of them corresponds, strictly speaking, to a traditional *cueca* form, considering the characteristics discussed above. The earliest one, “*Cueca de la libertad*,” which was composed by Cirilo Vila and appeared in 1972 in “*Quilapayún 5*,” possesses an unusual form. First, while no interjection is added in the *cuarteta*, the words “La vida,” which are usually introduced as an interjection, are here included as part of the actual poetic line. By doing so, the piece is “characterized” as *cueca*, relying on the listeners’ prior knowledge. This characterization would manage to hide the actual absence of a conventional *cueca* form. Yet, there is a second element that aids in the process of veneering the piece with the appearance of the *cueca*, consisting in the inclusion of typical traits of the *remate* in the last two lines. Moreover, the disposition of three consecutive verses before the *remate* seems to emulate the traditional sections: *cuarteta* / first part of the *seguirilla* / second part of the *seguirilla* (table 3.6). The end of the second verse repeats the first line of the *cueca*, similarly emulating the manner in which the traditional *cuarteta* is developed (see lines in italics in table 3.6). Another way to analyze them also leads to the traditional sung form. In fact, the two first verses could be read as a *cuarteta* transformed into *octava*, including also the repetition of some lines (table 3.7). The main difference, in such a reading of it, would be the length of lines. The whole singing performance expands over 40 measures, due to structural deviations of sections. ‘*Cueca de la libertad*’ contains two “rounds” of *cueca* (*pies de cueca*). [3.93]

“*Cueca de la solidaridad*,” for its part, was created in exile and displays an autobiographic stamp. Regarding the lyrics, it presents the same characteristics stated above about “*Cueca de la libertad*,” which is the inclusion of the words “La vida” within the poetic line and not as an interjection. This time, [3.94]

[T03_005.t1] Table 3.5. Repetition of lines and interjections in “Me gusta Valparaíso”

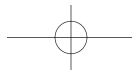
(1) Me gusta Valparaíso	
(2) Y la flor de la verbena	ay, morena
(2) Y la flor de la verbena	ay, morena
(3) Me gustan más tus ojitos	ay,
(4) Que mi bandera chilena	morena ay,
(1) Me gusta Valparaíso	morena
(5) Cuando me fui pa'l puerto	
(6) Llegué cantando	
(7) Y ahora al despedirme	ay, morena
(8) Me voy llorando	
(5) Cuando me fui pa'l puerto	ay, morena
(6) Llegué cantando	
(9) Me voy llorando, sí	
(10) Porque en Barón	
(11) Dejaré los recuerdos	ay,
(12) De un gran amor	morena
(13) Tiene encanto y hechizo	caramba
(14) Valparaíso	

these words are reiterated in every line of the *cuarteta*. The length of the traditional sung *cuarteta* remains: six lines. However, only the first line is reiterated at the end of the verse, in such a way that instead of repeating two of the conventional four poetic lines this *cuarteta* is constructed with *five*

[T03_006.t1] Table 3.6. Lyrics of “Cueca de la libertad”

(1a)	<i>La vida, Tanto me gusta</i>
(2a)	<i>El paisaje de mi tierra</i>
(3a)	Que no quiero estar en ella
(4a)	Como si extranjero fuera
(3a)	Que no quiero estar en ella
(4a)	Como si extranjero fuera
(1b)	Y quiero mar y montaña
(2b)	Hablando mi propia lengua
(3b)	Y a nadie pedir permiso
(4b)	Pa' construir la patria nueva
(1a)	<i>La vida, Tanto me gusta</i>
(2a)	<i>El paisaje de mi tierra</i>
(1c)	Y con lo del libertad
(2c)	La vida, Nadie me engaña
(3c)	Que mientras haya miseria
(4c)	No hay libertad que valga
(3c)	Que mientras haya miseria
(4c)	No hay libertad que valga
(13)	Caramba, no hay libertad
(14)	Si falta la dignidad

