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An Ethnomusicological Study about the Main Musical Traits and Concepts of Traditional Mapuche Music

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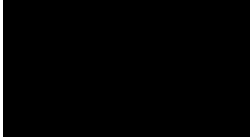
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Abstract

An Ethnomusicological Study about the Main Musical Traits and Concepts of Traditional Mapuche Music

The Mapuche people is the largest indigenous group in Chile and has a significant presence in several provinces within the territory of Argentina. This study primarily refers to the Mapuche music culture within the Chilean territory.

Several important works on Mapuche music have been published, but they do not significantly discuss musical sound aspects; rather, they examine the social and religious function of music as well as the organology of the musical instruments, among other important topics. The thesis's original contribution to the discipline of ethnomusicology relates to the lacuna in the study of the musical material of traditional Mapuche music, which this study addresses.

By applying an ethnomusicological approach, this research project focuses on the main musical sound traits of traditional Mapuche music, namely tonal material, rhythmic patterns and the distinctive use of acciaccaturas, glissandos and vibrato. In doing so, several aspects of this music culture are discussed such as the concept of music in the Mapuche culture, the participatory and presentational fields in Mapuche music making, the influence of Mapuche religiosity on the management of traditional musical knowledge, as well as the distinct levels of musical expertise among Mapuche performers. Furthermore, this thesis provides musical analysis and music notation of selected repertoire and musical excerpts.

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A Note on Orthography and Terminology

The orthography of Mapuche words that I found in the literature about Mapuche history, culture and music employs several approaches based on the Spanish spelling system, several Mapuche alphabets and some mixtures of them. In order to provide consistency in the use of Mapuche terms throughout this thesis, I adopted the following approaches.

In Mapudungun, the language of Mapuche people, a word in a singular or plural form has the same pronunciation and, hence in any Mapuche alphabet, it has the same spelling. However, some authors use the Spanish spelling system by adding the letter 's' at the end of a word. I employed a Mapuche spelling system and therefore the singular or plural meaning of a Mapuche term is determined by its context.

I used the 'Unified Mapuche Alphabet'[1] published by Arturo Hernández (1986) because I consider it the most understandable spelling system for both Spanish and English speakers,[2] and because it was designed collaboratively by several Mapuche and Chilean scholars. Consequently, I converted all the terms spelled in the Spanish system and in other Mapuche alphabets into the Unified Alphabet, unless there was no spelling available in the referential sources that I worked with, or there was no enough contextual information to know the equivalent word to make possible the conversion. Furthermore, I employed as much as possible the Mapudungun terms, spellings and pronunciations used by my informants, rather than the ones that I found in the literature.

The terminology in the Mapuche literature presents several issues associated mainly with the use of foreign terms instead of Mapuche ones, with words with two or more meanings and with the use of terms that are outdated or are considered not to be suitable in the present day (Parentini 1996:13-25). I used Mapuche terms as much as possible, and foreign terms only when the Mapuche ones were not available in the referential material that I worked with. I changed formerly accepted

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[1] Original name in Spanish corresponds to '*Alfabeto Mapuche Unificado*'. I translated all the texts from Spanish and Mapudungun to English, unless otherwise stated.

[2] The Unified Mapuche Alphabet represents Mapudungun phonemes with their closest equivalent in the Spanish grapheme system. In the cases where there is no Spanish grapheme to exactly represent a Mapudungun phoneme, it is used a Spanish grapheme with a phonetic indication. Other Mapuche alphabets present solutions that move away from the Spanish grapheme system, a situation that certainly hinders the reading and pronunciation of Mapudungun by those with no knowledge about those specific Mapuche alphabets. The use of the Unified Mapuche Alphabet allows any person with a Spanish language background to read and pronounce, to a significant extent, any Mapuche word. For English speakers, I consider that approaching Mapudungun through the Unified Mapuche Alphabet that uses the standardised Spanish grapheme systems is, arguably, the most effective and simplest way.

scholarly terms to those currently in use, but only if there was enough contextual information to make the conversion; otherwise, I kept the former ones. For example, 'Araucano' and 'Araucanian' became 'Mapuche'; 'Mapuche' became 'Mapuche Central-subgroup' if it was referring to the Mapuche subgroup; 'Abajinos', 'Arribanos' and 'Moluche' became 'Mapuche Central-subgroup', among others. I used the term *Araucanía*—in italics—to refer to the territory inhabited by the Mapuche from the middle 16th century to the end of the 19th century, and Araucanía—without italics—to refer to the current administrative region of Chile.

I spelled the name of Mapuche subgroups without italics if they were referring to one of the present-day Chilean subgroups defined in this thesis, and wrote them in italics if they were referring to a subgroup which did not match my definitions, or they were referring to a subgroup that I did not defined in this thesis. I converted all the names of Mapuche musical instruments according to the names and definitions provided by Pérez de Arce (2007:129-347), because there were many cases where a single instrument presented several names and spellings, and a single name was used to refer to two or more different instruments.

A Note on the Administrative Division and Geography of Chile

Two referential maps have been supplied in this thesis. Map 1 highlights the location of several cities and towns where I undertook fieldwork activities, while Map 2 shows the location of all the administrative regions and main cities of Chile.

The Chilean territory is divided in fifteen administrative regions, each with a regional capital referred to as city. Every region is divided in several provinces with a provincial capital also referred to as city. Moreover, each province is divided in several communes that are administrated by a department called municipality (INE 2012b:23-26).

Chile has two main mountain ranges, the Andes Mountain Range and the Coastal Range. The Andes Mountain Range runs along the entire east side of the Chilean territory, establishing a kind of natural frontier with Bolivia and Argentina. The Coastal Range runs, as it name indicates, along the coastline from Arica in the north to near Coihaique in the south. Between the Andes and Coastal Range lies the intermediate depression comprised by transversal valleys usually referred to as central valleys (INE 2012b:23-26).

Map 1. Location of fieldwork activities.[3]

Map 2. Administrative division of Chile, main cities and regions mentioned in the thesis.

Glossary

Araucanía: official name of a present-day administrative region in south-central Chile. See Map 2.

Araucanía: name of the region inhabited by the Mapuche from the middle of the 16th century to the very end of the 19th century. Different authors in different times have defined this region in different ways, usually including present-day Argentinian territory. Thus, there is no consensus about the exact limits of the *Araucanía*. However, it is clear that its north border was the Bio-Bío River in the Region of El Bio-Bío and that it does not match the limits of the present-day Region of La Araucanía.

Ayekan: Mapuche term to refer to cultural practices that are meant to entertain.

Ayekafe: person that perform *ayekan* activities.

Criollo: Spanish term to refer to a Latin American born with European background.

Choykefe: a chief Mapuche dancer.

Choyke purrun: a Mapuche dance.

Identity: term used in the Mapuche context to refer to the cultural features of a Mapuche subgroup or the cultural features of a particular Mapuche region. It stresses the idea of a unified Mapuche culture with some local differentiations.

Kimün: Mapuche term to refer to 'knowledge' and 'wisdom'.

Lafkenche: a present-day Mapuche subgroup. It comprises Mapuche people along the Coastal Range and coast, from the Gulf of Arauco in the Region of El Bio-Bío in the north to the Toltén River in the Region of La Araucanía in the south.

Lafkenche: a proto-Mapuche group defined by archaeological evidence about its economic activities, level of development and geographic location. See Map 3.

Longko: the main male chief of a Mapuche community. It is a Mapuche word that translates into English as 'head'.

Machi: the main religious and healing authority in a Mapuche community. This role is primarily carried out by women.

Machitun: the most important healing ceremony in the Mapuche culture, usually conducted by a *machi.*

Mapuche: the large community and culture. It comprises all the subgroups in Chile and Argentina.

Mapuche: a proto-Mapuche community defined by archaeological evidence about its economic activities, level of development and geographic location. See Map 3.

Mapuche Central-subgroup: a present-day Mapuche subgroup. It comprises Mapuche people along the central valleys, from the Bio-Bío River in the Region of El Bio-Bío in the north to the Toltén River in the Region of La Araucanía in the south.

Mapudungun: the language of Mapuche people. It is a Mapuche word that translates into English as 'language of the land'.

Mestizaje: Spanish term that refers to hybridity and interbreeding.

Mestizo: Spanish term that refers to hybrid and half-breed.

Newen: Mapuche term to refer to 'spiritual energy'.

Ngenpin: an elder in charge of religious affairs.

Ngellipun: a short group religious ceremony performed to thank the deities, to plead for help, or to ask for blessing.

Ngillatun: a group religious ceremony. It is widely refer as the most important ceremony in the Mapuche culture.

Ngillatwe: ceremonial site where the *ngillatun* are held.

Original People: translation of the Spanish term '*Pueblo Originario*'. It is the Chilean official name to refer to Chile's indigenous peoples.

Pewenche: a present-day Mapuche subgroup. It comprises Mapuche people along the pre-cordillera and Andes Mountain Range, in the Region of El Bio-Bío and Region of La Araucanía.

Pewenche: a proto-Mapuche community defined by archaeological evidence about its economic activities, level of development and geographic location. See Map 3.

Rewe: a traditional ceremonial altar.

Ruka: traditional Mapuche housing.

Toque: Spanish word to refer to instrument playing.

Territorial Identity: term used in the Mapuche context to refer to the cultural features of a Mapuche subgroup or the cultural features associated to a specific region. It stresses the idea of a unified Mapuche culture with some local differentiations.

Ül: Mapuche song that is performed for secular purposes.

Ülkantufe: a person who sings *ül*.

Ülkantun: the practice of singing *ül*.

Werken: an elder in charge of cultural affairs. It is a Mapuche word that translates into English as 'messenger'.

Williche: a present-day Mapuche subgroup. It comprises Mapuche people located from the Toltén River in the Region of La Araucanía in the north to the Reloncaví Gulf in the Region of Los Lagos in the south.

Williche: a proto-Mapuche community defined by archaeological evidence about its economic activities, level of development and geographic location. See Map 3.

Chapter 1—Statement of the Research Problem

The Research Problem

The Mapuche people is the largest indigenous group in Chile and this thesis investigates the main musical sound traits of its traditional music,[4] with focus on tonal material, rhythmic patterns and the distinctive use of acciaccaturas, glissandos and vibrato. Several important works related to the practice of Mapuche music have been published and are discussed later in the literature review, but they do not focus on the music sound itself; rather, they examine the social functions, religious symbolism and organology of the musical instruments, among other important topics.

This dearth of research pertaining to the musical elements of Mapuche culture is mentioned by two Chilean scholars, Ernesto González and José Pérez de Arce. González stresses the need for 'studying the configuration and internal structure of the Mapuche musical system', establishing his own work as preliminary research to facilitate such further investigation (González 1986:32). Likewise, Pérez de Arce emphasises the need for research into the musical elements of Mapuche music (Pérez de Arce 2007:10-11, 91). As he explains, there is a 'lack of a specific study about Mapuche music', and that his work is 'only a summary of features…to understand the organology' of the Mapuche musical instruments (Pérez de Arce 2007:91).

In this thesis, I aim to delineate the main musical sound aspects, performers' understandings and performance contexts of traditional Mapuche music. In delimiting the sample of participants and events to a manageable size, the scope of this research comprises the traditional musical practices performed by a group of competent performing artists,[5] mainly musicians who are dedicated to developing cultural activities. The traditional music examined in this study corresponds to the non-religious practices referred by the Mapuche as *ayekan*,[6] and the practices linked to Mapuche religiosity performed in particular religious activities that I refer as open religious ceremonies.[7] In order to determine the main musical sound aspects of traditional Mapuche music, I discuss the

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[4] The definitions of Mapuche music, traditional Mapuche music and non-traditional Mapuche music are addressed in 'My Concept of Mapuche Music' in Chapter 4.

[5] The definition of competent performing artist is addressed in 'Competent Performing Artists and Their Role as Informants of this Study' in Chapter 3.

[6] The definition of *ayekan* is addressed in 'Musical Practices Performed in Open Religious Ceremonies and in the *Ayekan*' in Chapter 3.

[7] The definition of open religious ceremony is addressed in 'Musical Practices Performed in Open Religious Ceremonies and in the *Ayekan*' in Chapter 3.

music analysis of several musical samples, focusing on aspects regarded by informants to be constitutive components of their music tradition.

To endorse the pertinence of my research procedures and findings, I discuss the views about Mapuche music articulated by most literature and people involved in Mapuche music making, which I refer to as generalisations about Mapuche music, addressing the way they do not properly reflect present-day musical practices. As will be detailed in Chapter 4, generalisations about Mapuche music often depict a music culture consisting only of ancestral and religious elements, allocating several of the present-day practices out of the scope of what is defined as Mapuche music. For example, it is argued that some of the distinctive traits of Mapuche music relate to the absence of a concept of music and to the unrepeatable and collective character of the musical performances (González 1986:28, Pérez de Arce 2007:83), but those features do not apply to many of the traditional musics performed in the present day. In discussing the pertinence of the generalisations about Mapuche music, I provide my own definitions and generalisations about several key aspects of this music culture, such as the concepts of Mapuche music, non-traditional Mapuche music and traditional Mapuche music, as well as several categories of performers and performance contexts.

This contradiction between the generalisations about Mapuche music and what occurs in present-day musical practices is mentioned by Jorge Martínez. He argues that Chilean scholars and Mapuche people usually adopt 'paradigmatic' and 'ideologised' approaches to address music and cultural identity aspects (Martínez 2002:21-22). As a result of that, Martínez adds, the Chilean scholars usually are focused on the 'purity' of the cultural components that they consider to be 'exotic', while Mapuche people tend to adopt a rigid and 'self-referential' way to articulate their own culture (Martínez 2002:21-22). Martínez (2002) raises such issue and explores the approach adopted by a group of urban Mapuche, but he does not provide any further discussion regarding the generalisations about Mapuche music.

My principle research question is: what are the main musical sound elements of traditional Mapuche music? My subsidiary research questions are: what are the autochthonous terms, aesthetic codes and understandings associated with traditional music? How do the performance

contexts influence the style and individual's roles in the performance of traditional music? What are the most important identity aspects in traditional music?

Given that very little has been written about the musical sound components of traditional Mapuche music, this research relies primarily on the results of my own fieldwork. I investigated the celebration of the Mapuche new year or *we tripantü* celebration, the traditional music performed in recitals, cultural gatherings, cultural festivals, lectures and conferences, as well as the music performed by my informants on my request. Furthermore, through interviews and group conversations with my informants, I studied the way how traditional is performed and composed, as well as several understandings relating traditional music. In summary, this thesis addresses the main musical elements of traditional Mapuche music by discussing the central features of the concepts, generalisations, performers and performance contexts of traditional Mapuche music, as well as by providing musical analysis and music notation of selected musical samples.

The Conceptual Framework and Research Design

This study is an ethnomusicological inquiry into the music culture of Mapuche people. In order to carry out such research, I developed and applied a conceptual framework and research design, the elements of which can be seen in Plate 1. I selected a list of methods and techniques to gather data in the field. I developed a main theoretical model comprised of ethnomusicological theories related to how a society defines the concept of music (Nettl 2005:23-25) and how musical elements in an oral-based music culture can be identified (Tenzer 2006:10-11). I developed an outline of concepts and issues implicated in this study related to postcolonialism, ethnicity, 'race', multiculturalism and indigenism. Finally, I selected a list of procedures for the analysis and synthesis of data gathered.
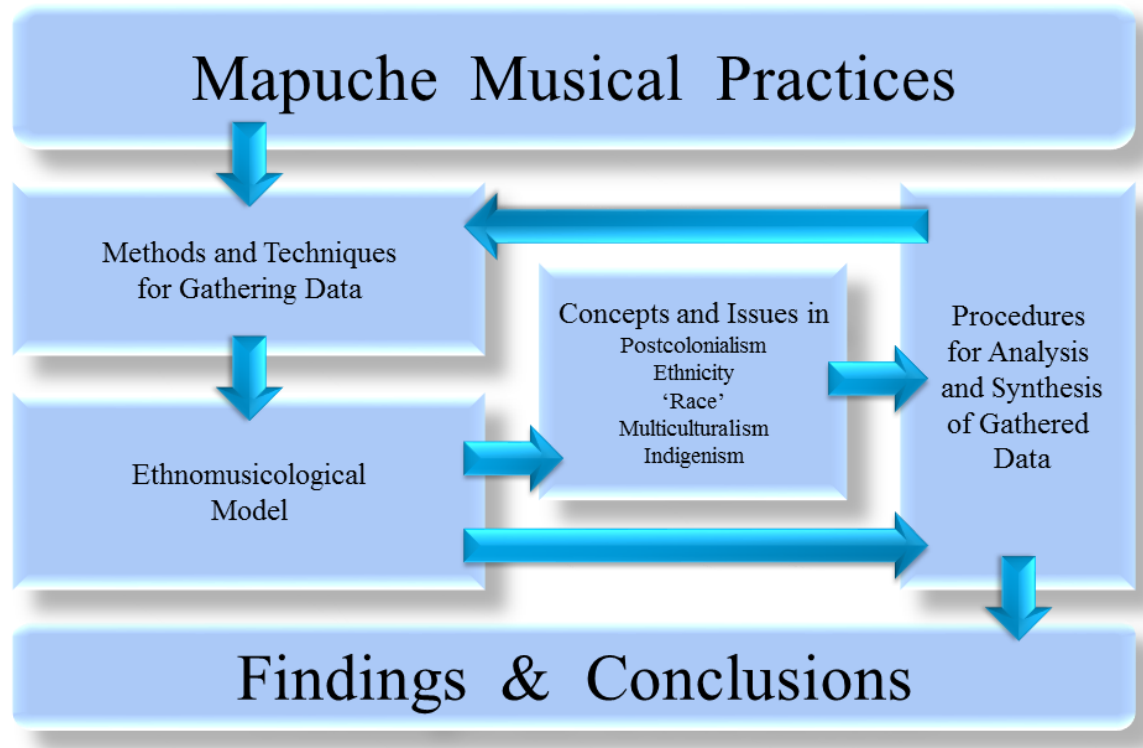
Plate 1. The conceptual framework and research design.

Methods and Techniques for Gathering Data

The strategies and specific procedures of data gathering[8] for this research are based on some general concepts about methods and techniques in qualitative research discussed by Robert Stake (1978:5, 2010:89-90), as well as on some specific implications in ethnomusicology explained by Ruth Stone (2008:12-16). Stake point out that there are general 'strategies' and 'particular techniques' in qualitative research that are developed 'to fit the research question and to fit the style of inquiry the researcher prefers' (Stake 2010:89-90). He adds that one of the general aspects that a case study should address is the provision of understanding through the report of the researcher's 'natural experience acquired in ordinary personal involvement' (Stake 1978:5).

In relation to the specific field of ethnomusicology, Stone argues that a method is 'how we get at our research', while techniques are the specific procedures to conduct those methods. She provides some examples of how participant-observation and archival work methods have been applied in ethnomusicology, as well as a short overview of some techniques such as field recording and

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[8] All the procedures of data collection were authorised by Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee, project number CF13/1163-2013000579.

interviews (Stone 2008:12-14). Based on the concepts previously explained and on my own insights about the subject, I designed and applied five methods for gathering data, which stress the nature of the musical information I collected by indicating my engagement in the field activities and the general features of the contexts where it was collected. They are participant-observation, formal interviews, performing sessions, individual or group informal interviews and the review of audio-visual material.

In the first method referred to as participant-observation, I investigated several musical practices by assuming the role of a participant-observer of cultural activities, which comprises four sub-roles that indicate the specific way I was involved in the activities and the particularities of the contexts where the data was collected. The sub-roles are spectator-observer, musician-participant, regular participant and learner of Mapuche music. As a spectator-observer, I was part of the audience of an academic activity or an on-stage performance. As a musician-participant, I participated along with several of my informants in on-stage performances, cultural activities and talks about Mapuche music. As a regular participant, I danced, sang and played Mapuche musical instruments as any other attendee of a religious activity. As a learner of Mapuche music, I was inducted by several of my informants about the main Mapuche musical understandings and how to perform traditional music.

In relation to the sub-role of leaner of Mapuche music mentioned above, I asked some of my informants to teach me as much as possible about the music, culture and language, and to correct me if I was misunderstanding a concept or idea, or I was performing something incorrectly. As a result of my request, some of my informants adopted the role of a teacher. It was very common that they introduced me to other people as 'he is my student' or 'he is learning from me about the Mapuche music and culture'. As an outcome, I learnt how to sing a few Mapuche songs, how to play *kultrun* and *trompe* as well as how to get a few sounds from a *ñolkin*.[9]

Contrary to the participant-observation method, in the rest of the activities involving data gathering, my informants and I were out of the contexts of cultural activities. In the formal interviews and performing sessions, I had meetings with my informants usually in their homes,

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[9] The features of these and other Mapuche musical instruments are discussed in 'Summary of Mapuche Musical Practices in the Present Day' in Chapter 2.

with the specific task of developing a recorded interview or a recorded performance. The formal interviews aimed to cover general and specific understandings about the Mapuche music culture, while the performing sessions were focused on musical and performance aspects. In the individual or group informal interviews, I interviewed my informants in unplanned meetings, usually after a cultural activity. These three methods—formal interviews, performing sessions and individual and group informal interviews—were particularly useful to examine in detail specific aspects mentioned in the literature, identified in my field activities or found in the audio-visual material I reviewed.

The fifth method applied was the review of audio-visual material obtained from the media or from my informants' personal collections. All the key information found in my review was discussed with my informants.

In relation to the techniques,[10] I refer to them by the specific way I obtained or recorded the data. To gather the data, I employed field notes; audio and video recording; photography; oral interviews; personal communication via telephone, e-mail and Facebook; and learning to perform Mapuche music.[11] These techniques were applied indiscriminately to the different methods previously mentioned.

Ethnomusicological Model

My ethnomusicological model comprises two parts, one based on Nettl's hypothesis that explains how a society defines its concept of music (Nettl 2005:23-25), and the other based on Tenzer's ideas related to the identification of musical elements in an oral-based music culture (Tenzer 2006:10-11). In general, this model was applied by re-thinking the concept of Mapuche music and the practices associated with it, followed by the analysis of selected musical practices and musics.

The inclusion of Nettl's hypothesis into my ethnomusicological model aims to underpin the discussion about how several concepts and generalisations about Mapuche music are commonly articulated. This hypothesis suggests that 'a society which considers music to be valuable may include a great deal within its conception of music', placing practices that 'might, to a member of

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[10] I have to state that I am aware that the literature does not set clear boundaries between methods and techniques, and that this thesis in no way claims to set those distinctions beyond the contexts of this study. For example, Stone (2008:14) defines interview as a technique, while Stake (2010:95) as a method.

[11] Baily (2001) refers to 'learning to perform' as a research technique in ethnomusicology.

another society, appear to be not obviously musical' (Nettl 2005:24). Nettl adds that that most members of Western society tend to hold a limited concept of music, which focuses 'only to the sounds one hears and to their representation in written notation' (Nettl 2005:24).

Nettl's hypothesis was applied as a starting point of several discussions about how the literature and Mapuche people tend to explain and define aspects of the Mapuche music culture by focusing on aspects that are not considered to be part of the Western tradition. In Chapter 4,[12] for example, I argue how the view of Western music as a tradition focused 'only on the sound one hears' has led to considering several Mapuche musical aspects as elements that 'appear to be not obviously musical'.

In relation to Tenzer's ideas about the identification of musical elements in an oral-based music culture, they suggest that the sound patterns 'on which a music or repertoire is based' are often implicitly present in the 'local analytical knowledge', and 'are not [necessarily] formalized through writing or even oral means' (Tenzer 2006:6-7,11). Furthermore, Tenzer suggests that the formulation of 'a point of view' about those sound patterns should be developed through the evaluation of 'which musical features are relevant and which are not, and according to whom', 'using a mixture of local and researcher's own terminology and techniques' (Tenzer 2006:10-11).

Tenzer's ideas were applied in this research in the way I detailed as follows. By transcribing selected musical samples using a descriptive approach,[13] I searched for sound patterns. Once some sound patterns emerged, I discussed them with my informants in order to corroborate or rectify my results according to their local analytical knowledge, as well as to explore the Mapuche musical understandings implicated in them. The relevance of the local analytical knowledge provided by the musical performers I investigated is mainly endorsed by other Mapuche performers, who widely recognised my informants as managers of the proper Mapuche musical knowledge.[14] I used where possible the local terms, which includes Mapudungun words that retained their original names and Spanish words that were mostly translated into English. I used my own terms to name

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[12] Refer to 'The Influence of Indigenism and the View of Western Music as an On-Stage Tradition' in Chapter 4.

[13] The discussion of the descriptive approach for music transcription is addressed in 'The Process Conducted to Delineate the Main Musical Traits of *Wünül*' in Chapter 4.

[14] The details about the pertinence of the musical knowledge managed by my informants are discussed in 'Competent Performing Artists and Their Role as Informants of this Study' in Chapter 3.

or explain certain musical understandings only in the cases in which my informants did not have, did not provide or did not agree on a name.

An Outline of Concepts and Issues Implicated in this Study

This outline is included in the conceptual framework to clarify the approach I adopt to examine some concepts and issues regarding the study of Mapuche music related to postcolonialism, ethnicity, 'race', multiculturalism, and indigenism. As is implicitly or explicitly mentioned throughout this thesis, the ideas addressed in this outline are frequently mentioned by my informants, are extensively referenced in the literature about Mapuche culture and music and also are described in my field experiences. Certainly, they have helped me to approach, understand and explain some Mapuche cultural aspects and music identity features. The concepts and issues are outlined as follows.

I address postcolonialism by using the ideas of Ania Loomba (2005:8-16). She argues that the Latin American context has particular postcolonial features that are mainly the result of the viceroyalty system introduced by the Spanish. Those particular features correspond to the high rates of hybridity or *mestizaje* in the population, a complex internal hierarchy within the mestizo population, the white supremacy over indigenous people and the construction of a decolonised culture and society but based on European values.

For ethnicity, I address the concept and issues by articulating the following aspects. As a main idea, I use the four-part model of Richard Jenkis (1997:165-166) that establishes ethnicity as a phenomenon 'about cultural differentiation', 'concerned with culture-shared meaning', 'no more fixed than the culture of which it is a component', and 'both collective and individual, externalized in social interaction and internalized in personal self-identification'. I incorporate the concept of 'ethnic identity' of George Devereux (1975:385-395), which suggests that ethnic identity exists because 'it is claimed by and imputed to' people by a process based on the 'differentiation from "others"' who are ascribed to a different collective identity. In relation to the construction of ethnic identity, I use the ideas of Talcott Parsons (1975:65) and Nathan Glazer (1975:16). Parsons suggests that the articulation of ethnic identity is based on 'empty symbols' that acquire cultural meaning because of their 'distinctiveness within larger frameworks' (Parsons 1975:65). Glazer mentions the existence of an 'ethnic identification', which occurs because of the individual's need

for a group which provides 'familistic' loyalty and belonging based on an identity 'smaller than the state, [and] larger than the family' (Glazer 1975:16).

In relation to the use of the term 'race', I incorporate it into the thesis because, as Fozdar, Wilding and Hawkins (2009:19-20) argue, even though there is an agency to eliminate the use of this term, 'individuals are socialized within ideologies of "race"', and they use the term to identify issues, 'others' and themselves. I write the term in scare marks to stress the meaning given by Fozdar, Wilding and Hawkins (2009:10-11) as a 'social myth' that attempts to relate 'race' with other positive and negative features without any real or scientific support. To address the concept of racism I use the arguments of Richard Jenkis (1997:83), which defines it as the attempt to link 'race' with a 'set of organized beliefs about 'racial' categories […] which people consciously hold and […] articulate'.

For the concept of multiculturalism, I use the model of Jordan and Weedon (1995:485-486) that stablishes multiculturalism as an approach characterised by the following aspects. It promotes a non-hierarchical understanding of cultures and traditions as well as a 'genuine dialogue between cultures' by avoiding an 'authoritative monologue' among equals. Furthermore, multiculturalism is an approach that avoids the link between 'race' and culture, does not prescribe privileges to 'traditional culture over popular culture' and encourages a 'multiethnic' participation in 'all the structures of the cultural institutions' (Jordan and Weedon 1995:485-486).

In reference to indigenism, I address it by incorporating the following components. As a main idea, I concentrate on the statement given by Alan Knight (1990:80-81) that regards indigenism as an ideology historically linked to the movements of 'economic liberation of the proletarian masses'. Furthermore, I incorporate the ideas of Ronald Niezen (2003:9-13) that suggest that indigenism operates through an 'indigenous identity' articulated by a minority of leaders. Such identity comprises an 'invented' indigenous history that allocates large ethnic groups in counterpoint position against the dominant nation-state, as well as promotes an affiliation to cultural aspects based on blood and place of parentage (Niezen 2003:9-13). To examine the link between indigenism and racism, I concentrate on the ideas discussed by Richard Graham (1990:3) and Alan Knight (1990:95-96). These two authors claims that such linking is the result of processes that have been addressing issues related to 'race' and perceived discrimination by exalting indigenous

aspects, usually idealised, as well as by adding negative implications to the mestizo and foreign people and culture.

The Analysis and Synthesis of Gathered Data

The analysis and synthesis of data has been developed in two groups. The first one comprises verbal and visual data that includes interviews, conversations, field notes, photographs and videos. I analysed and synthesised this information through the set-up of categories organised by their characteristics that emerged as distinctive features. Triangulation of information, the discussion with my informants and my informed point of view were key to evaluating what aspects were going to be emphasised. The other group of data comprises music sound information obtained from musical performances. I analysed and synthesised the musical aspects through the music notation and analysis of selected repertoire and musical excerpts. The discussion with my informants and my informed point of view were key to determining what musical features were going to be emphasised. In the description and discussion of the gathered data, I mainly used local autochthonous terms and understandings.

Chapters Outlines

The thesis is divided in four main chapters. Chapter 2 comprises the background information and literature review about the Mapuche music culture. In doing so, I present an historical perspective of the Mapuche, ranging from the very beginning of this culture to the present, as well as provide a summary of the current Mapuche musical practices. Furthermore, I discuss the aspects covered by relevant published research about Mapuche music, establishing several key understandings about this music culture that will be contrasted with my findings.

In Chapter 3, I will begin to present the findings of this investigation. By addressing the fieldwork parameters, I discuss several aspects related to this music culture such as the particular link between the Mapuche religiosity and traditional musical practices, the different categories of performers and the key features of the performance contexts. Furthermore, I support the pertinence of the performers and performance contexts I examined as well as others aspects related to the way I conduct this research project.

Chapter 4 addresses the main musical sound aspects of traditional Mapuche music, which correspond with the principal findings of this investigation. I start by discussing how several

present-day Mapuche musical practices do not correlate to a significant extent with some of the key musical understandings pointed out in Chapter 2. By doing so, I provide my own conceptualisation of Mapuche music, which is chiefly based on the views, categories and delimitations held by my informants, aiming to provide a pertinent framework to discuss the performance context and the musical sound itself of traditional Mapuche music. Then, I present the main musical sound aspects of traditional Mapuche music, which comprise a determined tonal material, a series of rhythmic patterns as well as the distinctive use of acciaccaturas, glissandos and vibrato.

In Chapter 5, I will analyse the Mapuche festivity called *we tripantü* celebration, focusing on the role of music and performers in the conduction of the activities. I describe the ancestral and current ways to hold this festivity, discussing the music and culture understandings that underpin this celebration. Furthermore, I present two case studies by providing a detailed description of the activities, the role of music and performers, as well as the main features of the musical practices.

Chapter 2—Mapuche Music Culture: Background Information and Literature Review

Introduction

The first part of this chapter aims to contextualise this research project by providing background information of the Mapuche people and culture. By doing so, I will point out the main characteristics of former and current Mapuche musical practices described in the literature, which will be compared in the subsequent chapters with the information I gathered from the field. It is to be noted that the data I gathered in the field and my findings do not necessarily correlate with the information contained in the literature. Thus, that part of this chapter should be read as a preliminary guide to the topic where the issues are established for deeper discussion in the subsequent chapters.

In the second part, I aim to point out the main features of the published research focused on music. It is to be noted that I have not found any published research focused on the musical sound itself; thus, I will discuss this gap that my study aims to fulfil. As was mentioned in in Chapter 1,[15] the works pertaining to Mapuche music that I found is limited to the role of music in religious activities, its social function and the organology of musical instruments, among other important topics. Although these studies are not about the music itself, they provide rich descriptions of the performance contexts and illustrate some general musical aspects.

I will start the first part of this chapter that addresses background information about the Mapuche music culture by providing my own view about the place of Mapuche music within Chilean society, as well as by clarifying my personal and professional involvement with the topic. Then, I will explain the main historical events, social issues and general cultural features throughout different historical periods, ranging from the early beginnings of the Mapuche culture to the present day.

The second part of the chapter that is dedicated to the literature review comprises two sections. In the first section, called 'Relevant Published Research Focused on Musical Elements', I will discuss the research that devotes more efforts to address musical sound aspects, focusing on the works of Ernesto González (1986) and José Pérez de Arce (2007). In the second section, called 'Research Focused on Social, Cultural and Historical Aspects', I will discuss the literature regarding

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[15] Refer to 'The Research Problem' in Chapter 1.

Mapuche music that focuses on cultural aspects. By doing so, I point out the main features and issues laid out by the literature and discuss how they were addressed in order to construct the background information section.

A Discussion about the Place of Mapuche Music in Present-Day Chilean Society

In the Chilean context, it is common knowledge that Chilean folklore is integrated into the articulation of national identity, that the educational system helps to develop such process by incorporating teaching activities linked to folklore and that Chilean indigenous cultures are, in some way, introduced in that folkloristic context. As Bendrups explains, in the Chilean context, the musical and cultural 'expression of indigeneity' has been 'rationalized within the context of Chilean folklore' (Bendrups 2009:117). Furthermore, the folkloristic approach, which regards 'performance as the most pedagogically sound method of musical dissemination', has been systematically introduced in the Chilean cultural education programs (Bendrups 2007:36-37).

In my experience as a Chilean, music teacher, researcher and listener of music of the Original Peoples[16] of Chile, I found a hermetic and distant relation not only between traditional Mapuche music and the folkloristic context previously mentioned, but also with the rest of Chilean people and culture. The Mapuche is by far the largest indigenous group in Chile, but their music culture is not part of the Chilean national *ethos*, at least not in the way and extent of other original peoples' music, such as the Rapanui, Aymara, Kechua and Likanantai. To support this statement, I will point out of the following facts.

A brief review of the national music program from year 1 to year 12 (Mineduc 2015) shows that at least one unit per year is focused on Chilean folklore or repertoire linked to the Original Peoples of Chile. The music program explicitly mentions the name of several indigenous groups including the Mapuche, and that the teachers should promote the performance of music and dance of those cultures. To check out the availability of musical material related to the Original Peoples mentioned in the music program, I reviewed *Cultura Folclórica de Chile*[17] by Manuel Dannemann

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[16] 'Original Peoples' is the official name used to refer to the indigenous peoples of Chile. It is also the name considered by my informants to be the most accurate and respectful way to name the indigenous cultures.

[17] In English, 'Folkloric Culture of Chile'. This is a comprehensive three-volume book collection that includes definitions, research methodologies and repertoire related to Chilean folklore.

(2007) and *El Folklore Musical en la Escuela*[18] by Jorge Rodríguez (2000). In these two works, I found abundant material linked to traditional music and dance of the Aymara, Kechua and Likanantai referred to as 'Northern' or 'Andean' cultures, and to the Rapanui. By way of contrast, I did not find a single Mapuche song or dance.[19]

Working as a teacher, I have found many resources in books, textbooks and on-line teaching material about Andean and Rapanui music, which include music scores, guitar tabs and choreographies, as well as lyrics in both Spanish and in the original indigenous languages. As a student in kindergarten, primary and secondary school, for example, many times I had to sing and dance Andean and Rapanui music. When I was at university studying to be a music teacher, I had to learn some Andean and Rapanui songs and dances to teach them later to my future students. In relation to the Mapuche, I learnt in school, at university and in the media about the heroism of the Mapuche in the war against the Spaniards, about their myths, legends and main traditions, and that my ancestors are from the south of Chile and therefore I might be a Spanish-Mapuche mixed-breed or mestizo. However, in all those contexts I did not get a single clue about how Mapuche music works or how to sing a Mapuche song.

For many years I have being hearing Mapuche and non-Mapuche people arguing that the performance and study of Mapuche music must be carried out exclusively by Mapuche, because the required music skills and rights are inherited. José Pérez de Arce (2007:10) supports this view in the introduction of *Música Mapuche*,[20] by emphasising that his book is not about the musical sound itself; rather, it is about the instruments and history of the music culture. He suggests that a work focused on the music should be done by a Mapuche, not by an outsider like him (Pérez de Arce 2007:10). However, I also have heard a few Mapuche supporting the counter-argument that, if you are a non-Mapuche, you may learn about Mapuche music if some conditions are followed. For example, your teacher must be a proper Mapuche musician; you have to learn about the culture and religion, because Mapuche music cannot be understood isolated from the rest of the culture;

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[18] In English, 'The Musical Folklore in the School'. This is a textbook for year 7 and 8 in the subject of music education. It is commonly used by teachers as teaching material rather than a textbook for students.
[19] There is one song labelled as Mapuche in Rodriguez (2000), but it corresponds to a Spanish version of an excerpt of *Friso Araucano*, a symphonic composition by Carlos Isamitt based on a Mapuche song.
[20] In English, 'Mapuche Music'.

and you have to learn about the language, because Mapuche music 'speaks' and the rhythm and intonation come from the language (pers. comm. Maripil 2013a).

In previous research (Silva-Zurita 2014), I explain that the study and dissemination of Mapuche music by an outsider for outsiders present some difficulties, which relate to certain cultural codes for the ownership and management of traditional knowledge. As is discussed, there are several procedures to follow in order to practice and disseminate Mapuche musical knowledge. Although the findings of that study suggest some difficulties for the development of a research project as this one, some Mapuche people and Mapuche communities have been adapting those codes into a more flexible practice, allowing the procedures and goals pursued in this inquiry. As will be discussed in Chapter 3,[21] all the informants of this research believe that the use of non-traditional means for the diffusion of traditional music, aiming at both Mapuche people and the wider Chilean society, is critical for the enhancement of the Mapuche culture. Thus, the aims, procedures and outcomes of this study have no conflict with their particular view about how to manage and disseminate the Mapuche musical knowledge. Indeed, they are glad that a person like me, a Chilean mestizo, a music teacher, an outsider, a person who studies in Australia conducts a study such as this one.

Mapuche People and the Regional Subgroups

Mapuche is the self-designated name of one of the eight indigenous groups recognised by the Chilean state (Grebe 2010:55, MIDEPLAN 1993). Early chronicles, literary works and scholarly studies refer to them as Araucanos and their territory as *Araucanía*.[22] These terms were given by the Europeans and derived from the Mapuche word *ragko*, which means 'muddy water' (Brand 1941:19-20). It seems that the Mapuche used to call themselves '*Che*', a term that translates into English as 'people', and apparently[23] the term Mapuche was adopted around the middle of the 20th century[24] (Cooper 1963:690).

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[21] Refer to 'My Informants' in Chapter 3.

[22] *Araucanía*—in italics—refers to the territory occupied by the Mapuche from the middle of 16th century to the very end of the 19th century. It does not correspond to the current administrative region of Chile called Araucanía.

[23] I have not found conclusive research about when exactly the name Mapuche was adopted and what the former names were.

[24] Cooper (1963:690) does not provide a specific date; instead, he uses the word 'recently'.

Mapuche people speak their own language called Mapudungun with several speech varieties of it (Erize 1960:11-12, Smeets 2008:9-14). The words Mapuche and Mapudungun translate into English as 'people of the land' and 'language of the land' respectively, stressing the strong connection of this culture with the land and nature (Bengoa 2012a:75, Erize 1960:11-12). They are organised in communities called *lof* which comprises an undetermined number of families in a certain territory. Each *lof* has a male chief called *longko* and several helpers, the most important ones being in charge of cultural affairs, called *werken*, and the shamans called *machi*, usually held by men and women respectively (Bacigalupo 2004:501-502, Grebe 1974b:61, pers. comm. Maripil 2013a).

The Mapuche people is the largest indigenous group in Chile and the third largest in Latin America, after the Aymara and Kechua (Grebe 2010:55). The Mapuche also live in some provinces within the territory of Argentina, sharing the language and most of their cultural characteristics with the Mapuche in Chile (Briones 2007:99-105, Quilaqueo and Fernández 2010:9-10). These similarities between the Mapuche from Chile and Argentina have facilitated a nation-building process, which has been articulated by members from both side of the Andes (Warren 2013:235-236). Despite the undoubted importance of the relationship between the Argentinian and Chilean Mapuche communities, this thesis will primarily refer to the Chilean Mapuche in order to delimit my topic.

The present-day traditional territory inhabited by the Mapuche comprises several rural areas of south-central Chile (Gissi 2004:3-6, Mariqueo and Calbucura 2002). Their former territory, also known as 'ancestral territory', was a much larger area that was reduced due to two main factors. One was the war and post-war struggles between the Mapuche and Spaniards from 1535 to 1810, which forced the Mapuche to abandon central Chile and to live only to the south of the Bío-Bío River; the other was the creation of approximately 3,000 indigenous reservations between the 1880s and the 1920s, into which the whole Mapuche population was confined (Bengoa 2012e:13-15, Pérez de Arce 2007:31-42). Nowadays, most of the Mapuche live in the urban areas of Santiago, Valparaíso, Temuco, Concepción and Valdivia (Gissi 2004:3-6, Saavedra 2002:25-30). In Chile's last census carried out in 2012, the Mapuche amounted to 8.67% of the total Chilean population, which corresponds to almost 1.5 million people (INE 2012a).