(1d)	<i>La libertad ha llegado</i>
(2d)	<i>Conquista del pueblo ha sido</i>
(3d)	En el corazón chileno
(4d)	Su llama se ha encendido
(3d)	En el corazón chileno
(4d)	Su llama se ha encendido
(1e)	Y siempre aquí quedará
(2e)	La patria está decidida
(3e)	Con unidad y trabajo



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- (4e) No habrá fuerza que lo impida
 (1d*) *La libertad va a llegar*
 (2d) *Conquista del pueblo ha sido*
- (1f) Esta sí que es libertad
 (2f) Con la patria rescatada
 (3f) Con la justicia en la frente
 (4f) Y nuestra tierra liberada
 (3f) Con la justicia en la frente
 (4f) Y nuestra tierra liberada
- (13b) El pueblo y su dignidad
 (14b) Conquista su libertad
-

different poetic lines. In turn, the *seguirilla* is developed following traditional patterns, that is: repeating lines (5) and (6) by the end of the first half.

[3.95]

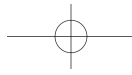
Juan Orrego Salas describes “*Cueca de la solidaridad*” as a “faithful replica” of folk music, gifted with spontaneity, a typical trait of musicians when performing traditional *cueca* (1980: 6). However, after analyzing this *cueca*, what does the repetition and disposition of lines denote? What can the form reveal about meanings at stake? As I have shown, Quilapayún did not repeat the lines according to the tradition in “*Cueca de la libertad*,” while in “*Cueca de la solidaridad*” they added a fifth line to the *cuarteta*, all while keeping the conventional extension of verses. In spite of all these original elements, there is an area where Quilapayún does not innovate significantly: the total extension of the *cueca*. This fact should not be overlooked, because it implicitly entails the potentiality of their *cuecas* to be *danced*. From my point of view, this also has strong implications in exile, where these *cuecas* were mostly disseminated. In fact, it becomes more remarkable considering that the practice of dancing was a powerful expression of the *cuecas* played by CNS bands for some Chilean communities in exile, as it has been previously pointed out (Fairley 1989, Knudsen 2006, Jordán 2010). I will return later to this issue.

[3.96]

Vocals

[3.97]

By listening to both versions of “*Me gusta Valparaíso*” and “*Juanito Orrego*” recorded by Aparcoa, it seems evident that the singers perform according to traditional principles of urban *cueca*, specifically related to vocal roles and polyphony. Julio Alegría, leader of the band, described in 1978 the technique by which they were inspired.



[T03_007.t1] Table 3.7. Octava and repetitions in the *cuarteta* of “*Cueca de la libertad*”

La vida, Tanto me gusta	La vida, Tanto me gusta
El paisaje de mi tierra	El paisaje de mi tierra
Que no quiero estar en ella	Que no quiero estar en ella
Como si extranjero fuera	Como si extranjero fuera
Y quiero mar y montaña	<i>Que no quiero estar en ella</i>
Hablando mi propia lengua	<i>Como si extranjero fuera</i>
Y a nadie pedir permiso	Y quiero mar y montaña
Pa’ construir la patria nueva	Hablando mi propia lengua
	Y a nadie pedir permiso
	Pa’ construir la patria nueva
	<i>La vida, Tanto me gusta</i>
	<i>El paisaje de mi tierra</i>

Urban *cueca* is a male singing practice. Instead of getting together to dance, they get together for a singing competition. Competing with melodies and lyrics. A group is formed with no less than four singers. Each one sings one of the four verses. The one who begins is considered the main vocalist of the first verse, while the rest of them sing lower parallel thirds in unison (Alegría 1978: 125).²⁹

[3.98]

In fact, members of Aparcoa take the leading voice in turns. Likewise, they do backing vocals to accompany the principal melody; just the way Alegría described it, which is explained by Margot Loyola in similar terms:

[3.99]

The way of singing urban *cueca* [*cueca brava*] produces an interesting alternation of voices in parallel thirds; the leading voice and two backing vocals sing the *cuarteta*. At the beginning of the first half of the *seguirilla*, one of the singers that was singing-back-up takes the leading voice, while the singer who previously sang it starts singing backing vocals. During the second half of the *seguirilla* the third singer performs the leading voice and the other two singers sing backing vocals (Loyola y Cadiz 2010: 123).³⁰

[3.100]



[3f1] Figure 3.1.

[3f1]

In addition, they introduce multiple interjections, such as “*calacalacá*.” Moreover, the high tessiture of the sung melody is outstanding, particularly if compared to the *cuecas* performed by Quilapayún. The high tessiture is

[3.101]

[T03_008.t1] Table 3.8. Repetition of lines in “Cueca de la solidaridad”

(1)	La vida, Por Chile amado
(2)	La vida, Todos los pueblos
(3)	La vida, Se han hermanado
(4)	La vida, Todas las manos
(3*)	La vida, Se han estrechado
(1)	La vida, Por Chile amado
(5)	El clamor solidario
(6)	Del mundo entero
(7)	Se levanta en defensa
(8)	De los obreros
(5)	El clamor solidario
(6)	Del mundo entero
(9)	De los obreros, sí
(10)	Del compañero
(11)	No estás solo en tu lucha
(12)	Pueblo chileno
(13)	Más temprano que tarde
(14)	Caerá el cobarde

widely appreciated in traditional urban *cueca* genre, which values vocals with a piercing and loud sound (Claro et al. 1994: 152–154).

[3.102]

The performance style of the CNS bands has been generally described in terms of an eminently collective way of singing, which is demonstrable both in Aparcoa and Quilapayún. The conventional figure of the soloist singer in popular music is counterbalanced through the alternation of roles and a solid polyphonic development. This is especially true in the case of Quilapayún, whose arrangements reveal the traces of classical composers that worked with the band. Furthermore, the complexity of their contrapuntal arrangements has been read as a mark of performance versatility (Santander 1983: 38), while the construction of a collective vocal sound has been interpreted as a tool for expressing the “unity” of the people (González et al. 2009: 417).

[3.103]

A global overview of the vocal performance in the two previously discussed *cuecas* by Quilapayún raises the prominence of two stylistic elements. Firstly, “*Cueca de la libertad*” demonstrates the search for a rough sound,

achieved by using dissonances—what Karen Linn describes as “rich vocal harmonies” (1984: 61)—and selecting a low tessiture. As a result, the vocal delivery resembles spoken voice, which suggests effortlessness. The various melodies are displayed in a narrow ambitus (vocal range), playing several unisons that challenge a quick identification of the leading voice (see figure 3.2).³¹ Secondly, in “*Cueca de la solidaridad*,” a variety of textures are interspersed throughout the piece. For instance, a section where many vocalists sing in unison is alternated with a duo section. The two vocalists sing different melodies that, later in the studio, are respectively placed in two extremes of the sound space (right-left), through a typical stereo location (Moylan 2007: 51). This effect underlines the clearness of both melodies. Additionally, it suggests the use of incipient technological parameters (in terms of Lacasse 2005), with which Quilapayún manipulates by using different “positions” of the main melody, in both foreground/background and right/left axis.

In this section dedicated to examine the vocal performance, I have underlined some particularities of Aparcoa’s and Quilapayún’s manner of singing *cueca*, using the example of four pieces from the seventies. The innovations carried out by the latter band are considered to serve as an illustration of the will to creatively contribute to the development of popular music traditions, embodied by the Chilean New Song. On the other hand, Aparcoa represents an exceptional case within the CNS, explainable by their close relationship with musicians belonging to the urban *cueca* tradition.

[3.104]

La vi-da tan-to me gus-ta el pai-sa-je de mi tie-rra que
no pue-does tar en e-lla co-mo si ex-tran-je-ro fue-ra que

[3f2] Figure 3.2.