According to Mapuche oral-based tradition, Mapuche people consist of five subgroups or identities defined by their geographic locations. They correspond to a central subgroup called Mapuche and four regional subgroups called Lafkenche, Williche, Pewenche and Pikunche.[25] In the colonial period (1535–1810), it is claimed that the Pikunche were forced into close contact with the Spaniards due to their geographic location in the north of the Mapuche territory. As a result of that, they suffered greatly from the effects of the war and *mestizaje*[26] and died out, resulting in the present day in only four subgroups (Grebe 2010:55, Pérez de Arce 2007:29). Although these regional subgroups or identities have some unique features in terms of linguistic and cultural expressions, ritual ceremonies and economic activities, the main body of their traditions are similar and they can all be recognised culturally as Mapuche (Grebe 2010:55-60, Hernández, Ramos and Cárcamo 2009:5-6, Hernández 2010:17). Furthermore, in present-day discourses about identity, the Mapuche regard themselves as a unified people and a unified culture that comprise different regional families, subgroups or identities. These subgroups imply only a place of birth, some geographical features and particular economic activities, but not necessarily a cultural differentiation (Identidad Territorial Lafkenche 2013, pers. comm. Maripil 2013b). As one of my informants explains it:

> Firstly, I am a Mapuche … I am a *werken* [messenger] of the Mapuche knowledge ... and after that, I am a Lafkenche [literally 'people of the coast'], because I live close to the sea, so I am part of the people of the coast (pers. comm. Maripil 2013a).

There are many variations in the definitions of the subgroups, about the total number of them, the geographic limits of their territories and the self-designated names. My definition for this study comprises the following four present-day regional subgroups (see Plate 2).

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[25] This orally transmitted explanation about the divisions of Mapuche people is widely accepted within the Chilean Mapuche community. It not only explains the current situation, but also the one before the arrival of the Europeans. However, this orally transmitted version differs from the one built on anthropological and archaeological evidence.

[26] *Mestizaje* correspond to the term used to refer to hybridity and inter-breeding in a Latin American context.
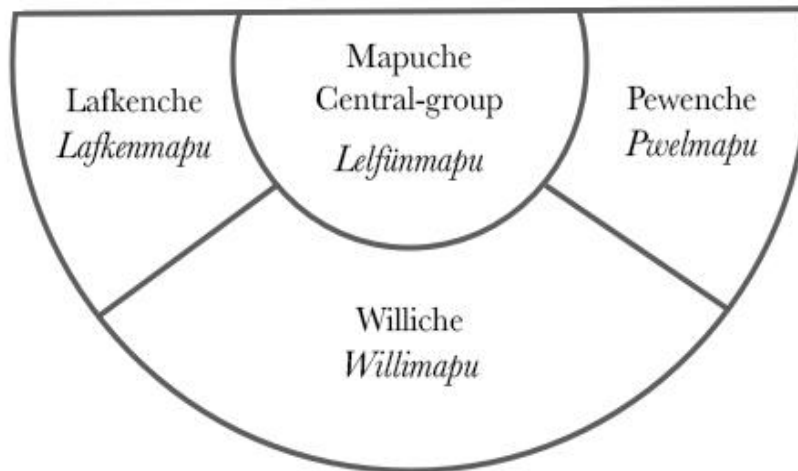
Plate 2. Mapuche subgroups and their respective territories.

The Mapuche is hereafter called the Mapuche Central-subgroup in order to distinguish it from the large Mapuche community.[27] This subgroup is located in the central valleys of the Region of La Araucanía and Region of El Bio-Bío. Their territory is called Lelfünmapu (Grebe 2010:55, Pérez de Arce 2007:29). The Pewenche or 'people of the pine nut' are located to the east of the Mapuche Central-subgroup, along the Andes Mountains and Andean pre-cordillera in the Region of El Bio-Bío and Region of La Araucanía. Their territory is called Pwelmapu and they speak the Chedungun speech variety (Aagesen 1998, Hernández, Ramos and Cárcamo 2009:126,129). The Williche or 'people of the south' are situated to the south of the Mapuche Central-subgroup, from the Toltén River in the Region of La Araucanía in the north to the Reloncaví Gulf in the Region of Los Lagos in the south. Their territory is called Willimapu (Grebe 2010:55, Hernández, Ramos and Cárcamo 2009:126,132). The Lafkenche or 'people of the sea' or 'people of the west'[28] are located to the west of the Mapuche Central-subgroup, mainly in the coastal range and near the sea from the Gulf of Arauco in the Region of El Bio-Bío in the north to the Toltén River in the Region of La Araucanía in the south. Their territory is called Lafkenmapu (Grebe 2010:55, Hernández, Ramos and Cárcamo 2009:5,125,126).

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[27] This subgroup also has several Mapuche names. However, I do not use any of them because I have found the literature lacks any consensus about which is the most accepted one. I have also found no consensus among my informants.

[28] For the Chilean Mapuche¸ the sunset is seen over the Pacific Sea. Thus, the word *lafken* translates into English as 'sea' or 'west', depending on the context.

Musical Practices in the Proto-Mapuche Groups (1300–1535)

The origins of the Mapuche are traced back to c.11000 BC, which is the estimated date of the first human settlements found in the ancestral Mapuche territory (Dillehay 1988:150). However, it was not until c.1300 AD that several local groups started to share certain cultural features, a situation that makes it possible refer to them as part of a larger group referred to as proto-Mapuche (Bengoa 2008:31-34, Pérez de Arce 2007:17-28).

The proto-Mapuche are defined as several communities that inhabited a certain geographical area, shared some features related to their level of development and that later became part of the Mapuche culture. It includes communities that lived on both sides of the Andean mountains in the current territories of Chile and Argentina (see Map 3). The period of the proto-Mapuche range from c.1300, that corresponds to the estimated time these groups reached a certain level of development, to 1535, that is, when the Spaniards arrived in that territory (Pérez de Arce 2007:28-30).

On the Chilean side, several proto-Mapuche groups inhabited an area from Copiapó Valley in the north to the Gulf of Reloncaví in the south (Cooper 1963:687). Their archaeological names are *Pikunche*, *Promaucae*, *Huarpe*, *Lafkenche*, *Mapuche*, *Pewenche* and *Williche*.[29] In the north, they reached a level of development referred to as *Pitrén* with some influences from the more developed *Aconcagua* communities from further north (Bengoa 2008:24-36, Pérez de Arce 2007:28-30). In the south, they reached a level of development referred to as *Vergel* with some influences from the less developed *Arcaico* communities from the other side of the Andes and further south (Pérez de Arce 2007:28-30). On the Argentinian side, several proto-Mapuche groups lived in some provinces in the south-central pampas, from the Andes Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean (Erize 1960:11). Their archaeological names are *Rankele*, *Pwelche*, *Gununa-kune*, *Tewelche*, *Pampas-allientac* and *Pampas-millcayaco*. They reached a level of development referred to as *Arcaico* which involved semi-nomadic practices (Pérez de Arce 2007:28-30).

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[29] There are several archaeological names and definitions used to refer to the proto-Mapuche groups. I will use the names—in italics—and definitions given by Pérez de Arce (2007:28-30). Other authors and disciplines may use the same names, but they may refer to different meanings. For example, the Pikunche referred to in the oral-based account does not match the features of the *Pikunche* defined in the archaeological explanations.
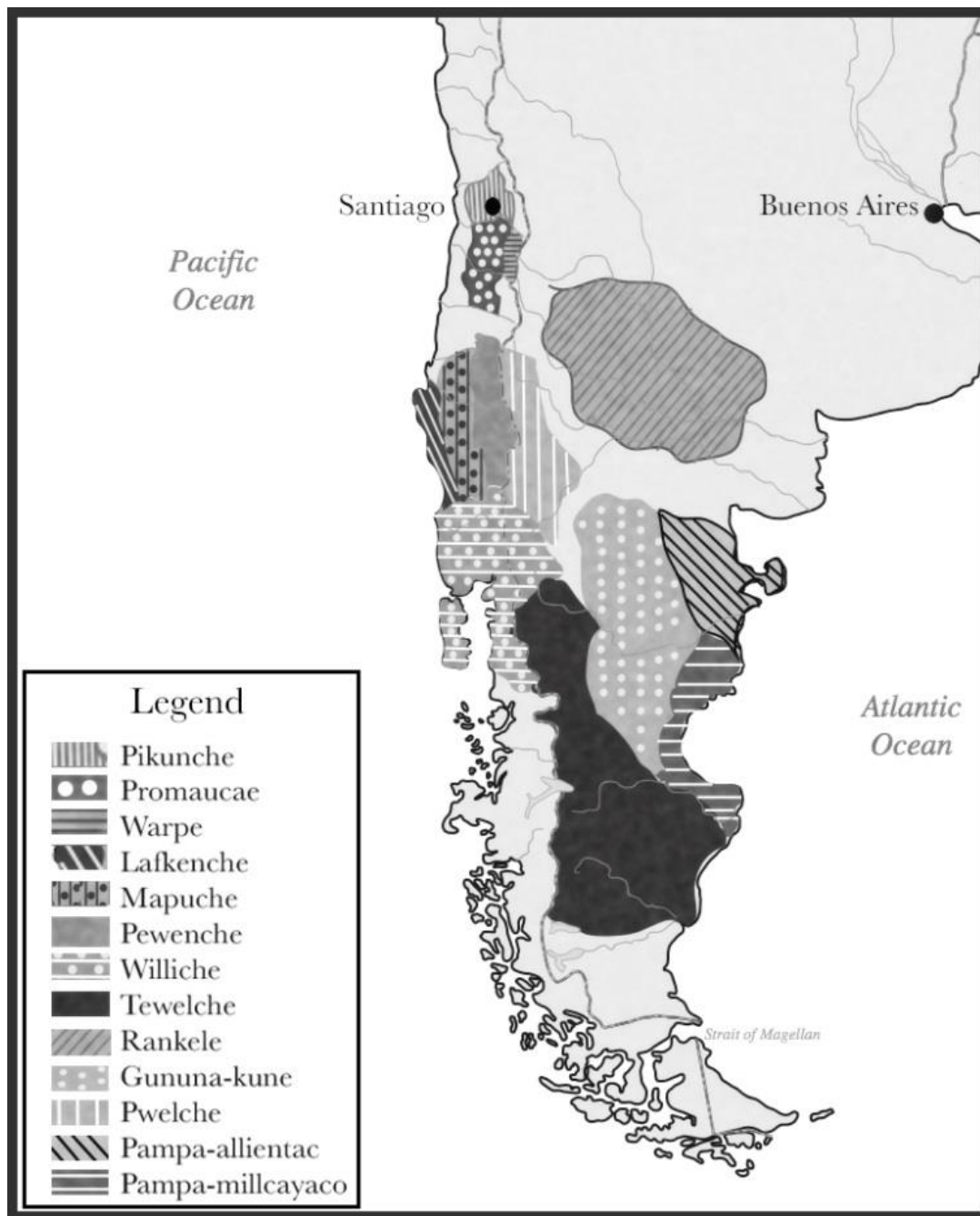
Map 3. The proto-Mapuche groups. Information gathered from Pérez de Arce (2007:28-30) and Grebe (2010:55-58, 95-98).

Given that there is only limited archaeological evidence found in the proto-Mapuche area, the reconstruction of the proto-Mapuche music culture presents several challenges. The use organic material and the high levels of precipitations in the region may explain the small amount of archaeological artefacts that have been found there. However, it is possible to suggest some musical practices based on the scarce evidence (Hernández 2010:19, Pérez de Arce 2007:11-12).

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The assumptions about the musical practices of the proto-Mapuche depict a music culture with a strong connection with the environment, soundscape and social organisation (Pérez de Arce 2007:18-21,91-93). As with their tools and other artefacts, the earliest instruments were made of clay and stone, but those materials were abandoned in favour of organic ones (Pérez de Arce 2007:22). The musical instruments found in the proto-Mapuche area are mainly 'south Andean flutes' made of clay, stone, wood and reed. The makeup of the flutes range from one to five pipes, with and without finger holes (Grebe 1974a, Pérez de Arce 2007:23-25). Other instruments found in the area are natural trumpets and rattles made of organic materials, flutes made of bone and small drums made of wood and skin (Pérez de Arce 2007:25).

It is thought that there were singing and dancing practices with strong references to animals, birds and nature. Some of those musical references are related to dances that imitated the movements of birds, songs that imitated the 'singing' or 'speech' of animals, and symbolic meanings attributed to the sounds of nature (Pérez de Arce 2007:18-21). It is also thought that there were collective musical practices comprised of simple musical units, which were randomly performed by a group of performers who did not assume hierarchical roles such a soloist or choruses (Hernández 2010:25, Pérez de Arce 1998, 2007:91-93).

Around the 15th century, the Inka Empire invaded the northern part of the proto-Mapuche area, but the *Promaucae* fought them back and succeeded in preventing the Inka from moving further south. The Inka reached the central part of Chile around the Mapocho and Maipo Valleys, establishing partial control over certain territories at the arrival of the Spaniards. The Inka Empire lasted less than 100 years and was exterminated at the very beginning of the Spanish conquest (Bengoa 2008:37-40, Ruiz 2008:59-60, Smeets 2008:6-7).

Mapuche Music Culture in the Colonial Period (1535–1810)
The colonial period starts with the arrival of the Spaniards at the northern part of proto-Mapuche area in 1535, and ends at the beginning of the independence process of Chile in 1810. The Spaniards arrived at these territories with the purpose of claiming them as part of the lands of the Spanish Crown, starting the warfare with the local proto-Mapuche groups. This warfare, referred to as 'the Arauco War', forced the proto-Mapuche groups to organise resistance against the invaders, an event that is argued as the beginning of the Mapuche culture. The several proto-

Mapuche groups were united by the war, generating a new rising culture built with the predominant *Pitrén* and *Vergel* cultural components, but incorporating some *Arcaico* elements from the trans-Andean groups and also some Hispanic influences (Pérez de Arce 2007:31).

As with other aspects of the nascent Mapuche culture, contact with the Spaniards led to the integration of Hispanic features into the music culture. For instance, at the very beginning of the Arauco War, the Mapuche started to incorporate the bugle as a war trophy and also as a musical instrument. The bugle was used first along with natural trumpets made of organic materials on the battlefield and later incorporated into rituals (Pérez de Arce 2007:33). Metallic jingles were introduced as ornaments for the neck of horses, but later they began to be used as musical instruments, a situation that led to abandoning the use of rattles made of seashell (Pérez de Arce 2007:34). Another inclusion was cattle as a new economic activity around 1600, entailing the use of cattle horns as replacement of some materials. For example, the bells of natural trumpets that used to be made of leaves, as well as a horn-shaped instrument made of a plant, were replaced by this new material (Pérez de Arce 2007:34).

In 1641, a peace treaty titled *Paces de Quilín* was signed, increasing cultural exchange as well as written documents about the Mapuche culture. This treaty was commissioned by Felipe IV King of Spain and signed by the Governor of Chile and over fifty local chiefs or *longko*, establishing the end of the Arauco War and granting the independence of Mapuche people and territory (Bengoa 2000:38-39, 2008:492,499, Pérez de Arce 2007:38, Smeets 2008:7). This treaty also allowed the presence of Catholic congregations within the Mapuche territory or *Araucanía*, which drastically increased the number of missions, mainly Jesuit ones (Bengoa 2000:38). The Jesuits incorporated the use of Mapuche language or *Chilidugú* and some Mapuche instruments into the music of the Catholic liturgy. In the case of the Mapuche, they incorporated the practice of music and dance outside the Mapuche ceremonial contexts, mainly in performances within parochial settings. Although Jesuit influence on other South American indigenous musical practices covered a wide range, in the Mapuche case it was restricted to only the aspect previously mentioned (Aracena 1997:21-22).

There are several ethnographic written accounts about the Mapuche music culture during this period. However, those early historical sources present some issues regarding the Eurocentric approach adopted by the foreign writers. The Europeans used to pay attention to the Mapuche

music mainly in war-like settings, seeking the Mapuche features that may have had an equivalent meaning in their own foreign culture, and applying European names and values (Merino 1974:56-57, Pérez de Arce 2007:33). Although these ethnographic accounts clearly expressed biased views, they still provide valuable descriptions (Aracena 1997:1-2). Among those accounts, I highlight the three that I consider the most relevant ones.

The first account corresponds to *Arte, Y Gramatica General De La Lengva Qve corre en todo el Reyno de Chile*,[30] a book published in 1606 by the Jesuit priest Padre Luis de Valdivia. In this linguistic study, Padre Luis de Valdivia describes some Mapuche musical instruments and expresses his admiration for the Mapuche culture and music, among other aspects. The book includes Jesuit carols, verses and explanations about the Ten Commandments and the sacrament of confession, all written in *Chilidugú*, which is referred to as the language spoken by the entire indigenous population in Chile (Aracena 1997:11, Pérez de Arce 2007:36). The second account is *Desengaño Y Reparo De La Guerra Del Reino De Chile*,[31] written by the Spanish soldier Alonso González de Nájera in 1614. Although this chronicle comprises many derogatory statements, it provides detailed descriptions of musical elements in the Mapuche war celebrations. For instance, he writes that 'everyone sings…raising and lowering the tone or voice at the same time…I don't know if it should be called song or cry, according to the sadness instilled in whoever hears it' (Aracena 1997:3).

The third account is *Cautiverio Feliz* […] *y Razón Individual de las Guerras Dilatadas del Reino de Chile*,[32] a manuscript written by the Criollo[33] soldier Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán. This soldier was caught in 1629 by the Mapuche and kept as a prisoner of war for six months; after his liberation, he wrote this book describing his captivity (Merino 1974:56). This narration is very important for the reconstruction of the Mapuche music because it is the first to be made by a non-European, the first that describes aspects of the entire Mapuche daily life as a participant-observer, and one of a few narratives that presents an important degree of objectivity (Merino 1974:56-57, Pérez de Arce 2007:36-37). Núñez de Pineda describes a Mapuche ritual, recognising the use of 'a medium-sized drum' and 'many small drums' as the only instruments present at the beginning

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[30] In English, 'Art and General Grammar of the Language that Runs along the Entire Kingdom of Chile'.
[31] In English, 'Disillusion and Qualm of the War of the Kingdom of Chile'.
[32] In English, 'Happy Captivity […] and the Single Reason of the Extensive Wars of the Kingdom of Chile'.
[33] Criollo refers to an American-born person with European background.

of a ceremony. He also describes a group singing performance led by a *machi* (Merino 1974:64-65).

Summary of Mapuche Musical Practices in the Colonial Period

From the first encounter with the Europeans in 1535 to the beginning of Chile's emancipation process in 1810, Mapuche musical practices changed very little. The steadily increasing contact with the Spaniards did not result in a significant influence on the Mapuche music. It is argued that the Mapuche explicitly engaged in 'cultural resistance' to the incorporation of Spanish features into their culture (Parentini 1996:71, Pérez de Arce 2007:34-35).

Mapuche musical practices were mostly comprised of simple songs accompanied by instruments. Dancing was part of those musical practices, sometimes playing the main role in the performance, whereas in others it was a spontaneous complement to the music. In some cases, there were instrumental sections that alternated with vocal sections. The emphasis of the music was on the rhythmic components, with drums and flutes reinforcing the predominant rhythmic patterns. According to some outsiders, the musical instruments were carriers of happiness and exaltation, whereas singing was a carrier of melancholy and sadness (Aracena 1997:3-20, Merino 1974:60-85, Pérez de Arce 2007:31-43).

Singing was mostly practised in homophonic groups, with no classification of the voices, neither for type nor hierarchic roles. The melodic contour was almost flat, most cases using no more than three notes. Everyone used to sing at once as plainchant, starting in an unspecific pitch and raising the voice in glissando reaching a particular tone. The lyrics were mainly about elements of nature that often symbolised battle elements against the Spaniards. The lyrics were also about the ancestors and relatives, or about the events happening at the precise moment of the performance. Closures at the end of the singing often consisted of the exclamation 'ay! ay! ay ! ay!' The singing style did not change in the different performance contexts, except in the rites involving the shaman or *machi*. In those cases, the *machi* had a leading role by indicating the beginning of the different stages of the ceremony through the intonation of a single note which the rest of participants then joined in (Aracena 1997:3-20, Merino 1974:60-85, Pérez de Arce 2007:31-43).

Musical instruments were simply crafted and produced small ranges of pitch. There was a vast range of them, reaching a total of twenty-four different instruments (Aracena 1997:3-20, Merino 1974:60-85, Pérez de Arce 2007:31-43). Their names and descriptions are indicated in Table 1.

Kultrun	a small, medium-sized or large wooden kettledrum with one skin/drumhead
Kakekultrun	a small, medium-sized or large wooden tubular drum with two skins/drumheads
Pivilkawe	a stone flute comprising a simple closed pipe[34]
Pivulka	a stone flute comprising a simple closed pipe with a few finger holes
Stone Piloilo	a stone flute comprising several simple closed pipes
Stone Pifilka	a flute comprising a compound closed pipe[35]
Antara	a stone flute comprising several compound closed pipes
Tutuka	a bone flute comprising an open pipe and a few finger holes
Pifilka	a wooden flute comprising a compound closed pipe
Double Pifilka	a wooden flute comprising two compound closed pipes
Piloilo	a wooden flute comprising several simple closed pipes
Pivullwe	a clay flute with globular shape comprising a few finger holes
Pinkulwe	a reed flute comprising an open pipe and a few finger holes
Trutruka	medium or long natural trumpet made of reed, with a bell made of a cattle horn or rolled leaves
Nolkiñ	a small natural trumpet made of rush. The sound is produced by inhaling
Kun kull	a short trumpet made of rolled leaves
Kull kull	a short trumpet made of a cattle horn
Klarin	a bugle
Kaskawilla	a jingle made of metal
Llol llol	small bells joined to a belt worn by dancers
Waiki	a spear
Chunan	a rattle made of seashells
Kinkelkawe	a musical bow made of bone
Paupawen	a musical bow made of plants

Table 1. Mapuche musical instrument in the colonial period. Information gathered from Pérez de Arce (2007:129-347).

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[34] A simple pipe is defined as a tubular or conical air-flow column.
[35] A compound pipe is defined as a tubular air-flow column compounded by two segments of different diameter.

Dancing was mostly performed in circular patterns. According to some outsiders, dancers used to 'barely lift their feet'. There were dances accompanied only by drums and others accompanied with the entire ensemble and singing. The dances consisted of imitations or allusions to animals and birds. The performance of the dances occurred on the ground and sometimes on a wooden stage. In both cases, there was a tree in the middle and the circular patterns were performed around it (Aracena 1997:3-20, Merino 1974:60-85, Pérez de Arce 2007:31-43).

The performance contexts used to be war-like settings, social celebrations, funerals, religious rites and domestic tasks. In war-like settings, musical instruments and war cries were used to send the alarm or gather people together. The instruments performed were short trumpets made of organic materials, bugles obtained from the Spaniards as well as different types of drums, spears and flutes made of bones. The use of bone disappeared at the end of the Arauco War in the middle of the 17th century. In social celebrations, there were songs accompanied by instruments and dance (Aracena 1997:3-20, Merino 1974:60-85, Pérez de Arce 2007:31-43).

At funerals there was only singing performed in a 'throaty' style, but later in the middle of the 18th century the use of instruments was incorporated into the funeral of important chiefs or *longko*. In religious rites, the ceremonies and music were led by a *machi* who used to mark the stages of the ceremonies with the change of rhythm of music. The drum of a *machi* used to assume the main role in these ceremonies. In domestic tasks, the people used to sing as an accompaniment of the work, sometimes with dancing if the work involved rhythmic motion (Aracena 1997:3-20, Merino 1974:60-85, Pérez de Arce 2007:31-43).

The Post-Colonial Period and the Indigenous Reservations (1810–c.1930)
In 1810, Chile began its process of emancipation from the Spanish Crown, which also instigated the first struggles between the Chilean patriots[36] and the Mapuche. The struggles started in part because in the *Paces de Quilín* peace treaty signed in 1641 the Mapuche vowed to fight any enemy of the Spanish Crown. Another cause was the claim of sovereignty by the Chilean patriots over the *Araucanía*, instituted as a way to prevent the return of the Spaniards as well as rejecting the claims of other republics over that territory (Pérez de Arce 2007:43, Ruiz 2008:63).

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[36] The 'patriots' were a group comprised mainly of Criollos and Europeans who fought for the independence of Chile between 1810 and 1823.

After the independence of Chile, new musical instruments were introduced into the Mapuche music culture such as clay kettledrums from the Argentinian '*Tehuelche*' and mouth organs brought by the European settlers. However, these instruments were performed just for a short period before they went out of use. In contrast, gourd rattles introduced by African refugees who settled in the *Araucanía* became embedded in the music culture. This instrument was called *wada* and started to be used in social celebrations and later by the *machi* in rituals (Pérez de Arce 2007:45).

Jew's harps brought in by the European settlers were also introduced with great success. The Mapuche called this instrument by its Spanish name *trompe*, and it started to replace the two Mapuche musical bows, the *kinkelkawe* and *paupawen* (González and Oyarce 1986:60-61, Pérez de Arce 2007:45). At this time, the Mapuche culture was gradually replacing the use of stone for wood in the making of artefacts, which resulted in the extinction of the musical instruments made of that material. The *pivullwe* made of clay also disappeared during this period (Pérez de Arce 2007:45).

The country's growth led to an increasing interest in the land of the *Araucanía*, due to the potential of that territory in terms of improving the agriculture of the young nation. This interest was addressed through the peopling of the *Araucanía* with settlers brought from central Chile and Europe (Pérez de Arce 2007:43-44, Ruiz 2008:63-64). It was widely believed throughout Latin America that the settlement of European colonists should bring prosperity, because they were coming from developed nations with advanced economic models (Helg 1990:38). As a way to secure the colonization and to permanently attach the *Araucanía* to the Chilean territory, a military campaign called 'the pacification of the *Araucanía*' started in 1859. This 'pacification' consisted of many military incursions, though with limited success. Several cities, towns and ranches were established by Chilean and European settlers, but later were partially or totally destroyed during the many Mapuche uprisings (Pérez de Arce 2007:43-48, Ruiz 2008:63-64, Saavedra 2002:57).

In 1883, after Chile won 'The War of the Pacific' against a united Bolivia and Peru, the Chilean armed forces joined the 'pacification', defeating the Mapuche and starting the period called 'the eradication process' (Bengoa 2000:354-355, 2012d, Saavedra 2002:62-63). Collective land titles called 'titles of mercy' or *Títulos de Merced* were given to the local chiefs or *longko* as the representatives of these new communities called 'indigenous reservations' or *reducciones*

indígenas. The first land title was granted in 1884 and the last in 1929 when the 'law of eradication' was abolished. An estimated population of 150,000 Mapuche people was confined in over 3,000 reservations (Bengoa 2012a:75-78, Saavedra 2002:57-61).

Arguably, the most significant cultural change of the Mapuche culture occurred during the eradication process. Mainstream Chilean society as well as the scholarly community, came to believe that the Mapuche culture would not endure in the new setting of the reservations, indeed, that it might disappear (Bengoa 2000:366-367, Pérez de Arce 2007:49). The Mapuche, for the first time ever, started to recognise themselves as an 'indigenous minority' living in a new context that had no relation at all with the organisation and lifestyle of their former communities. At this time, the Mapuche adopted farming as their main economic activity (Bengoa 2012e:17, Saavedra 2002:61).

This new status as 'indigenous minority' brought to the Mapuche the new need to 'explain their culture' to others and to articulate a 'sense of cultural belonging'. It is argued that, in former periods, the Mapuche had no necessity to engage in discourses about identity, because they were immersed in their oral-based culture within traditional rural settings where 'there is no need to think much to know who you are' (Bengoa 2012e:17-18). In the reservations, music and other elements of the Mapuche daily life became descriptive cultural icons, which were used to articulate and enhance a sense of cultural belonging and to represent their own culture to the Chileans (Bengoa 2000:366-367, 2012e:17-18, Pérez de Arce 2007:49, Saavedra 2002:61).

A selected number of ethnographies focusing on music appeared in this period, which were produced as a means to 'record the last evidences of a culture in extinction' (Pérez de Arce 2007:51). These ethnographies picture the dramatic loss of performance contexts, which were drastically reduced almost exclusively to ritual ceremonies, mainly the *ngillatun* and *machitun*. Instruments such as the *pinkulwe*, *piloilo* and *nolkiñ* were less commonly played since they were not an important part of these rituals (Pérez de Arce 2007:51). The introduction of metal and plastic materials into Mapuche communities meant they were used in the construction of some instruments. The *trutruka* and *nolkiñ* made of copper and plastic pipes were permanently adopted into the Mapuche music culture, while the metallic *kultrun* was performed for a short period and

then went out of use. The *paupawen* and *kinkelkawe* went out of use at this time as well, being fully replaced by the *trompe* (Pérez de Arce 2007:51).

Present-Day Music Culture (c.1930–)

In the 1930s, a big change began in Chilean society that affected in particular the people living in rural areas, such as the Mapuche. Chile passed from a rural-based to an urban-based society, leading the Mapuche to experience a massive migration to urban settings. (Saavedra 2002:36-38, 65-66). One of the effects of this migration was a decoupling between the urban Mapuche and their traditional culture, mainly because of the strong link of Mapuche traditions with land, nature, community and rural lifestyle. The lack of those elements in the urban contexts led the urban Mapuche to the loss of many cultural practices, or at least the transformation of them (Martínez 2002:23).

This decoupling between the urban Mapuche and their traditional culture was increased after the issue of a new law regarding the indigenous reservations. In 1927, a decree went forth to allow the division of the reservations into new communities with new collective land titles, excluding the urban Mapuche of this process. The ownership and use of the reservations was limited only to Mapuche people and its sale was forbidden. However, 168 communities and 131,000 hectares—around 25% of the initially land assigned—had been lost by the 1970s, being usurped by landlords, forest industries and farmland companies. A special board called the 'Committee for the Historical Truth and New Treatment' concluded in 2003 that this was the result of 'legal' tricks and 'legal' collusions that were also abetted by the Chilean state. This situation exacerbated a sense of loss already suffered during the eradication process, due to the plundering of their land and all the identity aspects linked to it. Indeed, one of the main claims of the present-day Mapuche relates to the recovery of those ancestral territories (Bengoa 2012a:82-83, 2012d, Saavedra 2002:65-67).

In relation to the Mapuche musical practices in urban settings, Martínez (2002:23-24) argues that around the 1930s, the vast urban Mapuche population started to use music as a tool for affirmative notions of self-identity and cultural identity, rather than a daily life experience as it was in the traditional rural communities. González (1993:85) adds that, later in the 1940s, there is evidence of probably the first musical performances by Mapuche people outside the traditional rural communities. Those corresponded to 'folkloristic projection' shows that toured the main cities of

Chile, performing songs and dances of the Chilean folklore that included Mapuche people representing some aspects of the Mapuche daily life (González 1993:85).

In the 1930s, there also occurred an important turning point regarding Mapuche music culture and the Chilean art-music scene, due to the ethnographic and compositional works of Carlos Isamitt (1885–1974). Isamitt conducted fieldwork in some rural Mapuche communities, living with the locals and transcribing and analysing their music. Unlike other composers who had previously introduced Mapuche elements in their compositions, Isamitt had already developed a very important and recognised career as scholar and art-music composer when he started to publish works that were clearly referring to the Mapuche culture. He found 'melodic beauty', 'rhythmic diversity' and 'brightness' in the Mapuche music, and explicitly incorporated those elements into his musical compositions and scholarly writings. For instance, in his most recognised musical work called *Friso Araucano, Seven Songs for Soprano Solo, Baritone Solo and Symphonic Orchestra*, he incorporated lyrics in Mapudungun, Mapuche daily life topics and Mapuche musical motifs (Pérez de Arce 2007:53, Salas Viu 1966:14-21).

Most of the descriptions of present-day musical practices that I have found in the literature show, what I consider to be genuine accounts of respect towards the people and culture with an important degree of objectivity. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 4,[37] I also have found that the literature still addresses a concept of Mapuche music linked only to so-called ancestral features, seeking mostly some musical components regarded to be unique and exotic. As a result, the literature mostly provides descriptions and explanations of a fraction of present-day music culture, the one linked to such ancestral construct.

Summary of Mapuche Musical Practices in the Present Day

The following summary comprises descriptions and generalisations from the literature, which do not necessarily correlate with the ones I provide in this thesis that are the product of my own fieldwork. As a reminder, one of the aims of this chapter is the provision of background information as a preliminary guide to the topic.

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[37] Refer to 'Generalisations about Mapuche Music as Outlined by Most Literature and People Involved in Music Making' in Chapter 4.

The concept of Mapuche music is significantly based on the notion that Mapudungun has no words to refer to 'music', 'musical instrument' or 'silence' (Hernández 2010:14-15, Pérez de Arce 2007:70-71, 83). Music is understood as a phenomenon that occurs within a performance context made of dancing, singing, praying, speaking, sounds from musical instruments and sounds from the landscape (González 1986:28, Hernández 2010:14-15, Pérez de Arce 2007:83). As a result of that, Mapuche music is mainly about sounds and words with no clear differences between sound and music, as well as between speaking and singing. Even when some instrument such as *trompe* and *trutruka* are played, it is said they are 'speaking' (Pérez de Arce 2007:80). The sounds from nature also 'speak', mainly about their symbolic meaning (Aillapán and Rozzi 2004:424). Soundscape is explicitly included in the Mapuche musical experience as an element that not only provides sound, but also symbolic meanings (Hernández 2010:26, Pérez de Arce 2007:59).

Some of the general musical features of present-day musical practices are found in the descriptions of singing and instrumental playing. In the singing practice referred to as *ülkantun*, both melody and lyric are not fixed and the focus is on the account of a story. It is a practice considered to be a 'poetic speech' without metre that is performed *a capella*. Moreover, the singers or *ülkantufe* in their parlance do not make any reference to musical terms such as pitch or music notes when they talk about music (Caniguan and Villarroel 2011:33-38). In the compositional process, a song or *ül* is composed first to be sung and then the instruments try to play the same melody, but 'not strictly' (Pérez de Arce 2007:84).

In the instrumental playing, there is heterophony in collective instrumental practices that is the result of random performances of simple melodies by several parts at once. The main rhythmic patterns in those collective practices are played by the *kultrun*, which consist of very simple rhythmic sequences that are followed by the other instruments. There are also rhythmic variations which results from explicit random performances of the patterns played by the *kultrun* (Hernández 2010:25, Pérez de Arce 2007:91).

Most musical instruments in the present-day Mapuche ensemble have a pre-Columbian origin, which means they were already part of proto-Mapuche musical practices. The few changes are mainly related to new materials used in instrument construction and the incorporation of a few new instruments that replaced the use and function of former Mapuche ones. In Table 2, I describe

the nine Mapuche instruments that are still in use. To do so, I use the names and spellings given by Pérez de Arce (2007:129-347) with the exception of the *ñolkin*, which corresponds to the spelling used by my informants. In relation to description of the instruments, I summarise the features given by González (1986:12-18), Pérez de Arce (2007:129-347) and the few ones by Cooper (1963:738). Furthermore, all my informants are emphatic in stating that the *kull kull* is not a musical instrument. As will be discussed in Chapter 4,[38] this instrument is used to produce sounds rather than to perform music. However, I do include the *kull kull* in this list because I refer to it several times throughout this thesis.

Kultrun 	A small, medium-sized or large kettle drum made of a wooden bowl with a single head of skin. It is played with one or two drumsticks. It is considered to be the most important Mapuche instrument, due to being used to conduct religious ceremonies. It is also used in non-religious contexts as an accompaniment of singers and dancers. In general, in communities where there is a *machi*, only the specific *kultrun* that belongs to her/him is considered to be sacred, and other members of the community are allowed to have one and play it in non-religious contexts. In the case of communities where there is no *machi*, the *kultrun* are mostly made exclusively for religious purposes and belong to the community. Those *kultrun* are played by the *longko* and other members of the community who have been chosen and they are barely used in non-religious contexts. The *kultrun* has a pre-Columbian origin; there is no similar drum in any other indigenous culture in South America. The present-day *kultrun* is practically the same instrument as the one described in written sources from the 16th and 17th century.
Trutruka 	A medium-sized or long natural trumpet. It is made mainly of a hollow branch of reed with a cattle horn at one end. The use of copper and plastic pipes as a replacement for reed is very common. These new materials have allowed the *trutruka* to be more durable and transportable, since the pipes do not require the care needed for a reed and they can be bent into a spiral shape. The *trutruka* has a pre-Columbian origin and shares some similarities with other pre-Columbian instruments known by the generic name of *erke*. The *trutruka* has experienced a few changes since the pre-

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[38] Refer to 'The Meanings of *Dungun* and *Wünül*' in Chapter 4.

Columbian times, such as the use of cattle horn instead of leaves in the construction of the bell and the use of copper and plastic in the construction of the air-flow column.

Kull kull 	It is a cattle horn with a hole at one end. Its origin is dated around the middle of the 17th century when cattle were introduced into the Mapuche economy. This instrument replaced the *kun kull*, which was a pre-Columbian horn-like instrument made of leaves.
Ñolkin 	A natural trumpet that produces sound by inhaling air. It is made mainly of a very thin copper pipe bent into a spiral shape with a small cattle horn at one end. Some *ñolkin* still have an air-flow column made of rush and a bell made of leaves, as before the introduction of the copper and cattle. It has a pre-Columbian origin; there is no similar instrument in any other indigenous culture in South America.
Pifilka 	A wooden flute made of one closed air-flow column with no finger holes. There are also some *pifilka* with two air-flow columns. It has a pre-Columbian origin, presumably Kechua. It shares some similarities with other pre-Columbians instruments known by the generic name '*pifilka*'. The present-day *pifilka* is practically the same instrument as the one described in written source from the 16th and 17th century.
Kaskawilla 	A metallic jingle with at least three little bells made of bronze or silver that are joined to a leather tape or strip. Its origin is dated around the middle of the 16th century when the Europeans introduced jingles as a horse ornament. The *kaskawilla* is not used in any other indigenous culture in South America, and it replaced a pre-Columbian rattle made of seashells called *chunan*.
Wada 	A rattle made with a dried gourd. Although other pre-Columbian cultures used similar instruments, it is estimated that they were introduced by African fugitives who sought for asylum in the *Araucanía* at the very end of 18th century.

Trompe	A Jew's harp. It was introduced by the European settlers at the very end of the 19th century. The *trompe* became embedded in the Mapuche musical practice, arguably due to its similarities with other two pre-Columbian Mapuche instruments, the *paupawen* and *kinkelkawe*, musical bows made of plants and bones respectively.
Klarin	A bugle. It was introduced by the Spaniards during the Arauco War. The *klarin* became embedded in the Mapuche culture due to its similarities with the *trutruka*. The *klarin* is used only in some communities.

Table 2. Mapuche musical instrument that are still in use. Information gathered from González (1986:12-18), Pérez de Arce (2007:129-347) and Cooper (1963:738).

In relation to musical performance contexts, the religious ceremonies are still the most significant ones, mainly the *ngillatun* and *machitun*. The *ngillatun*, which is referred by Pérez de Arce (2007:118) as 'the sound that prays', is a collective praying ceremony that is widely recognised as the most important celebration of the Mapuche people. It corresponds to a community celebration where the entire 'traditional wisdom' or *kimün* is expressed through instruments playing, singing and dancing. Usually, all the Mapuche musical instruments are performed in the *ngillatun*, with the exception of the *trompe* (González 1986:13, Hernández 2010:72-76, Pérez de Arce 2007:118-128).

The *machitun*, which is referred by Pérez de Arce (2007:103) as 'the sound that heals', is a ritual led by a Mapuche shaman or *machi*, who conducts a healing process chiefly by singing and playing *kultrun*. This ceremony has a few participants, such as a *machi* with her/his helpers as well as the person who looks for well-being and family. However, if different *machitun* conducted by different *machi* are summarised, all the Mapuche musical instruments are performed in this ceremony, with the exception of the *trompe* (Pérez de Arce 2007:103-117). The absence of the *trompe* in both *ngillatun* and *machitun* is explained as a natural consequence of its soft sound that does not allow it to be heard in a loud context (González and Oyarce 1986:58).

In non-religious contexts, there are musical practices at home as an amusement and in the traditional game called *palin*. At home as an amusement, the *ülkantun* is probably the most common musical practice, which involves singing and playing of the *trompe* (Caniguan and Villarroel 2011:80-81).

As has been laid out, the literature shows that present-day traditional music retains most of the elements that were already part of the early Mapuche music culture. There are several changes, but they are primarily associated with the loss of some elements rather than the incorporation of new ones. At some point, for example, there were over twenty-four Mapuche musical instruments in use, but currently there are only nine. The *klarin* and *trompe* are European instruments, but they are rooted in the Mapuche culture because they replaced the use and function of very similar Mapuche instruments. Another example relates to the performance contexts. The *ngillatun* and *machitun* are regarded as the most important instances to perform traditional music in the early Mapuche culture. Although the performance contexts were drastically changed and reduced at the very end of the 19th century, the *ngillatun* and *machitun* are still the most important ones.

Relevant Published Research Focused on Musical Elements

As was mentioned at the introduction of this chapter, most works relating to Mapuche music are focused on the role of music in religious activities, its social functions and the organology of musical instruments. However, some provide rich descriptions of the musical performance contexts and describe some general musical aspects, particularly the works of Ernesto González (1986) and José Pérez de Arce (2007).

These two authors have been very important pillars for this research project, not only for the valuable knowledge they provide about Mapuche music culture, but also because they clearly mention the gap that this study aims to fulfil, the dearth of research focused on the musical sound itself. Furthermore, I consider these two works, which focus on the organology of musical instruments, to be two of the most important and rigorous studies about Mapuche music culture and also the ones that, by far, devote more effort to address sound aspects.

Ernesto González (1986) in *Vigencias de Instrumentos Musicales Mapuches*[39] presents a very detailed organological study about the Mapuche musical instruments that are currently in use. In order to examine different Mapuche identities, González investigates three rural communities in Chile located in three different geographical contexts, such as the coastal range, central valley and pre-cordillera. He provides a full description of the musical instruments that are still in use, contextual information about their uses and functions, descriptions of their musical qualities and several transcriptions of musical samples.

However, González does not provide detailed descriptions, analysis and generalisations about the musical sound elements, as he clearly states that these aspects are not the main aim of his study. Based on my experience on Mapuche music, I deduce that he transcribed the musical samples using a descriptive approach[40] rich in details, and in doing so, he annotated unintended performance elements that might hinder further analysis and the formulation of generalisations. For instance, his transcriptions of several instrumental samples show in most cases four notes per octave, and in a few cases six notes per octave, but in the only explanation he provides about the tonal material used in those samples, he states that it mostly comprises three notes per octave.[41]

On the other hand, José Pérez de Arce (2007) in *Música Mapuche*[42] provides an archaeological account of the Mapuche music culture focused on the organology of musical instruments, ranging from the proto-Mapuche groups to present-day communities. At the very beginning of his book, Pérez de Arce states that his study is not a final work about Mapuche music, rather it is 'a review of material related to the history of the music in the Mapuche area, specifically about the instruments found in museums and collections' (Pérez de Arce 2007:10-11). His review of Mapuche musical instruments is very impressive, providing the name and descriptions of twenty-four instruments with their former and current names.

Due to Pérez de Arce basing his work on data gathered from museums and collections, most of the instruments he refers are out of use and the description of their uses and functions are not necessarily the ones of the present day. Furthermore, several times he does not use consistent music

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[39] In English, 'Present-Day Use of Mapuche Musical Instruments'.
[40] I use the concept of descriptive transcriptions explained by Nettl (1964:99-101). Further details about descriptive transcription are discussed in 'The Process Conducted to Delineate the Main Musical Traits of *Wünül*' in Chapter 4.
[41] This is discussed in detail in 'The Process Conducted to Delineate the Main Musical Traits of *Wünül*' in Chapter 4.
[42] In English, 'Mapuche Music'.

technical language in the description of certain musical aspects; rather, he uses figurative expressions that are not useful to address musical sound elements. For instance, in a description of a group performance he explains the singing of a particular person as '[the voice of the singer] stands out on the rest of the instruments because of his melodic, free and expressive character' (Pérez de Arce 2007:273).

Research Focused on Social, Cultural and Historical Aspects

To immerse myself in Mapuche cultural aspects that I considered would be pertinent to this research project, and to construct the background information about Mapuche music culture presented in the first part of this chapter, I carried out a comprehensive review of literature. This review includes material from the very beginning of the Mapuche culture, covering the pre-Columbian groups, the colonial era and the present-day situation, among other historical periods. In doing so, I found several difficulties regarding the lack of consistency in the use of terms and definitions, a situation already mentioned and partially addressed at the beginning of this thesis in 'A Note on Orthography and Terminology'. Moreover, I found different explanations and contradictory information about several cultural aspects such as the Mapuche in pre-Columbian times and the way some cultural features are described and classified, among others.

Therefore, I adopted specific means to address such difficulties consistently in this thesis. To explain them, I will discuss how I devised the bibliography related to the history of Mapuche music culture, providing a critical view of the content and explaining how I examined the different and sometimes opposite insights about particular cultural aspects. This review is grouped into historical periods comprising the proto-Mapuche groups (1300–1535), the colonial period (1535–1810), the post-colonial period, the pacification of the *Araucanía* and the eradication process (1810–1930) and the present-day social situation (1930–). At the end, I refer in particular to the literature regarding the Mapuche musical instruments.

To construct the background information about the proto-Mapuche groups (1300–1535), I used as a main frame the works of Grebe (1974a, 2010) and Pérez de Arce (1998, 2000, 2007), because they provide cultural and musical assumptions clearly rooted in archaeological evidence. I also utilised the works of Erize (1960), Cooper (1963) and Bengoa (2008) to obtain specific information about dates, geographic locations and cultural features. I found several inconsistencies associated

with the definitions, names and locations of the proto-Mapuche groups. For example, Grebe (2010:97) locates the '*Williche*', *Cunco* and *Poya* in a determined area, whereas Pérez de Arce (2007:29) considers all of them to be one single group called *Williche*. To manage these different definitions, I decided to use the archaeological names and definitions provided by Pérez de Arce (2007), complemented by cross-checked information obtained from the other sources I mentioned. Furthermore, to avoid confusions among the proto-Mapuche groups and present-day Mapuche subgroups that share the same names, I decided to write the names of the proto-Mapuche in italics.

For the colonial period (1535–1810), I gathered information contained in Merino (1974), Aracena (1997) and Pérez de Arce (2007:31-43). These three works combined refer to twenty-seven colonial texts in total, probably covering most documents written in that period containing descriptions of Mapuche musical practices. Although these works refer to information written in colonial primary sources, in most cases the data was collected from old secondary sources such as partial re-editions, summaries and catalogues. At the beginning of this study, I did consider investigating such primary sources, but I realised that such a task is worthy of a research project on its own due to the huge workload that it implies. I continued my bibliographic investigation based on the data provided by the three works previously mentioned. In the end I did not find any problem in relation to the coherence among their descriptions,[43] but I did find inconsistency in the identification of the colonial texts, which is very important to contextualise, triangulate and chronologically place those accounts.

In several cases, for instance, the above-mentioned three authors do not provide the year of publication or the title of the colonial text, and in two cases they do not mention the name of the writer. In several cases, the titles used by the different authors to refer to the same colonial text are slightly different or moderately different, and in the few cases when abbreviated titles were used, the differences are considerable. In one case, one author quotes two different colonial texts, but they are the same document with different titles because they were published in different languages. Furthermore, in several cases the three authors provide no information or unclear information about the date a colonial text was written, which is important when chronologically dating the information, because most of the colonial texts were not published immediately. I

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[43] I am aware that further research is needed to confirm this statement in a more conclusive way, which may involve the full review of the original primary sources.

investigated the primary sources to fully identify them and triangulate as much as possible the information related to musical practices to create my own description of this period (see Table 3).

Chronological List of Primary Sources Written Between 1535 and 1641				
Written	Pub.	Author	Title	Activity
c.1558	1966	Gerónimo de Bibar	Cronica y relación copiosa y verdadera de los Reynos De Chile hecha por Gerónimo de Bibar natural de Burgos [1 M P]	Spanish historian
c.1563	1569	Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga	La Araucana [1 M P]	Spanish writer
c.1575	1850	Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo	Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año de 1575 [1 M P]	Spanish soldier
c.1594	1865	Pedro Mariño de Lovera	Crónica del Reino de Chile [1 M P]	Spanish soldier
c.1596	1596	Pedro de Oña	Arauco Domado [1 M P]	Criollo writer
c.1606	1684	Luis de Valdivia	Arte, Y Gramatica General De La Lengva Qve corre en todo el Reyno de Chile, con vn Vocabulario, y Confessonario [1 A M P]	Spanish Jesuit
c.1614	1614	Alonso González de Nájera	Desengaño Y Reparo De La Guerra Del Reino De Chile [1 A M P]	Spanish soldier
c.1629*	1673	Francisco Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñán	Cautiverio Feliz Del Maestro De Campo Jeneral Don Francisco Nuñez De Pineda Y Bascuñan, Y Razon Individual De Las Guerras Dilatadas del Reino De Chile [1 A M P]	Criollo soldier
Chronological List of Primary Sources Written Between 1641 and 1810				
Written	Pub.	Author	Title	Activity
c.1646	1646	Alonso de Ovalle	Historica Relacion Del Reyno de Chile [1 A M P]	Criollo Jesuit
c.1643	1670	Elias Herkmans	Tael der Chileesen [2 P]	Dutch voyager
c.1674	1877	Diego de Rosales	Historia General De El Reyno de Chile Flandes Indiano [1 A M P]	Spanish Jesuit
c.1674	1991	Diego de Rosales	Del libro IV de la Conquista espiritual del Reino de Chile [3 A]	Spanish Jesuit
c.1714	1716	Amadée Francois Frézier	Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud, aux côtes du Chili, du Pérou et de Brésil, fait pendant les années 1712, 1713, et 1714 [4 A M P]	French Jesuit
c.1725	1725	Louis Feullié	Suite du Journal [5 P]	French Franciscan
c.1736	1874	Miguel de Olivares	Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile (1693-1736) [6 A M]	Criollo Jesuit
c.1751	1862	Pedro de Córdoba y Figueroa	Historia de Chile [7 M]	Chilean historian

c.1742	1955	Francisco Xavier Wolfwisen	Relato sobre las costumbres de los indios mapuches en la primera mitad del siglo 18 [6][M]	German Jesuit
c.1752	1752	Isaac Morris	A Narrative of the Dangers and Distresses which befell Isaac Morris […] [6][M]	British voyager
c.1765	1765	Andrés Febrés	Arte De La lengua General del Reyno de Chile, Con Un Dialogo Chileno-Hispano Muy Curioso […] [1][A][M][P]	Spanish Jesuit
c.1767	1901	Miguel de Olivares	Historia militar, civil y sagrada de lo acaecido en la conquista y pacificación del Reino de Chile [7][A][M]	Criollo Jesuit
c.1776	1776	Juan Ignacio Molina	Compendio De La Historia Geografica, Natural Y Civil Del Reyno De Chile [1][A][M][P]	Criollo Jesuit
c.1777	1777	Bernardo Havestadt	Chilidúgú Sive Tractatus Linguae Chilensis [1][A][M][P]	German Jesuit
c.1780	1780	Antonio Sors	Historia del Reino de Chile, situado en la América Meridional [6][M]	Franciscan**
c.1789	1889	Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre	Historia geográfica, natural y civil del Reino de Chile [7][A][M][P]	Criollo Jesuit
c.1795	1942	Thaddaeus Haenke	Descripción del Reyno de Chile [6][M]	German naturalist
c.1796	1876	Vicente Carvallo y Goyeneche	Descripción Histórico-Jeográfica Del Reino de Chile [1][M]	Criollo soldier
c.1810	1900	José Pérez García	Historia Natural, Militar, Civil Y Sagrada Del Reino De Chile En Su Descubrimiento, Conquista, Gobierno, Población, Predicación Evangélica, Erección De Catedrales Y Pacificación [1][M]	Spanish historian

Note 1. The numbers in superscript show the source where I checked and complemented the information provided by Aracena (1997), Merino (1974) and Pérez de Arce (2007). [1] Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Memoria de Chile. http://www.memoriachilena.cl; [2] The John Carter Brown Library. Indian Languages Database. http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library; [3] Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Catálogo Bibliográfico. http://www.bncatalogo.cl; [4] American Libraries. Getty Research Institute. Online Catalogue. https://archive.org/details/relationduvoyage01frzi; [5] The Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. 6. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/060 65a.htm; [6] Worldcat Database. https://www.worldcat.org; [7] Goic, Cedomil. 2006. *Letras Del Reino De Chile*. Madrid, Spain and Frankfurt, Germany: Iberoamericana and Vervuert.

Note 2. The letters in superscript show the authors who quoted the colonial text in their respective works: [A] Aracena (1997); [M] Merino (1974); [P] Pérez de Arce (2007).

Note 3. * It seems it was written in c.1673, but it describes events experienced by the author in 1629.

Note 4. ** Information about nationality was not found.

Note 5. I have kept the original old spelling and grammar of the titles. I have kept the full name of most of the works. In the two cases I used a short name, it was because those works have a very long title.

Table 3. Primary sources about Mapuche musical practices in the colonial era contained in Merino (1974), Aracena (1997) and Pérez de Arce (2007:31-43).

For the period that includes the post-colony, the pacification of the *Araucanía* and the eradication process (1810–1930), I found only a few works that refer to Mapuche musical practices, it being known that there is a scarcity of literature regarding the Mapuche culture during this period. As Pérez de Arce explains, the Eurocentric approach utilised to articulate the new national identity did not include the indigenous population, and all the cultural aspects regarding them were mostly considered to be worthless (Pérez de Arce 2007:42-51). However, the works of González (1993), González and Oyarce (1986), and Pérez de Arce (2007:43-51) provide some information on which to devise a description of this period.

For the present-day social situation, which I define as the period from the 1930s onwards, there is much more information about Mapuche music culture than the previous period, mainly because of the new perception of the Chileans about the Mapuche, which can be explained and summarised by the case of the Chilean scholar Carlos Isamitt (1885-1974). Salas Viu (1966:14-21), González (1993:84-86) and Pérez de Arce (2007:53) argue that Isamitt's works crowned the efforts and new approaches of several scholars and composers, marking a turning point in the relation between Chilean society and Mapuche music. As Pérez de Arce explains, Isamitt started to publish works with references to the Mapuche when he already had developed a very important and recognised career as a scholar and art-music composer. Consequently, the Mapuche references present in Isamitt's works, as well as the ones from other contemporary scholars and composers, helped to create a new perception about the Mapuche as a valuable people and culture. As a result of that new perception, the accounts about Mapuche music culture from this period gradually started to avoid the cultural prejudices about the Mapuche as an alcoholic, lazy and savage people, among other negative attributes (Pérez de Arce 2007:52-53).

However, some of those negative labels are still in use, which I deliberately replaced for more accurate and pertinent terms. For example, Bengoa (2000:27-29) explains that it is clear that term 'drinking celebrations' or *borracheras* is one of the derogatory and biased labels used since colonial times, which is part of the belief that the Mapuche were 'barbarians' and 'savages'. However, Aracena (1997:3) uses the term *borracheras* to describe certain colonial musical practices, because I deduce that was the term written in the bibliographic sources he used. Caniguan and Villarroel (2011)—the first one a Mapuche scholar, also establish that connection

between alcohol and Mapuche culture in their book about present-day singing practices in the Lake Budi area, naming an entire chapter as 'Singing and Alcohol'.

By contrast, Pérez de Arce (2007:93) refers to the very same colonial practices described by Aracena (1997:3) under the name of 'social celebrations', terms that he also uses to explain some present-day practices similar to the ones described by Caniguan and Villarroel (2011). Avendaño et al. (2010) also avoid any link between alcohol and Mapuche culture, as a way to eradicate that former and derogative misconception. As she explains, alcohol is involved in most celebrations in any culture, but we do not refer to those people as drunken or state that alcohol is the main reason for gathering (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a).

In relation to the Mapuche musical instruments, I needed to establish what the literature says about the instruments that are still in use in the present day, as a way of comparing that information with the one from my fieldwork. As has been mentioned, there are several works focused on the organology of Mapuche musical instruments, the one by Pérez de Arce (2007) being by far the most comprehensive. However, his research is based on information gathered from museums and collections and therefore he does not address the issue of the instruments that are still in use. In contrast, González (1986) focuses his work on the current use of the musical instruments. Thus, I have combined the rich descriptions of Pérez de Arce with the information about present-day uses supplied by González. Nevertheless, González considers the *kakekultrun*, *piloilo* and *pinkulwe*—a tubular drum, a reed flute and a wooden flute respectively—as 'instruments that are still in use', which I will not because of the following reasons.

In 1980 and 1981, Ernesto González inquired three rural communities in three different geographic locations as a way to cover different Mapuche identities, one in the Andes Mountains, one in the central valley and one in the coastal range. In his findings, González states that the *kakekultrun*, *piloilo* and *pinkulwe* can be considered as instruments that are still in use, but he found those instruments only in the community located in the Andes Mountains. González also mentions that these instruments were rarely performed in that community (González 1986:17-31). In relation to the performance contexts of these three instruments, González provides only very short explanations about the *kakekultrun* and *pinkulwe*, but he does not provide any information about the performance context of the *piloilo* (González 1986:8,15-17,23-27). Additionally, Pérez de Arce

referred to these instruments as barely performed and stresses the lack of information about the performance contexts of the *piloilo* and *pinkulwe* (Pérez de Arce 2007:170-176, 243-246, 256-260). Furthermore, González's research is based on fieldwork carried out at the very beginning of the 1980s and at that time these instruments were already labelled as rarely performed (González 1986:12); thus, I presume that their use has decreased recently. Finally, based on my experiences as a consumer of Mapuche culture and as researcher, I have never seen any of these three instruments in the field, only in some museums and books.

The review of literature has helped me to be more aware of the massive historical, social and cultural aspects that surround musical practices. Although I am not going to explicitly address many of the issues regarded in the literature, they are reflected in the discourses of my informants and in the way I relate with Mapuche people and culture. A visible outcome of this review is the background information about Mapuche people and culture provided in the first part of this chapter, which has been devised taking into account the many aspects previously explained. From the next chapter onwards I will start to present the findings of this research project, which in part point out several inconsistencies between the notions about Mapuche music culture summarised in this chapter with the one product of my own fieldwork and analysis.

Chapter 3—Fieldwork Parameters

Introduction

As exemplified in Pérez de Arce (2007:127-128), most literature describes Mapuche music primarily as an ancestral cultural expression strongly linked to religious aspects and performed mainly in rural contexts by traditional authorities, regarding those musical practices and performers as the most representative ones. As will be argued in this chapter, most people involved in Mapuche music making tend to hold a similar view, stressing the idea that religious musical practices performed in rural communities are the truly manifestation of the Mapuche music identity. However, by far most of my informants' performance activities correspond to non-religious musical practices performed in urban settings, mainly on-stage performances, workshops and lectures. Furthermore, in my fieldwork I inquired into particular religious ceremonies, but they differed from what is commonly depicted as a traditional religious practice. It means that both the music and performers I investigated do not correlate with what is regarded as a representative sample of this music culture.

This chapter aims to address the particular features of the musical practices and performers I investigated in this research project, validating them as a pertinent musical scope to examine and delineate the main musical traits of traditional Mapuche music. In doing so, I will discuss several cultural aspects related to the performance of traditional music and management of traditional musical knowledge, in particular how they impacted on the singular way this study was conducted. In order to address such discussion, I grouped those cultural aspects in five categories that I refer as 'research considerations for the study of Mapuche music'. Moreover, I will introduce all my informants to stress their pertinence as informants, as well as analyse several key features of the performance context of traditional Mapuche music.

Research Considerations for the Study of Mapuche Music

The inquiry into the Mapuche music culture presents certain particularities related to how some cultural aspects are commonly perceived and addressed by both the Mapuche and wider Chilean society, which establish certain behaviours regarding the performance of traditional music and management of traditional musical knowledge. Those particularities that I refer to as 'research consideration for the study of Mapuche music', significantly shaped several aspects of this research project, particularly the kind of musical practices and performers I investigated.

Furthermore, the situations implied in these research considerations had probably influenced the development of other studies on Mapuche music culture in a similar way, but the literature does not make any important mention of this.

My discussion of these research considerations has primarily three aims. First, within the framework delineated by five categories of research considerations, I will point out certain aspects of the Mapuche music culture and describe their particular features, indicating how they are perceived and addressed by most people involved in Mapuche music making. Second, I will explain how the aspects comprised in these research considerations relate to the performance of traditional music and management of traditional musical knowledge, addressing the way they tend to condition the practice, diffusion and study of traditional music. Third, I will describe the particular way these research considerations determined several aspects of this investigation. By doing so, I will argue the pertinence of the musical scope I examined to answer my research questions, as it significantly differs from the one commonly suggested by the literature and most people involved in Mapuche music making. To note, although the literature mentions some of the cultural aspects I will point out as part of these research considerations, they are not discussed as a whole, nor their implications for the study of the Mapuche music culture.

Most people involved in Mapuche music making tend to articulate certain issues and concerns regarding the performance of traditional music and management of traditional musical knowledge, constraining several practices and procedures related to the study, diffusion and practice of traditional music. To illustrate such constraints, I will provide a set of contentions that I made by recalling some of the recurring arguments brought forward by several people involved in Mapuche music making. These people correspond to participants, performers and traditional authorities that either I engaged in informal conversations during my fieldwork activities, or who were interviewed as potential informants but who then desisted to collaborate with this study. As will be argued later in this chapter, my informants claim that these contentions depict either widespread misconceptions about the Mapuche culture, or cultural aspects that should be adapted to the present-day Mapuche society. The contentions are as follows.

- A non-Mapuche should not conduct research on traditional Mapuche music, because it is performed exclusively in sacred contexts and only Mapuche people possess the rights required for managing such knowledge.

- Mapuche people who possess the rights required for studying the music within sacred ceremonies do not want that musical knowledge to be spread beyond those contexts.

- Although a non-Mapuche could get permission from traditional authorities to conduct research activities within sacred settings, the spiritual energy or *newen* involved in religious activities might not allow it, putting the researcher at risk in a kind of supernatural way.

- There are participants of religious ceremonies who do not approve people studying the ceremonies; thus, a researcher may be expelled from a ceremony.

- Mapuche music should only be studied by Mapuche people.

- In Mapudungun, there are no words for music, rhythm and melody among other Western musical terms and therefore those concepts should not be used to refer to Mapuche musical aspects.

- There are no right and wrong ways to perform Mapuche music, nor any kind of rules; thus, the sound patterns or structures cannot be delineated.

- If non-Mapuche people acquire some knowledge about Mapuche music or at least learnt how to perform some songs, they might start to practise this music. By doing so, they might facilitate the folklorisation of the music and culture.

- Music notation does not suit the oral-based Mapuche music identity and therefore they are not compatible. Besides, it is impossible to transcribe into music notation all the elements of Mapuche music.

By categorising the beliefs, claims and views laid out in the contentions above, I have organised the following five research considerations for the study of Mapuche music. They correspond to the religious character of some Mapuche musical practices, the common concept of Mapuche music and other related aspects, the music notation of Mapuche music, the folklorisation of the Mapuche repertoire and culture, and the study of Mapuche music by a non-Mapuche. These five research considerations should be read as factors that highlight certain Mapuche cultural aspects and, most importantly, the way they are commonly perceived and addressed. I found that an aspect from one particular research consideration is often intrinsically linked to situations involving

aspects from other ones, which makes it difficult to develop a comprehensive description and analysis without generating redundant explanations. Thus, the in-depth discussion will be carried out from the next section of this chapter to Chapter 5 by addressing their specific involvement in particular situations, rather than a detailed description and analysis of each separately. Furthermore, altogether, these research considerations represent a cluster of beliefs, claims and views held by the majority of people involved in Mapuche music making, which establish some ways to manage the traditional musical knowledge. To indicate their general features and implications as a whole, I will provide below a brief overview of each research consideration.

The religious character of some Mapuche musical practices relates to the link between music and religiosity, which sets several behaviours regarding the performance and management of traditional musical knowledge. With the establishment of the indigenous reservations at the very end of the 19th century, cultural activities involving music were drastically reduced to religious ceremonies, mainly to the *ngillatun* and *machitun*. In the present day, these two religious ceremonies are widely regarded as the mainstay of the entire Mapuche culture and, consequently, most musical practices are considered to be connected to religious matters (Pérez de Arce 2007:51, 103, 118). The religious character of some musical practices generates certain restrictions on its participants, which may involve the banning of video and sound recording, among other situations. Most participants of religious activities believe that the traditional knowledge involved in this kind of practices including music should not be disseminated beyond religious contexts; thus, researchers may not be welcomed. Several non-religious practices are affected by the very same restrictions, arguably because the lack of clear boundaries between religious and non-religious activities. Some situations regarding the religious character of some musical practices will be described later in this chapter and in Chapter 5.[44]

The common concept of Mapuche music and other related aspects comprises the construct of Mapuche music articulated by most literature and people involved in music making. Because it is argued that Mapudungun has no terms to refer to the Western concepts of 'music', 'musical instrument' and 'melody' among other terms (Hernández 2010:14-15, Pérez de Arce 2007:70-71, 83), it is often claimed that it is not recommended to investigate those Western traits within the

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[44] Refer to 'The Link between Musical Practices and Mapuche Religiosity' in Chapter 3, and 'A Construct of the Ancestral and Present-Day *We Tripantü* Celebrations' in Chapter 5.

Mapuche music culture. As a result of that, most literature and people involved in Mapuche music making tend to articulate a narrow concept of Mapuche music, which does not correlate to a significant extent with several of the present-day musical practices. I recognise two main approaches in the articulation of the common concept of Mapuche music. The first one consists of the avoidance of terms and elements linked to Western culture, which has generated an abundancy of figurative descriptions of Mapuche music components, usually by connecting distinctive musical features to supernatural and religious aspects. In that context, it is often believed that Mapuche musical skills can be acquired, understood and performed only by people belonging to or connected by blood with the Mapuche. The second approach may involve the use of certain Western musical understandings, but it focuses on Mapuche elements regarded as unique cultural features, with no match in Western music. In doing so, this approach tends to stress the differences between the Mapuche and Western music, as well as to point out a presumed incompatibility between these two music cultures. This research consideration will be discussed in depth in Chapter 4.[45]

The music notation of Mapuche music relates to the presumed inconvenience of using the Western notation system to transcribe and analyse traditional music. Although Mapuche culture is an oral-based tradition, in the present day it is common to find the use of written means such as books, textbooks and booklets for the teaching, learning and transmission of traditional knowledge, even in traditional rural contexts. The case of traditional music is different, because written means are used only to describe musical instruments and to learn the lyrics of traditional songs, but the musical sound itself is still an oral-based practice. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4,[46] Mapuche people with no music notation skills mostly believe that traditional music should be kept linked only to oral-based processes. In the case of Mapuche and non-Mapuche people with music notation skills, most tend to believe that the Western music symbols do not suit all the Mapuche musical features and therefore, its use should not attempt to seek musical generalisations or the transcription of repertoire.

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[45] Refer to 'Generalisations about Mapuche Music as Outlined by Most Literature and People Involved in Music Making' in Chapter 4.

[46] Refer to 'The Process Conducted to Delineate the Main Musical Traits of *Wünül*' in Chapter 4.

The folklorisation of the Mapuche repertoire and culture points out the presumed negative impact of performing and disseminating traditional music out of a certain scope. In the Mapuche and wider Chilean contexts, it is common to find the terms folklorisation, folkloristic and folklorist being used with a negative connotation, usually suggesting issues related to authenticity. As one of my informants claims, for example, there are 'folklorists' who perform a kind of 'folklorised' music that attempts to resemble traditional music, but it does not sound like 'Mapuche music' (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014). People involved in Mapuche music activities commonly claim that the folklorisation of the repertoire and culture negatively affect the music culture, because it facilitates the transmission of practices that do not correlate with the tradition, and it caricatures the Mapuche. As a result of that, researching as well as other activities related to the diffusion of traditional culture may be called into question, because they may contribute to such folklorisation. As will be addressed later in this chapter,[47] some people involved in Mapuche music making argue that the folklorisation starts when traditional music goes beyond the traditional contexts.

The study of Mapuche music by a non-Mapuche addresses how the aspects described in the previous four research considerations distinctively affect non-Mapuche people. It should be recalled that this overview aims to point out certain constraints regarding the management of traditional knowledge and consequently its study. Based on my field experience, those constraints are often made more flexible but only for Mapuche people, allowing them to develop some forbidden activities or procedures such as audio and video recording of religious activities, among others. As will be exemplified later in this chapter,[48] the sole participation of non-Mapuche people in religious activities may present some rejection by organisers and participants, a situation that is increased when research activities are involved. Arguably, the claim that Mapuche music should be studied and performed only by Mapuche people is by far the biggest constraint. Although such a claim is often called into question, there are still far many people who support it, connecting musical skills and rights with the belonging to the Mapuche.

How the Research Considerations Influenced this Study
The above overview of five research considerations for the study of Mapuche music certainly highlights several particularities that, from my perspective, any researcher should consider in

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[47] Refer to 'Musical Practices Performed in Open Religious Ceremonies and in the *Ayekan*' in Chapter 3.
[48] Refer to 'The Link between Musical Practices and Mapuche Religiosity' in Chapter 3.

designing an inquiry into this music culture. In the case of this study, such particularities became noticeable and recurrent as the investigation was progressing, making me adopt several directions in order to carry on with my research and achieve its aims. Those directions primarily relate to the kind of musical practices and performers I finally examined, which significantly differed from what is commonly considered to be a pertinent musical sample for a research project as this, and from what I planned at first. During the course of this study, I met several people with significant involvement in Mapuche musical and cultural activities, including performers, scholars and traditional authorities, who mostly criticised and called into question the approach I adopted to conduct this investigation. The following discussion seeks to illustrate in detail several aspects related to Mapuche performance contexts, but also to explain the way they influenced the direction of this study and support the choices I made to inquire this music culture.

As was mentioned in the introduction of this chapter and discussed throughout Chapter 2, the literature is clear in suggesting that the most representative Mapuche musical practices are performed in religious activities held in traditional rural contexts. Based on my field experience, it is evident that most people involved in Mapuche music making support the very same view. This made me begin this study aiming to investigate that musical scope, specifically attempting to investigate traditional performers within the context of religious musical practices.

The genesis of this research project connects with a previous study I conducted in 2009 and 2010, which was about the incorporation of Mapuche music in a school setting located within the traditional Pewenche community of Butalelbun.[49] It was there that I found it necessary to carry out further research focusing on the musical sound of traditional music, in part as a way to fulfil the need of that community to count with written and systematised material of their local music. My main informants were two local traditional authorities, who were also the principal and intercultural advisor of the school. As a way to enhance the practice of traditional music, both informants were particular clear in claiming the need to study the local music and incorporate repertoire and contents into systematised teaching activities. But they also argued that their traditional music belongs exclusively to sacred activities and contexts; thus, its incorporation into

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[49] It corresponds to the activities I developed as part of Silva-Zurita (2014). Although I mention some situations regarding the religious character of some Mapuche musical practices and the folklorisation of the Mapuche repertoire and culture, I do not discuss those aspects in depth, nor refer to them as research considerations.

the classroom was not possible. Despite that, a flexible re-interpretation of some views about the management of traditional knowledge made by these two traditional authorities allows, if several constraints are followed, the study of the local music and its teaching, learning and performance within a school setting. Nevertheless, such activities should be conducted by a local Pewenche authority and never by an outsider (Silva-Zurita 2014:109-112).

Several members of the Pewenche community of Butalelbun informed me that my research project might not be feasible because, as they, other rural communities would not allow traditional knowledge to be brought to academic attention. Regardless, I contacted a local chief and a traditional singer of another Mapuche rural community who agreed to help me as much as possible. According to them, their collaboration was going to depend on the kind of 'spiritual energy' or *newen* involved in the music and knowledge to investigate. As they explained to me, there were very few people in their community who were performing traditional music; thus, it was necessary to do something to engage more members into its practice. All the music performed by these two traditional authorities presented a clear religious connotation and therefore, they claimed that the *newen* may allow me to listen to that music, but by no means to record it or make any kind of transcription.

The situations described above illustrate the view held by some traditional authorities about how some knowledge should be managed and transmitted, which correspond to aspects mainly related to the research considerations of the religious character of some traditional musics and the study of Mapuche music by a non-Mapuche. After those experiences, I realised that the inquiry of traditional performers within the context of religious practices held in rural communities was going to be a project hard to achieve. Thus, in March of 2011 I started to look for traditional performers who used to participate in religious ceremonies, but performed in urban Mapuche communities or as part of intercultural activities. I met several of those performers in the city of Concepción, but all of them immediately refused to collaborate with me. Their arguments pointed out that my study was going to provide some knowledge and repertoire to people with no deep understanding of the Mapuche culture, facilitating its folklorisation. They also argued that some of my research procedures, such as transcription of repertoire, were not suitable means to transmit the Mapuche musical knowledge, due mainly to the oral-based nature of the music culture.

In November of 2011, I attended to the launch of the Mapuche music album *Akun Awkin* by Joel Maripil, an event organised by a musical producer, held in a concert hall in the city of Concepción and advertised in the same way as any music concert. In contrast with my previous experiences regarding Mapuche music, this activity was open to any person who wanted to attend and the music performed had no religious connotation, at least not to the extent of conditioning the behaviour of the audience. In other words, the mindset of the stakeholders of this activity was delineated by the features of a regular Western music concert. It was at this event where I met Maripil for the very first time, who was going to become the main collaborator of a research project about traditional Mapuche music that later led to this thesis.

As Maripil explained to me, he performs and disseminates traditional Mapuche music by following a particular approach, one that is aware of the ancestral ways of managing and passing the traditional knowledge, but also that deals with the new realities and needs of the present-day Mapuche and Chilean society. As he argues, his musical career has a 'political purpose', an agenda that seeks the dissemination of the beauty and happiness of Mapuche music culture as a way to dismantle the prejudice, racism and discrimination against the Mapuche (pers. comm. Maripil 2013a). Maripil was key in introducing me to the rest of the informants of this study.

Based on the feedback I got from all my informants—who will be introduced later in this chapter, the views pointed out in the five research considerations illustrate either situations that should be adapted to the present-day Mapuche contexts, or cultural misconceptions deeply embedded within the Mapuche and Chilean people. Indeed, such adaptation and right interpretation of certain cultural aspects by meeting the views held by my informants led me to define several components of this investigation. In doing so, I was able to deal with most of the issues and concerns highlighted in the research considerations in the way I explain, in general terms, in the following summary.

By examining particular performers, I was able to deal with most of the aspects related to the folklorisation of the Mapuche repertoire and culture, as well as with the use of Western music notation for the analysis and transcription of traditional music. As will be discussed in the next section of this chapter, the particular performers I investigated present a singular view about how to manage and promote the traditional musical knowledge. Such a view leads these performers to

develop cultural activities not only in traditional contexts, but also in non-traditional settings such as lectures, concerts and workshops. In contrast with most performers of traditional music, my informants also use non-traditional means to share the traditional musical knowledge, such as music albums, music videos and books; thus, they do not show any significant concern with the way this study is conducted.

To avoid some conflicts relating to the religious character of some Mapuche musical practices and the study of Mapuche music by a non-Mapuche, I investigated certain religious ceremonies performed in public contexts that I call 'open religious ceremonies' and the non-religious practices usually referred to as *ayekan*. As will be addressed later in this chapter, [50] several research procedures are constrained by the extent of religiosity ascribed to certain musical practices as well as by the Mapuche or non-Mapuche status of whoever carries out such procedures. But in the open religious ceremonies and *ayekan* activities I examined as part of this study, those constraints were not significantly present, allowing me to conduct most of the intended research activities.

To tackle the issues regarding the common concept of Mapuche music, I developed my own conceptualisation of Mapuche music, which is based on the views, categories and delimitations articulated by my informants. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, most literature and people involved in Mapuche music making tend to make generalisations about the Mapuche music culture that do not necessarily correspond with what really is performed. Thus, my conceptualisation aims to provide accurate and pertinent concepts regarding Mapuche music.

It should be reminded that the overview of the research considerations presented in the previous section of this chapter, and the above summary about how they shaped several components of this investigation, aim to point out a cluster of views regarding the Mapuche music culture. Because of their intrinsic involvement in the way several cultural aspects are perceived and addressed, I consider it important to refer to them as a whole. Thus, I have heretofore discussed these five research considerations in general terms to provide a broad perspective, addressing their general implications for the management of traditional musical knowledge. From the next section onwards,

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[50] Refer to 'The Link between Musical Practices and Mapuche Religiosity' and 'Musical Practices Performed in Open Religious Ceremonies and in the *Ayekan*' in Chapter 3.

including the following chapters, particular aspects regarding one or several research considerations will be discussed in detailed in the context of particular situations.

Competent Performing Artists and Their Role as Informants of this Study

As was mentioned earlier, this investigation started with Joel Maripil as a single informant. Based on his cultural and musical background combined with information gathered from the literature, we discussed what musical practices and what kind of performers it would be pertinent to examine. The main aim of this research project has always been the study of the main musical sound traits of traditional music, but the practices to be investigated and the features of the performers who were going to provide such information significantly varied from what was planned at first. This investigation started by attempting to study traditional musical practices held in traditional rural contexts; thus, traditional performers seemed to be suitable informants. Hence, I incorporated three more performers as informants that met that profile. They were Lorenzo Aillapán, Lorenzo Maripil and *machi* Galvarino Marivil.

However, after a couple of months, I realised that two of those new informants, Lorenzo Maripil and *machi* Galvarino,[51] might not be able to provide pertinent data regarding the main musical sound elements of traditional music. *Machi* Galvarino plays *kultrun* and sings every morning as part of his *machi*'s duties, and Lorenzo Maripil is a well-known traditional singer or *ülkantufe* around his home community. Nevertheless, neither *machi* Galvarino and Lorenzo Maripil is as good a performer as Joel Maripil or Lorenzo Aillapán, the other two informants this study had at that time. Based on Joel Maripil's musical insights combined with some hints about the tonal material of traditional music that I had already identified in a few songs, I found that the data already gathered from Lorenzo Maripil and *machi* Galvarino might not be coherent with the features that traditional music is supposed to have.

It is important to mention that I am not trying to overlook the social and cultural aspects involved in Mapuche music making. However, this investigation primarily aims to examine the main musical traits of traditional Mapuche music, including a determined tonal material, certain rhythmic patterns and several key musical understandings. There are traditional performers such

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[51] People usually call a traditional Mapuche authority by her/his title and first name, and that of most literature in Spanish and English.

as Lorenzo Maripil and *machi* Galvarino who play an important role in the development of several musical practices held in their communities, but they do not strictly follow the autochthonous aesthetical codes, are not fully aware of how they work and do not thoroughly manage the traditional musical knowledge. Therefore, the musical data and the understandings they would provide might not be necessary pertinent to determine the main traits of traditional music.

As Kartomi (1981:240) argues, 'it is difficult to know whom to accept as credible spokesmen' in order to define the main features in a given music, due to different members of a community may regard different features as the central or most important ones. Nettl (2005:17) points out that there are 'three ways' to search into the central concepts of a determined music culture: 'by asking the society's own "expert"', 'by asking members of the society at large' and 'by observing what people do and what they say to each other'. As will be discussed below, people who sing and play instruments in religious musical practices present a wide range of performance expertise, which is often associated with the role they play in the development of those group activities. Thus, the analysis of the roles played by performers within religious musical practices provides some clues about who would be the 'credible spokesmen' for a research as this.

Considering the information summarised in Chapter 2 about the main features of traditional music, Mapuche religious musical practices are what Turino (2008:28) defines as participatory performance. As he argues, participatory performance focuses 'on the doing, and on the other participants, rather than on an end product that results from the activity'. Turino adds that this kind of performance makes no clear distinctions between artist and audience, and musical sound quality is not necessarily pursued. Moreover, participatory performance is led by a 'core' group of musicians that provide constancy to the music making, allowing different levels of music competence to integrate all the participants in the musical practice, even the ones with scarce musical skills (Turino 2008:29-31).

By applying Turino's concept of participatory performance, the analysis of Mapuche musical practices within religious settings shows the following. Mapuche group performances are led by a core group of performers, which in this case consists of traditional authorities. Arguably, the main aim pursued by the traditional authorities who conduct religious activities is to engage all the participants in the musical performance, including those with scarce musical skills. This implies

that there is no audience because everyone within the context of a Mapuche religious ceremony is considered to be a participant, and every participant should be part of the musical performance. Therefore, participants do not necessarily have to manage the traditional Mapuche musical knowledge for being part of a musical performance, as that responsibility is assigned to the core group of performers.

By combining Kartomi, Nettl and Turino's ideas pointed out above, I recognise three possible 'credible spokesmen' for researching the main musical traits of traditional Mapuche music. They correspond to the Mapuche musical 'experts' who are part of 'core group of performers', the participants 'at large' who do not necessarily manage any significant musical skill, and the researchers who create their own informed view by observing what core group performers and participants at large do and say to each other. I consider that the best approach to achieve pertinent findings for this study is by investigating the 'experts' as 'credible spokesmen' in order to include their terms and understandings, but also by incorporating my own informed views to complement and clarify the experts' ideas.

In order to investigate the Mapuche 'experts', I started to look for traditional skilled performers as potential informants, which significantly reduced the number of people that may meet such criteria. However, Maripil and I found that most of the skilled performers we tried to engage in this research project were not fully aware of the traditional musical knowledge, many of them even being completely ignorant about it. It means that most of them did not know what exactly they were performing, or at least were not able to communicate the implied musical knowledge. Due to the fact that this study aims to explain the main Mapuche musical traits by using mostly Mapuche autochthonous understandings, the lack of awareness regarding that knowledge certainly would have hindered the obtaining of pertinent findings. Therefore, I modified again the features of the performers I was attempting to engage in this study, looking for what I call 'competent performing artists', reducing even more the number of potential informants.

I based my definition of 'competent performing artist' on the ideas associated with 'competent musician' explained by Kartomi (2014:191) as 'performers who have mastered their culture's generative musical grammar and can therefore create music that is comprehensible to all who have mastered the rules of style'. As the practices performed by my informants are wider in range than

the ones commonly associated with a 'musician', I consider that 'performing artist' is a much more suitable way to refer to them. Thus, competent performing artists are singers, instrumental players, dancers, poets and actors who have achieved a certain degree of expertise in their respective disciplines, who also are aware to a significative extent of their culture's aesthetic values, performing resources and compositional techniques.

As will be detailed in the next section, this research project has a total of eight informants and six of them correspond to competent performing artists. Based on my field experience and the information provided by all my informants, there is an evident scarcity of competent Mapuche performing artists. Although there is no doubt of the significant role of music in conducting religious practices, traditional authorities that lead those activities are not necessarily skilled performers or do not manage the musical knowledge required. Being aware of this situation, many communities hire or invite competent performers to support activities involving traditional music. In the case of my informants, most of them are regularly hired or are invited to collaborate in the conduction of religious activities. Despite such scarcity, there is still an important number of competent performing artists throughout the country, but most of them do not perform or share their musical knowledge beyond the scope of certain traditional practices.

By discussing with two of my informants the causes of why certain competent performing artists do not perform and share their musical knowledge beyond the scope of certain traditional musical practices, I found three main reasons. Joel Maripil and Elisa Avendaño point out that they have met very good Mapuche performers, but most of them sing songs or play instruments only within their communities because they feel the 'shame' of being Mapuche, are not allowed by their communities to share that knowledge or are unwilling to do it (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

First, Avendaño and Maripil claim that it is noticeable that many Mapuche still feel the 'shame' of being Mapuche, which lead them to avoid certain cultural elements such as language and music as a way to avoid their identification with the Mapuche people. According to Avendaño and Maripil, this 'shame' is the result of the long-standing discrimination the Mapuche have suffered, a situation that has facilitated the loss and weakening of the traditional culture. As they explain, it was widely believed among the Mapuche that by not transmitting certain cultural aspects to their

descendants, they might not be recognised as Mapuche and, hence, might not be discriminated against (pers. comm.Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm.Maripil 2013a).