[3f2]

REMATE—ROUNDING OFF: THE CUECA IN EXILE AND SOME CONCLUSIONS

[3.105]

The *cueca* was danced in exile. Many listeners of the CNS, frequently militants and sympathetic leftists, developed a new attitude toward dance after their forced exit from Chile. As Martín Bowen has stated in reference to the opinion vented by Osvaldo Rodríguez before the coup d’état: “dancing was unfairly rejected both as a way of understanding the world and as a medium for expressing ideas”³² (Bowen 2006, paragraph 33). Thus, when explaining the fact that not every new song created by a Chilean musician had to be

[3.106]

considered part of the Chilean New Song, Fernando Barraza exemplified this idea with *cumbia* made in Chile during the *Unidad Popular* period, which, in his view, should not be properly considered Chilean New Song (1972: 9). After the coup and in exile a shift occurs. In a previous research about listening practices in exile (Jordán 2010) I have shown how the dancing practice seems to occupy a new critical place. Such a turn was partially due to the contact between Chileans and other Latin-American immigrants but also to a process of renewing the very relationship of Chilean exiles with their country and its music. One of the paradoxical dimensions of this new political situation was the ever-increasing need of the exiles to find collective recreation activities and spaces of joy even as they labored intensely in solidarity with the resistance in Chile. Dancing took a place of importance in satisfying this need, although skepticism toward entertainment remained anchored on an old leftist ethos.

[3.107]

Hence, the dancing of the *cueca* requires a particular attention. Even if it is not the most prominent form within the Chilean New Song, René Largo Farías referred to the *cueca* as the sole living traditional dance, considering it the “sovereign” and “soul” of Chilean *fiestas* (1976: 16). In fact, the dictatorship’s attempt to capture the various meanings connecting the *cueca* to *chileanidad* by means of fomenting a nationalistic rhetoric was unsuccessful, leading instead toward a multiplication of “resistant” *cuecas* (Rojas 2009). At the same time, the *cueca* did not enjoy great visibility during Salvador Allende’s government. Conversely, many militant songs had taken the shape of marches, such as “*El pueblo unido*” and “*Venceremos*.” In exile, even if these songs lost their currency (Clouzet 1975: 102), they continued to be sung. However their meanings changed, as I have formerly argued regarding the case of “*Venceremos*” (Jordán 2010: 97–98).

[3.108]

I have indicated that during the dictatorship the relationship of exiled leftists to the *cueca* changed. On the one hand, many musicians participating in the Canto Nuevo movement stayed away from the *cueca*, in view of the association between *cueca* and the rightwing authoritarian government (Manuel 1990: 71). On the other hand, multiple musicians, especially linked to the *proyección folclórica* groups, continued performing *cueca* in different political activities of resistance (Rojas 2009: 59-66). Particularly in exile, a very powerful turn toward the *cueca* took place. Chilean got together founding community-based organizations in different cities around the world. In this context, they used to listen to and play the most famous songs of the Chilean New Song repertoire. Although the so-called Andean music was trendier among exiles, they additionally explored other kinds of popular music considered more “traditional,” like the *cueca*. In Norway, for instance, the *cueca* acquired a critical role on building collective identity, in a process where community members actively participated.

Resistance groups fighting the dictatorship, both within Chile and in exile, were very aware of the powerful symbolic content of the *cueca*, and they too employed it politically in a variety of ways. Most Nueva Canción groups in exile included at least one *cueca* in their repertoire, though rarely as a dance performance; but if it was danced, it was generally performed without the folk costumes. In an effort to redefine the dance as the popular culture of resistance, *cuecas* were composed and performed in ways that were intended to liberate the dance from its chauvinistic overtones. The lyrics of these *cuecas* dealt with political struggle, labour unions or political parties, instead of the traditional *cueca* themes of love, humour and country life. (Knudsen 2006: 134)

[3.109]

In this passage, Jan Sverre Knudsen shows how the Chilean community in Oslo tried to avoid the “reactionary” meaning of the *cueca*. Similarly, in Montreal I have observed at least two antagonistic views about the *cueca*: one in which it is regarded as a tradition connected with the upper classes, thus detached from the “people” and therefore contemptible; and another view that emphasizes its “Chilean” stamp, underlining in a rather positive perspective the connection to national belonging. In exile, the need for featuring the Chilean element within a Latin-American framework increased. That is why an internationalist socialist discourse—or what Bodiford has called Pan-Latin-Americanism Cosmopolite Socialist—is juxtaposed with a discourse centered on the nation. In the context of Chilean forced migration, using the nation as a reference point becomes an important mark of embodying difference in relation to other immigrants as well as building cohesion in an exiled community’s cultural practices.