As Quilaqueo and Fernández (2010:10) argue, 'the difficulties to accept the Mapuche socio-cultural identity' have entailed a lack of interest to teach and learn the language, as well as to transmit other distinctive cultural elements. In addition, Vergara and Campos (2005:84-85) indicate that the Mapuche have lost or hidden their most distinctive cultural traits, such as language, dress, traditions and ceremonies among others, as a way of avoiding being recognised as Mapuche and discriminated for such reason. In the case of competent performing artists, Avendaño and Maripil indicate that these performers are no exception and consequently, many of them are still afraid of being discriminated against if they are recognised as Mapuche. As a result of that, many competent performers sing and play instruments only for their very close people and, sometimes, avoid transmitting their musical knowledge to the rest of the community (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

The second reason refers to competent performing artists who are not allowed to dance, sing or play instruments outside sacred contexts because they have been chosen by their communities to perform exclusively in religious instances. It relates to the ancestral Mapuche codes that are still in use in several communities, which suggest that some traditional knowledge or *kimün* should be learnt and performed only for religious purposes (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

As will be detailed later in this chapter,[52] certain musical practices are regarded by the entire Mapuche people to possess a religious connotation, while with others the religious or non-religious status varies among one community to another. This implies that the particular views of the performers' home community establish what kind of knowledge is considered to be sacred and therefore, what can be shared only for religious purposes. For example, in most Mapuche communities, the dance called *choyke purrun* is considered to be a non-religious practice (pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014), but in some Pewenche communities, it is regarded as a ritual dance (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b).

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[52] Refers to 'The Link between Musical Practices and Mapuche Religiosity' in Chapter 3.

The third reason about why some competent performing artists do not share their musical knowledge beyond the scope of certain traditional practices relates to the lack of willingness. Avendaño and Maripil explain that they accept and support the attitude of some competent performers who restraint their activities to traditional religious practices performed in traditional contexts, because their behaviours are truly a consequence of their life experience and the context where they live. However, there are other performers who have acquired some 'duties' because they have experienced a different reality; hence, they have no excuses for not sharing the musical knowledge (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

Avendaño and Maripil claim that those performers who are unwilling to spread the traditional musical knowledge are 'stubborn' people and 'small-minded' with their culture. They argue that the ones who have acquired such knowledge also have acquired the 'duty' to strive to maintain the culture and by doing so, to deal with some of the ancestral Mapuche codes in the present day (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b). Avendaño adds that a lot of musical knowledge has been lost because many people 'have taken that *kimün* [knowledge] to the grave', because they did not share it even with 'their own people', the Mapuche (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b).

As has been discussed, most of the scarce competent performing artists restraint their activities to certain traditional practices due mainly to the three reasons explained previously. Excluding the aspects regarding the 'shame' of being Mapuche because of the long-standing discrimination they have suffered, the arguments point out limitations derived from the views about how to manage the traditional musical knowledge. Besides what has been already mentioned above, there are specific components of this research project that several of the competent performing artists that Maripil and I tried to incorporate in this study did not agree with. In general terms, the arguments brought forward by some potential informants were primarily related to aspects comprised in the research considerations about the music notation of Mapuche music, as well as to the folklorisation of the Mapuche repertoire and culture. As a result of that, they did not agree to collaborate in this study and even some of them called into question the development of a research project of this kind.

I explained to some potential informants that I was going to transcribe selected repertoire into music scores to use them for analysis, dissemination and educational purposes. As most of them claimed, such procedures and aims are not suitable means to share the traditional knowledge or *kimün*, because Mapuche music is attached to an oral-based tradition and only oral means should be used to communicate it. Moreover, the dissemination of Mapuche repertoire in the means proposed in this research project was considered by them as a way to folklorise the traditional music, because people without a deep understanding of the music culture or without a clear affiliation to the Mapuche people would have access to this music and perform it.

As most competent Mapuche performers that Maripil and I attempted to incorporate as informants in this research project often claimed, the traditional Mapuche musical knowledge is meant to be transmitted by using only traditional means and therefore, it should be performed exclusively in practices related to the tradition. On the contrary, there are also competent Mapuche performers who believe that some of those traditions need to be adapted to meet the necessities of present-day Mapuche society. By doing so, these competent performers coexist in two worlds, the traditional contexts comprised mainly of religious practices performed in rural communities, and the non-traditional contexts comprised of on-stage performances, lectures and workshops held mainly in urban settings.

Joel Maripil claims that the Mapuche people need to share the traditional knowledge using tools such as music videos, music albums, workshops, concerts and the internet among others means, and aim at both Mapuche and Chilean audiences. In the case of the Mapuche, Maripil argues that most of them do not live in traditional communities, do not speak Mapudungun and have lost any link with traditional practices and therefore, the enhancement and diffusion of the culture using other means besides the traditional ones is critical. On the other hand, Maripil argues that his approach of sharing the traditional musical knowledge with the Chileans has a 'political purpose', one that seeks the dissemination of the 'beauty', 'happiness' and 'values' of Mapuche music. By doing so, Maripil indicates that he tries to 'bring down' the prejudice, racism and discrimination against the Mapuche (pers. comm. Maripil 2013a).

As with Joel Maripil, there are other competent performing artists throughout the country who regularly carry out diffusion, educational and performance activities in both traditional and non-

traditional contexts.[53] In the specific case of singers and instrument players, my informants and I discussed how many of them are active and have released at least one musical album or have a credited participation in one. As a result, we found that only seven performers in the entire country fulfil all the criteria. They are Lorenzo Aillapán, Estela Astorga, Elisa Avendaño, Victor Cifuentes, Armando Marileo, Joel Maripil and Sofía Painequeo (see Plate 3). I attempted to interview those seven competent performers but, as will be detailed in the following section of this chapter, I was able to engage only five of them as informants of this research project.

Traditional Performers

Skilled Performers

Competent Performing Artists

That carry out diffusion, educational and performance activities in traditional and non-traditional contexts

That are active and have released at least one musical album or have a credited participation in one

1. Lorenzo Aillapán
2. Estela Astorga
3. Elisa Avendaño
4. Víctor Cifuentes
5. Armando Marileo
6. Joel Maripil
7. Sofía Painequeo

Plate 3. Categories of Mapuche musical performers.

My Informants

This study engages a total of eight informants, all Mapudungun speakers who have learnt about the Mapuche music culture in the traditional ways within their home rural communities. They are Lorenzo Aillapán, Estela Astorga, Elisa Avendaño, Gonzalo Huichalaf, Armando Marileo,

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[53] These diffusion, educational and performance activities conducted by my informants relates with the notions of 'transcultural communication' and 'projection' discussed by Cámara de Landa (1996:112-137). Other examples of projection conducted by my informants are described in subsequent sections of this thesis. I recognise that further research focusing on this particular aspect might contribute to the discussion of present-day musical practices of the Mapuche people.

Lorenzo Maripil, Joel Maripil and *machi* Galvarino Marivil. All of them regularly dance, sing or play instruments in traditional practices performed in traditional rural contexts. With the exception of Lorenzo Maripil, all are traditional authorities in their respective home communities. Six of them correspond to competent performing artists and the remaining two to traditional performers (see Table 4). The two informants that I refer to as traditional performers are Lorenzo Maripil and *machi* Galvarino Marivil, both from a traditional rural community called Kechukawin in the commune of Saavedra. As was explained earlier, Lorenzo Maripil and *machi* Galvarino do not fulfil the requirements to be regarded as competent performing artists as do the rest of my informants. However, they were interviewed at the very beginning of this study and are referred several times throughout the thesis. On the other hand, the six informants that I refer to as competent performing artists, regularly carry out diffusion, educational and performance activities in traditional and non-traditional contexts. One of them, Gonzalo Huichalaf, is a traditional dancer or *choykefe* and the remaining five correspond to singers and instrument players who have released at least one music album or have a credited participation in one.

The Informants of this Research Project	
Competent Performing Artists	1. Lorenzo Aillapán: singer, instrument player, poet and actor. 2. Estela Astorga: singer and instrument player. 3. Elisa Avendaño: singer and instrument player. 4. Gonzalo Huichalaf: dancer and actor. 5. Armando Marileo: singer and instrument player. 6. Joel Maripil: singer, instrument player and actor.
Traditional Performers	7. Lorenzo Maripil: singer. 8. *Machi* Galvarino Marivil: shaman.

Table 4. The informants of this research project.

In order to contextualise the level of pertinence of the information I gathered from my eight informants, I will discuss their involvement in traditional activities held in traditional rural communities. Furthermore, I will point out the strong commitment of some of them for spreading the Mapuche traditional knowledge beyond the traditional Mapuche world.

Lorenzo Aillapán

Aillapán is a poet, actor, singer and instrument player. He is arguably the best known Mapuche performing artists in Chile, due to his many appearances on television, in magazines and

newspapers. He has been part of several cultural activities sponsored by the Chilean government, such as the official presidential tours around France and Spain in 1998, South Korea in 2007 and China in 2008. In the world exposition 'Expo 2010 Shanghai-China', Aillapán performed in the official opening of the Chilean pavilion (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014). As part of the UNESCO program for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, he was awarded by the Chilean Ministry of Culture with the title of 'Living Human Treasure' (UNESCO 2012).

Aillapán refers to himself as an *üñümche*, a Mapuche word that translate into English as 'birdman', because the main theme of his poetry relates to birds. He was born in the 1940s in a traditional Lafkenche rural community called Rukatraro, in the Lake Budi area in the commune of Saavedra. During his childhood and youth, Aillapán's family lived in very good economic conditions in comparison with other Lafkenche and non-Lafkenche families in Saavedra. As Aillapán points out, such a wealthy situation allowed his family to send him to the local public school where he learnt to read and write in Spanish, and to hire a Mapuche 'wise man' or *kimche* to teach him about the traditional Mapuche knowledge (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014).

As most traditional Mapuche performers, Aillapán has been involved in traditional Mapuche performing activities since his childhood, but it was not until the late 1980s that he started to do it in a more devoted way aiming at both the Mapuche and non-Mapuche audiences. Since then, he has released the music albums *El Altar mas Alto*[54] and *Wünül: Concierto de Pájaros*,[55] recorded in 2008 and 2010 respectively. Together with the Chilean ornithologist Ricardo Rozzi, they published a journal article (Aillapán and Rozzi 2004) and a book (Aillapán and Rozzi 2001) that combine poetry, the Mapuche world view and ornithology, both fully written in Spanish and English with sections in Mapudungun. Aillapán is also the single author of two books, one about Mapuche poetry (Aillapán 2003) and another about the Mapuche world view and its link with the flora and fauna of the Mapuche territory (Aillapán 2007).

Currently, Aillapán lives in the town of Puerto Saavedra, an urban area close to his home rural community. Although most of his performing activities are carried out in non-traditional contexts, Aillapán is still very connected to the traditional activities performed in his home community

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[54] In English, 'The Highest Altar'.
[55] In English, 'The Concert of Birds'.

where he is regarded as a *werken*, a traditional authority in charge of cultural affairs. Outside his home community, Aillapán is commonly referred as a traditional singer or *ülkantufe* and also as an *ayekafe*, a term used to refer to people who play musical instruments and develop other performing and entertaining activities.

During the period I developed my fieldwork, Aillapán was part of several artistic and education projects related to the Mapuche culture, such as a film called *Pelokëlan* that will be released in cinemas in 2017, an educational tour around Chile and Argentina with the theatre company Ñeque Teatral, as well as many concerts of traditional Mapuche music. Several of those cultural activities including workshops, lectures and intercultural meetings were developed together with his friend, Joel Maripil (see Figure 1 and Figure 2).

Figure 1. Lorenzo Aillapán. Concert *Ecos del Lago Budi*, at Cultural Centre La Perrera, Santiago de Chile. January 2013.

Figure 2. Lorenzo Aillapán and Joel Maripil. Mapuche cultural day at a primary school in Huapi Island, Saavedra. July 2013.

Estela Astorga

Astorga was born in the 1950s in a traditional Lafkenche rural community located in Huentelolén in the commune of Cañete. At that time, her grandfather and grandmother were respectively the *longko* and *machi* of the community. In the present day, Astorga still lives in her home community where she is regarded as a *lawentüchefe*, a traditional authority that seeks the well-being of people by using the medicinal and spiritual power of herbs and plants. She has built a strong link with many Mapuche and non-Mapuche people from Huentelolén, which is in part the result of her duties as a *lawentüchefe* but also because of her involvement in several non-Mapuche communitarian activities (see Figure 3 and Figure 4). In the last 40 years, Astorga has been involved as both participant and instructor of many social, cultural and educational activities organised by the

municipality of Cañete, local neighbouring associations, the Mapuche museum of Cañete and the Intercultural Hospital of Cañete. Those activities include handcraft workshops, women meetings and musical workshops, as well as several technical trainings regarding intercultural health procedures, hospitality and the tourism industry (pers. comm. Astorga 2014).

Although Astorga is highly involved in several community activities, in the last decade she has not been part of the traditional activities organised by her home traditional community such as the *ngillatun* and *we tripantü* celebration. As she explains, some Mapuche authorities started to discriminate against her when she embraced Pentecostalism a while ago, a situation that was reinforced when she started to develop activities for the diffusion of Mapuche culture among non-Mapuche people. Astorga details that such discrimination has involved insults and threats to her, mainly by 'young' members of her home community who claim that she is a 'traitor' for selling the culture to the '*wingka*',[56] as well as that Christianity and the Mapuche religion cannot coexist together. Those 'young' members, she adds, also have argued that she is an 'impure' mestizo rather than a truly Mapuche, based on the fact that her father was a non-Mapuche. In spite of that, she receives many invitations from other traditional communities to participate and conduct traditional activities. Moreover, she sporadically organises religious activities that are held at her home and attended by Mapuche and non-Mapuche relatives, friends and neighbours (pers. comm. Astorga 2014).

As with Lorenzo Aillapán, Astorga has been singing, dancing and playing instruments in traditional activities held in traditional rural contexts since her childhood, but at some time she started to do it in a more systematic way, explicitly aiming a at a non-Mapuche audience too. In 2003, she began to develop language and music workshops in the local public schools around Huentelolén, a situation that led her to be invited to perform in other activities such as cultural festivals and official public events. As an example of that, Astorga is regularly hired by the Intercultural Hospital of Cañete and the Mapuche Museum of Cañete to collaborate in specific artistic and education projects (pers. comm. Astorga 2014).

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[56] The term '*wingka*' is commonly used to refer to non-Mapuche people and culture. According to all of my informants, the term '*wingka*' implicates a negative connotation and therefore, it should not be used to refer to non-Mapuche people. The term translates into English as 'new invader' and 'thief'.

Astorga has recorded two music albums that combine traditional music and dialogues in Mapudungun. The first one is called *Waiwen Kürüf: Vientos del Sur*,[57] which was released in 2007 and includes the participation of Joel Maripil. The second album is called *Pewma Lamuen*,[58] and it was recorded together with Armando Marileo in 2014. Furthermore, Astorga has been involved in several cultural tours that include most of the Chilean regions, as well as other countries such as Peru, Canada and the United States. In the latter, she participated in an intercultural meeting organised by the Saint Cloud State University of Minnesota in 2013. Together with Joel Maripil and other Mapuche guests, they developed workshops and concerts in the university campus, as well as attended several meetings with Native American people from a nearby reservation (pers. comm. Astorga 2014).

Figure 3. Estela Astorga. At her handcraft workshop/store, showing the traditional Mapuche way to spin. Huentelolén, Cañete. October 2014.

Figure 4. Estela Astorga and the author. At her kitchen during a recording session. Huentelolén, Cañete. October 2014.

Elisa Avendaño

Avendaño is an *ülkantufe* born and raised in a traditional Pewenche rural community in the commune of Lautaro, about 50 km north-east of Temuco. She holds several traditional titles relating to traditional functions linked to Mapuche medicine. As with Estela Astorga, Avendaño is a *lawentüchefe*, but also a *püñeñelchefe* or midwife, *gütamchefe* or bone setter, and a *ngenpin* or helper of *machi*. She has published two books about Mapuche culture, one focused on traditional music (Avendaño et al. 2010) and the other about women's traditional dress (Avendaño 2014c).

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[57] In English, 'Southern Winds'.
[58] In English, 'The Dreams of My Brothers and Sisters'.

With her Mapuche music group called Mapuche Ñi Kimvn, [59] she has recorded the albums *Kalfüray Ñi Lawen*[60] in 2001, *Wenuntutu Aiñ Tañi Mapuche Kimvn*[61] in 2005, and *Wilipag*[62] in 2007. In the present day, she lives in the urban area of Padre Las Casas, about 5 km south of Temuco.

In the mid-1980s, Avendaño started to devote herself to musical and cultural activities as a member of the Mapuche cultural and political organisation Ad Mapu. As she explains, some of the 'political' goals of this Mapuche organisation were related to the promotion of Mapuche culture and strengthening of the Mapuche identity. As a way to achieve those political goals, Avendaño and other members of the Ad Mapu began to organise workshops of Mapuche music and dance, but these activities were open exclusively to Mapuche people.

At that time, Avendaño explains, Ad Mapu members used to believe that dissemination of traditional knowledge exclusively among Mapuche people was the right thing to do. The reasons related to feelings of distrust towards the non-Mapuche were still very strong, as well as to the fact that such approach was the one that had always been used. However, the Ad Mapu found that there was a genuine interest from non-Mapuche people about their traditional culture, and came to believe that targeting a wider audience may help them to better achieve their political goals. As result of that, they started to 'open up' the culture by teaching and performing traditional music in non-traditional contexts, mainly schools and cultural festivals. One outcome of that new approach was the revival of the *we tripantü* celebration (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b).

In 2008, Avendaño was awarded with the national prize 'Santos Chavez', an acknowledgement to indigenous women artists (SIGPA 2015). In 2014 and 2015, she was part of several activities devoted to the dissemination of Mapuche culture, such as an international meeting for indigenous women held in Brazil, a symposium about indigenous languages organised by the Catholic University of Chile and several *we tripantü* celebrations held across the country. Several of those cultural activities including concerts, lectures and workshops were developed together with Joel Maripil and Lorenzo Aillapán (see Figure 5 and Figure 6).

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[59] In English, 'The Wisdom of the Mapuche'.
[60] In English, 'Medicine of the Blue Flower'.
[61] In English, 'Rise up the Wisdom of the Mapuche'.
[62] *Wilipag* corresponds to a male name.

Figure 5. Elisa Avendaño. *We tripantü* celebration organised by the Mapuche Community of Villa Alemana and the Municipality of Villa Alemana. June 2014.

Figure 6. Elisa Avendaño and Joel Maripil. *We tripantü* celebration organised by the Mapuche Community of Villa Alemana and the Municipality of Villa Alemana. June 2014.

Gonzalo Huichalaf

Huichalaf is a *choykefe* or traditional dancer of a traditional Williche rural community in Purulón, about 10 km east of Lanco in the commune of Loncoche. He was raised in several small towns around Loncoche and in the city of Temuco, but continuously visiting and staying in his parent's home rural community in Purulón. Huichalaf has always been involved in all the traditional activities held in his parent's community, thus he refers to it as his home community. At the time I interviewed Huichalaf, he was living in the city of Temuco but then he moved to the town of Dalcahue on Chiloe Island. This combination between the rural and urban worlds explains why Huichalaf regards himself as a Mapuche-Williche, but also as a *warriache*, term used to name the Mapuche who lives in urban settings (pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014).

Choykefe is primarily used to refer to the people who dance *choyke purrun* or 'rhea dance', but also it is used to name the lead dancers who have been chosen by their communities to perform in the main traditional celebrations. In the case of Huichalaf, he has been chosen by his community as a lead dancer to perform in the *ngillatun* and *we tripantü* celebrations annually held in Purulón, as well as in other traditional gatherings organised by other Mapuche communities. Some communities require their *choykefe* to dance exclusively in traditional activities performed for traditional purposes, but Huichalaf's community does not. Thus, he has no significant constraints to dancing and sharing the traditional Mapuche knowledge beyond the traditional rural scope.

In his urban life, since secondary school Huichalaf has been regularly involved in activities that pursue the dissemination of the Mapuche culture. These activities are developed as a way to reengage the urban Mapuche into the Mapuche traditions, but also to share the Mapuche culture with the non-Mapuche. Some of those activities are linked to the part of the culture that clearly can be regarded as traditional. For instance, he has been part of many *we tripantü* celebrations organised by primary and secondary schools across the country (see Figure 7). There, Huichalaf usually conducts lectures about the origins and features of the celebration, participates in the ceremonial part of the activities and performs traditional dances (pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014).

Other activities that Huichalaf has been regularly developing are linked to the non-traditional part of the culture, such as theatre plays and dance performances based on Mapuche stories or that contain Mapuche elements including music and language. For example, Huichalaf was part of *I am Mapuche* (see Figure 8), a dance-drama play written and directed by Lemi Ponifasio.[63] This dance-drama was premiered in the 2015 International Theatre Festival Santiago a Mil held in Chile, and then performed in the 2015 Auckland Arts Festival (pers. comm. Huichalaf 2015).

Since I met Huichalaf in a *we tripantü* celebration in June 2014, his main professional activities have been related to adventure tourism and hospitality. Huichalaf have undertaken several tertiary programs regarding tourism and recently in 2015, he opened his own adventure sports business. However, during June and November–December when the *we tripantü* celebrations and *ngillatun* are respectively held, he devotes a significant part of his time to attend and collaborate with such celebrations (pers. comm. Huichalaf 2015).

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[63] Lemi Ponifasio is the founder and director of MAU, a contemporary dance and theatre company based in New Zealand.

Figure 7. Gonzalo Huichalaf. *We tripantü* celebration held at a primary school in Temuco. Photograph provided by Huichalaf. June 2014.

Figure 8. Gonzalo Huichalaf and Lemi Ponifasio. Rehearsal of the play *I am Mapuche*. Photograph provided by Huichalaf. January 2015.

Armando Marileo

Marileo was born in the 1930s in a traditional Lafkenche rural community located in Pocuno, in the commune of Cañete. He is a very well-known musical instrument maker who is regarded as an *ülkantufe* and *kimche*, traditional singer and 'wise man' respectively. Marileo was a full-time staff member of the Mapuche Museum of Cañete from 1974 to 2003, where he helped to gather and catalogue many of the items that are part of the museum's collection. Most of the musical instrument that are in the exhibition were either collected or made by Marileo. In the present day, he lives in the urban area of Cañete where he has a small museum-school in the front wing of his house (see Figure 9). There he displays a variety of objects regarding the traditional music culture, such as musical instrument, masks and traditional dress, among others. He also develops workshops about music and musical instrument making (pers. comm. Marileo 2014b).

As with Estela Astorga, Marileo explains that he has been explicitly excluded from the traditional activities organised in his home community in Pocuno, because the current 'young' traditional authorities believe that he has 'betrayed' his own people. Marileo points out that several times 'young' Mapuche from his community have recriminated against him by arguing that he is selling the culture to the '*wingka*', as the dissemination of traditional knowledge among non-Mapuche is often considered as a way of 'betrayal'. He adds that people have come to his museum-school to threaten him, demanding that he stops his cultural and performance activities. However, Marileo is invited to participate in and conduct traditional activities carried out in other traditional rural communities, as well as to be part of the official activities developed by the local municipality and

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social and cultural organizations (pers. comm. Marileo 2014b). For example, in the official celebration of the *we tripantü* organised by the Municipality of Cañete, Armando Marileo and Estela Astorga were invited by the local authorities to conduct the ceremonial part of the activity (pers. comm. Astorga 2015).

Since the 1970s. Marileo has been involved in activities regarding the dissemination and empowerment of Mapuche culture (see Figure 10). As part of his activities in the Mapuche museum, Marileo developed classes of Mapuche agriculture in the local technical secondary school. He has also been part of several international cultural tours including visits to Peru, United States and Sweden (pers. comm. Marileo 2014a). In 1987, Marileo published a testimonial article about his childhood experiences (Marileo 1987). In *Música Mapuche* (Pérez de Arce 2007), a significant quantity of the ethnographic information contained in the book as well as of the musical samples of the annexed CD were provided by Marileo. As was already mentioned, together with Estela Astorga he recorded in 2014 the album *Pewma Lamuen*.

Figure 9. Armando Marileo and the author. At his museum-school during fieldwork, Cañete. November 2014.

Figure 10. Armando Marileo. Lecture about traditional Mapuche music and Mapuche musical instruments. At 2014 Pulsar Music Festival, Santiago de Chile. December 2014.

Joel Maripil

Maripil is an *ülkantufe* and *ayekafe* from a traditional Lafkenche rural community called Kechukawin, in the Lake Budi area in the commune of Saavedra. He was born in this community in the 1960s and since then he has been involved in traditional activities performed in traditional rural contexts such as dancing, singing, musical instrument playing and story-telling. His community named him *ngenpin* in 1999 and *werken* in 2002, and after that he started to devote

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himself as a full-time performing artist. As he explains, at that moment he acquired a 'duty' to his people and felt himself called to spread the ancestral Mapuche wisdom as a way to fulfil such 'duty' (pers. comm. Maripil 2013a).

As part of his 'duty', Maripil explains that he gradually began to increase the quantity and quality of the cultural activities he was conducting, becoming his main professional activity in the present day. He adds that such musical and cultural activities he carries out pursue a 'political' goal that seeks the enhancement of the social and cultural situation of the Mapuche. To accomplish such goal, Maripil believes that two factors are needed: the strengthening of the traditional culture among the Mapuche, and the demystification of several prejudices against the Mapuche culture held by the majority of the non-Mapuche population (pers. comm. Maripil 2013a).

Maripil has a vast musical and cultural career, which I will summarise with the following milestones. In 2002, he formed a Mapuche musical ensemble in his community called *We Rayen*, which ran until 2006. In 2004, the Municipality of Tirúa hired him to create the Children Mapuche Orchestra of Tirúa, where he developed teaching and conducting activities until 2010. In 2009, he produced a music album called *Akun Budi*[64] that comprised a compilation of traditional songs performed by traditional singers from the Lake Budi area. In 2012, he recorded a CD/DVD called *Akun Awkin*: *La Llamada del Eco*.[65] Among the several research projects he has been involved, Maripil was the main informant and collaborator of a study about traditional singing in the Lake Budi area, which led to a book entitled *Muñkupe Ülkantun*: *Que el Canto Llegue a Todas Partes* (Caniguan and Villarroel 2011) and the chapter called '*El Ül*' in the book *Mapuche* (Villarroel 2012). Furthermore, he has been part of several national and international concerts and cultural tours, including the 2012 International Summit of the Ancestral Spirituality held in Bolivia, the 2013 World Music Festival Kultrun in Canada, the 2014 International Music Festival WOMAD held in Santiago, and several workshops, lectures and performances carried out in Melbourne in 2016 (see Figure 11 and Figure 12).

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[64] In English, 'The Echo of the Budi'.
[65] In English, 'The Call of the Echo'.

Figure 11. Joel Maripil. *We tripantü* celebration organised by the Mapuche community of Lo Barnechea, Santiago de Chile. June 2014.

Figure 12. Joel Maripil. At 2014 Pulsar Music Festival, Santiago de Chile. December 2014.

Lorenzo Maripil

Lorenzo Maripil is an *ülkantufe* and the father of Joel Maripil. He was born in the 1930s in Kechukawin, where he has been involved in all the traditional activities. As a member at large of a traditional rural community, he has been singing and dancing in all kind of religious activities such as funerals or *eluwün*, *ngillatun* and *machitun*. As an *ülkantufe*, he has been performing traditional songs for entertaining purposes, usually in small gatherings. He was part of the compilation album produced by his son in 2009 and the CD that accompanies the book *Muñkupe Ülkantun* (pers. comm. Maripil 2013c). As was mentioned, he is a traditional performer rather than a competent performing artist; thus, he was interviewed only at the very beginning of this research project when I was focused on traditional performers (see Figure 13 and Figure 14).

Machi *Galvarino Marivil*

Machi Galvarino is also from Kechukawin community. He is a neighbour of Joel Maripil and, as with Lorenzo Maripil, he was interviewed at the beginning of this study when I was attempting to examine traditional performers (see Figure 15 and Figure 16). He is an apprentice of *machi*, the traditional Mapuche shaman that seeks the well-being of people by intermediating with spirits or *ngen*. He was born in the 1990s and got 'the call' to be a *machi* when he was almost twenty years old and was attending a university in Temuco. As the duties of *machi* must be carried out in a rural context, as he explained to me, 'the call' made him leave Temuco and come back to his home

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community. As an apprentice of *machi*, he performs religious healing ceremonies involving musical practices under the guardianship of elders from Kechukawin, as well as from other traditional communities (pers. comm. Marivil 2013).

Figure 13. Lorenzo Maripil. Interview and recording session at Kechukawin community, Saavedra. July 2013.

Figure 14. Lorenzo Maripil and the author. At Kechukawin community, Saavedra. July 2013.

Figure 15. *Machi* Galvarino Marivil and the author. Recording session of Lorenzo Maripil at Kechukawin community, Saavedra. July 2013.

Figure 16. *Machi* Galvarino Marivil and the author. Kechukawin community, Saavedra. July 2013.

The Link between Musical Practices and Mapuche Religiosity

As was pointed out in the introduction of this chapter, most literature and people involved in Mapuche music making suggest that the musics that represent Mapuche identity the most are performed in religious practices held in traditional contexts, which implies that traditional performers might be the most credible spokesmen. However, in the previous section I discussed why I ended up examining a group of competent performers instead of traditional performers, as well as substantiating their pertinence as informants. Similarly, in the following sections I will

address the reasons why I ended up gathering information mainly from particular religious practices held in non-traditional contexts and non-religious activities, instead of religious practices performed in traditional contexts, as is commonly suggested. In doing so, I will discuss several particularities of the Mapuche music culture and their links with religious matters, as well as substantiating the pertinence of the musical practices I investigated for generating generalisations about the traditional music culture.

Because it is widely claimed that the most significant Mapuche musical practices are performed within religious contexts, particularly in the ceremonies called *ngillatun* and *machitun* (Pérez de Arce 2007:103-127), I began this study attempting to gather information from these two ceremonies and from other religious activities in which my potential informants would be involved. The main aims of Mapuche religious practices are, of course, related to religious aspects rather than musical goals, but certainly music is essential for the proper development of such activities. In the healing ceremony called *machitun*, for example, *machi* Galvarino explains that everyone sings, prays, dances or plays instruments. He adds that music is meant to be a tool for facilitating the connection between the *machi* who conduct the ritual and the spirits or *ngen*, as well as a means to engage the *machi*'s helpers and other participants into the healing process (pers. comm. Marivil 2013).

In the case of the group prayer called *ngillatun*, Avendaño explains that music is crucial for pointing out the different stages of the ceremony and for the engagement of all participants into group activities. For instance, every activity within a *ngillatun* starts with a call comprised of an instrument playing or *toque* performed in a *kultrun*, which is followed by others instruments such as the *kun kull* and *trutruka*. Furthermore, every activity comprises several stages and each stage is associated with a specific *toque*; therefore, when a new *toque* is performed, it indicates the passing to the next stage of the activity (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, 2014b).

Nevertheless, after nearly two years of research I desisted from investigating solely religious practices held in traditional contexts, mainly because of two factors. The first one relates to dearth of competent performing artists within those contexts, which certainly would affect the gathering of pertinent data in the way discussed earlier in this chapter.[66] This factor relates primarily to the

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[66] Refer to 'Competent Performing Artists and Their Role as Informants of this Study' in Chapter 3.

performer's level of expertise, but it is significantly interrelated with the religious character of some Mapuche musical practices that often restraints the behaviour of competent performers. The second factor corresponds to difficulties in developing several research procedures such as audio and video recording among others, because they are commonly regarded as activities that do not suit the religious ambience and are discussed as follows.

As will be discuss in Chapter 4,[67] audio records of songs and instrument playings performed by my informants were crucial for the musical analysis conducted for answering the principle research question, which relates to the delineation of the main musical elements of traditional music. However, the religious character ascribed to some musical practices and how that religiosity is perceived and addressed by their participants often generate some conflicts with certain procedures, such as audio recording. In the specific case of this study, getting the required oral or written permission from the participants of the activities I was aiming to examine was not possible.

When I was attempting to study the musical practices performed within a *machitun*, for example, I was helped by *machi* Galvarino who agreed to introduce me to the basics about this healing ritual and facilitate my participation in ceremonies. Although *machi* Galvarino was willing to collaborate in my research, he was not sure if the recording of a *machitun* was recommended or suitable for the natural course of the ritual. As he argued, a *machitun* involves a very intimate experience connected with a powerful 'spiritual energy' or *newen*. He explicitly mentioned the presence of supernatural factors that may impact negatively on the people involved in research activities, because the use of recording gear and the attitude of researching may not be compatible with the traditional elements and 'energies' of a *machitun* (pers. comm. Marivil 2013).

Moreover, *machi* Galvarino pointed out that a *machitun* involves not only the *machi* who is in charge of the ritual but also the person who looks after physical, mental and spiritual well-being, her/his family and also the *machi*'s helpers, all of them with the same religious concerns. Thus, it was highly possible that the participants of this ritual would not approve of the presence of an outsider during the ceremony, especially one recording the activities (pers. comm. Marivil 2013). Based on the feedback I got from several of my informants as well as from people I met during my fieldwork that have participated in a *machitun*, the concerns laid out by *machi* Galvarino

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[67] Refer to 'The Process Conducted to Delineate the Main Musical Traits of *Wünül*' in Chapter 4.

represent the common thinking among people involved in this healing ceremony. After assessing the feasibility of examining the musical practices performed within a *machitun* in the means this study required, I desisted from investigating this ceremony. As I considered, getting the required permissions was going to be practically impossible, at least in the period assigned for fieldwork.[68]

As with the *machitun*, at the beginning of this research project I was attempting to study the musical practices performed within the *ngillatun*. It was not difficult to get an invitation to participate in a *ngillatun*, maybe because of the help of my informants who introduced me to several people who were going to organise some of these celebrations. After being invited to several *ngillatun* to be held in Mapuche communities located around Santiago and Temuco, I talked with the respective traditional authorities in charge to get the necessary permission to conduct my research activities. All those traditional authorities claimed that the study of the *ngillatun* in the means I required was not possible because of the religious character of this celebration. To exemplify this in detail, I will illustrate one of the situations I experienced as follows.

In October 2014, I met the chief or *longko* of a large Mapuche community in Santiago.[69] He was thirty-five years old and we met each other at the launch of a diploma course in intercultural health policies focusing on Mapuche people that was going to be taught in the University of Santiago. The launch started with a Mapuche religious ceremony performed on the lawns of the university campus, which was led by this *longko* and his family. In the religious activity, he played *trutruka*, demonstrating performing skills; thus, I asked him to participate in my study. He immediately agreed to help me and, after around one hour talking with him and his family, he cordially invited me to the *ngillatun* he was going to organise with his community at the end of November.

A few days later when we were discussing some aspects about this research project, the *longko* pointed out that audio and video recording within a *ngillatun* were forbidden for both Mapuche and non-Mapuche participants, because those procedures do not suit the required religious

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[68] Bacigalupo (1993:21-22; 2003:49; 2007:11-12) explains that she conducted three years of fieldwork with a few specific *machi* before she finished her first study about Mapuche shamanism. She adds that her gender helped to get 'access to the world of [Mapuche] shamanism, which is dominated by women and celibate men'. Bacigalupo adds that the complexity of those religious contexts made very difficult to get access to those people and ceremonies, as well as to maintain the relationships with her informants.

[69] I do not provide his name or the name of his community in order to maintain his anonymity.

ambience of the celebration. The *longko* added that he may give me the required permission, but other participants of the *ngillatun* may not agree with that and could throw me out of the celebration and even break my recording gear. In the last meeting we had at his home, I let him know that I was not going to record or even take field notes, due to the concerns he previously laid out. However, he explained to me that some participants may suspect that I was a researcher and I could get expelled from the *ngillatun* anyway. Based on that suspicion, he added, I could be inspected for cameras or mobile phones, and any found devices would be destroyed.

Despite these circumstances, I was still willing to interview this *longko* because he and his family had always been kind and polite to me. Nevertheless, he told me that he was not able to sign a Monash University consent form nor be recorded by any means if the traditional knowledge or *kimün* was involved. In relation to the *ngillatun* that I was invited to, I asked him several times when and where it was going to be held, getting as an answer that they did not know yet. Later in December, I noticed via Facebook that the *ngillatun* was celebrated during the first weekend of that month. Although I was told that recording still images an video were forbidden for both Mapuche and non-Mapuche, some Mapuche participants posted on Facebook a video and several pictures of the activities, including some of the ones considered to be very sacred that are performed in the centre of the ceremonial field.

The situation described above relates primarily to the religious character of the *ngillatun* and how its sacred status conditions the expected behaviour of the participants, but also illustrates certain aspects regarding the study of Mapuche music by a non-Mapuche. Based on my field experience, there are certain implicit and explicit precepts that all the participants of a Mapuche religious activity are meant to follow, such as the ones mentioned in the previous account, but in practice they are not equally applied to Mapuche and non-Mapuche participants. For instance, on 20th of June 2014, I participated in a *we tripantü* celebration organised by the Mapuche Student Home Pelontwe. My focus was on the religious ceremony to be performed at the beginning of the entire celebration and to get the permission to record still images and video, I talked with a female student who was going to conduct the ceremony. She was around twenty years old, used to live in the student home and was in charge of the entire celebration.[70] When I asked her if I could record the

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[70] I do not provide her name in order to maintain her anonymity.

activities, she told me that it was not possible. As she argued, participants are not allowed to take pictures, audio or video record or even talk on their phones, because of the sacred character of the activities. She indicated to me that I could record only the activities that were going to be held in the dining room after the religious ceremony was ended. However, several Mapuche participants openly recorded the activities with their mobile phones.

The literature presents abundant descriptions of how the religious character of some Mapuche musical practices configures several precepts that participants should follow, but I have not found any significant mention about how they may affect the inquiry of those performance contexts. Similarly, there are many accounts about how those precepts are particularly applied to non-Mapuche participants, but they merely describe such situations rather than stress the fact that they are specifically applied to non-Mapuche people. In other words, the literature may describe several constraints applied distinctively to non-Mapuche participants, but there are no clear statements about the existence of particular constraints for non-Mapuche people. For example, Pérez de Arce (2007:126) provides the following description made by Armando Marileo about how the traditional authority called *kuriche*[71] help to conduct a *ngillatun*.

> The *kuriche* notice the white blood [the non-Mapuche] … they don't need them in the front, they have to stay in the rear … all the ones who are *wingka*, Chileans, they must stay in the rear…otherwise the *kuriche* go with the knife[72] and take them to the rear … they don't like the white blood because *lig mollfeñ*, which means the blood of the white men, does not please the rogation [the *ngillatun*] (Pérez de Arce 2007:126).

The text above depicts what I consider an interesting insight about the constraints that the outsiders namely the *wingka*, the white blood or the Chilean, have to experience within a traditional religious ceremony. However, Pérez de Arce (2007:126) does not provide any further discussion about it.

As has been pointed out, several aspects of the performance contexts are determined by the link they may have with Mapuche religious matters. In the Mapuche music culture, however, it is not easy to determine what is or what is not linked to Mapuche religiosity. Maripil and Avendaño argue that all the musical practices can be classified either into 'ritual' and 'non-ritual', but what

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[71] *Kuriche* literally means 'black people'. It refers to the colour of the masks they wear during the activities.
[72] The knives used by the *kuriche* are not real knives, they correspond to large blunt objects made of wood.

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is considered to be ritual or sacred varies across Mapuche subgroups and also across communities within the same subgroups. For example, the Pewenche usually consider the *choyke purrun* or 'rhea dance' to be part of the ritual, while the rest of the Mapuche subgroups usually consider this dance to be part of the non-religious activities called *ayekan*. However, there are also some Pewenche communities that perform the *choyke purrun* as part of the *ayekan* (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2013b).

Avendaño and Maripil claim that, since ancestral times, the Mapuche religiosity covers every aspect of the culture; thus, everything is considered in some way to be sacred or at least linked to religious matters. They point out that the belief of every cultural aspect being connected to Mapuche religiosity is still widely held in the present day, but the attitude of many Mapuche is more flexible which allows the use, practice and performance of religious elements in non-religious contexts and vice versa (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2013b). As Foerster (1993:11) explains, Mapuche people symbolically link their deities and ancestors with self-identity aspects, elements of their daily life and to the land, flora and fauna that surround them. Thus, the Mapuche 'religious symbolism' covers every cultural aspect, making difficult to split the sacred matters with the ones that are not (Foerster 1993:11).

The ambiguity between the religious and non-religious aspects of the culture can be partially explained by the meaning and uses of the word *kimün*, which is the closest Mapuche term to refer to the Western notions of religiosity and culture. The Mapuche scholar María Catrileo in her Mapudungun-Spanish-English linguistic dictionary provides five translations for *kimün* as 'knowledge', 'wisdom', 'culture', 'language and culture' and 'dictionary'. In relation to 'knowledge' and 'wisdom', Catrileo uses these terms to implicitly refer to intellectual skills, cultural features and religious aspects (Catrileo 1998:xix-xxii, 40-41,203).

In the case of my informants, they use the term *kimün* to refer to the culture in general, to religious matters in specific, and to skills such as the required to perform music, among others. For instance, to play the *trutruka* in a *ngillatun* or to sing on a stage, 'a *kimün*' or 'a skill' is required. Furthermore, if the *kimün* is linked to religious aspects, they stress that connotation using Spanish words such as '*ritual*', '*religioso*' and '*sagrado*',[73] but no Mapuche words. On the other hand, if

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[73] Those Spanish terms translate into English as 'ritual', 'religious' and 'sacred' respectively.

the *kimün* is not linked to religious aspects, they stress that connotation using Spanish words such as '*no ritual*' and '*no religioso*', but also using the Mapuche term *ayekan*. Thus, the manner of stating the religious or non-religious character of *kimün* varies depending on the use of Spanish or Mapuche words in the way I discuss as follows.

When using mostly Spanish terms and referring to aspects linked to the religious *kimün*, my informants usually do not state the religious character behind them, which means they do not use Spanish words such as '*ritual*', '*religioso*' or '*sagrado*' among other ways. Rather, they tend to state the religious character of certain cultural aspects using Spanish words if they need to clarify, rectify or make explicit the religious meanings ascribed to them. By contrast, when they refer to cultural aspects related to the non-religious *kimün*, they usually state their non-religious nature by using Spanish words such as '*no religioso*' and '*no ritual*' among other ways. In other words, this gives the impression that every Mapuche cultural aspect is implicitly linked to the religious *kimün*, unless otherwise stated.

When using mostly Mapudungun terms, my informants change the way of pointing out the religious or non-religious nature of the *kimün*, mainly because of the absence of terms in the Mapuche language to refer to the Western notions of 'religion', 'religiosity' and 'ritual', among others.[74] For example, in a conversation with Gonzalo Huichalaf, we discussed how to express in Mapudungun the sentence: '*choyke purrun* is a religious dance'. It is possible to say '*choyke purrun ta ponwitu kimün mew*', which means '*choyke purrun* is part of the *kimün*', but it does not specify whether it corresponds to the religious or non-religious *kimün*. It seems to be that there is no way to say literally that the *choyke purrun* is 'a religious dance', 'a ritual dance' or 'part of the religious culture'. However, there are some ways to suggest that a cultural aspect is related to the religious *kimün*, such as '*choyke purrun ta ponwitu ngillatun mew*', which means '*choyke purrun* is part of the *ngillatun*'. Due to the fact that it is widely known that the *ngillatun* is a religious ceremony, the previous sentence implicitly ascribes a religious connotation to the *choyke purrun* (pers. comm. Huichalaf 2015).

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[74] Although Mapudungun is the first language of all my informants, for a more conclusive statement about the absence of such notions in Mapudungun, further research is required focusing on linguistic issues with Mapuche specialists in that area.

There is no concise manner to state the religious nature of a cultural aspect by using Mapudungun terms. On the contrary, to point out that something belongs to the non-religious part of the culture using the Mapuche language is much simpler and, to some extent, clearer. To do so, my informants use the Mapuche term *ayekan*. For example, Huichalaf and I discussed how to express the following sentence in Mapudungun: '*choyke purrun* is not a religious dance'. This sentence cannot be translated literally into Mapudungun because there is no equivalent terms for both 'religious' and 'not'. However, it is possible to express that this dance is primarily a non-religious one by saying '*choyke purrun tüfey ayekan*' or '*choyke purrun tüfey ayekantundungu*', which translate into English as '*choyke purrun* is part of the *ayekan*' and '*choyke purrun* is an expression of *ayekan*' respectively (pers. comm. Huichalaf 2015).

At a semantic level, the term *kimün* can be understood as an umbrella term that covers all the Mapuche cultural expressions, including religious and non-religious aspects. At a pragmatic level, this term acquires specific significances that can be linked to either religious or non-religious aspects of the culture, but often such particular meanings are ascribed tacitly. Thus, the context where the term *kimün* is used determines its specific scope. *Kimün* primarily has a religious connotation within a holistic view; it means that also everyday elements mentioned as or linked to *kimün* can be implicitly understood as something with spiritual or supernatural features. For instance, to play *trutruka*, 'a *kimün*' is required, which can be understood both as a kind of spiritual gift and as a kind of empirical skill.

Although the term *kimün* is primarily related to religious aspects, such religious meaning can also be stressed or explicitly stated, but only using Spanish words. However, most times the religious connotation ascribed to the term *kimün* remains implicit. By contrast, when the term *kimün* acquires a non-religious significance, such a connotation is often stressed or explicitly stated using several Spanish expressions as well as the Mapuche term *ayekan*. Consequently, the term *kimün* essentially refers to knowledge, cultural aspects and skills within the religious scope, unless it is stated as *ayekan*. Furthermore, every Mapuche activity is the expression of '*kimün*', 'the *kimün*' or 'a *kimün*', and every *kimün* is related to specific supernatural energies or *newen*. It means that if 'the *kimün*' or 'a *kimün*' is considered to be religious, the associated *newen* is too. However, even the non-religious practices called *ayekan* are not totally separate from religious elements. As Huichalaf explains:

When [the *kimün*] wakes up, it projects itself towards *ad* [everything] … Basically, every activity developed in group has a religious character, even in the *ayekan* where the *purrun* [the dance] is performed. [The group activity] acquires energy and therefore [the energy] projects itself from the land to the *wenumapu* [land of above/heaven] and then it comes back … But in the *ayekan* performed [after a religious activity] with the purpose to entertain, that [religious] energy remains floating and [the *newen* of the *ayekan*] does not acquire [a religious *newen*] and does project a religious energy (pers. comm. Huichalaf 2015).

Interpreting Huichalaf's ideas, every activity is generated by a *kimün*, and that *kimün* generates *newen*. He mentions two aspects of *kimün* that I also heard many times from people involved in Mapuche music making. The first one is that 'every activity … developed in group has a religious character'. As will be addressed in Chapter 4,[75] group performances that present participatory features are the musical practices commonly linked to Mapuche religiosity. In contrast, single or small group performances that possess presentational features are the musical practices considered to be non-religious activities or *ayekan*. The second aspect of *kimün* mentioned by Huichalaf is that the religious *newen* 'remains floating', even if the religious activity has finished. Thus, it is highly probable that non-religious activities held in traditional contexts would coexist with the religious *newen*, extending even more the scope of what would be considered to be involved with religious matters.

I have no doubt that musical samples and data gathered from traditional religious activities held in traditional rural contexts would be very valuable information for any research. Nevertheless, this study aims to delineate the main musical traits of traditional music and those elements that can also be found in other performance contexts. As Maripil explains, the songs and instrumental playings part of the *ngillatun*, *machitun* or of any other religious practice present the same musical elements with the traditional music performed on a stage, in a family celebration or in a conference, among other non-traditional performance contexts. For this to occur, the traditional music performed in those non-traditional settings has to be interpreted by competent singers and

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[75] Refer to 'Traditional Mapuche Music' in Chapter 4.

instrument players with experience in religious activities held in traditional rural contexts (pers. comm. Maripil 2015). Indeed, the musical practices I examine in this research project correspond mainly to traditional musical forms interpreted in non-traditional performance contexts, such as intercultural ceremonies, music festivals and conferences. Categorising the activities I investigate, some of them are connected to religious matters and I refer to them as 'open religious ceremonies', while others are primarily non-religious practices commonly regarded as *ayekan*.

Musical Practices Performed in Open Religious Ceremonies and in the *Ayekan*

There are particular religious ceremonies that are performed not only for religious grounds but also for sharing part of the religious culture with non-Mapuche people. They could be performed in traditional rural communities, but their most common settings correspond to non-traditional urban contexts within the scope of cultural festivals, intercultural meetings and tourist activities, among others. I call them 'open religious ceremonies' because, as I heard many times from people involved in these activities, they are held in order to 'open up' the culture to non-Mapuche people as a way to bring the two cultures together, the Mapuche and the Chilean.

Based on my experience as a participant in many open religious ceremonies, the central part of this ritual usually comprises the performance of a *ngellipun*. Traditionally, a *ngellipun* consist of a short rogation performed at the beginning of a much longer religious activity held in a traditional community. Although the *ngellipun* is commonly referred to as a 'prayer', it also involves other performance practices such as singing, dancing and instrument playing. As Avendaño and Maripil point out, there are other similar rituals to the *ngellipun* that fulfil the very same religious function. Those rituals may vary in structure, but the role of the participants, the function of music and the musical elements are practically the same as with the *ngellipun*. Furthermore, Avendaño and Maripil claim that the *ngellipun* is by far the most common short ritual performed in traditional contexts, and the one usually included in open religious ceremonies (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

I define an open religious ceremony as any ritual or gathering held as a means to share part of the religious culture with non-Mapuche people. In doing so, several traditional aspects tend to be made more flexible to allow and encourage the attendance of people who are not familiar with the Mapuche religious precepts. An open religious ceremony also can be conducted as a means to

enhance cultural and identity aspects in both traditional and non-traditional contexts. In such case, the main targets are the Mapuche people but the attendance of non-Mapuche is also pursued.

An example of an open religious ceremony performed as a means to enhance cultural and identity aspects is described in Silva-Zurita (2014). There, I discuss how the traditional Pewenche community of Butalelbun used to organise mini-*ngillatun* within the local school as a way to 'show' the Mapuche-Pewenche culture to non-Mapuche people and to improve the engagement of the local Pewenche community in the traditional *ngillatun* (Silva-Zurita 2014:109-112). The traditional *ngillatun* in Butalelbun are meant to last two or four days, non-Mapuche people are not allowed to participate and photographs as well as other recording means are forbidden. However, the mini-*ngillatun* organised in the school used to last only a few hours, some of them were video-recorded and were attended by non-Mapuche teachers and the Catholic chaplain of the school, among other Mapuche and non-Mapuche guests (Silva-Zurita 2014:109-112).

According to all my informants, open religious ceremonies must be conducted by traditional authorities as a way to maintain as much as possible the traditional features, though some concessions have to made in order to adapt the ceremonies to the needs of the participants. Based on my field experience, those concessions relate mainly to the addition of Spanish in conducting the ceremonies and to allow the ritual to be performed after midday. Traditionally, Mapuche religious ceremonies are conducted exclusively in Mapudungun and performed from sunrise to noon. For example, on the 24th of June 2014, I participated in the *we tripantü* celebration organised by the non-traditional Mapuche community of Constitución (see Figure 17). The celebration started around 7:00 pm with a welcome speech addressed to the participants and local authorities such as the mayor, the chief police and government personnel. As this community no longer has a *longko* or another traditional authority, the organisers invited Joel Maripil to conduct the open religious ceremony that was going to launch the entire celebration. Maripil started by explaining to the audience that he was going to perform a *ngellipun* that, as any other Mapuche prayer, is traditionally performed in the morning. Maripil explained to the audience that in the present day some exceptions have to be made in order to 'gather, celebrate and share the Mapuche culture' and therefore, under certain circumstances the performance of a *ngellipun* in the evening is 'right'. The *ngellipun* was conducted primarily in Mapudungun, but Spanish was included as a way to engage the majority of the attendees who did not speak Mapudungun.

Figure 17. *Ngellipun* conducted in the *we tripantü* celebration organised by the Mapuche community of Constitución. June 2014.

In relation to the authenticity of open religious ceremonies, Avendaño and Maripil claim that it is necessary to stress the legitimacy of these kind of religious practices, because it is an aspect usually called into question by Mapuche and non-Mapuche people. As they argue, although open religious ceremonies differ in several aspects from the activities held in the traditional rural communities, they are legitimate and consistent expressions of the Mapuche *kimün*. Avendaño and Maripil add that open religious ceremonies synthesise the contexts and needs of the present-day Mapuche people, which involves in part the coexistence with the rest of Chilean society. Thus, open religious ceremonies may vary with practices performed in former periods in rural contexts. Nevertheless, it is very important to avoid the 'folklorisation' of these ceremonies, a situation that may occur when people who do not manage the *kimün* properly are involved in conducting and organising the ceremonies (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

To avoid the folklorisation of open religious ceremonies, Avendaño and Maripil are consistent in providing a series of indications that reflect their views about how to conduct these rituals. Based on the discussions I engaged with the rest of my informants, the observations made by Avendaño and Maripil represent to a significant extent their own views. The indications are summarised as follows.

Open religious ceremonies should be conducted by traditional authorities who manage the *kimün* in a proper way, which implies in part they have conducted religious practices performed in traditional rural communities. These ceremonies also could be conducted by an apprentice, a person who will become a traditional authority. Arguably, the most important aspect of an open religious ceremony relates to its religious connotation, which mean that it has to be underpinned by a religious purpose, otherwise it is just a 'show' or an on-stage performance. Furthermore, open religious ceremonies should be conducted primarily in Mapudungun, but Spanish could be incorporated in the way explained as follows. An open religious ceremony should start with a section in Mapudungun and then a section in Spanish could be added. The section in Spanish should be the Spanish version of what was said in Mapudungun, rather than an explanation of what was said in Mapudungun or what is happening or what is going to happen in the ceremony. Moreover, Spanish words should not be incorporated in the Mapudungun section, because Mapudungun has already the right words to express the *kimün* and to communicate with God and the spirits (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

Furthermore, open religious ceremonies should not include the musics and dances considered to be sacred, such as the *tayül* and *machi purrun*. *Tayül* corresponds to the kind of songs performed by traditional authorities in the centre of a ceremonial field during a *ngillatun*, and *machi purrun* is a dance performed by a *machi* during the performance of a *machitun*. There are many other musics and dances regarded as sacred, because they are performed at key moments during religious rituals as a way to communicate with the 'spirits' or *ngen*. Due to the 'energy' or *newen* involved in such musical forms, they have to be performed in traditional contexts and therefore, they do not suit the common settings of open religious ceremonies (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

The religious character of some Mapuche musical practices and the multiple ways adopted by their participants to approach such sacredness certainly condition what occurs in the performance contexts. But not all the Mapuche musical practices are meant to have a religious connotation; there are several of them that are performed in order to entertain people, which are commonly referred to as the *ayekan*.

Ayekan is a Mapuche term that has multiple uses. It has no exact translation in Spanish or English, but it is close in meaning to the term 'entertainment'. The most traditional use of this word is to refer to traditional activities developed in traditional rural contexts that are meant to entertain. Although musical practices that are part of the *ayekan* can be connected to religious activities, they have not primarily a religious connotation. For instance, Huichalaf points out that the *ngillatun* are held in ceremonial fields called *ngillatwe* and, in some way, everything within a *ngillatwe* during a *ngillatun* is considered to have a religious purpose, or at least to be connected with religious matters. A *ngillatwe* comprises a central ceremonial altar called *rewe*, and shelters located in the border called *kuni* that face east (see Plate 4). During a *ngillatun*, the activities conducted by traditional authorities around the *rewe* are considered to be sacred, while the activities developed in the *kuni* have no religious connotation and are commonly referred as part of the *ayekan* (pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014).
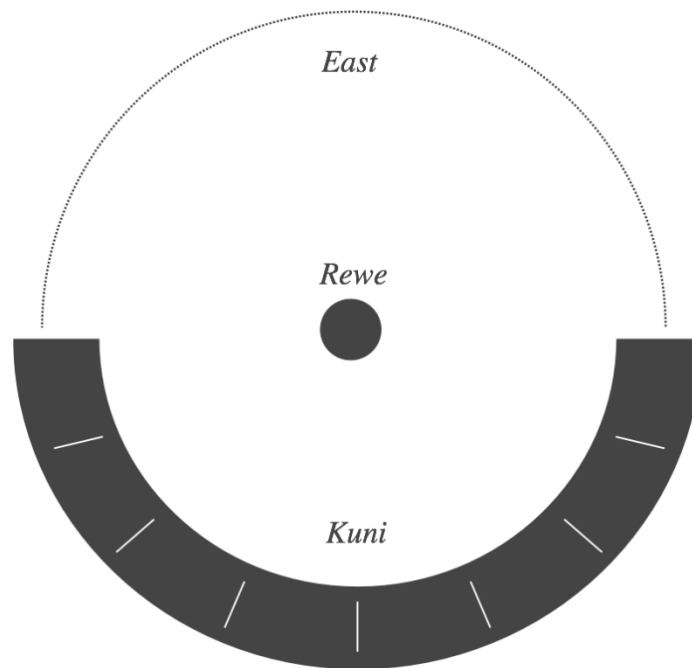
Plate 4. Diagram of a *ngillatwe*. The ceremonial field where the *ngillatun* are held.

Huichalaf adds that although the *ayekan* musical practices are not performed for religious purposes, in the context of the *ngillatun* they certainly would coexist with 'sacred energies' or *newen* coming from the religious activities held around the *rewe*. A very particular situation occurs with some dances such as the *choyke purrun*, *marra purrun*, *wümul purrun* and *longko mew*. Although these dances are usually performed around the *rewe* with the participation of traditional

authorities, most communities consider them to be part of the *ayekan* (pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014).

The differentiation between the religious and *ayekan* aspects within the context of the *ngillatun* seem to be established with blurry borders, but such discernment is clearer in other traditional activities. One of those, for example, corresponds to the Mapuche celebration for the construction of a house, called *rukan*.[76] Although this celebration is an *ayekan* activity, it usually starts with a *ngellipun*. The *ngellipun* presents a clear beginning and ending, as well as being meant to be the only religious activity during the *rukan*. Once the *ngellipun* is over, the rest of the cultural activities are considered to be part of the *ayekan* (pers. comm. Maripil 2014a).

A musical expression that always is considered to be part of the *ayekan* is the singing practice referred to as *ülkantun*, due to its main use to entertain or amuse people that attend a social gathering. The performance contexts of the *ülkantun* and, most importantly, the topic of the lyrics are always linked to secular everyday elements such as parties, traditional games and romantic encounters (pers. comm. Maripil 2013a, Villarroel 2012:228-229). The performance of *trompe* is another musical practice that is always considered to be an *ayekan* expression. As Caniguan and Villarroel (2011:80-81) argue, this is because *trompe* playing is consider to be another way of *ülkantun*, as they share the very same performance contexts and social functions.

But arguably, the main reason why the performance of *trompe* is considered to be *ülkantun* is due to the implicit lyrics in a *trompe* playing. As Astorga and Maripil explain, most *trompe* playings have implicit lyrics that 'speak' and 'tell' a story, as any song or *ül* (pers. comm. Astorga 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014a). Thus, it is possible to perform the very same *ül* by singing it or playing it in a *trompe* (see Video 1). Another reason why the performance of *trompe* is clearly an expression of *ayekan* is because it is the only instrument that traditionally is not performed in any religious activity, mainly because of its soft sound that does not allow it to be heard in the bustling religious contexts (González 1986:13, González and Oyarce 1986:58).

The musics and dances performed by my informants on stages, workshops and conferences as well as the ones included in artistic productions such as music albums and videos, correspond mainly

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[76] *Rukan* is a Mapuche term that literally means 'making a house'.

to *ayekan* musical forms. As all my informants argue, the musics part of the *ayekan* do not present any significant restraint related to the performance and management of traditional musical knowledge and therefore, it can be taught, discussed and performed in those non-traditional contexts. Furthermore, the musics and dances performed by my informants in open religious ceremonies are connected, in different extents, to the Mapuche religiosity, but they do not correspond to sacred singing and dancing styles. Hence, there are some restrictions in relation to the way to conduct open religious ceremonies, but they do prevent the performance of certain musical practices.

As was discussed, my informants are emphatic in claiming that the key musical traits of traditional Mapuche music are maintained among the several performance contexts, although they differ in terms of settings and the roles played by the stakeholders. Thus, the musical sound traits that this study seeks to delineate, such as tonal material and rhythmic patterns, are intended to be the same, no matter the context they are performed. However, Maripil explains that competent performing artists, such as Elisa Avendaño, Lorenzo Aillapán and Maripil himself among others, do not perform in traditional religious ceremonies as good as they do in a conference, on a stage or in an open religious ceremony. This is because, in traditional religious activities, the focus is not on the music sound itself but on other aspects, such as the lyrics that are customised to match what occurs at the moment of the performance, or on the performance of instrumental playings to engage the participants into group activities (pers. comm. Maripil 2015). On the contrary, Maripil and Avendaño explain that in performances carried out on stages and in workshops, conferences and open religious ceremonies, competent performing artists tend to be more focused on musical aspects. As a result of that, certain musical aspects such as melody and rhythmic patterns are better performed in non-traditional contexts (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014d, pers. comm. Maripil 2015).

In this chapter I have discussed several aspects regarding the Mapuche music culture, in part as a way to support the choices I made in terms of the pertinence of the musical practices and informants I investigate. As was pointed out, I started this research project attempting to examine traditional performers and musical practices performed in religious ceremonies held in traditional contexts, because they comprise the musical scope widely regarded to represent most the Mapuche music identity. Due to both practical grounds for conducting the required research activities and the seeking of pertinent data and informants, however, I ended up examining competent

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performing artists who perform in open religious ceremonies as well as in music festival, conferences and workshops among other non-traditional contexts. Having argued the significance of the musical scope I investigate, in the next chapter I will address the principal finding of this research project, which relates to the main sound musical traits of traditional Mapuche music.

Chapter 4—Main Musical Traits of Traditional Mapuche Music and My Conceptualisation of Mapuche Music

Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the main musical sound aspects of traditional Mapuche music, which correspond to the principal findings of this research project. As will be detailed, traditional music comprises several distinctive musical traits, of which this thesis focuses on tonal material, rhythmic patterns and the use of the acciaccatura, glissando and vibrato. However, most of the literature and that of the people who participate in traditional musical practices are wary of the use of certain Western music understandings to address the particularities of Mapuche music.

To support the pertinence of the above-mentioned musical traits within Mapuche music culture, I will start this chapter by discussing the views about Mapuche music widely disseminated in the literature and among people involved in Mapuche music making, which I refer to as generalisations about Mapuche music. As I will argue, most literature and people linked to music making tend to make generalisations that do not necessarily correlate with all the present-day musical practices. By addressing this issue, I will provide my own conceptualisation of Mapuche music that is mainly based on my informants' categories, delimitations and insights.

After that, I will explain the process I carried out to delineate the main musical sound aspects of traditional music, which comprises the music analysis of selected repertoire and the examining of my informants. Finally, I will discuss the features of those musical traits.

Generalisations about Mapuche Music as Outlined by Most Literature and People Involved in Music Making

The summary of the present-day musical practices discussed in Chapter 2[77] shows that most authors agree on several views about the constitutive aspects of Mapuche music. These views are comprised of consistent descriptions and analyses of cultural and musical traits linked to Mapuche music making, which I refer as generalisations about Mapuche music. For example, González (1986:28), Hernández (2010:14-23) and Pérez de Arce (2007:70-83) claim that some of the key features of Mapuche music are the absence of a Mapuche concept to refer to music, the

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[77] Refer to 'Summary of Mapuche Musical Practices in the Present-day' in Chapter 2.

unrepeatable and collective character of musical performances, as well as the explicit inclusion of soundscape as a musical element.

But after comparing the generalisations outlined by the literature with both the views held by my informants and my field observation of musical performances, I noticed that the literature does not address the following two aspects. First, the published body of work does not provide accurate discussions about several Mapuche and Western musical aspects, picturing the Mapuche music culture as a tradition consisting only of autochthonous elements and Western music as a narrow on-stage tradition. Second, the literature does not provide accurate descriptions of several constitutive elements of the Mapuche music culture, which generates a narrow scope for Mapuche music that excludes several of the present-day traditional and non-traditional practices. To discuss this point, I will present the following example of Juan Pablo González's statement:

> It is worth recalling that, for the Mapuche people, music does not exist as an isolated element. The perception of the musical phenomenon is always in relation to its context. They do not have the concept of 'music' nor 'musical instrument', they form an inseparable whole including the context where music is performed. The whole music-context cannot be separated with no alteration … There are also no spectators, everyone is a participant in the Mapuche musical collective practice[78](González 1993:80).

Although I consider that González's statement provides important insights about Mapuche music culture, I recognise the two problems mentioned above, namely the description of the Mapuche music culture as consisting solely of autochthonous elements and Western music as only an on-stage tradition, as well as the delimitation of a narrow scope for Mapuche music. Before expanding this discussion, I will provide another example that presents a similar perspective about Mapuche music, which corresponds to a statement made by Francisca Villarroel:

> … it is important to consider that this kind of music emerges from the context and from the people present in a particular moment; therefore, a performance is never going to be the

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[78] Original text in Spanish as follows: 'Es conveniente recordar que para los mapuches la música no existe como un acontecimiento aislado. Su percepción del fenómeno musical es siempre en relación a un contexto. No poseen el concepto de "música" ni "instrumento musical", éstos forman un todo indisoluble con el contexto en que son practicados. El todo música-contexto no puede ser descompuesto en sus distintas partes sin que sea alterado … Tampoco existen espectadores, todos participan en la práctica musical colectiva mapuche.'

same, because the context is never going to be the same again … In the Mapuche culture there is no clear separation between what in the Western we call music and the rest of the sounds, neither a separation between the spoken language and the musical language[79](Villarroel 2012:219).

As with González's statement, I consider that Villarroel provides some significant views about Mapuche music culture, but she presents the same two problems by claiming that Mapuche music does not present several Western music elements and vice versa, as well as providing generalisations that allocate several practices involving traditional music out of the scope of Mapuche music. In relation to the inaccuracy in the descriptions, for example, Villarroel (2012:219) and González (1993:80) point out a link between Mapuche music and the context where it is performed, implying that this situation does not occur within Western tradition. They also claim that the Mapuche do not have 'the concept of "music"' as Western people (González 1993:80, Villarroel 2012:219), but as will be discussed later in this chapter,[80] the Mapuche do have the concept of music and a term to refer to it.

González (1993:80) argues that Mapuche music consists of large-scale group practices with no spectators, as everyone is a participant. However, this claim does not correlate with the traditional musical practices performed by single performers and small group of performers, as well as on-stage performances, all of them with a clear separation between the audience and artists. In another example, Villarroel (2012:219, 225-227) explains that traditional singing or *ülkantun* consists of spontaneous performances of traditional songs or *ül* that have no fix structure, lyrics and melody. But as will discussed in the next section of this chapter, several performers play and sing traditional music that do not correlate with such generalisations, including some she interviewed such as Lorenzo Aillapán and Joel Maripil who are also informants of this study.

The inaccuracy of the generalisations outlined by the literature about Mapuche music is, arguably, the result of the particular approach adopted by scholars. In the examples presented above as well as in the background information contained in Chapter 2, there is a tendency to describe and value

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[79] Original Spanish text as follows: '… siendo importante en ello considerar que es un tipo de música que surge de acuerdo al contexto y a las personas presentes en el momento, y que por tanto nunca será igual, ya que un contexto nunca se repetirá… En la cultura mapuche no existe una separación nítida entre lo que los occidentales llamamos música y el resto de los sonidos, como tampoco existe diferenciación entre el lenguaje hablado y el lenguaje musical.'
[80] Refer to 'The Meanings of *Dungun* and *Wünül*' in Chapter 4.

Mapuche musical components by contrasting them with the Western tradition. By doing so, the notion of Mapuche music as an ancestral musical expression is stressed, as well as the aspects considered to be contaminated by or mixed with Western culture are often rejected or overlooked. Based on my field experience and on the evidence I will provide later in this chapter, I found the same tendency in different degrees in the music identity discourses held by my informants and that of the people involved in Mapuche music making. In other words, the generalisations about Mapuche music broadly disseminated among most people involved in musical practices are similar to the ones articulated by the literature; hence, they also do not necessarily correlate with all the present-day practices. Arguably, I consider that indigenist ideas present in the discussions about Mapuche culture and the view of Western music as an on-stage tradition are crucial in the construction of those generalisations, in the way I explain as follows.

The Influence of Indigenism and the View of Western Music as an On-Stage Tradition

As Knight (1990:80-81, 95-96) argues, indigenism is an ideology that has been historically linked to Latin American revolutionary movements, addressing issues related to 'race' and perceived discrimination by exalting indigenous features and implying negative values to the mestizo and foreign elements. In relation to music culture, Turino (1993:122-125) establishes a link between indigenism and music identity aspects in the Andean Peruvian context, arguing that '*indigenistas*' tend to articulate and stress a notion of 'ancient Inca "high" culture, both as a romantic allusion to Peru's glorious past and as a reference to the long history of European domination'.

In the Chilean context, several scholarly, social, political and artistic movements that strive for the social and cultural well-being of the Mapuche have adopted indigenism as a main approach to develop their agendas (Mallon 2014:20-21, 34-36, Saavedra 2002:113-115). Although the literature does not mention any link between indigenism and Mapuche music identity, I do recognise several of the key features of indigenism, such as the exaltation and idealisation of indigenous features (Graham 1990:3) and the addition of negative implications to the mixed and Western elements (Knight 1990:95-96).

In recitals and lectures, it was common that my informants Aillapán, Avendaño and Maripil engaged in discourses about the uniqueness and ancestry of the Mapuche music culture, stressing its superiority over the 'Chilean music'. In their arguments, Mapuche music is comprised of

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ancestral practices as well as musical elements and understandings that are not 'contaminated' with foreign influences, while the Chilean music is made by borrowed musical components (pers. comm. Aillapán 2013a, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2013b). In doing so, they construct an idealised music culture that stress certain values regarding ancestry, as well as overlook several Mapuche elements linked to Western tradition. For example, these performers often explain to the audience that traditional songs or *ül* are unique and unrepeatable because, in contrast with Western songs, they have no fixed melody, structure or lyrics. As they claim, such musical elements emerge from a given context in a given moment, and often are the result of the *newen* or 'spiritual energy' that manifests in or communicates through them (Aillapán 2013b, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2013b). However, in conversations and interviews where I discussed with them how they compose and perform an *ül*, they pointed out that in order to improve the quality of a performance, most of the *ül* they compose, sing and play have a fixed structure. Although they may improvise or make variations when they perform an *ül*, most of the melody and lyrics are maintained (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2013a).

On the other hand, regarding the view of Western music as an on-stage tradition, I refer to the ideas discussed by Turino (2009:101-107) and Nettl (2005:23-25) about how people often conceptualise Western music. Turino points out that, in cosmopolitan and capitalist societies, presentational performance is the most common kind of live performance and therefore, most of their members tend to define musical performance according to such benchmarks (Turino 2009:101). In such societies, Turino adds, presentational performance is also usually 'conceptualized as a commodity fashion to sell', stressing the roles of artists making music on a stage and an audience listening to it (Turino 2009:107). Additionally, Nettl explains that most members of Western society tend to held a limited concept of music that focuses 'only to the sounds one hears and to their representation in written notation' (Nettl 2005:24).

The ideas relating to the view of Western music as an on-stage tradition bias the discussions about Mapuche music, particularly in the tendency to conceptualise Western music as a music culture focused only on the sound itself, with no connection with the audience and performance context, and as a tradition consisting only of presentational performances. As was mentioned earlier in the chapter, Villarroel (2012:219), González (1993:80) and other authors cited in Chapter 2 tend to

introduce Mapuche musical aspects in counter-position to Western music, implying that the latter narrow tradition does not possess certain elements and particularities. This view provides the conditions to ascribe exotic values to Mapuche music but also, and most importantly, to reject and overlook several Mapuche cultural aspects considered to be part of or mixed with the Western music culture.

Arguably, the most significant influence of the view of Western music as an on-stage tradition relates to the articulation of the stereotypes of Western music as music culture consisting only of presentational performances, and Mapuche music as music culture consisting only of participatory performances. As is pointed out throughout Chapter 2, the literature presents several descriptions of traditional non-religious practices performed in rural contexts that present presentational features. However, the generalisations about Mapuche music are mainly focused on the traditional religious practices that present participatory features.

Indigenism and the view of Western music as an on-stage tradition have provided the grounds by which to articulate Mapuche music identity. By stressing or ascribing values related to ancestry and exoticness, the literature has constructed a romantic and idealised allusion of the Mapuche music culture, which tends to provide biased descriptions and generate inaccurate generalisations. Similarly, people involved in Mapuche musical practices tend to present the same tendency at different levels, which has led to seeming contradictions between the discourses of what Mapuche music is or should be and what is actually performed. In addition, the literature does not make any mention of the approach adopted to generate those generalisations, nor the inaccuracy of their statements, with the exception of a single work written by Jorge Martínez (2002) that I discuss as follows.

In a study about the attribution of new meanings to the present-day musical practices in urban Mapuche communities in Santiago, Martínez (2002) points out that the religious and non-religious music he covered in his field research do not fit into what commonly is depicted as Mapuche music. He describes the fashions that Chilean scholars and Mapuche people have adopted to discuss the identity of Mapuche music culture, arguing that they correspond to 'paradigmatic' and 'ideologised' approaches. On the one hand, Martínez mentions that the Chilean scholars have been

focused solely on musical practices and elements that are not part of the 'creole'[81] culture, searching for 'purity' in the 'exotic'. On the other hand, he points out that the Mapuche have adopted a rigid and 'self-referential' way to articulate their own culture (Martínez 2002:21-22). As he explains it:

> The concerns of many creole scholars for the 'purity' of the indigenous cultural manifestations have led them to deny the value of any manifestation considered to be 'contaminated' … This position is symmetric with an ideologised system of values that deny the possibility to the 'other' to be more than the denial of their own creole culture, this is in synthesis, the chance to be 'themselves' and the subject of their own evolution. This subordination of 'the otherness' lead the 'other' to rigidity—also ideologised—that regards their own cultural situation—and the musical one—as something static and self-referential[82](Martínez 2002:22).

Although Martínez raises the problems related to the explanations about what Mapuche music is and to the approaches adopted by Chileans and Mapuche, he does not develop further discussions, probably because his research is focused on other research aspects.[83] Martínez's insights about the 'paradigmatic' and 'ideologised' approaches used in the discussions about Mapuche music culture show consistency with my ideas related to the influence of indigenism and the view of Western music as an on-stage tradition. As was mentioned above, certain 'paradigmatic' and 'ideologised' approaches have led to biased discussions about the distinctive aspects of the Mapuche music culture. By using a dialectical approach between what is regarded to be Mapuche and what is not, the conceptualisations and generalisations about Mapuche music often stress the elements that are thought to be different, pure and ancestral, as well as reject and overlook the traits considered to be contaminated by and mixed with the Western tradition. To support this notion, I will discuss

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[81] Martínez uses the Spanish term *criollo* which translates into English as 'creole'. In the Chilean context, this term is commonly used to refer to traditional elements and is also used as a synonym of 'Chilean'.

[82] Original Spanish text as follows: 'La preocupación de muchos estudiosos criollos por la "pureza" en las manifestaciones culturales indígenas los lleva a negar todo valor a las manifestaciones consideradas "contaminadas" … Esta posición es simétrica con un sistema valorativo ideologizado que niega al "otro" la posibilidad de ser algo más que la negación de la propia cultura criolla, en síntesis, de ser "uno" y sujeto de su propia evolución. Esta subalternidad de "lo otro" re-envía a la rigidez–también ideológica–con la que se considera la propia situación cultural–y musical–como algo estático y autorreferente'.

[83] Strictly speaking, Martínez does not elaborate conclusive explanations about the problems related to the definition of what Mapuche music is and the approach adopted by the Chilean scholars. However, he does elaborate further descriptions about particular aspects of the Mapuche approach.

the arguments that Mapuche people do not have a concept of music and do not differentiate among sound, music sound and speech as follows.

The Meanings of *Dungun* and *Wünül*

In Mapudungun there are many words for 'sound', which in most of the cases make explicit references to the source of the sound (Pérez de Arce 2007:71). I will focus my discussion on the terms '*dungun*' and '*wünül*', as their meanings and uses related to word, sound and musical sound provide evidence to support my point about the differences among these aspects within the scope of the Mapuche music culture.

The lack of a term in the Mapuche language to refer to music is by far the main notion used to articulate the discourses about Mapuche music identity. For example, González (1993:80) and Pérez de Arce (2007:13, 83) indicate that the Mapuche do not have a term nor a concept to refer to music. In a similar way, Hernández (2010:62) mentions that 'the concept of music did not exist' in the Mapuche society, but he does not provide any further comment about the present-day situation. Díaz (2012:84) points out that it is argued that Mapudungun lacks a term to refer to music, but he mentions that such claim should be carefully managed because there is no unified criteria about the Mapudungun linguistic corpus. But the previous examples show a wrong assumption, that the lack of a term in the language of a given culture means that the people have not developed an associated concept.

As Nettl argues, 'the absence of a general term for music doesn't necessarily mean that there's no music concept' (Nettl 2005:21). Avendaño et al. (2010:17) address this situation by explaining that 'the Mapuche culture' does not possess a specific word to refer to music, 'but the attributes that are associated to this kind of cultural expression do exist and are called *ayekan*'. Nevertheless, the explanation given by Avendaño et al. does not address a significant aspect: it argues that the Mapuche culture and people do not have a specific word to refer to music, but that since the beginning of the 20th century the main language of Mapuche people is Spanish.

As indicated in Chapter 2,[84] around the 1930s the majority of the Mapuche had abandoned most of their distinctive cultural aspects including, their language. Rojas, Lagos and Espinoza (2015:3-

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[84] Refer to 'Present-day Music Culture (c.1930–)' in Chapter 2.

4) point out that in the last thirty years the number of Mapudungun speakers has significantly increased, due mainly to intercultural policies and programs that have facilitated its inclusion into the school system. However, currently only an 8.6% of the entire Mapuche population is able to understand and speak Mapudungun, most of these cases being bilingual speakers that use Spanish as a first language. They add that with the exception of a few elders who live within traditional rural communities, Spanish is practically the first language of the Mapuche (Rojas, Lagos and Espinoza 2015:3-4). Therefore, the claim that the Mapuche in the present day do not have a term nor a concept to refer to music is far from reality. This situation can be applied to other similar cases where it is claimed that the Mapuche do not have the terms and concepts to refer to certain Western musical aspects such as melody, rhythm or musical instruments.

Another notion present in most of the descriptions and generalisations about Mapuche music relates to the argument that this music culture makes no clear differences among sound, speech and music. For example, Villarroel (2012:219) and Pérez de Arce (2007:80) point out that Mapuche music is based on the Mapuche language and is performed in a context full of sounds to which religious meanings are attributed. As a result of that, 'the Mapuche people' do not set clear differences among 'music', 'sound' and 'speech' (Pérez de Arce 2007:80, Villarroel 2012:219). This notion clearly makes reference to the collective religious practices where participants believe that any sound element helps to communicate with the spirits and God (pers. comm. Marivil 2013, Pérez de Arce 2007:83-84). As most of the generalisations about Mapuche music, this notion may be pertinent only to the fraction of the music culture devoted to participatory religious practices, but does not cover the non-religious ones that possess presentational features. However, the Mapuche music tradition does differentiate among music, sound and speech in both religious and non-religious practices, which can be exemplified by the meaning of the Mapuche terms *dungun* and *wünül*.

The term *dungun* mainly presents two translations into English: 'language' and 'sound'. In relation to 'language', most Mapuche and non-Mapuche people know this meaning of *dungun*, primarily because this word is used in the name of the Mapuche language.[85] In contrast, I found that only

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[85] 'Mapudungun' is a term composed of the words '*mapu*' and '*dungun*', which translates into English as 'language of the land'. Another example is the speech variety called 'Chedungun', composed of '*che*' and '*dungun*' that translates as 'language of the people'.

people who recognised themselves as well informed about Mapuche culture use *dungun* to refer to 'sound'. For instance, the first time I heard that *dungun* also means sound was in a conversation I had in June 2014 with Joel Maripil and Elisa Avendaño. I mentioned to them that several authors argue that Mapuche musical instruments can 'speak'; thus, I asked them if such a statement was true. They explained to me that a *kultrun* playing can implicitly 'tell' you, 'Hurry up, the ritual is going to start' or 'Get ready, the dance starts right now'. In such cases, the sound of an instrument is called *dungun* because it provides a meaning that can be expressed by words. Avendaño and Maripil also pointed out that most of the times the sound made by a *trompe*, *trutruka* and *ñolkin* can be called *dungun*, because these instruments are mostly used to perform traditional songs or *ül* and therefore, such sounds should have implicit lyrics (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

A few months later in a similar conversation with Lorenzo Aillapán, he mentioned the same ideas explained by Avendaño and Maripil. He also added that sometimes sounds from nature can be regarded as *dungun*, if they provide a meaning that can be expressed by words. For example, Aillapán argues that the singing of a *tregül* or 'southern lapwing' may announce the arrival of someone by saying, 'So-and-so is coming; prepare some food', and in such cases the singing of this bird can be referred as *dungun* (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014).

In the case of *wünül*, this term has no equivalent term in Spanish nor English and when I asked my informants about its meaning, all of them answered with an undulating gesture with their hands to express something that moves up and down. Discussing in depth the meaning of *wünül* with Joel Maripil and Lorenzo Aillapán, they argue that it can be explained as 'something that moves in a waving way', that makes 'turns'. Aillapán adds that *wünül* makes reference to the onomatopoeic nature of a sound, something that cannot be explained by words (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2013a, Maripil 2014b). Although this term has no equivalent term in Spanish, it is usually translated in order to simplify discussion. For example, Aillapán refers to *wünül* as 'Mapuche tone', Maripil as 'melody' and 'Mapuche melody', and Avendaño as 'Mapuche sound' and 'Mapuche melody' (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2013a). Although there are semantic nuances between *dungun* and *wünül*, in practice the second term is used to refer to or stress the musical attributes of sound. This pragmatic use is

exemplified in the following explanation about the way my informants refer to the so-called musical instruments *kull kull* and *llol llol*.

The literature, as well as most people involved in Mapuche music making, widely argue that the *kull kull* is a musical instrument, because this horn produces sound and is performed in most of the collective musical practices. However, all my informants agree on the view that the *kull kull* is not a musical instrument, at least within the Mapuche musical tradition. As Avendaño explains, the *kull kull* is not used to perform any traditional song or *ül* because, in part, this instrument can play only one music note. She adds that a *kull kull* can be used to 'make a call', to start a group musical activity, to indicate something in the middle of a performance such as the end of a dancing section or to cheer up the participants or audience. However, Avendaño stresses that in those situations the sound of a *kull kull* is not part of the music, as it is not performed with a musical purpose and therefore it does not 'carry' *wünül*. Instead, a *kull kull* playing 'carries' *dungun*, because its sounds may mean, for example, 'Hurry up! We are going to start', 'Hey dancers! This is the last turn' or 'Come on people! Sing and dance with more energy' (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, 2014d).

Similarly, there are other musical instruments that my informants consider to be wrongly labelled as musical instruments. For instance, Pérez de Arce (2007:129, 307, 318) says that the *llol llol*,[86] *waiki*[87] and *palituwe*[88] are Mapuche musical instruments. However, Maripil and Aillapán claim that, even though these instruments produce sounds that are considered to be very important elements in collective activities, they are not performed with a musical intention (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2013b). In particular, the *llol llol* is a very noteworthy example because this sleigh bell is very similar to the *kaskawilla*; they even may share the very same bells. On the *llol llol*, the bells are attached to a strap designed to be worn in the ankle, wrist or waist, while on the *kaskawilla* the bells are attached to handle or a strap designed to be held in the hands of a music performer (pers. comm. Marileo 2014b). As with the *kull kull*, Aillapán and Maripil argue that the playing of a *llol llol* is not underpinned by a musical purpose and therefore, its sound does not possess *wünül* and cannot be regarded as a musical instruments (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2013b).

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[86] A kind of sleigh bell worn in the ankle, waist and wrist.
[87] A spear.
[88] A wooden stick used to play *palin*, a traditional sport game.