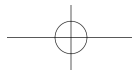
[3.110]

In this way, avid listeners hungry for “tradition” received the Chilean New Song’s *cuecas*. Although from the beginning the CNS was considered a genre distinct from the folk tradition (Barraza 1972: 33), its musicians put forward their legitimacy to explore and create on the basis of traditional forms, claiming the dynamic quality of popular traditions (Madeiros 2006). As I have argued already, this is true in the case of the CNS’s *cuecas* since certain traditional elements of them remained while others did not. I consider highly significant the fact that Quilapayún did not dare to significantly modify the *form* of their *cuecas* in exile,³³ which regarding their reception in the Chilean community-in-exile was particularly meaningful because the form was intimately connected to the possibility of dancing. Thus, considering exile a situation in which creative experimentation was deepened—as Juan Pablo González has stated regarding the case of Inti-Illimani (2007)—this result is noteworthy given that negotiations between the traditional and innovative elements had the outcome of making the *cueca* recognizable as a traditional dance-oriented form of music.

[3.111]

A brief explanation of the lyrics of the *cuecas* also provides an interesting insight. Both *cuecas* by Quilapayún analyzed here talk about the historic

[3.112]



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The Chilean New Song's cueca larga

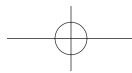
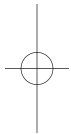
situation surrounding their respective creation. “*Cueca de la libertad*” addresses the political project of Salvador Allende and the *Unidad Popular*, whereas “*Cueca de la solidaridad*” accounts for the international movement of solidarity with the Chilean people resisting dictatorship. The latter could be connected to the following description by Quilapayún’s director Eduardo Carrasco of the first stage of their work in exile, characterized by a complete devotion to the solidarity movement: “In the first stage, our creativity was disturbed by the activism in which we were involved due to political obligations that we could not elude. As it is well known, the solidarity movement with Chile was one of the most active and popular of our era, may be only comparable to the one triggered by the Vietnam War” (Carrasco 2005: 265).³⁴

[3.113] In his book about the Chilean New Song, Largo Farías presented “*Cueca de Balmaceda*” as one of the first precedents of politically committed song, a *cueca* dating from ca. 1886 and recorded by Quilapayún in one of their first albums. The truth is that political commentary has been a consistent topic for traditional *cueca* lyrics. Indeed, Peter Manuel has read the inclusion of *cuecas* in Víctor Jara’s repertoire as a sort of continuation of an ancient tradition of accounting for social issues through the *cueca* (Manuel 1990: 70). Rodrigo Torres also included the *cueca* in his list of popular music genres connected to songs of struggle, along with anthem, march and *cumbia* (1980: 39).

[3.114] In turn, the *cuecas* performed by Aparcoa, whose lyrics do not address social issues, correspond to a popular repertoire that is vindicated by means of including a faithful replica into the Chilean New Song repertoire. Aparcoa’s versions turn out to be an authentic vanishing point of two different musical genres.

[3.115] The aspiration of understanding the *cueca*’s place within the Chilean New Song requires contemplating its political dimension within the genre in at least two ways: the use of it as a vehicle by militant musicians in a movement of international solidarity, and the meanings of it in the context of an exiled community that was forced to reconfigure its collective identity of national belonging. The convergence of both leads to the emergence of a third one, which is the insertion of certain “Chilean” expressions into the Latin-American sound of the Chilean New Song. Here, I must clarify that I do not want to imply that the *cueca* is an eminently Chilean genre and form; instead, I wanted to suggest the importance of considering the *cueca*’s enormous burden of *chileanidad* in order to understand its articulation in the framework of a Latin-Americanist project such as the CNS.