The musical instruments that are carriers of *wünül* can also be carriers or *dungun*. For instance, Avendaño explains that her compositional process of an *ül* starts with the creation of lyrics that already have an implicit rhythm and intonation. Then, she tries to 'figure out' the melody that she has in mind by performing it in a *trompe*, a process that provides a 'Mapuche melody' or *wünül*. At the end, the *ül* can either be sung or played by a *trompe*, *trutruka* or *ñolkin*. If it is played by an instrument, Avendaño points out that the lyrics are implicitly present, providing the duration and articulation of the music notes. Therefore, the voice and certain musical instruments can be carrier of *wünül*, because they are used to perform traditional music and provide a 'Mapuche melody', but also carriers of *dungun* as they have explicit or implicit lyrics (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b). Maripil adds that a 'well-performed' playing of *trutruka*, *ñolkin* or *trompe* is primarily a carrier of *wünül*, because it has 'Mapuche melody'. But if they are used to perform an *ül*, the sounds of those instruments also 'carry' *dungun* because there are lyrics underpinning the playing (pers. comm. Maripil 2014a).

Arguably, the most important aspect of *wünül* in relation to the aims of this study relates to its connotation as the right 'Mapuche melody', 'Mapuche sound' or 'Mapuche tone'. Besides stressing the musical attributes of sound, my informants use *wünül* to refer to the musical traits that they consider to be the identity elements of Mapuche music. In the case of rhythmic instruments such as the *kultrun*, *wada*, *kaskawilla*, and *pifilka*, *wünül* refers to the right timbre and right way to perform such instruments. For melodic instruments as the *trutruka*, *ñolkin* and *trompe*, including the voice, it also refers to melodics aspects. Maripil argues that in singing, *wünül* is given by the correct pronunciation of the Mapuche words, but it relates more to melodic aspects. He mentions that he has no idea about the music notes, scales or tuning comprised in a given melody, but he can recognise whether it has *wünül* or not (pers. comm. Maripil 2013a).

Avendaño points out that melodic Mapuche instruments, if they are performed properly, provide certain 'sounds' that are the base of a 'Mapuche melody'. Therefore, when she composes traditional music, she takes those 'sounds' from those instruments to compose music (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b). Aillapán argues that the sound of traditional Mapuche music has *wünül*, a 'Mapuche tone' that differentiates it from other musics, including the non-traditional and 'folklorised' Mapuche music expressions (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014). As will be discussed later

in this chapter, [89] traditional Mapuche music possesses distinctive music sound features characterised by a determined tonal material, certain rhythmic patterns and some stylistics techniques in performance. Indeed, *wünül* is the Mapuche term that refers to those distinctive music sound traits.

As was discussed above, in the present day, the Mapuche people do have a concept of music and a term to refer to it, as well as distinguishing music sounds from other kind of sound elements and from speech. Furthermore, most literature and people involved in Mapuche music making tend to provide descriptions, conceptualisations and generalisations that do not necessarily relate to the musical practices held in both traditional and non-traditional contexts. This occurs because, as I consider, most of the identity discourses and discussions about Mapuche music culture are often articulated by a dialectical approach that describes and values Mapuche music by contrasting it against the Western tradition. In doing so, the focus is on elements that are thought to be ancestral, pure and exotic, picturing a music culture that comprises only participatory religious practices performed mainly in traditional rural contexts. As a result of that, the current conceptualisations of Mapuche music do not provide explanations able to cover all the present-day musical practices and to address such an issue, I present my own conceptualisation of Mapuche music as follows.

My Concept of Mapuche Music

Although I have not yet defined Mapuche music, traditional Mapuche music and non-traditional Mapuche music, I have been using these three terms consistently throughout this thesis to refer to the particular meanings I discuss here. By embracing the categories, delimitations and views held by my informants, to which I have applied a few changes in nomenclature to provide a clearer discussion, I articulate a concept of Mapuche music that aims to cover all the present-day musical practices. In my conceptualisation, Mapuche music corresponds to an umbrella term that refers to the wide range of musics that should be regarded as Mapuche, comprising of the fields of traditional Mapuche music and non-traditional Mapuche music.

The field of traditional Mapuche music includes the subfield of ritual music characterised by participatory musical practices underpinned by religious purposes, and the subfield of *ayekan* music characterised by secular presentational performances. The field of non-traditional Mapuche

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[89] Refer to 'The Main Musical Traits of *Wünül*' in Chapter 4.

music seems to have several subfields as well, but as this study is not focused on those kind of musical practices, this thesis does not provide conclusive discussions about that field (see Plate 5). However, I will mention several particularities about non-traditional Mapuche music, due to it is required to discuss some aspects of the field of traditional music.
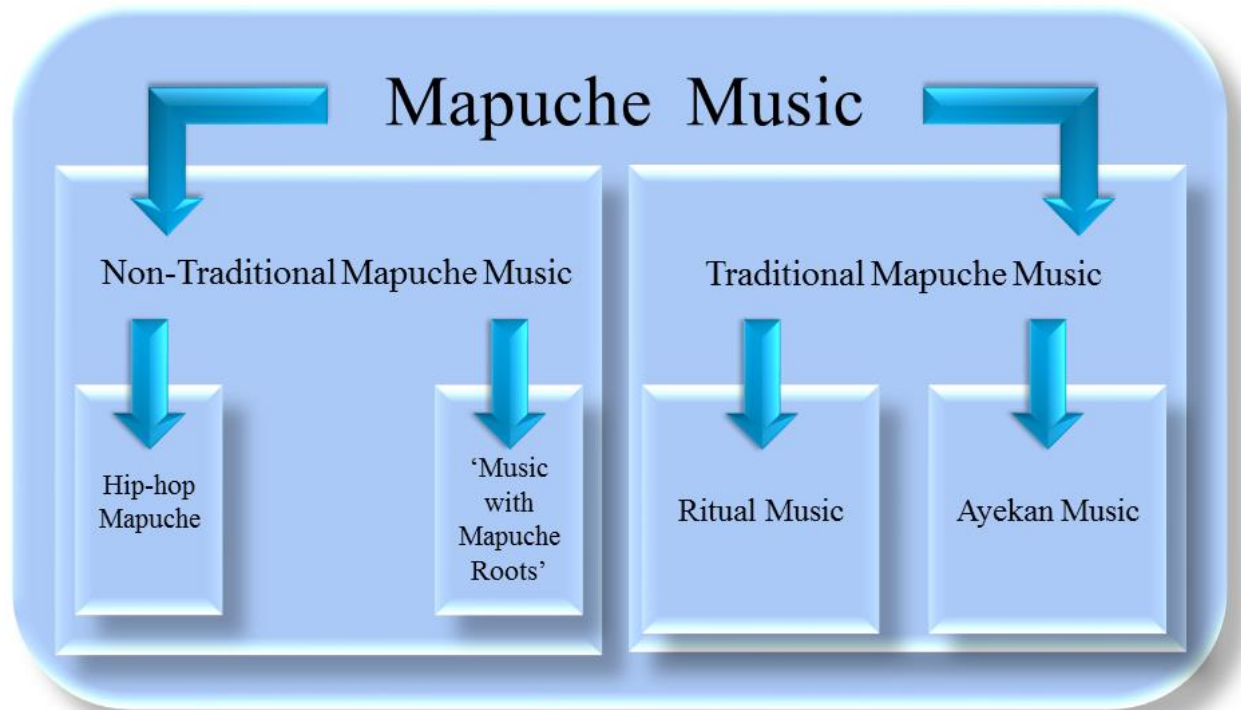
Plate 5. The fields and subfields of Mapuche music.

The few changes I applied to the nomenclature used by my informants are because some of the names they regularly use may generate some misunderstanding or may need to be clarified constantly. For instance, there is a well-defined musical scope that my informants mostly refer as 'Mapuche music', but also as 'ancestral music' and 'traditional music'. I decided to use the term traditional Mapuche music to refer to this kind of music, because I consider it as the most effective and clearest way. 'Mapuche music' may generate some misunderstandings with my concept of Mapuche music that comprises also non-traditional practices, as well as 'ancestral music' stresses an ancestry character that does not necessarily apply to all the musics within this scope. Furthermore, my informants refer to certain kind of musical practices as 'the other musics that are Mapuche' or 'the mestizo Mapuche music', among other names. As they argue, there are 'other musics' that differ from the Mapuche music tradition, but that are definitively part of the Mapuche music culture. To refer to this musical scope, I use the term non-traditional Mapuche music.

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In the following section, I will expand my ideas about the concept of Mapuche music. It is important to point out that the musical and cultural features I will mention are meant to stress some key aspects, and in no case should be read as checklist. Furthermore, I have to mention that the terms 'traditional' and 'non-traditional' are used to different extents by all my informants and most literature about Mapuche culture, as well as that this study does not aim to address the meaning of those expressions beyond the scope of the Mapuche music culture.

Traditional Mapuche Music

Traditional Mapuche music consists of traditional musical practices performed indistinctively in both traditional and non-traditional contexts. As traditional musical practices, I refer to any of the several Mapuche music and dance forms such as traditional songs or *ül* and the 'rhea dance' or *choyke purrun*, as well as to any of the several Mapuche social gatherings involving music and dance such as *ngillatun* and *ngellipun*. In relation to the performance contexts, I do not consider the urban or rural location as an indicator of traditional or non-traditional; rather, I focus on the meaning given by the participants to a particular setting. This means that a traditional context corresponds to a setting designated by a Mapuche community, organisation, family or traditional authority to perform traditional practices on a regular basis, and in a few cases as a one-time-only basis. Thus, I consider as traditional context the same rural settings that literature and most people involved in Mapuche music making regard as traditional or ancestral, but also the replication of those settings in urban areas, as long as they maintain their key tangible and intangible aspects.

An example of a traditional context located in an urban area is the ceremonial site or *ngillatwe* belonging to the Mapuche community of Lo Prado in Santiago. As with any *ngillatwe* placed in a traditional rural community, this one has a traditional altar or *rewe* located in the centre of the field, traditional shelters or *kuni* and it is used on a regular basis to hold traditional celebrations such as *ngillatun*, *palin* and *we tripantü* celebrations. An example of a traditional context that acquires that status because of the meaning given by the participants of a one-time-only basis activity, is the 'house making' celebration or *rukan*. In the rural tradition, a *rukan* gathers people together to celebrate the construction of a house, which involves music and dance. Thus, the context of a social gathering involving the same elements of a *rukan* but located in an urban area should be regarded as traditional as well. As non-traditional contexts I refer to any setting that does

not fulfil my previous criteria for traditional, such as music festivals, on-stage performances, lectures and workshops.

As is represented in Plate 6, traditional Mapuche music comprises two subfields that I refer as ritual music and *ayekan* music. These subfields are configured by the religious or non-religious connotation of their practices, but also by some musical features related to the mindset and roles of the participants as well as the arrangement of the performance settings. Ritual music is comprised mainly of participatory practices, while *ayekan* music of presentational practices. As Turino explains, participatory practices present no clear differentiation between artist and audience, allow different degrees of musical expertise in order to encourage everyone to be part of the performance, as well as are focused on 'the activity, on the doing, and on the other participant, rather than on an end product' (Turino 2008:26-32). By contrast, presentational practices involve a group of people who provides music to others. Usually, these performers are located on a stage, share a similar level of musical expertise and are focused on the musical result of a performance (Turino 2008:51-54).

Although the different mindsets, roles and settings between ritual music and *ayekan* music, the entire field of traditional Mapuche music shares the following three aesthetic traits. First, traditional Mapuche music is performed using only Mapuche musical instruments. Second, if singing is involved, the lyrics are primarily in Mapudungun but Spanish may be used as a complement. Third, the music sound itself of traditional Mapuche music has *wünül*, which comprises a determined tonal material, certain rhythmic patterns and the distinctive use of some stylistic techniques that will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.[90] It is important to note that these three aesthetic traits are the result of the synthesis I made of the several views held by my informants about the musical sound of traditional music. Once I came up with these three aesthetic traits, I presented them to most of my informants who significantly agreed with my statements.

To recap, most literature and people involved in Mapuche music making tend to consider as traditional Mapuche music the practices held in traditional rural contexts that are performed with Mapuche musical instruments and sang in Mapudungun. Furthermore, the generalisations about Mapuche music are mainly focused on the aspects present in the religious practices, excluding the

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[90] Refer to 'The Main Musical Traits of *Wünül*' in Chapter 4.

ayekan music. In my conceptualisation, I define the traditional and non-traditional contexts as a way to illustrate and discuss the performance contexts, but they do not interfere in categorising a given music as traditional or non-traditional. I also stress the presentational and non-religious character of the *ayekan* music, as it is widely argued that traditional Mapuche music comprises only religious participatory practices. Therefore, traditional Mapuche music corresponds to any traditional musical practice that presents the three aesthetic traits discussed above.

Non-Traditional Mapuche Music

Non-traditional Mapuche music corresponds to the range of musical practices performed in traditional and non-traditional contexts that do not present the three aesthetics traits discussed above. Usually, most of the musical practices within this field are erroneously considered to be non-Mapuche expressions and a few to be part of the traditional field. As this study is focused on traditional rather than non-traditional music, I will not provide final conclusions about this field. Therefore, the following insights about non-traditional Mapuche music should be read as approximations to the topic that need to be mentioned to discuss the concepts of Mapuche music and traditional Mapuche music but, at the same time, need to be studied further.

Non-traditional Mapuche music is chiefly music performed or composed by Mapuche people that may contains some aesthetic aspects from the traditional culture such as language, musical instruments and musical motifs among other features. It seems that there are several subfields within non-traditional Mapuche music that are differentiated from each other by genres and how close they are to traditional music. I recognise that on one end of the non-traditional field there is a kind of music that seems similar to traditional music, because it involves traditional musical forms primarily sang in Mapudungun and played mainly with Mapuche instruments. Based on my field experience, many people regard this kind of music as part of the traditional culture, probably because it correlates to their imaginary construct of Mapuche music. However, all my informants agree that performers of this kind of music tend to do not speak Mapudungun properly, as well as not manage the traditional musical knowledge and therefore, such music does not sound traditional.

Avendaño, Maripil and Aillapán mention that singers of this kind of music tend to do not pronounce properly the Mapudungun lyrics and most important, the melody, rhythmic patterns

and other music sound elements do not have *wünül*. Besides, it is common that this kind of music incorporates non-Mapuche instruments such as guitar, accordion and Chilean folkloric bass drum, which stress a non-traditional sound (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b). All my informants agree that this kind of music is not part of what I refer as traditional Mapuche music, but it is definitively part of the Mapuche music culture. Avendaño refers to this kind of music as 'music with Mapuche roots', Maripil as 'music with Mapuche inspiration' and Aillapán as 'folklorised Mapuche music'. Some of examples of singers and musicians of this kind of music are the Mapuche performers Beatriz Pichimalen, Nancy San Martín and Armando Nahuelpan (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b). This kind of music does not correlate to a significant extent with the characteristics pointed out in the literature about Mapuche music. Refer to Music Video 2 to see an example by Nancy San Martín.

On the other end of the non-traditional field, I recognise other musics that are based on non-Mapuche musical styles such as hip-hop and reggaeton, but that incorporate Mapudungun lyrics and Mapuche music elements, such as musical instruments. Based on my field experience, most Mapuche and non-Mapuche people tend to do not recognise these musics as Mapuche, probably as they are very different from their imaginary construct of Mapuche music. However, all my informants agree that these musics are the expression of the present-day social and cultural situation of the Mapuche people and therefore, should be recognised as Mapuche. An example of these musics is Wechekeche Ñi Trawün, a 'hip-hop Mapuche'[91] band formed by urban Mapuche. This band's music comprises mainly backing tracks made up of a mix of electronic and Mapuche instruments, the on-stage performance of Mapuche instruments and the use of Mapudungun lyrics. Refer to Music Video 3 to see an example of this band. As with 'music with Mapuche roots', Wechekeche Ñi Trawün's music does not correlate with the generalisations about Mapuche music outlined by most literature and people involved in music making.

In between 'music with Mapuche roots' and 'hip-hop Mapuche', there may be other kind of musics, bands, singers and musicians that perform a repertoire that should be considered as part of the Mapuche music culture. However, non-traditional Mapuche music is usually not considered to

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[91] This term is used by Rekedal (2014:12) to refer to a music genre that comprises rap songs that sometimes are performed with Mapuche musical instruments such as *pifilka*, *kultrun* and *trompe*.

be Mapuche, mainly because the musical practices that are part of this field do not correlate with the imaginary construct of Mapuche music. Such construct covers only musical expressions linked to ancestral elements with therefore no contaminating from Western elements. My point, to configure a wide concept of Mapuche music that includes the non-traditional expressions, aims to recognise all the current Mapuche musical practices as part of the Mapuche music culture, as well as to include this music field into the scholarly discussions regarding Mapuche music.

As has been argued in this chapter, traditional Mapuche music comprises traditional musical forms that contain three main aesthetic traits, namely the exclusive use of Mapuche musical instruments, lyrics that are primarily in Mapudungun and a set of music sound aspects referred to as *wünül*. The following two sections of the chapter are devoted to discuss the third aesthetic trait, the music sound features of *wünül*. First, I will discuss how the transcription and analysis of selected repertoire and music excerpts and the inquiry of my informants facilitated the delineation of the main aspects of *wünül*, and then present my findings in terms of its tonal material, rhythmic patterns and the distinctive use of the acciaccatura, glissando and vibrato.

The Process Conducted to Delineate the Main Musical Traits of *Wünül*

The concept of *wünül* refers to sound elements that make a given music to sound as traditional Mapuche music (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2013a). To explore and determine the main aspects of *wünül*, I developed a process comprised of the transcription of selected musical pieces, the music analysis of those transcriptions, the discussion of some preliminary results with my informants and the adjustment of such results by incorporating the feedback provided by my informants. It is important to note that the way to conduct this process was not defined at the beginning of this study; rather, it came as an outcome of the approach I developed to provide pertinent and accurate answers to my research questions. It is also worthy of note that before I commenced this research project, I did not know how to play any Mapuche instrument or sing any traditional song, as well as having no clue about what might be the main sound aspects of traditional music.

As was mentioned earlier in this chapter,[92] most of my informants claim that they are able to identify whether a musical piece has *wünül* or not. Nevertheless, my informants mainly explain

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[92] Refer to 'The Meanings of *Dungun* and *Wünül*' in Chapter 4.

the musical attributes of *wünül* by using a figurative language, which is not concise in pointing out the key musical sound characteristics of *wünül*. It means that, by solely interviewing my informants, it was not possible to define in musical terms what *wünül* is; thus, the use of music transcriptions was critical for examining the musical aspects. By using the Western music notation system to transcribe and analyse selected repertoire and musical excerpts, I was able to recognise intended and unintended elements in performance, the main melodic and rhythmic patterns and generate some generalisations about the music sound itself of *wünül*. However, the use of the Western music notation system is often called into question as a suitable and culturally pertinent means, at least among most people involved in Mapuche music making.

Mapuche culture is an oral-based tradition. However, based on my personal and research experience that includes working in Mapuche schools and participating in Mapuche cultural and educational gatherings, Mapuche people commonly produce and use written materials in Spanish and Mapudungun about traditional culture such as books, booklets, blogs and teaching material. For example, there are Mapudungun dictionaries written by Catrileo (1998) and Hernández, Ramos and Huenchulaf (2006), as well as books about traditional knowledge written by Aillapán (2007) and Avendaño (2014c), among others. In the case of music, written means are often used for describing musical instruments and teaching the lyrics of songs, but the musical sound itself is still an oral-based practice. By engaging in informal conversations with many Mapuche and non-Mapuche involved in Mapuche music making, I discussed the reasons underpinning the lack of written means about the music sound of traditional music. As will be discussed below, the information I gathered suggests that most people tend to believe that Western music notation system does not suit the particularities of Mapuche music.

Mapuche people without Western music notation skills often argue that traditional music should be kept linked only to oral-based processes, because that is the approach that has always been used. It is also commonly argued that music notation may facilitate the dissemination of traditional music among people with no proper knowledge about Mapuche culture, causing undesirable outcomes such as the folklorisation of the music. But as was discussed in Chapter 3,[93] there are Mapuche performers who, being aware of the oral character of traditional music, believe that

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[93] Refer to 'Competent Performing Artists and Their Role as Informants of this Study' in Chapter 3.

Western music notation system could be used for dissemination purposes among Mapuche and non-Mapuche people.

On the other hand, Mapuche and non-Mapuche people with Western music notation skills often argue that Western music symbols are not able to represent all the Mapuche musical features. Thus, music notation may be used only to transcribe musical excerpts for certain analysis purposes, but not for the transcription of repertoire or the seeking of musical generalisations. The arguments point out that in contrast with Western music, traditional Mapuche music does not use a specific tuning system, performers are not attached to consistent rhythmic or melodic patterns, and the repertoire is comprised of songs and musical pieces that usually change from one performance to another. But as will be discussed below, the Western music notation system presents several advantages to notate traditional Mapuche music.

The presumed incompatibility between Mapuche music and Western music notation seems to be linked to the generalisations about Mapuche music. As was discussed earlier in this chapter,[94] most literature and people involved in music making tend to hold certain views about Mapuche music, such as the absence of a concept of music and the unrepeatable character of musical performances, but those insights do not necessarily correlate with present-day practices. Those generalisations mostly correspond to constructs that tend to stress ethnic values and features by contrasting them with the Western music culture. In doing so, it is commonly claimed that Western concepts about music, including its notation system, are not able to represent all the Mapuche musical features.

Seeger (1958:184) asserts that it is wrongly assumed that 'the full auditory parameter' can be notated in any music-writing system. In the same way, Hood (1971:62, 82-83) discusses the problems related to the relative efficiency of any notation system to represent a given music, as well as claims that written means cannot replace the oral tradition that underpin a music practice, even within the scope of Western music. In the particular case of Western music notation, Nettl (2005:75) argues that to avoid transcription to be 'interpreted to mean simply the reduction of recorded sound', music-writing should include elements from other notation systems and 'descriptions of the musical vocabulary on which the composer of a piece draws'. Furthermore,

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[94] Refer to 'Generalisations about Mapuche Music as Outlined by Most Literature and People Involved in Music Making' in Chapter 4.

Nettl (1964:101) points out that transcription involves the evaluation of 'significant' and 'incidental' elements that can be identify by enquiring informants, who can 'comment on the accuracy of the recorded performance' and to identify 'unintended sounds'.

In my transcriptions, I use the standard Western notation system with no addition of elements from other notation methods, but I do include 'descriptions of the musical vocabulary' such as the distinctive use of the acciaccatura, glissando and vibrato as well as several indications about how to perform some musical instruments. Arguably, the feedback I got from my informants is the most relevant aspect in supporting the pertinence of my transcriptions and the accuracy in reflecting significant sound elements. As will be discussed below, the creation of prescriptive transcriptions based on the feedback provided by competent performers aims to identify the 'significant' musical traits, attempting to do not include 'incidental' sounds that are product of unintended performance elements.

The descriptive and prescriptive approach for music transcription are concepts discussed by Seeger (1958) that relates to the degree of detail of music-writing and, most importantly, its intended use. Nettl (1964:99-100) summarises these two concepts by explaining that a descriptive approach intends to provide features and details that a reader or performer does not know yet, while a prescriptive approach seeks the view of the composer, provides general directions to perform and takes music elements for granted.

At the beginning of this study I commenced transcribing some Mapuche songs and instrument playings by using a descriptive approach. Later, I discussed with my informants about what I notated and most importantly what should be notated, which brought me to create prescriptive versions of those songs and instrument playings. The importance of the prescriptive versions in delineating the main musical aspects of *wünül* lies on the notation of the significant musical traits, which supports the making of pertinent generalisations by excluding the unintended sound elements. For example, I made a descriptive transcription of the song or *ül* '*Mari Mari*' by Joel Maripil. Then, with the music score on hand, I asked Maripil to teach me this *ül* to compare what I notated with what he was going to teach me to sing.

Although Maripil does not know how to read Western music notation, he was able to understand some of the main features of what was written in my transcription. After Maripil taught me how

to sing this song, I noticed several unintended music sounds as well as other elements that were not part of the song itself; rather, they corresponded to glissandos, acciaccaturas and accents among other music interpretative techniques that usually vary from one performance to another. In Music Score 1, which corresponds to an excerpt of the descriptive transcription of '*Mari Mari*', there is an appoggiatura in bar 2, a quaver followed by rests in bar 3, and a G# in bar 4. As is seen in Music Score 2, those music elements were not included in the prescriptive version of the *ül*, because similar passages of the recorded version were not performed in the same way but, more importantly, Maripil told me to sing it in that way.

Music Score 1. Descriptive transcription excerpt of *ül* '*Mari Mari*' by Joel Maripil.

Music Score 2. Prescriptive transcription excerpt of *ül* '*Mari Mari*' by Joel Maripil.

Similarly, Music Score 3 shows another excerpt of the descriptive transcription of the *ül* '*Mari Mari*' that present some unintended music sounds as well as interpretative techniques that are not part of the song itself. There is a glissando from C to an undetermined note close to a F in bar 1 and bar 3, as well as a rest in bar 2 and bar 4. As is seen in Music Score 4, those elements were not included in the prescriptive version. To the full prescriptive version, refer to Appendix I.

Music Score 3. Descriptive transcription excerpt of *ül* '*Mari Mari*' by Joel Maripil.
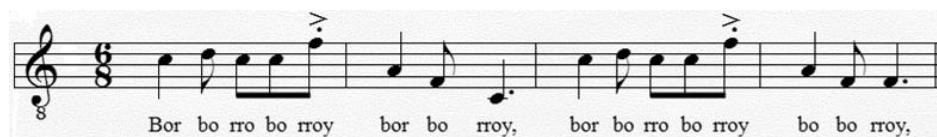
Music Score 4. Prescriptive transcription excerpt of *ül* '*Mari Mari*' by Joel Maripil.

Tenzer (2006:10-11) mentions the importance of assessing 'which musical features are relevant and which are not', where the expertise of whoever provides such insights is crucial. Without

Maripil's feedback about 'which musical features are relevant', I could wrongly assume that some of the unintended sounds in '*Mari Mari*' could be intrinsic elements of the song. Thus, the creation of prescriptive transcriptions in the manner explained above helps to distinguish what is relevant and what is not, facilitating the seeking of pertinent musical traits. In the particular case of this research project, just as important as the inclusion of performers' feedback is considering the level of musical expertise they manage.

The concept of competent performing artist as well as the significance of their views to delineate the main musical traits of traditional Mapuche music is an aspect that this research project innovates. As was discussed in Chapter 3,[95] traditional Mapuche performers are not necessarily skilled performers and skilled Mapuche performers are not necessarily aware of how Mapuche music works. On the contrary, competent performing artists are able to perform according to the autochthonous musical knowledge and can critically discuss their and others artistic works, which provides accurate and pertinent musical samples to analyse, as well as insiders' insights to use as feedback. Besides the lack of a pertinent conceptualisation about the Mapuche music culture discussed earlier in this chapter, I consider that the literature also has failed in incorporating and assessing the level of expertise of the informants as an indicator for the nature and relevance of the data gathered. This situation may have hindered the formulation of consistent generalisations related to the musical sound itself in the way I exemplify as follows.

As was discussed in Chapter 2,[96] *Vigencias de Instrumentos Musicales Mapuches* by Ernesto González (1986) stands out as one of the few studies that addresses musical sound aspects of Mapuche music. There, González provides thirty one music examples comprised of over seventy music scores that show the transcriptions of several instrumental playings and that of the tonal material of some of them. In the analysis, González refers a few times to the tonal material of either his musical examples or the Mapuche music in general. However, his statements present several inconsistencies that may be related, in part, to the seeming lack of musical expertise of the performers he examined.

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[95] Refer to 'Competent Performing Artists and Their Role as Informants of this Study' in Chapter 3.
[96] Refer to 'Relevant Published Research Focused on Musical Elements' in Chapter 2.

González mentions the 'triphonic'[97] organisation in the Mapuche music and to exemplify it, he provides two music examples (González 1986:22). The first example consists of a music score that shows a *klarin*[98] playing and its tonal material, which is notated as F♯4, B4, D♯5, F♯5 and G♯5, indicating that B4 is the most important note (González 1986:36). The *klarin* is a regular bugle and by assuming that in this case its fundamental is a B2, I recognise the following. The tonal material comprises four notes per octave and therefore, there is no triphonic organisation. The partial 7 of a bugle in B2 should be an A5, but there is a G♯5 notated instead (see Table 5). Because González neither notated A5 in the instrument playing nor in the tonal material, it seems that the G♯5 may be an intended sound related to the lack of expertise of the *klarin* player.

In the second music example used to exemplify the presumed triphonic organisation of the Mapuche music, González presents a music score that shows the transposed tonal material of a *trutruka* playing, notated as ↓A♭5, C4, E4, and B4, referring C4 as the most important note (González 1986:36). The *trutruka* is a natural trumpet and by assuming that in this case its transposed fundamental is a C2, the partial 3 should be a G3 instead of a ↓A♭3 and the partial 7 should be a B♭4 instead of a B4 (see Table 5). This tonal material could be labelled as triphonic, but it contains unintended sounds that may be related to the lack of expertise of the performer he inquired.

Klarin in B2	B2	B3	F♯4	B4	D♯5	F♯5	A5
Trutruka in C2	C2	C3	G3	C4	E4	G4	B♭4
Partial Number	1 Fundamental	2	3	4	5	6	7

Table 5. Partials of a *klarin* in B2 and *trutruka* in C2.

In other musical examples, González shows the transposed tonal material of fifteen instrument playings (González 1986:29). He does not explain why he transposed these and other tonal

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[97] Triphonic corresponds to the translation into English of the Spanish term '*trifónico*' and '*trifónica*'. This term is commonly used in the Latin American literature about indigenous musics. Ramón y Rivera (1969:207) defines *trifónico* as an irregular scale comprised of three notes per octave. In the English summary of the article published in the Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council, Ramón y Rivera translates this term into English as 'triphonic' (Ramón y Rivera 1969: 225).
[98] González (1986:22) refers to this instruments as '*corneta de metal*'.

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materials, but the action of transposing suggests that he tried to compare them and find some kind of tonal or intervallic organisation. However, the fifteen transposed tonal materials do not present a clear triphonic organisation, nor any other consistent structure. As the two previous musical examples discussed above, it seems that the lack of expertise of the performers he investigated may have hindered the finding of a sound organisation. For instance, Music Score 5 shows two of those fifteen transposed tonal materials notated by González (1986:29), which corresponds to two *trutruka* playings performed by people belonging to Roble Huacho community. As is seen, they do not follow the pitch pattern of a natural trumpet, which may be related to the lack of expertise of those particular performers.

Music Score 5. Tonal material of two *trutruka* playings. Transcription made by González (1986:29).

As was argued earlier, I consider that, for delineating the main musical traits of traditional Mapuche music it is necessary to analyse pertinent musical samples that correlate with the autochthonous musical knowledge, but also include the feedback of competent Mapuche performers. My analysis of González's transcriptions suggests that he also inquired skilled performers, but it is not clear whether he did or did not include their feedback into his findings. For instance, Music Score 6 shows a *trutruka* playing transcribed by González (1986:33) that clearly corresponds to a musical excerpt performed by a skilled performer. The tonal material shows an undetermined note close to an F, which may corresponds to an unintended sound, but the rest of the notated music notes correlate with the pitch pattern of a natural trumpet.

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Music Score 6. Excerpt of a *trutruka* playing and its tonal material. Transcription made by González (1986:33).

My principle research question relates to the examination of the main musical sound elements of traditional music, and in this section of the chapter I have discussed the particular process I conducted to determine them. As was pointed out, traditional Mapuche music is characterised by being performed exclusively with Mapuche musical instruments, including lyrics that are primarily in Mapudungun and comprising a set of music sound aspects referred to as *wünül*. To determine the musical features of *wünül*, I transcribed and analysed selected repertoire and musical excerpts, I discussed some preliminary results of my analysis with my informants and then I adjusted those results by including their feedback. The transcription of selected musical pieces using first a descriptive approach and then a prescriptive one was crucial for this process, because it provided significant information about the tonal material and rhythmic patterns on which traditional music is based, as well as the distinctive use of certain interpretative techniques, namely acciaccatura, glissando and vibrato.

The Main Musical Traits of *Wünül*

The concept of *wünül* comprises several sound elements such as pitch, melody, tonal material, texture, rhythm, stylistic techniques in performance, improvisatory practices and compositional procedures, among other aspects that make a given music to sound as traditional (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2013a). In this study I focus

on the tonal material, rhythmic patterns and the distinctive use of the acciaccatura, glissando and vibrato, as I consider them to be the ones that better reflect Mapuche music identity. Other musical features associated with *wünül* will be mentioned, such as pitch and texture among others, but only in relation to the three aspects previously pointed out. I will begin by addressing the tonal material of the melodic Mapuche musical instruments and singing. Then, I will discuss the distinctive use of the acciaccatura, glissando and vibrato, ending with the main rhythmic patterns.

The terms and approaches used to discuss the music notes that underpin traditional Mapuche music certainly imply the attribution of particular music understandings. In the analysis of instrumental playings, for example, González (1986:21-22, 24, 28) uses the term 'tonal organisation' to refer to the music notes contained in a given musical piece, notating it by assigning 'notes from a breve to a quaver in descending order of importance' (González 1986:21). By doing so, González suggests a certain musical sound hierarchy given by the number of times in which a music note is used. In a similar way, Díaz (2012:89-93) analyses a few instrument playings by defining their 'scale system', which he notates by using semi-breves, minims, crotchets with no stem and indicating the *finalis* and *repercusa*. As with González, Díaz suggests a certain musical sound hierarchy, in this case by the function of the music notes.

In thesis I use the term tonal material to refer to the music notes included in a traditional Mapuche musical piece, which comprises a fundamental sound and a series of musical notes. As will be detailed below, the fundamental indicates the acoustic hierarchy among the sounds of a given tonal material, which is based on the physical behaviour of the Mapuche melodic instruments. Therefore, the way I present the tonal material does not imply a hierarchy based on the number of times or musical function of a particular sound in a given musical piece; rather, it relates to the acoustic nature of the Mapuche melodic instruments.

The Mapuche melodic instruments are the *trutruka*, *ñolkin*, *klarin* and *trompe*. The first three instruments are natural trumpets and the last one is a kind of Jew's harp and therefore, all of them present the same physical behaviour characterised by a fundamental sound and partials. To present the tonal material of one of these instruments, I write the music notes by using only semi-breves so as not to imply any sound hierarchy, indicating the fundamental and partials as well as aiming to notate the intended music notes in the way I explain as follows.

González's 'tonal organisation' of a *trutruka* playing previously showed in Music Score 6 includes an undetermined sound and indicates that C♯, E and G are the most important music notes. In Music Score 7, I present my version of the tonal material of that *trutruka* playing, which points out the fundamental of the instrument by indicating '*trutruka* in A', as well as the partials with a numeral. Based on the fundamental of the instrument, in my version I assume that the undetermined sound in González's version corresponds to a D♯.
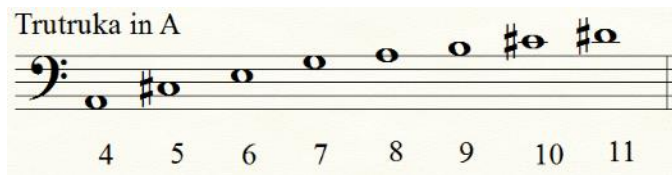
Music Score 7. Tonal material of a *trutruka* playing.

As was discussed in the previous section of the chapter, the process I carried out to examine the musical traits of traditional Mapuche music started by transcribing some songs and instrumental playings using a descriptive approach and then, by including the feedback of my informants, creating their respective prescriptive versions. Once I was able to identify the unintended music elements, several interpretative techniques such as acciaccaturas and glissandos and most importantly, I had certainty about the intended tonal material, I began to transcribe musical excerpts using only a prescriptive approach. To illustrate how a descriptive transcription of an instrument playing leads to a prescriptive version, I provide the following example.

Music Score 8 shows a descriptive transcription of an excerpt of Audio Track 1, which corresponds to an excerpt of a *trutruka* playing performed by Joel Maripil in a recital. The music score shows several acciaccaturas with glissando, an undetermined sound in bar 10 as well as an unintended D♯ in bar 16, among other aspects. In Music Score 9, I present a prescriptive transcription which provides the tonal material and a simplified version that does not include certain stylistic techniques as acciaccaturas with glissandos, as well as includes an A in bar 10 and a D in bar 16 instead of the undetermined and intended sounds previously mentioned.

Music Score 8. Descriptive transcription of an excerpt of a *trutruka* playing performed by Joel Maripil.

Music Score 9. Tonal material and prescriptive transcription excerpt of a *trutruka* playing performed by Joel Maripil.

In comparison with the *trutruka,* the *ñolkin* presents melodic patterns with more ornaments and shorter sounds. Maripil explains that the *ñolkin* is 'much slighter than the *trutruka*', that tends to make more melodic 'turns' (pers. comm. Maripil 2016). In Audio Track 2, which corresponds to an excerpt of the *ül* 'Millaray' by Estela Astorga that contains a short *ñolkin* playing performed by Joel Maripil, the slight character of the *ñolkin* is evidenced by melodic patterns that contains many turns, acciaccaturas and glissandos. Based on the feedback I got from my informants about the

way to play *ñolkin*, those turns and ornaments may also be interpreted as a kind of strong vibrato. In Music Score 10, I present a prescriptive transcription and tonal material of this *ñolkin* playing.

Music Score 10. *Ñolkin* playing performed by Joel Maripil.

Music Score 11 refers to the tonal material of another *ñolkin* playing, this one included in Audio Track 3 and performed by Armando Marileo. As with the previous example, this playing presents the same kind of slightness characterised by a strong vibrato and many ornaments that may also be interpreted as a kind of trill.
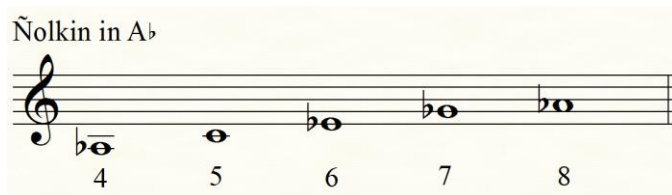
Music Score 11. Tonal material of *ñolkin* playing performed by Armando Marileo.

The two previous *ñolkin* playings presents A♭ as the fundamental, which is not related to any kind of tuning associated with this instrument; this is because both instruments were made by Marileo, who makes several of the instruments used by my informants including the *ñolkin*, *trutruka* and *trompe*. Marileo explained to me that his *ñolkin* and *trutruka* are made by following a determined length to reach a certain register, but are not aimed at any particular pitch. In the case of the *trompe*, he does not follow any measure in making the reed and therefore, the fundamental sound of the *trompe* he makes may vary widely (pers. comm. Marileo 2014b). Based on my field experience, when making a melodic instrument or preparing one for a performance, people focus on the timbre

of the instruments rather than on a particular pitch, thus the *trutruka*, *ñolkin* and *trompe* do not present any particular tuning of the fundamental.

The physical behaviour of the Mapuche melodic instruments is key to determining the intended or prescriptive tonal material of the musics performed with these instruments. The *trutruka* and *ñolkin* are natural trumpets and therefore, if they are properly played, produce specific partial sounds. In the case of the *trompe*, it produces overtones that correlate with the very same intervallic organisation of natural trumpets. Based on the musical examples I present throughout this thesis, the tessitura of these instruments usually ranges from the partials 3 to 10, despite the fact that the register may reach higher notes. Arguably, this situation responds to the dissonant character of the sounds beyond partial 11, which is consistent with the view that certain Mapuche instruments do not produce the right notes. Marileo explains that if the *trutruka* and *ñolkin* are too short, they do not tend to produce the 'right sounds' (pers. comm. Marileo 2014b). Maripil points out that certain *ñolkin*, *trutruka* and *trompe* tend 'not to obey' what the performer is attempting to play, producing sounds that do not correlate with the intended melody (pers. comm. Maripil 2016). In Table 6, I exemplify the tonal material of Mapuche musical instruments as if the fundamental was C.

Music notes (if fundamental in C)	G	C	E	G	B♭	C	D	E
Partials	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Table 6. Tonal material of Mapuche musical instruments exemplified as if the fundamental was C.

In the case of the tonal material of singing, I primarily notate it by writing the music notes using semi-breves. Depending on what I aim to discuss, I may also indicate the fundamental, partials and musical intervals. The intervallic organisation of singing presents a similar structure to the tonal material of melodic instruments and therefore, by indicating a fundamental and partials, I aim to stress such correlations. The incorporation of intervals aims to indicate the intervallic relation among the sounds within a given tonal material.

To identify the tonal material in singing, the process of composition and learning of an *ül*, as explained by Avendaño, provides a clear insight about the intended and unintended music notes. Avendaño points out that many years ago when she started to sign traditional music, she used to listen to traditional singers or *ülkantufe* and try to learn their songs. To get the melody of those *ül*,

Avendaño indicates that she used to try to play such songs but on a *trompe* and, in doing so, the instrument was providing the music notes for the singing. Avendaño adds that she has met several *ülkantufe* that employ the very same method, not only for learning an *ül* but also to compose them. As an example, she mentions that her *ül* 'Kalfüray' was composed by getting the melody from a *trompe* playing (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b).

In order to corroborate Avendaño's statement about the melody of her *ül* 'Kalfüray', I made a descriptive transcription of an excerpt of this song performed by her in a recital (refer to Audio Track 4). As is seen in Music Score 12, there are a few undetermined and unintended music notes throughout the score, but the intended tonal material shown in Music Score 13 is consistent with the physical behaviour of a Mapuche melodic instrument in B♭. To the full prescriptive version of 'Kalfüray', refer to Appendix II.

Music Score 12. Descriptive transcription excerpt of *ül* 'Kalfüray' by Elisa Avendaño.
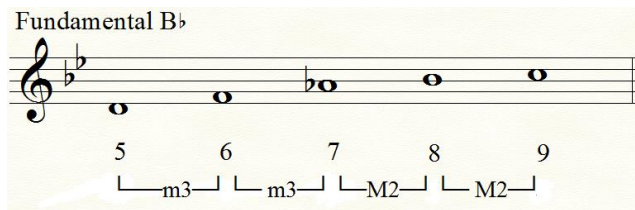
Music Score 13. Tonal material of *ül* 'Kalfüray' by Elisa Avendaño.

The identification of the intended and unintended music notes in 'Kalfüray' was not difficult to accomplish. The reasons are mainly related to three aspects. As was discussed above, Avendaño stated a relation between the music notes of a *trompe* and the melody she attempts to sing in this *ül*, which provides a guide to seek the intended tonal material. The second aspect relates to the degree of performance that Avendaño reaches in 'Kalfüray'. This *ül* was composed by Avendaño about twenty years ago and she regularly rehearses and performs it; thus, the breach between what she attempts to sing and what she actually performs is not significant. The third aspect is related to certain interpretative techniques and the extent they are used in this *ül*, particularly the version I analysed. 'Kalfüray' does not present as many glissandos, acciaccaturas and vibratos as in other *ül*, a factor that facilitates the identification of the tonal material. As will discuss as follows, the level of performance and the use of interpretative techniques in traditional Mapuche music results in certain irregular melodic turns and pitch fluctuations that may hinder the identification of the prescriptive tonal material.

During a recorded interview, Avendaño and I discussed the different ways or styles to sing an *ül*. As she argued, some *ül* tend to be 'flat' and some performers tend to sing 'flat', which makes traditional music sound 'boring' (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b). To exemplify her point, Avendaño sang to me a short, 'flat', 'boring' melody followed by another one that present more *wünül* or 'turns', which I present in Music Score 14 and Music Score 15 respectively and their audios in Audio Track 5. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, the term *wünül* refers to something that moves in an undulating way, which in this case stresses the notion of a melody that presents turns and ornaments.

Music Score 14. Singing example performed by Elisa Avendaño.

Music Score 15. Singing example performed by Elisa Avendaño.

Then, Avendaño sang an excerpt of her *ül* 'Celinda' as a way to show me a 'happy' *ül* full of *wünül* suitable for dancing, which is included in Audio Track 6 (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b). As is seen in Music Score 16, the descriptive tonal material and descriptive transcription of the song present several music notes that do not correlate with the tonal material of a melodic Mapuche instrument, which relates to the approach I used to transcribe this excerpt and the level of performance Avendaño reaches in it. To make this and other descriptive transcriptions, I used software such as Audacity and Sonic Visualiser that allowed to me slow down a recording with no pitch alteration and apply pitch analysis of the music notes, resulting in the notation of sounds that in normal tempo are not perceived as such.

Music Score 16. Descriptive tonal material and descriptive transcription excerpt of *ül* 'Celinda' by Elisa Avendaño.

Moreover, this excerpt does not correspond to a proper musical performance, as it was recorded while Avendaño was sitting in her kitchen drinking coffee and talking to me, hence there are several unintended sounds. This *ül* also presents several ornaments or interpretative techniques, including acciaccaturas, glissandos and vibrato, which are characterised by irregular pitch fluctuations. Considering all the above said about this particular excerpt, the intended or prescriptive tonal material corresponds to the one I present in Music Score 17, which correlates with the tonal material of a melodic Mapuche instrument.
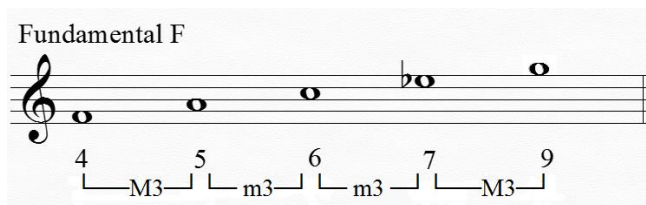
Music Score 17. Prescriptive tonal material of *ül* 'Celinda' by Elisa Avendaño.

The discussion with Avendaño detailed above helped me to realise fully that some music notes I was notating in my descriptive transcriptions corresponded to embellishments that are not themselves part of a song. Indeed, it was in that interview when Avendaño mentioned the relation between the tonal material of a *trompe* and her songs, and also that her singing style comprises some embellishments that I recognise as strong vibratos, acciaccaturas and glissandos. This notion of a base melody articulated with ornaments that present pitch fluctuations was complemented and clarified by Maripil, who hold a very similar view about the way to sing an *ül* that I discuss as follows.

In a meeting for the purpose of discussing my transcriptions, Maripil and I focused our analysis on the *ül* 'Celinda',[99] but the one performed by Victor Cifuentes (refer to Audio Track 7 and Music Score 18). After Maripil and I listened to the audio and discussed my transcription, I asked him about the way Cifuentes sings 'Celinda' and the way himself would sing it. Maripil mentioned that he has never sung this *ül* before but if he did, it might be very different because his own style differs from Cifuentes. To exemplify it, Maripil sang a couple of notes that were, in comparison with Cifuentes' version, with not much vibrato or ornaments. After that, we talked about this and

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[99] Based on the information I gathered from my informants, 'Celinda' is an *ül* performed by many traditional singers that recounts the story of a beautiful young lady called Celinda, of which the specific plot varies widely. Some versions picture Celinda being courted by singers, while others as a bride married with someone she does not love. In the case of the versions performed by Avendaño and Cifuentes, they do not present any significant melodic similarities.

other Cifuentes' songs and agreed that this performer presents a particular singing style characterised by, as I recognise it, the use of a very strong vibrato and a kind chromatic acciaccatura (pers. comm. Maripil 2014a).

In my analysis of the descriptive transcription of 'Celinda' shown in Music Score 18, I estimate that there are several unintended sounds such as the F♯ and B♭ in bar 1. I consider that those notes were meant to be G and B, due to the fact that from bar 2 onwards those are the music notes more regularly performed. I also consider that several of the melodic turns correspond to ornaments rather than music notes that are part of the base melody, such as the one in bar 2 that I interpret as a strong vibrato around B. Thus, the prescriptive tonal material of this *ül* corresponds to the one I present in Music Score 19.

Music Score 18. Descriptive transcription excerpt of *ül* 'Celinda' by Victor Cifuentes.

Music Score 19. Prescriptive tonal material of *ül* 'Celinda' by Victor Cifuentes.

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As has been argued and exemplified, the Mapuche melodic instruments present a physical behaviour that allows them to produce a determined range of music notes, on which traditional singing bases its intervallic organisation. Considering the prescriptive tonal materials I have presented so far, some traditional songs or *ül* comprises of the very same music notes of the Mapuche melodic instrument (refer to Table 7).

Intervallic organisation	⌐M3¬	⌐ m3 ¬	⌐ m3 ¬	⌐ M2¬	⌐ M2¬	
In relation to the partials	4	5	6	7	8	9

Table 7. Tonal material of some *ül*, including intervalic organisation and relation with partials.

As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, my informants state that they are able to distinguish if a melody has *wünül* or not, which mainly corresponds to the tonal material I point out above. In singing, this tonal material may present a slightly different intervallic organisation, but my informants still regard such musics as carriers of *wünül*. As is seen in Music Score 20 and Music Score 21 that refer to Audio Track 8 and Audio Track 9 respectively, some *ül* present a tonal material that replaces the m3 between partial 6 and 7 for a M2, which also alters the M2 between the partials 7 and 8 for an m3. Based on both the music analyses I carried out as part of this research project and the feedback I got from my informants, this variation in the intervallic organisation is very common.
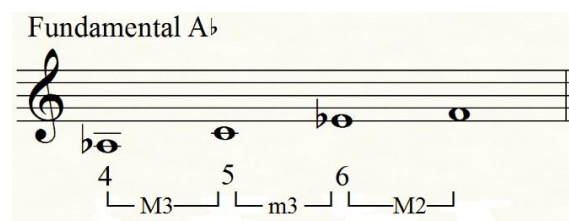
Music Score 20. Tonal material of *ül* 'Millaray' by Estela Astorga.
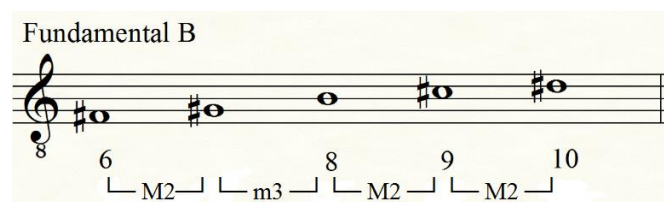
Music Score 21. Tonal material of *ül* '*Konküll Anay*' by Armando Marileo.

Furthermore, there are some *ül* that present tonal material that adds a music note between the partials 4 and 5, specifically a M2 (refer to Music Score 22 and Audio Track 10). In contrast with

the variation of *wünül* discussed above, only a few cases show this particularity, mainly some *ül* composed by Joel Maripil. In one of the very first meetings with Maripil, he explained to me that some of his *ül* were different in terms of *wünül*, even though he could not say what exactly the difference was (pers. comm. Maripil 2013a).
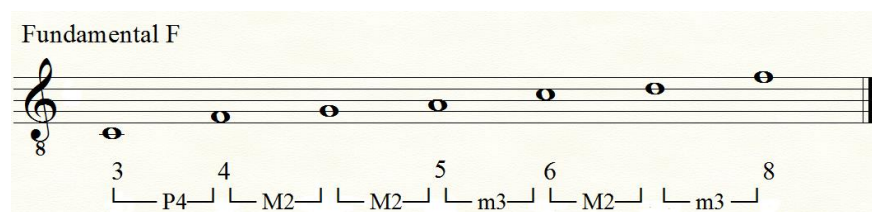
Music Score 22. Tonal material of *ül* '*Mari Mari*' by Joel Maripil.

Most of my informants recognise something different in certain *ül* performed by Maripil, but that the overall performance 'still feels traditional'. As Avendaño points out, Maripil's music presents some melodic turns that, by themselves, do not sound like Mapuche. However, the extent of those melodic turns, as well as the quality of other Mapuche music components such as the expertise in playing Mapuche musical instruments and the right pronunciation of the lyrics in Mapudungun, provides a musical experience that does sound traditional (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b).

Based on the music analysis, audios and music scores included in this thesis of songs regarded by my informants as part of the Mapuche music tradition, the tonal material of traditional singing corresponds to the one I present in Table 8. To simplify its understanding, I complement it by adding the name of music notes as if the fundamental was C.

Table 8. Tonal material of traditional Mapuche singing exemplified as if the fundamental was C.

In relation to the interpretative techniques in performance, I already mentioned the recurrent use in singing of some ornaments such as acciaccaturas, glissandos and vibrato, as well as that the extent of their usage varies among singers. I also mentioned that the music played on *trutruka* and

ñolkin present the use of the same ornaments to a different extent, due to the nature of each instrument. In comparison with the *trutruka,* the *ñolkin* tends to produce more melodic turns that can be labelled as a kind of trill or strong vibrato, as well as articulations full of a kind of acciaccaturas and glissandos.

The feedback I got from my informants suggests that in singing and Mapuche melodic instruments, there is an intended use of some ornaments in particular parts of a musical piece, which results in some interpretative techniques that, in the particular way they are played or sung, tend to vary from one performance to another. What Mapuche performers seek with such ornaments is to add or create *wünül*, which in this case refers to the concept of 'turns' associated to this Mapuche term.

Arguably, the interpretative techniques that most characterises traditional Mapuche music refers to the use of an ascending glissando or acciaccatura to reach the last note of a musical phrase, which usually is performed with a staccato. As is seen in bar 16, 37 and 57 in Music Score 12, for instance, every musical sentence of that singing excerpt end with a staccato note reached by an ascending glissando. This technique also can be used in the middle of a musical sentence, as is seen in Music Score 4. In the case of the *trutruka* and *ñolkin*, Audio Track 1, 2 and 3 contains excerpts that show the use of the very same technique but on melodic instruments.

To examine the main rhythmic patterns, I started by transcribing some *kultrun* and *kaskawilla* playings or *toques*. Although my transcriptions showed consistent and clear compound time patterns that can be indistinctively written in 3/8 or 6/8, I had some doubts about several sounds that would be interpreted either as a note or grace note. To clarify this point, I asked my informants about the nature of those sounds, getting very precise and consistent descriptions about the aspects of *wünül* related to rhythm. Furthermore, it was not difficult for me to recognise and understand the main rhythmic patterns, particularly when my informants taught me how to perform them in some of the Mapuche rhythmic instruments such as the *kultrun*, *kaskawilla*, *wada* and *pifilka*.

I discussed a few of my transcriptions with Maripil who provided very clear insights about the intended use of those grace notes. In the case of the *kultrun*, Maripil claims that the most important aspect in a *toque* is the 'first stroke', because you can accompany a song only by doing that. He adds that it is also important to avoid a 'dry sound', hence it is necessary to 'fill' the music by performing the *kultrun* in 'certain ways' (pers. comm. Maripil 2014b). To exemplify how to 'fill'

the music, Maripil taught me how to play the one-stroke *toque* and in doing so, I was able to recognise a consistent pattern comprised of dotted crotchet notes indistinctively complemented by flams and drags. Then Maripil taught me how to play other three basic *toques* that also may be indistinctively complemented with flams and drags, making a total of four *toques* that I present in Music Score 23.

Music Score 23. Basic rhythmic patterns for *kultrun* playings.

The first three *toques* have the particularity of being performed primarily by using one drumstick, although the use of two is also common. The reason of using one drumstick lies in the fact that *kultrun* are performed by traditional authorities to lead group activities. Due to the nature of such practices, the *machi*, *longko* or *ngenpin* who conduct a group activity has to move around and sometimes dance; thus, they have to hold the *kultrun* with one hand and a drumstick with the other one (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Marileo 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b). The fourth *toque* needs to be played with two drumstick, therefore performers usually settle down on the floor resting the *kultrun* between the knees. Several competent performers such as Joel Maripil and Elisa Avendaño also use a snare drum stand instead of seating on the floor, mainly during performances in non-traditional contexts. This *toque* is commonly used to accompany traditional songs or *ül*, as well as corresponding to the basis pattern for the dance called *choyke purrun* (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Marileo 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b). The *choyke purrun* presents a structure characterised by certain rhythmic patterns that I discuss as follows.

As any other group Mapuche practice, traditional Mapuche dancing is meant to be conducted by a *kultrun* player, usually a traditional authority. Dancing often commences with a call comprised of random *toques* performed in a *kultrun* that, although they may be similar to other *toques* or present a regular metre such as 2/4 or 3/8, are intended to be spontaneously performed in a randomly shuffle way. In the case of *choyke purrun*, the call is followed by a section characterised by a 2/4 metre *toque*, usually with one or several of the patterns shown in Music Score 24. When the 2/4 *toque* starts, traditional dancers or *purrufe* commence dancing or warming up next to the area designated for dancing. The warm-up is followed by the entry of the *purrufe* into the dancing area, which is accompanied by the very same 2/4 metre pattern. The transition from the warm-up to the

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entrance is indicated by a music cue led by a *kultrun* player that is also referred as a *toque*, which consists of a variation of the main *toque* that may include a very short pause. This as well as other music cues could be either spontaneous *toques* or ones previously agreed or rehearsed among the performers (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Marileo 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).
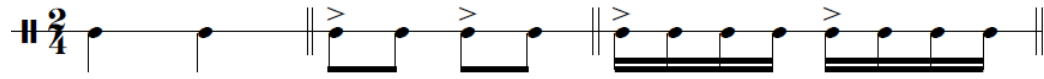
Music Score 24. Basic *kultrun* patterns for the entry of dancers.

The entry consists of a kind of dancing-walking promenade around the dancing area, ending with another music cue that leads to the main section characterised by a 3/8 metre *toque*. The main dancing section is meant to be divided in four subsections, each announced by a music cue and characterised by different chief dancing themes. This section, notoriously the longest one, ends with a music cue that announces the departure of the *purrufe* from the dancing area. As at the entrance, the departure is characterised by a kind of dancing-walking promenade accompanied by a 2/4 metre pattern (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Marileo 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

As is pointed out in Table 9, the basis structure of a *choyke purrun* comprises four sections that contrast each other in terms of metre. An example of this structure is in Audio Track 11, which corresponds to a *choyke purrun* performed in a traditional context, specifically during a *we tripantü* celebration held at Labranza. In this performance, Elisa Avendaño was the *kultrun* player and Joel Maripil one of the *purrufe*. In traditional contexts, the inclusion of a call is a must because it acts as a tool for gathering people together as well as to indicate the performers to get ready. By contrast, in non-traditional contexts as well as on music albums and video clips, a call can be omitted. For instance, Audio Track 12 and Video 4 corresponds to a *choyke purrun* part of the music album *Akun Awkin* by Joel Maripil that does not include a call.

Random *toques*	2/4 metre pattern	3/8 metre pattern	2/4 metre pattern
Call	Warm-up → Entrance	Main dancing section	Departure

Table 9. Base structure of several traditional dances.

As has been discussed above, the rhythmic patterns and music cues performed by *kultrun* players are key in group musical performances. Indeed, the other rhythmic instruments as *kaskawilla*, *wada* and *pifilka* are meant to reinforce the patterns performed in the *kultrun*. In the case of the *kaskawilla* and *wada*—a metallic jingle and a rattle respectively, my informants perform these instruments mostly by holding them while they play *kultrun*, preferably on the hand that sets the downbeat or first stroke. Elisa Avendaño, Estela Astorga and Armando Marileo use mostly *kaskawilla*, while Joel Maripil uses mainly *wada*. Lorenzo Aillapán is a particular case, as he usually holds both instruments when he plays *kultrun*. (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Marileo 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

But the *kaskawilla* and *wada* do not necessarily have to be performed by a *kultrun* player. It is common that people hold one or both of these instruments during a musical activity, attempting to follow the rhythmic patterns performed by the main *kultrun* player (pers. comm. Aillapán 2014, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Marileo 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b). Based on the explanations provided by my informants about how to perform the *kaskawilla* and *wada*, the intended rhythmic patterns are the ones I present in Music Score 25. Due to the nature of these two instruments, the motion needed for producing sound will generate grace notes.

Music Score 25. Intended rhythmic patterns for *kaskawilla* and *wada*.

The last rhythmic instrument I will refer to corresponds to the *pifilka*, a wooden flute generally made of one closed air-flow column[100] with no finger holes. It produces a sound with a pitch that can be measured and easily manipulated but, as will be discussed, its main musical function relates to rhythmic aspects rather than ones linked to pitch. A musical performance may include a single *pifilka* player as well as several players who may or may not attempt to play with each other in an interlocking way. In a musical performance with a single *pifilka* player, the performer would attempt to play the downbeat set by the *kultrun*, generally alternating a short clean sound with a long blowing one. To produce those two contrasting sounds, *pifilka* players vary the way of

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[100] I have also found *pifilka* made of two closed air-flow columns, mainly in museums, books and craft shops. However, I have never seen one of those instruments being played by a Mapuche performer. Furthermore, all my informants claim that those instruments are not part of the Mapuche tradition, at least in the period comprising their childhood to the present day.

blowing the instrument as well as the angle they hold the instrument at. As a way to 'template' or 'prepare' a *pifilka* for a performance, the air-flow column is often filled with water to expand the wood and get a 'better sound'. Some performers do not take all the water out from the air-flow column, leaving a bit of liquid to obtain a 'sweet' or 'warbling' sound (pers. comm. Marileo 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2013a, 2014b). Although there is a clear pitch variation between the short clean and long blowing sounds of a *pifilka*, the insights I got from my informants strongly suggest that what is pursued is a variation in the timbre. Similarly, the water left in the air-flow column would certainly modify the fundamental pitch of a *pifilka*, but it aims to obtain a particular timbre rather than a specific pitch.

In musical practices that present several *pifilka* players, there may be single performers as well as group of performers. Single performers may attempt to play the downbeat set by the *kultrun* and in doing so, they might generate unintended or spontaneous interlocking patterns with other single performers. By contrast, there are single *pifilka* players who aim to create interlocking patterns by listening to other single performers, thus they spontaneously try to alternate in playing the downbeat or try to play the offbeat (pers. comm. Marileo 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2013a, 2014b). For example, Audio Track 14 presents a *pifilka* playing made by two performers, where one of them plays a sort of short clean sound and the other one a sort of long blowing one by alternating the downbeat of a 3/8 metre pattern.[101]

Furthermore, there are groups of *pifilka* players made of two or more performers whose main target is to perform interlocking patterns (refer to Audio Track15). Their degree of organisation varies widely from spontaneous teams made in an ongoing performance to groups that rehearse in advance. In the latter case, *pifilka* players usually tend to select instruments that 'sound right altogether' (pers. comm. Marileo 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2013a, 2014b). As was mentioned previously, a single *pifilka* player prepares or templates an instrument as a way to obtain a suitable timbre rather than a particular pitch. In organised groups of *pifilka* players, it seems that such suitable timbre also comprises pitch aspects that, arguably, present an intervallic organisation similar to the melodic Mapuche instruments.

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[101] I am using this musical excerpt to discuss rhythmic aspects, particularly the interlocking patterns made by single players. It is important to note that the sound or timbre of these *pifilka* is not particularly well achieved, situation that may be related to the expertise of the performers or the quality of the instruments, among other possible factors.

Based on the information obtained from my informants, organised groups of pifilka players tend to participate mainly in large religious ceremonies held at traditional contexts. Among all the musical activities covered in my fieldwork, I could witness these groups only in the *we tripantü* celebration organised by the Mapuche Student Home Pelontwe in Temuco. There, I noticed that there were at least three organised groups of *pifilka* players and I was able to talk with some of their members. Due to the religious character of that particular celebration, I was not allowed to record the performance. However, when they were rehearsing and then performing, I recognised in the music they played the presence of intervals that seemed to be m3, M3 and P5, or at least close to them. I also noticed that one group comprised of three *pifilka* players was very consistent in following a major triadic intervallic organisation. However, further research is required to examine whether there is an intended tonal material among groups of *pifilka* players.

All the audios containing *pifilka* playings included in this thesis comprise a sound performed on the downbeat of a 2/4 or 3/8 metre. This is by far the most common *pifilka* rhythmic pattern for single and group performers, albeit not the only one. Based on my field experience and the insights I got from informants about how to play *pifilka*, skilled *pifilka* players when they gather together also tend to perform other rhythmic patterns, which correspond the very same basis rhythmic patterns of the *kultrun* shown in Music Score 23.

By articulating the views, categories and delimitations held by my informants about their music culture, I provide my own concept of Mapuche music that challenges several of the ideas outlined by the literature, as well as establishes a framework where the musical sound itself of traditional music is an aspect that can be addressed through Western understandings. The analysis of selected musical excerpts brought me to delineate three aesthetic traits that I consider to be the identity of traditional Mapuche music, namely the exclusive use of Mapuche musical instruments, lyrics that are primarily in Mapudungun and a set of musical sound aspects regarded as *wünül*. Arguably, the most significant finding of this thesis relates to the delineation of the main features of *wünül*, which comprises a determined tonal material, several rhythmic patterns and the distinctive use of the acciaccatura, glissando and vibrato.

In the following chapter I will address the music identity aspects that underpin the *we tripantü* celebration, a festivity held to commemorate the Mapuche new year. In doing so, I will describe some of the musical practices by using the concepts and findings I discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 5—The *We Tripantü* Celebration

Introduction

The *we tripantü* celebration is a festivity held around the second half of June that commemorates the beginning of the Mapuche year. As will be detailed, the ancestral way to hold this festivity comprises a social gathering that begins at sunset and finishes by noon the next day, which includes several ritual and *ayekan* musical practices as well as a religious ceremony held at sunrise regarded to be the central part of the entire celebration. I investigated this festivity because it gathers a large number of people across the country and receives significant attention in the media, much more than the *ngillatun* and *machitun*.

In this chapter I aim to discuss the ancestral and present-day *we tripantü* celebrations, focusing on the settings, structure of the celebration, the function of music, the role of performers and the main features of the musical practices. It is worth noting that the few sources I found that discuss the *we tripantü* celebration, namely Bengoa (2012c:208-211), Foerster (1993:100-101) Marileo L. (2009) and Titiev (1951:122-124), do not present any comprehensive descriptions of the festivities. Therefore, the detailed accounts about this celebration that I will provide seek to fill such a lacuna.

To contextualise and support the pertinence of the findings I present in this chapter, I will start by explaining my personal involvement in the festivities and how the data was gathered and analysed. Then I will discuss the oral-based construction of the ancestral and present-day celebrations, as well as address the alleged ancestral origin ascribed to this festivity. As will be explained, the present-day *we tripantü* celebration is widely regarded as the revival of an ancestral celebration. However, the empiric evidence suggests that such ancestral festivity never existed, and the present-day celebrations are products of the ethnicisation of the Christian festivity of Saint John the Baptist. After that, I will conclude by providing a comprehensive description of two *we tripantü* celebrations I attended and address the meanings and principles that underpin the present-day festivities.

Gathering Data about the *We Tripantü* Celebration

In June 2014, I attended eleven *we tripantü* celebrations held in different cities, towns and communities from Villa Alemana in the north to Labranza in the south.[102] They were organised by

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[102] Refer to Map 1 in 'A Note on the Administrative Division and Geography of Chile'.

Mapuche communities and Mapuche and non-Mapuche organisations such as student associations, museums, libraries and city councils (refer to Table 10). In all the celebrations I was guided and supported by Maripil who was invited or hired to reinforce or lead the religious ceremonies and to perform in the *ayekan* activities. My involvement in the celebrations comprised my participation in the religious activities by singing, playing Mapuche instruments, dancing and praying as the other participants, as well as by performing non-Mapuche music along with Joel Maripil. In the celebration organised in Los Ángeles I was also supported by Gonzalo Huichalaf and in the ones held in Labranza and Villa Alemana by Elisa Avendaño. As with Maripil, Huichalaf and Avendaño were invited or hired to be part or lead the activities.

Dates (in June 2014)	Host	Location	Venue	*Rewe*
Thu 19th	National Historic Museum of Santiago	Santiago	Courtyard	Provisional
	Reader Library of Lo Barnechea	Lo Barnechea	Library hall	No
Fri 20th	Bolleco School community	Bolleco	School yard	Provisional
Fri 20th to Sat 21st	Mapuche Student Home Pelontwe	Temuco	Ceremonial site	Permanent
Sat 21st	Neighbours' Association of Tumbes Peninsula and St. Francis School community	Tumbes Peninsula, Talcahuano	School hall	Provisional
	Mapuche Organisation Talcahueñu Ñi Folil	Talcahuano	Seaside and meeting room	Provisional
Sun 22nd	Mapuche Community of Lo Barnechea	Lo Barnechea	Rodeo club indoor area	No
Sun 22nd to Mon 23rd	Mapuche Community of Labranza	Labranza	Ceremonial site	Permanent
Tue 24th	Mapuche Community of Constitución	Constitución	Gymnasium	Provisional
Wed 25th	Municipality of Villa Alemana and Mapuche Organisation of Villa Alemana	Villa Alemana	Large tent in a park	Provisional
Thu 27th	Pewenche Community of Los Ángeles	Los Ángeles	Gymnasium	No

Table 10. *We tripantü* celebrations covered in my fieldwork.

Before attending the *we tripantü* celebrations, I searched for written information about the festivity to compare and complement the data I was going to gather from the field. At that time I did not

find any formal publications about this celebration; rather, I found several electronic articles hosted on websites belonging to Mapuche organisations. Among them, I considered that *Reflexión sobre: El We-Tripantu Ancestral y Contemporáneo*[103] by Armando Marileo Lefio[104] (2009) stood out, mainly because it was coherently written and cited in several other electronic articles. As will be expanded later in the chapter, this article corresponds to an oral-based account that is precise in referring to historical and social aspects regarding the Mapuche people and culture, which provides credibility to the ideas and statements laid out by Marileo L. I discussed the content of this article with Joel Maripil (pers. comm. 2014c), who endorsed all the views held by Marileo L. such as the existence of an 'ancestral *we tripantü* celebration', a 'contemporaneous' way to hold the festivity, the 'interference of Christianity' in its development and the revival process experienced in the last decades (Marileo L. 2009:1-3). Additionally, Maripil explained to me several aspects not covered by Marileo L., mainly in relation to the structure and stages of the celebration, the function of music and the role of performers (pers. comm. Maripil 2014b, 2014c).

Then in the celebrations I attended, I engaged in formal conversations with many participants and all the organisers as a means of incorporating their views into my findings. In doing so, I discussed with them the religious symbolism implied in the celebration, the structure of the activities, the main aspects of the settings and the function of music in the development of the activities, among other topics. Once the *we tripantü* celebrations were concluded, I formulated the preliminary findings about the festivity and discussed them with most of my informants, as a means to corroborate, adjust and complement my results. I also asked several of my informants about other *we tripantü* celebrations they had attended in the past and about any other significant aspects I did not mention in my preliminary findings, aiming to incorporate a wider range of elements into my discussion. Therefore, the findings about the *we tripantü* celebration that I present in this chapter cover a wide scope of musical practices and methods to hold this festivity, incorporating consistently the views of organisers, participants, some experts as my informants and my field observations.

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[103] In English, 'Reflection about: The Ancestral and Contemporaneous *We Tripantü*'.
[104] Armando Marileo Lefio hereinafter will be referred as Marileo L., in order to differentiate him from my informant called Armando Marileo Marileo.

As will be addressed later in this chapter,[105] there is a lack of common knowledge about several key details of both the ancestral and present-day *we tripantü* celebrations. Nevertheless, the views held by my informants about the ancestral festivities and the way they should be adapted to the present-day contexts are highly consistent with each other. I will present a general description of the ancestral and present-day *we tripantü* celebrations to provide a framework for further discussions. Considering the consistency and expertise of my informants about this topic, I consider that the following descriptions represent pertinent and detailed oral-based accounts about the ancestral and present-day *we tripantü* celebrations that, certainly, address the lacuna in bibliographic information about this Mapuche festivity.

A Construct of the Ancestral and Present-day *We Tripantü* Celebrations

The descriptions of the ancestral and present-day *we tripantü* celebrations I present here comprise only the oral-based information provided by my informants. This excludes my field observations and data obtained from other sources, as these matters will be discussed later on. All the key aspects were discussed in depth with Avendaño (pers. comm. 2014a, pers. comm. 2014b), Huichalaf (pers. comm. 2014) and Maripil (pers. comm. 2014b), but also with the rest of my informants in the many informal conversations we engaged about this topic.

As will be detailed later in this chapter,[106] it is widely argued that the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration corresponds to a festivity held since ancestral times until its decline at the very end of the 19th century, while the present-day *we tripantü* celebration is the result of a revival process of that former festivity. However, the empiric evidence suggests that the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration never existed, and that the current celebration is actually the result of the ethnicisation process of the Saint John's festivity. Although historically inaccurate, I consider that the oral-based accounts about the ancestral festivities should be noted in any discussion about this music culture, as they comprise an imaginary construct that articulates identity aspects. Furthermore, the oral-based accounts also address the adaptation of certain traditions regarded to be ancestral into the present-day festivities, providing examples about the particular way some Mapuche manage traditional musical knowledge.

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[105] Refer to 'Meanings and Principles of the *We Tripantü* Celebration' in Chapter 5.
[106] Refer to 'The Alleged Ancestral Origin, Decline and Revival of the *We Tripantü* Celebration' in Chapter 5.

The ancestral *we tripantü* celebration is depicted by my informants mainly as a family event that used to be held at home with the participation of the immediate family or a group of families. The activities were conducted in and around the traditional house or *ruka*, where people gathered in the evening to participate in an all-night vigil, perform entertaining activities called *ayekan* and consume food and drinks. The *ayekan* activities used to include singing or *ülkantun*, the playing of Mapuche musical instruments, dancing and storytelling, among other traditional activities. The performance of religious practices may had been included in the vigil, but not necessarily (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

At sunrise, the participants used to perform an act of renewal by bathing themselves with buckets filled with cold water or in a nearby river, lake, creek or in the sea. Right after this, the person or group of people who was in charge of leading the activities used to make a call, which consisted of *toques* made by Mapuche musical instruments and yells called *afafan*. The call was made with the purpose of gathering all the participants outside the *ruka* to perform a religious activity, which was regarded as the most important part of the entire celebration (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

The call and religious activity may had been conducted by any person with the required *kimün* and not necessarily by a traditional authority, because the ancestral celebrations were family events held at home rather than community celebrations carried out in a ceremonial site. After the gathering, offerings were placed in a traditional altar referred to as *rewe*. The offerings may have included food, drinks, seeds and three branches among other objects, which were addressed to *Chaungünechen* or 'God the Father', *Ñukemapu* or 'mother earth' as well as to several *ngen* or 'spirits' (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

With the offerings placed, all the participants used to perform a collective prayer in front of the *rewe*, which was considered to be a sacred moment within the religious activity. After the collective prayer, all the participants used to perform group dances in front of and around the *rewe* as well as around the *ruka*. With the end of the group dances, the religious activity was considered to be ended. Right after this, a small group of skilled dancers used to perform *choyke purrun* or

tregül purrun among other *ayekan* dances, and once they were finished, people used to go to the *ruka* to do activities similar to the ones carried out during the vigil. The celebrations used to end around midday or evening, when people spontaneously started to leave the *ruka* (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

The musical practices depicted as part of the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration consist mainly of collective performances underpinned by religious connotations, as well as performances carried out by a single person or a small group of people regarded as entertaining activities. This relates with the concepts of ritual music and a*yekan* music addressed in Chapter 4.[107] As was discussed there, ritual music corresponds to the part of the traditional music field comprised of participatory performances linked to religious practices, while *ayekan* music consists of presentational performances linked to entertaining practices. In the oral-based account presented above, the main religious activity begins with a group activity as the gathering outside the *ruka* and is followed by other activities also with participatory features. The collective prayer and dances were described as practices performed by all the participants and conducted by a core group of skilled performers. By contrast, the *choyke purrun*, *tregül purrun* and traditional singing correspond to musical practices consisting of a single person or small group of people performing for an audience. Furthermore, the presentational dances were described as a means to indicate the end of the religious activities and the beginning of the *ayekan*.

In the case of the present-day *we tripantü* celebration, this festivity is considered by my informants to be the result of the revival of the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration, but underpinned mainly by a community character rather than a family one. The ways to hold the current festivities often differ from the ancestral ones, an aspect that is considered to be a natural consequence of the new contexts and needs of the Mapuche society. As my informants claim, Mapuche traditions are strongly attached to the traditional rural lifestyle, but most Mapuche live in urban settings. Therefore, some elements of this festivity need to be adapted in order to fit in the new urban and modern contexts, but also to use this festivity for enhancing identity aspects among the Mapuche and share the culture with the non-Mapuche (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm.

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[107] Refer to 'My Concept of Mapuche Music' in Chapter 4.

Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b). For reasons that I will explain below, the traditional elements that could be adapted relate to the settings and length of the celebrations, the omission of the renewal act, the time of day to hold the religious ceremonies, the use of Spanish in reciting the prayers, and the incorporation of non-traditional and non-Mapuche music in the *ayekan* activities.

As the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration is regarded as a family event, its natural setting corresponds to a traditional house or *ruka* fitted with a traditional altar or *rewe*. But the present-day festivities are also conducted as community activities, in which case a ceremonial site correlates with that collective character. Therefore, the traditional context for the present-day *we tripantü* celebration comprises both a *ruka* with a *rewe* or a ceremonial site. Furthermore, present-day festivities do not necessarily have to be held in traditional contexts, as many Mapuche communities and organisations do not own or have access to one. Any venue such as a theatre, gymnasium or park can be used to host a *we tripantü* celebration, in which a provisional *rewe* could be placed (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b). As will be detailed later in this chapter,[108] the uses and features of the traditional altar called *rewe* and the arrangement of a provisional one implies several aspects linked to Mapuche religiosity.

The present-day *we tripantü* celebrations do not necessarily have to include the all-night vigil, as on practical grounds many people may not able to attend such a long activity. Similarly, the renewal act may also be omitted because people may feel uncomfortable about bathing themselves with cold water in the middle of the winter season. Therefore, the present-day *we tripantü* celebration may be reduced to a few hours, and include the renewal act as an option or exclude it. In relation to the religious ceremony, they are traditionally conducted in Mapudungun and performed before noon, but most people do not understand this language and may not be able to attend activities in the morning due to work commitments. As a way of encouraging attendance and engaging people in the activities, present-day celebrations include Spanish in conducting the collective prayers and may be held also in the afternoon and evening (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

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[108] Refer to 'A Present-day Celebration Performed in a Traditional Context' in Chapter 5.

According to my informants, the *ayekan* activities part of the *we tripantü* celebration are meant to entertain the attendees, which include Mapuche and non-Mapuche people. Moreover, the current festivities should represent present-day Mapuche society and in doing so, incorporate what Mapuche people currently listen to, sing and dance. Therefore, the *ayekan* activities that are part of the present-day *we tripantü* celebration may include musical practices out of the scope of Mapuche music such as hip-hop, Chilean folklore, pop music and Mexican rancheras (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

The adaptation of certain traditional aspects and the reasons underpinning such adjustments, as described above, correlate to a significant extent with the ideas I discussed in Chapter 3 about open religious ceremonies.[109] There, I explain that open religious ceremonies are meant to pursue not only religious purposes, but also the enhancement of traditional culture among the Mapuche and the sharing of part of that knowledge with the non-Mapuche. In order to achieve those non-religious goals, certain traditional aspects are adjusted to facilitate the participation of both Mapuche and non-Mapuche people.

The Alleged Ancestral Origin, Decline and Revival of the *We Tripantü* Celebration

Among my informants and all the organisers of the *we tripantü* celebrations whom I engaged in informal conversations during my field research, the idea is well spread that this festivity has been held since ancestral times, that it virtually disappeared at some point around the end of the 19th century, and that it has experienced a revival in the last decades. In relation to further details of the decline and revival of this festivity, I found that only my informants and a few organisers claim to know about it. In their arguments, the decline of the ancestral festivity was caused by the spread of Christianity that tried to replace this celebration with the Saint John the Baptist's festivities, while its revival corresponds to a process led by Mapuche cultural, political and student organisations that began around the 1980s.

My informants' accounts about the factors that underpinned the decline of the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration are highly consistent with each other. For instance, Avendaño and Maripil explain that, according to the oral-based knowledge they manage, Christianity and Western customs bear the

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[109] Refer to 'Musical Practices Performed in Open Religious Ceremonies and in the *Ayekan*' in Chapter 3.

greatest responsibility in the weakening of the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration. They argue that the Mapuche culture suffered a general detriment with the establishment of the indigenous reservations at the end of the 19th century, causing a decline of this festivity as well as other Mapuche cultural practices. They add that the introduction of the Saint John's festivity had a particular harmful effect on the way to celebrate the beginning of the Mapuche year, due mainly to the proximity of the two celebrations (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2014a).

Before the influence of Christianity and Western society, Avendaño and Maripil argue, there was an 'ancestral way' to celebrate the beginning of the Mapuche year, which was basically a family event held at home in a rural context. But Christian and non-Mapuche people tried to impose their beliefs and traditions, causing a severe weakening of both the celebration itself and the *kimün* linked to it. As a result of that, many Mapuche began to introduce Western elements into the *we tripantü* celebrations that resulted in the weakening or disappearance of some of the Mapuche aspects contained in this festivity. Furthermore, many Mapuche completely abandoned their traditional customs when fully adopting the Christian festivity (pers. com. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2014a).

As will be exemplified in the next section of the chapter, people who conduct the activities usually engage in discourses about the origin and evolution of the festivity, stating the above ideas as historical facts. However, the empirical evidence that will be discussed below suggests that it is unlikely that the Mapuche in former periods used to celebrate the beginning of the Mapuche year, neither they have a festivity called *we tripantü*, *wiñol tripantü* or *we tripan antü*, among other names associated with this celebration. The same evidence suggests that the *we tripantü* celebrations have significantly increased since the 1980s, but as the result of the ethnicisation of the Saint John's festivity rather than a revival of an ancestral celebration.

The Saint John's Day is a Christian celebration of pagan origin held on the eve of June 24th. As in the rest of the world where it is celebrated, in Chile this festivity combines local supernatural beliefs and Christian elements linked to Saint John the Baptist (CNCA 2013:49). As Plath (2009:241) explains, 'this night is full of manifestations ranging from witchcraft to bonfires, traditional ceremonies that are incorporated into the [Chilean] nationality since the [Spanish]

conquest'. In the case of the Mapuche, Bengoa (2012c:208-209) points out that the way they celebrate Saint John's Day may be formed by a conjunction of Mapuche and foreign elements, but that there is no certainty about such matter. Bengoa describes some of the activities conducted by the Mapuche during Saint John's festivities that present some similarities with the construct of the *we tripantü* celebration. For example, he mentions that the Mapuche bathe themselves to celebrate Saint John's Day (Bengoa 2012c:208), which correlates with the renewal act that is part of the *we tripantü* celebration. It seems that there are other similarities between Saint John's festivity and the construct of the *we tripantü* celebration, but that aspect is not addressed in this thesis as I estimate it needs to be done in a study devoted to that particular topic.

It is certainly possible that the chronological proximity between the Saint John's festivities with the winter solstice in the southern hemisphere[110] has facilitated the ethnicisation of the Christian celebration, due mainly to the religious and ideological aspects commonly ascribed to the solstice. Bengoa explains that the winter solstice has become a symbolic date that 'represents our belonging to the opposite hemisphere' and stresses our 'Americanism' (Bengoa 2012c:209). Sammells points out that several religious connotations have been ascribed to this date, mainly a kind of 'pan-indigenous connection' that presumably exists since before the arrival of the Europeans in America (Sammells 2011:251-253).

Based on my field experience, a few organisers and most participants of the *we tripantü* celebrations I attended believe that this festivity is meant to be held on the 24th of June, a supposition that is often repeated by the media and literature. Foerster (1993:100), for example, argues that the '*wetripantu*' is a 'sacred and festive day for the Mapuche, which is celebrated every 24th of June'. In 1998, the Chilean state established the 24th of June as the national day of the Original Peoples, by a decree-law that points out that this date relates to 'a traditional celebration of these peoples corresponding to the beginning of the year' (MIDEPLAN 1998). On the contrary, my informants and most organisers of *we tripantü* celebrations argue that the belief that this festivity is meant to be held on the 24th of June is a grave misunderstanding, as the date and the Christian aspects linked to it do not match the Mapuche meanings and principles implied in the celebration. As will discussed later in this chapter,[111] the 24th of June hardly coincides with the

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[110] The winter solstice in the southern hemisphere usually occurs on the 21st of June.
[111] Refer to 'Meanings and Principles of the *We Tripantü* Celebration' in Chapter 5.

beginning of the Mapuche year, and does not relate with the concepts of *we tripantü*, *wiñol tripantü* nor *we tripan antü* that underpin this celebration. Furthermore, in the present day, the Aymara and Kechua Original Peoples from the north of Chile celebrate the beginning of the indigenous year on the 21st of June (Sammells 2011:246-251).