[3.116] “It is very difficult to define nueva canción as a musical style. It seems to slip continually into other stylistic manifestations depending on its national site of origination and the specificity of the performance context” (Tumas-Serna 1992: 48). This assertion provides a stimulus for my conclusions. Tumas-Serna finds it difficult to define the New Song as a style, style being



roughly equivalent to Fabbri's definition of genre. However, in view of the national belonging of styles and genres, and the contextual specificity of the songs' lyrics, I have tried to demonstrate precisely how they provide complex meanings to the sounds in Chilean New Song, meanings that pass over any direct connection between genre and nation, genre and territory, genre and political affiliation.

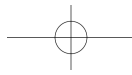
It would be quite dangerous, I think, to admit the existence of a homogeneous sound creation by the Chilean New Song, because conversely it seems urgent to examine in detail the internal composition of this Latin-Americanist project that propelled it to diversify instruments and repertoire, as I discussed above. Not every genre and form is treated equally, nor do they convey all the same meanings. The presence of some of them in the CNS is more prominent than others. Recalling the argument stressed by Javier Osorio in his warning about the subordination of popular traditions under the umbrella of folk traditional music (Osorio 2005: 6), a similar concern could appear regarding the CNS-Latin-Americanist project. A significant contribution to that discussion would be to stop considering their musicians as agents of an abstract hybridization and to start scrutinizing their concrete material outcome.

In this chapter I attempted to demonstrate how the inclusion of the *cueca* in the repertoire of the Chilean New Song was developed according to different procedures, such as the innovation in singing style and vocal arrangements in Quilapayún and the conservation of some traditional elements particularly related to form, which is unmistakable in Aparcoa and to some extent in Quilapayún. I have argued that by keeping the form recognizable these bands also allow listeners to practice the traditional dance, which was particularly meaningful in exile. Multiple aspects remain to be examined through future analyses, such as instrumental arrangements, harmony and vocal technique. Any examination of them should take into account the fact that sound elements are ineluctably related to meanings and social usages that constitute music practices in any given society.

NOTES

I would like to thank Tim Gauger and Sam Bick for proofreading the manuscript. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are mine.

1. Throughout this chapter I use the term "hybridization" according to its meanings as they appear in some musicians' discourses as well as in certain researchers' allusions to the Chilean New Song movement or genre, both expressed contemporarily to the production of the music at stake. This clarification aims to dissociate this discussion from other very interesting and necessary discussions about the problematic use of this term in a market-oriented context and the risk of essentializing the idea of "hybridization" implying the existence of pre-hybrid cultures. For more on this, see Hutnyk 2000: 31-42.



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[3n2]

2. I refer to “place” in order to stress the role of the *cueca*, alluding to the possibility of mapping its meanings and importance within the Chilean New Song. Conversely, I am not making reference to some prolific debates about music and place, space, city and so on.

[3n3]

3. I use “traditional” to refer to the diversity of uses and practices belonging to the genre of *cueca*, which is considered part of the “*música folclórica*”, taking into account both perspectives of musicians and researchers.

[3n4]

4. “Nosotros [los chilenos] tenemos muchas carencias. Si ponemos nuestro patrimonio musical al lado del de Colombia, Brasil, Venezuela o Cuba, notaremos que nuestra música es menos vistosa, un poquito más hermética y que tiene mucha dificultad en su desarrollo. De ahí que desde los años 1960 los músicos chilenos hayamos mirado y casi basado nuestra experiencia en la riqueza musical de nuestro continente. Nos hemos sentido latinoamericanos mirando desde aquí con mucho asombro la música de los demás pueblos. (...) [F]uimos incorporando instrumentos y armando una banda un poco ecléctica, que habla mucho del ser latinoamericano que la cultura musical chilena lleva muy dentro” (Miranda and Salinas 2002: 103-104).

[3n5]

5. “Chile es cultural, económicamente, una cosa indisoluble con la Argentina, con Bolivia y con el Perú. Esta es una cosa que hay que empezar por entender y entonces nosotros recién entenderemos por qué en nuestra música popular se oyen quenas, pincullos, tambores ligeros, por qué en nuestro folklore tenemos que hablar de folklore boliviano, argentino, peruano” (Orellana 1978).

[3n6]

6. Conversely to such an idea, this chapter is devoted to clearing up certain creative procedures with which a particular sound that is variously considered to be very “Chilean,” “Latin-American” or “leftist” was built.

[3n7]

7. The figure of the *huaso* in this context corresponds to the substitution of the peasant (*campesino*) archetype for a landlord (*patrón*) archetype. The *conjuntos de huasos* were the quintessential ensemble of the Música Típica genre. This genre exclusively included musical traditions from the central zone (Zona Central) of Chile and it is recognized as a promoter of conservative ideas. *Tonadas* and *cuecas* were at the core of their repertoire (Costa 2009: 16). Certain bands of the *Neofolklore* wave are considered to be their successors, such as Los Cuatro Cuartos, whose repertoire is also constituted of traditional music although performed in a much more stylized way (Ibid: 21-22).

[3n8]

8. Even though some Chilean New Song artists signed contracts with big recording companies, a great portion of them distributed their repertoire through the label DICAP, run by the Communist Youth of Chile.

[3n9]

9. No discussion on this topic has been yet undertaken in depth. However, as early as in 1978, Osvaldo Rodríguez claimed that the *tonada* had been almost excluded from the Chilean New Song repertoire (Cf. Orellana 1978).

[3n10]

10. Nicolás Román has recently addressed the particular process of hybridization undertaken by Víctor Jara, who would have built a new artistic figure by combining both the *cantor de oficio* folk tradition and the protest singers’ tradition (2011).

[3n11]

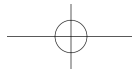
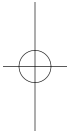
11. Several studies have analyzed different projects of construction of national culture. Traditions from the central zone (Zona Central) of Chile have been consistently considered hegemonic, especially as they have been promoted by *conjuntos de huasos* and their successors. Large debates have been carried out on the subject of configuring identity on the basis of folk traditions (Cf. Donoso 2009, Costa 2009).

[3n12]

12. Considered successor of the ancient *zamacueca*, the *cueca* has been called the “national dance” of Chile since the mid-nineteenth century. Many studies have examined the *cueca* and its important presence in popular culture (Cf. Acevedo Hernández 1953, Garrido 1979). Recently, its values and meanings associated to the political sphere have been stressed by Araucaria Rojas (2009).

[3n13]

13. Those are the most well-known names. However sometimes lists also include Fernando Ugarte, Marta Contreras, Héctor Pavez, Nano Acevedo, Tito Fernández, Homero Caro (Rodrigo Torres 1980: 38). It is interesting to note the inclusion of Héctor Pavez on this list, given that he was not fully integrated into the movement, remaining closer to the *proyección folclórica* groups.



14. Other than participating in mass-oriented political acts, some musical creations merged with some government projects, such as “*Canto al Programa*” (Julio Rojas, Luis Advis, Sergio Ortega and Inti-Ilumani, 1970) and “*La merluza*” (Carlos Puebla and Quilapayún, 1970).

[3n14]

15. The expansion from a mainly Chilean to a Latin-American cultural framework allows us to think about how some processes of constructing “national” culture serve also to understand “Latin-American” culture, regarding the common allusion to an “imagined community,” in terms of Anderson 1983, to which belonging is articulated. I thank Alejandro Vera for his insightful comments.

[3n15]

16. See for example Loyola and Cádiz 2010, Garrido 1976.

[3n16]

17. Choreography has also a very rigid structure. Further information can be consulted in Loyola and Cádiz 2010: 150-154.

[3n17]

18. Also called *estrambote*, *dístico*, *pareado*, *coda* o *cola*.

[3n18]

19. Carlos Vega identifies four main forms of the *octava*, where the *cuarteta*'s four lines come to be eight lines alternating [1] 4 and 5 syllables, [2] 7 and 5 syllables, [3] 4 and 8 syllables and [4] seven and 8 syllables, plus their variations.

[3n19]

20. I will provide just a general description. The *cueca* is usually constituted of two musical stanzas: antecedent phrase and consequent phrase. Both melodies are invariably repeated throughout the *cueca*. In the first section (the *cuarteta*), each octosyllabic line fits with one of the two melodies, while in the second (*seguirilla*) and third (*remate*) sections, each line of 5 or 7 syllables corresponds to half of either stanza. Harmony is usually tonal and harmonic development is either major or minor, depending on the region. An instrumental introduction is usually played with guitar, harp, piano or accordion, as well as various membranophones and idiophones, such as *pandero* and *tormento*.

[3n20]

21. It is interesting that Fernando Barraza included the “*cueca chora*” as part of the Chilean New Song in his book published during the *Unidad Popular* government (1972: 31).

[3n21]

22. See the albums “*Vientos del pueblo*” (“Winds of People”) (Isabel Parra, 1974), “*La Peña de los Parra vol. 1*” (Isabel and Ángel Parra, 1969), “*En México*” (Victor Jara, 1996), “*X Vietnam*” (Quilapayún, 1968).

[3n22]

23. Antonio Acevedo Hernández says: “*aborda la crónica noticiosa, lo que puede llamarse político, la protesta, no solamente amorosa sino ciudadana, que clama contra los hechos que lesionan los intereses de la colectividad, abarcando todo género de injusticias*” (1953: 162).

[3n23]

24. “*luego de la ovación estremecida, la cueca surgiendo como una llamarada entre las banderas*”

[3n24]

25. “[L]o que se planteaba en aquellos años en Chile no era un problema acerca de la música chilena sino de la música latinoamericana como expresión común” (Rodríguez Musso 1984).

[3n25]

26. Several references, obtained from websites and oral sources, account for the identification of a 52 measure *cueca* as a *cueca campesina*, *cueca nortina* or *cueca minera*, in opposition to the *urban cueca*. Cf. <http://culturapopulardechile.blogspot.com/2009/01/cueca-urbana-chilena.html> [2011/02/01] y <http://www.contenidoslocales.cl/sitio/6300/cueca-nortina-patrimonio-inmaterial-en-la-xv-region> [2011/02/01]

[3n26]

27. Quilapayún included a different version of it in their “*Antología*” (1998).

[3n27]

28. There were also various unpublished *cuecas* created by Héctor Pavez in exile (Bessière 1980: 240),

[3n28]

29. “*La cueca urbana es canto de hombres. Más que juntarse a bailar, se juntan a competir en el canto. Competir en melodías y textos. Se forma una media rueda con no menos de cuatro cantores, de los cuales, cada uno canta una estrofa del texto. El que empieza a cantar o “saca” primero, es respetado como solista en esa estrofa y los demás hacen una segunda voz en intervalo de tercera hacia abajo y paralela (“llevar la de abajo”)*” (Alegria 1978: 125).

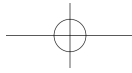
[3n29]

30. “*El canto de la cueca brava genera una interesante alternancia de voces, la que se realiza en terceras paralelas; una primera voz y dos segundas comienzan cantando durante la copla; al inicio de la primera seguidilla, una de las segundas voces toma el lugar de la primera, la que pasa a segundear; en la segunda seguidilla (. . .) pasa a tomar la primera voz, la otra segunda y esta pasa a segundear. En el remate se vuelve a hacer el cambio de la primera seguidilla*” (Loyola and Cadiz 2010: 123).

[3n30]

31. I would like to express my sincere acknowledgments to Daniel Añez, Daniel Larraín and Felipe Verdugo who helped me to create an accurate transcription.

[3n31]



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[3n32]

32. “[E]l baile fue injustamente despreciado como modo de comprensión del mundo y como soporte de ideas” (Bowen 2006, paragraph 33).

[3n33]
[3n34]

33. Something similar occurs with their ‘Cueca autobiográfica’, also created in exile.

34. “En la primera etapa, nuestra creatividad se vio resentida por el activismo en que caímos por obra de las obligaciones políticas que no podíamos eludir. Como se sabe, el movimiento de solidaridad con Chile fue uno de los más activos y masivos que nuestra época haya conocido, tal vez sólo comparable al que despertó la guerra de Vietnam” (Carrasco 2003: 265).