As was mentioned, the ancestral origin of the *we tripantü* celebration is a matter widely agreed among most people involved in this festivity. In the case of the literature, Marileo L. (2009:1-4) informs the details of the oral-based accounts about the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration and its declined caused by the influence of Christianity. However, he claims that those accounts represent empirical events. Similarly, Foerster (1993:100-101) mentions and briefly describes the *we tripantü* celebration as one of the several 'rites' in the Mapuche culture, stressing the notion of this festivity as a long-standing traditional gathering. In doing so, he cites a definition of '*wetripantu*' by De Augusta (1916:254) as 'New Year, the time when the days begin growing until the longest day', as well as providing a brief description made by Titiev (1951:123).[112] From what Foerster (1993:100-101) articulates, it is inferred that the '*wetripantu*' corresponds to an important traditional gathering held annually at the time De Augusta and Titiev conducted their field research. However, two situations from Foerster's explanation need to be pointed out. First, the definition provided by De Augusta (1916:254) does not make any allusion to a rite or celebration, rather it refers to a period of time. Second, Titiev (1951:123) is clear in stating that he refers to 'one of the most important assemblies, held annually on Saint John's Day', making no reference to a celebration called '*wetripantu*'. Although Titiev (1951:123) mentions that 'Saint John's Day marks the coming of spring and the start of the new year' and that such a date is known as '*rañiñtripantu*' or '*wetripantu*', he does not refer to that 'assembly' as '*wetripantu*' as is the case of Foerster.

On the contrary, Bengoa (2012c:208-211) sets out the hypothesis that the Mapuche did not use to hold a festivity like the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration, and that the current festivities are the result of the ethnicisation of the Saint John's festivities. Bengoa explains that, in all the important and comprehensive works about the Mapuche culture, there is no mention of a Mapuche festivity with the features and names associated with the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration, but in contrast

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[112] Foerster (1993:101) cites this description as Titiev (1951:94), but in the edition I found the text is located in Titiev (1951:123).

there are many references to the Saint John's festivities. Based on the fact that the present-day Mapuche society is the result of a process characterised by *mestizaje* and cultural borrowing, Bengoa adds, it is probably that at some point in the last centuries the Mapuche began to celebrate Saint John's Day in the same way, as many other Christian and Western aspects were introduced into their culture (Bengoa 2012c:208-209).

To provide more evidence for his point, Bengoa describes a meeting organised by a group of wise Mapuche elders who gathered to discuss the *we tripantü* celebration. In the meeting, which was held in 2011 in the Lake Budi area, the elders recognised that none of them were aware of the existence in the past of a celebration related to the *we tripantü*, but that the Saint John's Day was and is still widely celebrated (Bengoa 2012c:209). Bengoa also points out that all those wise elders were not against this new Mapuche festivity; rather, they regarded the 'transformation' of Saint John's Day into the *we tripantü* celebration as a beneficial aspect for the Mapuche people and culture (Bengoa 2012c:209).

Bengoa's hypothesis about the absence of an ancestral *we tripantü* celebration is a matter that is almost not discussed in the literature. Although I have not found any other scholarly or non-formal written document that call into question the ancestral origin of this festivities, I consider Bengoa's hypothesis highly plausible due to the consistency of his arguments. Furthermore, in my bibliographic research comprising the Mapuche musical practices from the 16th century to the end of the 19th century, I have not found any information about a festivity called *we tripantü*, *wiñol tripantü* or *we tripan antü*, nor any other social gathering that matches the features ascribed to the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration. I did find the term '*wé tripantu*' but with a different use, a fact that supports the hypothesis of the absence of the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration in the means I discuss as follows.

Félix De Augusta (1910), in his grammar, phonetic and linguistic work entitled *Lecturas Araucanas*,[113] provides a variety of accounts about Mapuche daily-life aspects, including funerals, traditional tales, religious ceremonies and a celebration that he calls 'the festivity of the masks', among others. To gather the information, De Augusta inquired of a selected group of Mapuche by using the indigenous language that he called 'Araucanian tongue'. In doing so, he first provides

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[113] In English, 'Araucanian Readings'.

the transcription of those accounts in 'Araucanian tongue' and then a Spanish translation. In the account about the seasons of the year, De Augusta (1910:44-45) uses three times the term '*wé tripantu*' to refer to a period of time that he translates as 'spring'. This account corresponds to a testimony provided by *longko* Pascual Painemilla, the local chief of a community in Wapi Island.[114] In the account, *longko* Pascual explains that 'the spring/*wé tripantu* begins by Saint John; after Saint John we enter other year. The spring/*wé tripantu* lasts until the end of December, but just in August its arrival is noticeable; in December it finishes.'[115]

Although De Augusta does not provide a definition nor an explanation for the term '*wé tripantu*', at least in this work, its meaning and use to refer to a season or period of time is clear. Arguably, the fact that *longko* Pascual mentions Saint John's Day as a reference date for the beginning of such a season rather than a Mapuche celebration, rite or ceremony, casts doubt on the existence of an ancestral festivity to celebrate the beginning of the Mapuche year, or at least one with no significant presence of Western elements as the alleged ancestral celebrations are regarded. Furthermore, *longko* Pascual's testimony takes on greater significance if both the date when the account was collected and the singularities of his community are considered.[116] *Longko* Pascual was interviewed around the 1890s on Wapi Island, which corresponds to a very isolated rural community located in the Lake Budi area. This Mapuche region is often regarded as a kind of 'repository' and 'cradle' of the Mapuche culture, due to its high levels of maintenance of Mapuche traditions (Caniguan 2012:55-57, Caniguan and Villarroel 2011:82-83). Despite that, *longko* Pascual does not mention any festivity with the features ascribed to the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration; rather, he points out that Saint John's Day marks the beginning of that season.

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[114] Refer to Map 1 in 'A Note on the Administrative Division and Geography of Chile'.

[115] Original text in Mapudungun with the spellings as well as phonetic and grammar indications provided by De Augusta (1910: 44-45): 'Təfachi wé tripantu tuukei *San Juan* meu; rupan *San Juan* meu konkeiñ ká tripantu meu. Wé tripantu puwí *Diciembre* kùyen· meu, welu *Agosto* kùyen· meu məŋel kimŋekei ñi wefpan wé tripantu; afkei *Diciembre* kùyen· meu.' Spanish translation provided by De Augusta (1910:44-45): 'La primavera principia por San Juan; después de San Juan entramos en otro año. La primavera llega hasta fines de Diciembre, pero no antes del mes de Agosto se hace nota que ya ha aparecido; con el mes de Diciembre se concluye.'

[116] According to Caniguan (2012:55-57), the effects of the Western world on the Mapuche people from the Lake Budi area where *longko* Pascual's community is located were less adverse than in other Mapuche territories. This is because the Lake Budi area has been historically a hard place to access due to its geography and location far from the frontier established in the past along the Bio-Bio River. This is also because the Lake Budi area was annexed to the Chilean territory only in 1881 in a relatively peaceful process.

In relation to the process of ethnicisation of Saint John's festivities, Bengoa (2012c:209-210) explains that a similar situation occurred previously in Peru and Bolivia, where indigenist movements articulated the celebration of the indigenous' new year by connecting the winter solstice with religious and ancestral aspects of their own cultures. As in Chile, in Peru and Bolivia it was argued that an ancestral celebration had existed had disappeared due to foreign influences. Although at the beginning those festivities looked like they were 'invented' traditions, Bengoa explains that in the present-day they are 'massively' and 'enthusiastically' celebrated and it seems that there is no doubt about their traditional character (Bengoa 2012c:209-210).

In the case of Chile, Bengoa (2012b:29 , 2012c:209) recognises that there is no certainty about how exactly this ethnicisation or so-called revival started, but it seems connected to organised movements such as student and political organisations related to the 'ethnic demands' of the Mapuche that arose in Temuco around the 1990s. He adds that the origin of the revival can be traced to two Mapuche organisations from that city. The first one corresponds to the student organisation *Longko* Kilapan that, as a part of its 'ethnic claims', may have started the revival of the *we tripantü* celebration. Around the 1990s, this group of students decided to celebrate the beginning of the Mapuche year and by doing so, literally translated the Western term 'new year' into Mapudungun as '*We Tripantü*' (Bengoa 2012c:209). The second Mapuche organisations corresponds to the Ad Mapu. Bengoa mentions that Armando Marileo L. claims that the revival of the *we tripantü* celebration started in this organisation, but he does not provide further information about Marileo L.'s view (Bengoa 2012c:209).

Indeed, Marileo L. (2009:3) argues that 'the contemporaneous *we-tripantu*' started in 1986 as part of the activities carried out by the political and cultural organisation Ad Mapu, specifically in its drama group. He claims that there was an 'ancestral *we-tripantu*' that remained until '50, 60, 70 years ago' when the Mapuche families and communities started to suffer from the imposition of the Western world. He adds that the schools, then Christianity and finally the Saint John's celebrations ended up obscuring the Mapuche festivity and traditions (Marileo L. 2009:2). Although Marileo L. considers the 'contemporaneous *we-tripantu*' as an important means to recover the ancestral traditions, he criticises the lack of coherence of the present-day celebrations with the ancestral ones. For example, he mentions that the celebrations have been 'folklorised' and

have become 'a merely social and political celebration' rather than a sacred festivity as the 'ancestral *we-tripantu*' used to be (Marileo L. 2009:3).

My informant Elisa Avendaño was member of the Ad Mapu and its drama group in 1986, who provides some insights about the so-called revival that are not mentioned by Bengoa (2012c:209) nor Marileo L. (2009:3). Avendaño explains that Ad Mapu used to organise Mapuche cultural activities as a way to achieve the 'political' goals that were underpinning the organisation, which mainly related to the strengthening of the Mapuche identity and supporting the social and cultural claims of the Mapuche people. As feelings of distrust towards the non-Mapuche were still very strong and because that was the approach that had always been used, the activities were addressed only to Mapuche people. However, Avendaño explains that some members of the drama group began to notice that there were non-Mapuche people who had a genuine interest in their traditional culture, and began to believe that including them in the activities might help them to better achieve their 'political' goals. (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b).

In order to facilitate and encourage the participation of non-Mapuche people in Mapuche cultural activities, Avendaño point out that in the mid-1980s Ad Mapu members started to shift the way certain cultural practices were traditionally performed. In doing so, the drama group started to organise workshops about Mapuche culture and perform Mapuche music and dance in several schools, universities and cultural festivals around Temuco, aiming not only at a Mapuche audience but also a non-Mapuche one. In that context, the drama group of the Ad Mapu started to articulate a revival of the *we tripantü* celebration, which rapidly had a significant impact in the local schools and universities (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b).

It seems that universities and schools played a significant role in the so-called revival of the *we tripantü* celebration. Avendaño argues that the celebrations organised by the Ad Mapu in schools and universities 'planted the seed' of what the celebration is today (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b). Avendaño and Maripil explain that in the 1990s several Mapuche student teachers learnt about this festivity in their universities and, later on as school teachers, they began to organise *we tripantü* celebrations in their schools communities. Moreover, Avendaño and Maripil explain that at that time there were many traditional communities not holding *we tripantü* celebrations, but the local

schools gave them the *newen* or 'spiritual energy' to start again to celebrate this ancestral festivity (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

The revival of the *we tripantü* celebration has facilitated the creation of oral-based accounts that, as I consider, articulate key identity aspects that underpin the present-day festivities. Arguably, such identity discourses are based on certain cultural significances, principles and social functions that reflect a mix of ideas related to indigenism and ethnicity. As was discussed in Chapter 1,[117] indigenism and ethnicity represent concepts and approaches commonly associated with Mapuche social and cultural issues. In the case of the *we tripantü* celebration, they are implied in the means I discuss as follows.

Indigenism tends to address issues related to perceived discrimination by the exaltation and idealisation of indigenous features as well as ascribing negative implications to the mestizo and foreign elements (Graham 1990:3, Knight 1990:95-96). Indigenism also attempts to create an 'indigenous identity' articulated by a minority of educated leaders that present 'invented' historic aspects in counterpoint position against the dominant nation-state (Niezen 2003:9-13). As has been pointed out, the ancestral celebration corresponds to an invented account articulated by a group of leaders, in this cases Mapuche organisations. By doing so, the 'invented' accounts picture idealised indigenous aspects that were diminished by Christianity and Western culture.

On the other hand, ethnicity comprises the articulation of an 'ethnic identity' based on 'cultural differentiation' from 'others' (Devereux 1975:385-395) and the ascription of cultural meaning to 'empty symbols' in order to stress cultural 'distinctiveness' (Parsons 1975:65). Indeed, the ethnicisation of Saint John's Day corresponds to a cultural process that ascribes ethnic significances to a Christian celebration. Such ethnicisation is based on an empty symbol as the winter solstice, to which distinctive Mapuche cultural aspects such traditional musical practices have been added.

The ways of conducting the present-day *we tripantü* celebrations vary widely. As some of my informants claim, at one end there are festivities that do not differ much with the ancestral celebrations, while on the other end there are ones that maintain only few key ancestral elements

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[117] Refer to 'The Conceptual Framework and Research Design' in Chapter 1.

(pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b). In my field research I also noticed such diversity, which is characterised by the extent of attachment to or adjustment of the alleged ancestral customs into the present-day festivities. To exemplify how the ancestral traditions are maintained or adapted, I will describe two *we tripantü* celebrations which, considering the eleven festivities I attended, exemplify the two ends of the present-day festivities mentioned above. The first festivity is a celebration held in a traditional rural context that presents a high degree of alignment with the alleged ancestral festivities, while the second is a celebration hosted in a non-traditional urban context that adapts several traditional elements. As was mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the few existing written sources about the *we tripantü* celebration do not comprehensively describe the activities conducted in the festivities, hence the following two accounts present a detailed description as a way to fill such a lacuna.

A Present-Day Celebration Performed in a Traditional Context

The first account corresponds to a *we tripantü* celebration organised by three Mapuche women belonging to the Mapuche community of Labranza,[118] a rural area located around fifteen kilometres south-west of the city of Temuco. These three women,[119] hereinafter referred to as the organisers, were employees of The Frontier Foundation, an institution that provides support to socially at-risk girls and adolescent women. As was stated by the organisers in a speech at the beginning of the activities, this particular celebration was arranged to celebrate with their Mapuche and non-Mapuche co-workers as a community, but also to share part of the traditional culture with the non-Mapuche ones. As they argued, most of the girls and adolescent women assisted by The Frontier Foundation are Mapuche, but not all the employees are Mapuche or are familiar with Mapuche traditions. The celebration was hosted in a community centre belonging to the traditional Mapuche community of Labranza, which comprised a traditional house or *ruka*, a ceremonial site and *a rewe* (see Figure 18, Figure 19, Figure 20 and Figure 21).

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[118] I am aware that there are several Mapuche communities within the town of Labranza. I have to mention that the three women mentioned above as well as other Mapuche and non-Mapuche people involved in the activities I will describe, including my informants, commonly referred to this particular community as 'the Mapuche community of Labranza'.

[119] I do not provide their names in order to maintain their anonymity.

Ruka is a Mapuche term that translates into English as 'house', and the dwelling itself does not have any religious implication. As any other *ruka*, this one had a fireplace where the food was cooked and people gathered around to chat, eat and drink. By contrast, a *rewe* has a religious connotation that varies according to its morphology and where it is placed. *Rewe* is a Mapuche term that means 'pure place' and it is primarily used to name the ceremonial altar located within a ceremonial site (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

The morphology and materials used to build a *rewe* vary widely, from permanent *rewe* located in ceremonial sites that include trees and totems to provisional *rewe* installed in indoor areas made by plants in pots. In this case, it was made with a tree planted in the soil, tree branches and a totem. The totem itself is also called *rewe*. Its inclusion on the altar is not compulsory; rather, it indicates that the ceremonial site is currently used by a traditional authority. As one of the organisers explained to me, the features and degree of details of the totem located in this ceremonial site, such as hands, eyes and breasts, were because the *rewe* was being used by the local *machi* to conduct her healing ceremonies. The term *rewe* also refers to medium and small ceremonial sites that have a permanent ceremonial altar, as is the case of this Mapuche community centre. In summary, the term *rewe* is distinctively used to refer to ceremonial sites, ceremonial altars within a ceremonial site or to the totem used to build the ceremonial altars.

Figure 18. *Ruka* at Mapuche community centre of Labranza. Exterior view. June 2014.

Figure 19. *Ruka* at Mapuche community centre of Labranza. Interior view. June 2014.

Figure 20. *Rewe* in the middle of ceremonial site at Mapuche community centre of Labranza. June 2014.

Figure 21. *Rewe* and *ruka* at Mapuche community centre of Labranza. June 2014.

The activities began on the evening of Sunday, 22nd of June 2014, with a few people. Most participants arrived around 4:00 am and 6:00 am, including Elisa Avendaño, Joel Maripil, a guest traditional dancer or *choykefe* [120] and me. The organisers explicitly invited Avendaño to lead the religious ceremonies, Maripil to support all the traditional activities and the *choykefe* to support the activities involving dancing. There were approximately forty participants, about one third of them being Mapuche. Between the arrival of the participants and the sunrise, there was neither religious nor other kind of traditional activity. Rather, people gathered around the fireplace to drink hot beverages, eat food and chat about work, family, music and the Mapuche social and cultural situation, among other topics.

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[120] I do not provide his name in order to maintain his anonymity.

With the first sunlight around 6:45 am, people started to get ready for a religious ceremony by distributing tree branches that were going to be used in the activities and wrapping themselves because of the cold weather. As with all the other *we tripantü* celebrations I attended, this religious ceremony corresponded to a *ngellipun*. A few participants started to hand and warm up some Mapuche instruments such as *kultrun*, *pifilka* and *trutruka*, as well as to dress in traditional clothes. While most of the participants were still inside the *ruka*, Avendaño and a few people went to the *rewe* to perform a call to announce the beginning of the *ngellipun*. The call was made by an instrument playing or *toque* comprised of a binary rhythmic pattern,[121] which was led by the *kultrun* performed by Avendaño and supported by some *trutruka* playings and yells called *afafan*. The *afafan* is characterised by the onomatopoeia '*ah ya ya ya ya ya ya ya*!', and it is very common during different kind of religious and non-religious activities to engage people into the activities, cheer the participants up and to support a *toque*. With the first call, all the people began to gather outside the *ruka* and head to the *rewe*. A few minutes later, there was a second call when most participants were placed in front of the *rewe* by forming a few columns. When everyone was placed and ready, there was a third call and the *ngellipun* started.

The *ngellipun* began with a prayer in Mapudungun recited by Avendaño, who spontaneously accompanied the prayer by playing short *kultrun toques*. After that, Avendaño recited the same prayer but in Spanish. By performing short spontaneous *toques* of *trutruka*, *pifilka*, *kaskawilla* and *kull kull* as well as some *afafan*, other participants accompanied the prayer. The alternation between Mapudungun and Spanish in reciting the prayer occurred several times and, as the *ngellipun* was progressing, the intensity and frequency of the *toques* increased. At the end of the *ngellipun*, the *kultrun* started to perform a steady binary pattern that was reinforced by spontaneous and intermittent *toques* made by other participants. At that moment, the guest *choykefe* and Maripil indicated to the participants that we were going to perform a group dance called *masatun*.

The steady binary *toque* performed at the end of the *ngellipun* was used as a bridge to connect with the *toque* that accompany the *masatun*. This dance started by marking the binary pattern in the same place with the feet. Around one minute later, Avendaño indicated the end of the binary *toque* by yelling an *afafan* and playing one strong stroke on her *kultrun*. After a very short pause, a new

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[121] The particular musical features of the calls are discussed in 'The Main Musical Traits of *Wünül*' in Chapter 4.

toque comprised of a steady compound time pattern started. With the new *toque*, all the participants started to dance by moving back and forth, as well as all the musical instruments started to play in a steady way (refer to Audio Track 14). After a couple of minutes in front of the *rewe*, the group went dancing to the *ruka* and performed an entire lap around it. Once Avendaño was in the entrance of the *ruka*, she indicated the end of the dance by yelling an *afafan* and playing a binary *toque* that ended with one strong stroke of her *kultrun*. With the end of the *masatun*, the group religious ceremony was concluded.

The *ngellipun* and *masatun* together lasted approximately thirty minutes and once it was finished most participants entered the *ruka* to have some food and drinks and talk about the ceremony. About one hour later, there was another call for a second *ngellipun* that was performed similarly. It was also followed by a *masatun* that ended at the entrance of the *ruka*, but the binary *toque* at the end of the group dance was interlocked with a call to announce the performance of the non-religious dance called *choyke purrun*. The call was addressed to the traditional dancers or *choykefe* to indicate to them to get ready for dancing. They were located behind the *ruka* where they were not visible to the rest of the participants. After the call addressed to the *choykefe*, Avendaño located herself next to the *ruka* facing the *rewe* and indicated to the participants to form a semi-circle. There was a second call and a few minutes later a final one. The last call was interlocked with a binary *toque*, which was the cue for the *choykefe* to make the entry.[122]

The *choyke purrun* was performed in the semi-circle formed by the participants. Once the departure section that indicates the end of the dance was cued by the characteristic binary *toque*, the *choykefe* went back to behind the *ruka*. After the dance was finished, Maripil came to talk to the participants and explain them that a *choyke purrun* usually involves four *choykefe* who perform four dances all together. However, he pointed out that there were only two *choykefe*, which significantly increased the physical effort of the dancers to maintain people amused and therefore, they were going to perform only two dances. The calls, entrance, dancing and the end of the second *choyke purrun* was similar to the first one and once it was finished, all the participants entered the *ruka* to have the main meal.

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[122] The structure and main musical features of the *choyke purrun* are explained in 'The Main Musical Traits of *Wünül*' in Chapter 4.

In the *ruka*, Maripil and Avendaño performed several traditional songs, a few participants presented some accounts about how the *we tripantü* celebration used to be held in ancestral times and the organisers talked about the importance of maintaining this festivity in the present day. Around 11:00 am, the celebration spontaneously finished when some people started to leave and the organisers together with some participants proceeded to extinguish the fire and clean the *ruka*.

The above account exemplifies two aspects that correlate with some of my ideas discussed in previous chapters. First, it refers to the participatory and presentational character of the religious and non-religious practices respectively, which relate with my concept of ritual music and *ayekan* music explained in Chapter 4. As was described in the accounts, the religious activities performed in this particular *we tripantü* celebration consisted of participatory performances, while the *ayekan* activities of presentational practices. The second aspects relates the explicit adjustment of some traditions to facilitate both the participation of Mapuche and non-Mapuche people in traditional activities, and the sharing of certain musical practices. The *ngellipun* performed in this celebration had sections in Spanish and was preceded by explanations about the religious meanings implied in it, which is associated to my concept of open religious ceremony discussed in Chapter 3. There were also other elements that were not performed according to the construct of the ancestral *we tripantü* celebration, such as the number of dances and dancers of a *choyke purrun* performance, as well as the inclusion of non-traditional and non-Mapuche elements in the activities developed in the *ruka*. Indeed, this adaptation of certain traditions to facilitate the participation and engagement of Mapuche and non-Mapuche people in activities is, as I consider, the key aspect that underpins the present-day *we tripantü* celebrations, particularly the ones held in non-traditional contexts.

A Present-Day Celebration Performed in a Non-Traditional Context
The second account of a present-day *we tripantü* celebration corresponds to a ceremony organised by the Neighbours' Association of Tumbes Peninsula and Saint Francis School community, held in Talcahuano on the evening of Saturday, 21st of June 2014. According to one of the Mapuche organisers of this celebration and also member of the neighbours' association, Tumbes has many Mapuche families. As she argues,[123] these families have brought their particular traditions from

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[123] I do not provide her name in order to maintain her anonymity.

their respective territorial identities and when they gather together in a *we tripantü* celebration or another traditional activity, they try to include all the different foods, ways to pray, musics and dances.

In the informal conversations I had with several Mapuche and non-Mapuche organisers of this festivity, they explained to me that the community *we tripantü* celebrations in Tumbes started in 2013, when some Mapuche residents presented to the board of the neighbours' association a proposal to hold a community event. As they claim, it was the very first Mapuche community activity held in Tumbes and in doing so, they were aiming to both revitalise the Mapuche traditions among the Mapuche residents and incorporate the non-Mapuche neighbours into the activities. The organisers started to look for a large indoor area to host the activities, because of the cold and rainy June weather in the central-south of Chile. They engaged with the administration of Saint Francis School regarding the *we tripantü* celebration, who lent the school facilities for free. Although the school community was formally invited, they had no involvement in the organisation and only a few people from the school attended the activities. By contrast, in the 2014 celebration that corresponds to the one I attended, the school community was fully committed by participating in the religious activities, providing food to the participants and preparing a *choyke purrun* performance. This change was mainly caused because the school formally incorporated the *we tripantü* celebration into its annual activities, which in this case also involved the development of academic activities such as a poetry contest, a display of paintings and the presentation of written essays, all about the Mapuche culture and the *we tripantü* celebration.

This *we tripantü* celebration was organised as a civic act that was attended by approximately eighty people, including Mapuche and non-Mapuche residents of Tumbes, Saint Francis School community members, the mayor of Talcahuano, local police representatives and local education authorities. As I noticed, the event was covered by a regional newspaper, a regional radio station and a regional television news program. I arrived at the school around 2:45 pm with Maripil and some of the Mapuche organisers, while most participants started to arrive around 3:30 pm. The activities formally began at 4:00 pm with a welcoming speech made by a non-Mapuche teacher who officiated as the host of the entire civic act. The activities were mainly hosted in the main hall of the school, which was arranged with a stage, seats and a provisional *rewe* (refer to Figure 22

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and Figure 23). The provisional *rewe* was made by a green rug placed in front of the stage with an altar that included three small *foye* trees in pots, some *foye* branches and a totem.

Figure 22. *Rewe* and stage. *We tripantü* celebration in Talcahuano. June 2014.

Figure 23. Participants of the *we tripantü* celebration in Talcahuano. June 2014.

Before the civic act began, the organisers asked Maripil if the *rewe* was properly arranged. Based on my field experience and as was partially discussed in the previous account, the construction, location and use of a *rewe* is a sensitive matter in the Mapuche culture. It involves particular views about the Mapuche religiosity that often are polarised. At one end, for example, there are Mapuche who believe that a *rewe* must be located only within sacred sites devoted exclusively to perform ceremonial activities, while at the other one there are those who argue that a *rewe* is a cultural icon that can be located wherever the Mapuche people are present. Several cultural practices involving traditional music are held around or near a *rewe*; thus, the religious implications regarding a traditional altar certainly affect the performance of particular musics. I discussed this matter with Avendaño (pers. comm. 2014a, pers. comm. 2014b), Huichalaf (pers. comm. 2014) and Maripil (pers. comm. 2014b), who agree in the following aspects about the construction, location and use of a *rewe*.

The construction of a *rewe* must be underpinned by the intention to use it in religious practices. Most of the features of a *rewe* are determined by the nature of such practices, how often they are performed and the traditional title held by the people who conduct them. Based on that, I recognise two types of *rewe* that I refer as permanent *rewe* and provisional *rewe*.[124] As was exemplified in

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[124] Refer to Table 10 to see the use of permanent and provisional *rewe* in the *we tripantü* celebrations I covered in my fieldwork.

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the previous account about a celebration performed in a traditional context, a permanent *rewe* must be placed in a site devoted exclusively for the performance of religious practices, such as in the middle of a *ngillatwe* or at home in a particular place dedicated to pray. It should include at least a tree, usually a *foye*,[125] *maki*,[126] *pewen*[127] or *kila*,[128] as well as several tree branches or leaves (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

The inclusion of a totem in *rewe* is optional, but its incorporation often implies that only traditional authorities can use the altar to conduct activities. If a totem has an elaborated designed as the one used in the celebration held in Labranza described in the previous account (refer to Figure 24), it implies that it only can be placed in a permanent *rewe* and used by traditional authorities. By contrast, if a totem has a simple design as the one used in the celebration held in Tumbes (refer to Figure 25), it does not imply an exclusive use by traditional authorities. Therefore, a totem with a simple design may be placed in a permanent *rewe* at home to be utilised by any person in a private ceremony, as well as in provisional *rewe*. The provisional *rewe* usually are built in places that are not used to perform religious activities in a regular basis. They may be built by using a tree in a pot and tree branches (see Figure 26), and should not include a totem with an elaborated design (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014b, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

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[125] The *foye* or *drimys winteri* is a native tree from the south of Chile and Argentina. It is also known as *canelo* and winter's bark.
[126] The *maki* or *aristotelia chilensis* is native tree from the south of Chile and Argentina. It is also known as *maqui* and Chilean wineberry.
[127] The *pewen* or *araucaria araucana* is a native coniferous tree from the Andes Mountains in the south of Chile and Argentina. It is also known as monkey puzzle tree and Chilean pine.
[128] The *kila* or *chusquea quila* is a native bamboo from the humid forest of Chile and Argentina. It is also known as *quila*.

Figure 24. A permanent *rewe* that includes a totem that depicts a woman. Mapuche community centre at Labranza. June 2014.

Figure 25. A provisional *rewe* that includes a totem built by using a pole with and few carvings. Saint Francis School, Talcahuano. June 2014.

Figure 26. A provisional *rewe* that does not include a totem. Bolleco Primary School, Bolleco. June 2014.

Returning to the account of the *we tripantü* celebration, after the welcoming speech made by the host of the civic act, one of the Mapuche organisers addressed the participants to announce the performance of a *ngellipun*. As one of the organisers explained to me, there are no religious or cultural authorities in Tumbes and, as they are not organised as a Mapuche community, they also have no chief or *longko*. The organisers invited a *longko* from a nearby urban Mapuche community to lead the *ngellipun*, who was supported by Maripil and two Mapuche couples from Tumbes. Before starting the *ngellipun*, the *longko* explained to the audience that this religious ritual is traditionally performed in the morning, but that sometimes certain concessions need to be made in order to maintain the traditions and to share the culture with the rest of the non-Mapuche people.

The *ngellipun* started with a call made by the guest *longko* who conducted the ceremony with a *kultrun* and recited the prayers in Mapudungun followed by sections in Spanish. The prayer was accompanied by spontaneous binary *toques* performed by the *longko* and followed by *trutruka* playings performed by Maripil and other participants. The intensity and frequency of the *toques* increased, becoming a steady binary pattern that ended by a strong *kultrun* stroke. After a short pause, the *longko* started to play a compound time pattern and, with the people who was supporting

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him, began to dance a *masatun* in front of and around the *rewe*. After several turns, the *longko* ended the *masatun* and religious ceremony by playing a binary *toque* that ended with a strong stroke and an *afafan*.

During the *ngellipun*, most people were very engaged in the activities by paying attention to the prayers, dancing from their places and yelling the *afafan*. A few of them brought *pifilka* and played them in the *masatun*. Due to the number of attendees and the size of the indoor facilities, just a few people were able join in the activities around the *rewe*. As one of the Mapuche organisers explained to the participants, the idea was to perform the *ngellipun* in the school yard next to the main hall, but due to the weather conditions the ceremony was moved to the main hall. Once the *ngellipun* was concluded, the host of the civic act addressed the audience, explaining that a group of three students had prepared a *choyke purrun* (refer to Figure 27 and Figure 28). He added that the students learnt the dance by watching on YouTube Maripil's video clip '*Choyke Purrun*' (refer to Video 2), and that tonight's performance was going to be with Maripil playing the music alive. There was no rehearsal with Maripil; rather, he explained to these three non-Mapuche students some musical cues he was going to perform for indicating the entry and departure. At first, the *choyke purrun* was going to be performed well into the civic act, but Maripil advised the organisers to dance it just after the *ngellipun*, as traditionally is performed.

Figure 27. Students dancing a *choyke purrun*. Saint Francis School, Talcahuano. June 2014.

Figure 28. Students dancing a *choyke purrun*. Saint Francis School, Talcahuano. June 2014.

When the performance of the *choyke purrun* was announced, the students went to a classroom to wait for the call that indicates to the dancers to get ready. From the stage, Maripil made a call by playing *kultrun* and *trutruka* and then started a binary *toque* that indicates the entry of the dancers.

With the end of the *choyke purrun*, Maripil congratulated the dancers for the performance and addressed the audience to explain them that a *choyke purrun* traditionally involves four dances performed by four dancers. However, he pointed out that traditions sometimes have to be adapted to what communities are able to do. Due to Maripil's suggestions, the students agreed on performing a second dance. To give the dancers some time to rest, Maripil started to talk to the audience about the religious meanings of the *we tripantü* celebration and the traditional and ancestral ways to celebrate it.

After the second *choyke purrun*, there were two speeches made by the school principal and a representative of the municipality of Talcahuano, both about the importance to celebrate, discover and recover the Mapuche traditions. Then there was a prize-giving for some students who had participated in painting, poetry and essay contests, which was followed by the reading and showing of some of the winning works. After that, it was the turn of Maripil's musical performance that included traditional Mapuche music and two non-Mapuche songs sang in Mapudungun. In the traditional repertoire, Maripil sang and played *kultrun*, *trutruka*, *ñolkin* and *trompe*, while in the non-Mapuche songs I accompanied him on guitar. After Maripil's performance, the host concluded the civic act and people stayed around for approximately thirty minute talking and having food and drinks.

This *we tripantü* celebration differed in many aspects from the one described in the previous account, mainly in the setting and length of the activities. While the first celebration lasted about fifteen hours and was held in a ceremonial site fitted with a permanent *rewe* and a *ruka*, the second celebration lasted about two hours and was hosted in a school hall arranged with a provisional *rewe* and a stage. As I consider, the stage is the element that differentiates the two celebrations the most, because it stresses a presentational character. However, the *ngellipun* and *masatun* performed in Tumbes were clearly underpinned by a participatory character as they are meant to be, even if there was a stage and the space did not facilitate a better involvement of the attendees. The construct of the ancestral festivities was an element that guided both celebrations. As was described, the people who conducted the activities engaged in discourses about how the Mapuche used to celebrate the Mapuche year and most importantly, pointed out some of the present-day elements that they were not able to perform according to ancestral precepts. Thus, the present-day *we tripantü* celebrations may widely differ from each other mainly because of the context where

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they are held, but there are several meanings and principles that are maintained, which I discuss as follows.

Meanings and Principles of the We Tripantü Celebration

Most of the organisers and participants of the *we tripantü* celebrations, whom I met and engaged in informal conversations during my fieldwork, were aware that that this festivity is meant to celebrate the beginning of the Mapuche year, and that the Mapuche term '*we tripantü*' literally means 'new year'. However, I observed that there was no certainty about several aspects of the celebrations, such as when and how the Mapuche year begins, what activities are the central part of the celebrations and the meaning of certain religious elements, among others. In other words, I found that most people involved in the *we tripantü* celebrations I attended present either a dearth of knowledge or a lack of consensus about the meanings that underpin this festivity, as well as the principles that dictate the ways to celebrate it.

Based on my field experience and the insights provided by my informants, it is clear that most participants of the *we tripantü* celebrations present a dearth of knowledge about the religious and cultural meanings implied in this festivity, and that their attendance of the activities is in part to acquire such knowledge or *kimün*. For example, in all the celebrations I attended there were explanatory talks and discourses that were meant to inform the participants about the ancestral origin of the festivity, the way to hold the activities and the cultural and religious aspects that underpin the celebration. In the particular case of the organisers, most of them recognised themselves as ignorant about the *kimün* involved in this festivity. As they explained to me, they attempt to compensate their lack of knowledge by inviting or hiring wise Mapuche people to advise and guide them about the proper development of the activities.

In relation to the lack of consensus about the *kimün* involved in the *we tripantü* celebrations, there was a minority of organisers and participants that recognised themselves as people with a certain level of expertise about this knowledge, usually traditional authorities and leaders of Mapuche organisations. In their explanations about the *kimün* linked to this festivity, they tended to claim their views to be the right ones, either for a particular Mapuche subgroup or for the entire Mapuche culture. Although I found certain similarities among their ideas and beliefs, mainly relating to the

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construct of a former Mapuche rural context, I also found several inconsistencies and contradictions that I discuss below.

There is no agreement about a single name for this festivity, as there are several ways to call and spell it, such as *we tripantü*, *we txipantv*, *we tripan antü*, *we txipan antv*, *wiñol tripantü* and *wiñol tripan antü*, among others. However, *we tripantü* and *wiñol tripantü* are the most common names. I decided to use the term *we tripantü* instead of *wiñol tripantü* to refer to this festivity, as it is by far the most common name used by the media, government bureaus and educational institutions, as well as by my informants and other people involved in the celebrations.[129] As *we tripantü* is commonly translated as 'new year', this term tends to raise certain issues related to the notion of 'new' wrongly ascribed to some elements of this festivity, as well as to some misleading associations between the Mapuche and Western celebrations. For instance, I noticed that many participants and organisers of *we tripantü* celebrations tend to claim that the Mapuche new year brings new energies, but according to the Mapuche worldview there is no such thing. As Avendaño and Maripil argue, all the energies or *newen* were placed on the earth since the beginning of time and therefore, they carry ancestral wisdom. During the *we tripantü* celebration the *newen* may emerge, wake up or renew, but in no case does it correspond to new energies (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

There are also several misleading associations between the Mapuche traditions associated to the *we tripantü* celebrations and the Western ones linked to the Gregorian New Year. According to Avendaño and Maripil, there are several non-Mapuche and non-traditional elements incorporated into the *we tripantü* celebrations that do not suit the Mapuche traditions (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b). As discussed in Chapter 3,[130] traditional Mapuche activities may include non-Mapuche and non-traditional elements as long as certain principles or rules are followed. However, in some *we tripantü* celebrations those principles are not followed, which allow the Chilean, Western or Gregorian elements to hide and misread the traditional Mapuche aspects. For example, I witnessed a few times Mapuche participants and organisers in the middle

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[129] To provide a consistent discussion about the elements involved in this festivity, I have been using the term '*we tripantü* celebration' to refer to the celebration itself. In the cases when I use the term '*we tripantü*'—without the word 'celebration', '*we tripan antü*' and '*wiñol tripantü*', they correspond to the particular meaning discussed in this section of the thesis.

[130] Refer to 'Musical Practices Performed in Open Religious Ceremonies and in the *Ayekan*' in Chapter 3.

of a *ngellipun* hugging each other or making toasts as it is in the Chilean way to celebrate the Gregorian New Year. Based on the feedback I got from my informants, hugs and toasts may have room in a *we tripantü* celebration, but not during the section devoted to perform a *ngellipun* or other traditional activity. I also heard several Mapuche people claiming that one of the purposes of the vigil that precedes a celebration is to wait for midnight as the Western tradition. As was explained previously in this chapter,[131] the purpose of the vigil is gather people together to wait for the sunrise, not for midnight as sometimes it is misunderstood.

In relation to the term *wiñol tripantü*, my informants as well as a minority of organisers and participants of the *we tripantü* celebrations also use this term along with or instead of *we tripantü*. *Wiñol tripantü* is a Mapuche term that means 'the turn of the year' and it is considered to be a more culturally pertinent term that matches the Mapuche notion of 'turn' associated with an annual cycle (pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b). To provide a better understanding of the meanings and implications contained in the different means to refer to this festivity, I discussed this topic with some of my informants and concluded the following points.

Aillapán, Avendaño, Huichalaf and Maripil agree on *wiñol tripantü* as a better way to refer to this festivity, but they primarily use *we tripantü* because it is a much more common name and easier way to engage in discussions about this matter. They also use the Mapuche term '*we tripan antü*', which translates into English as 'the new rise of the sun', to refer to or stress a different aspect related to this festivity. These three terms, *wiñol tripantü*, *we tripantü* and *we tripan antü* possess different meanings and regard to different aspects of the celebration, complementing each other to provide a full idea of what underpins this festivity (pers. comm. Aillapán 2013b, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

We tripan antü or 'the new rise of the sun' corresponds to the specific sunrise that occurs in the first day of the Mapuche year. *We tripantü* or 'new year' correspond to a period that starts with the *we tripan antü* and finishes at some undetermined point after that, maybe a couple of weeks later. *Wiñol tripantü* or 'the turn of the year' refers to an undetermined period of time characterised by certain changes in nature, that starts at some point before the *we tripan antü* and finishes at

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[131] Refer to 'A Construct of the Ancestral and Present-Day *We Tripantü* Celebrations' in Chapter 5.

some point during the *we tripantü* (pers. comm. Aillapán 2013b, pers. comm. Avendaño 2014a, pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014, pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

As was mentioned in the introduction of the chapter, the *we tripantü* celebrations are usually held during the second half of June, but the reasons and dates are some of the several aspects of this festivity that present no consensus. The majority of organisers and participants of this festivity tend to argue that the celebrations are meant to be held at any day around the winter solstice, because this festivity is about some changes in nature that occur along an undetermined period of time. All my informants agree on such flexibility, appealing to the meaning of *wiñol tripantü* as a process that occurs over a period of time that may last a few weeks. For instance, Maripil explains that the *wiñol tripantü* begins when birds and other animals become more active and the plants and trees start to sprout. Thus, the *we tripantü* celebration may be held in a reasonable period of time after those changes are noticed (pers. comm. Maripil 2014b).

By contrast, a minority of organisers and participants of *we tripantü* celebrations tend to claim that this festivity should be held specifically on the first day of the Mapuche year, when the *we tripan antü* or 'the new rise of the sun' occurs. However, there is no consensus about the day of the *we tripan antü*, as some people argue that the Mapuche year is based on the phases of the moon, while others on the position of the sun. I discussed in depth with Huichalaf (pers. comm., 2014) the common arguments held by people involved in this celebration about when the *we tripan antü* occurs, which is summarised in the following two views.

Most Mapuche claim that the *we tripan antü* occurs at the winter solstice.[132] It is argued that in ancestral times, as other pre-Columbian peoples such as the Aymara and Kechua, the Mapuche had already an accurate way to determine the shortest day of the year. Thus, the Mapuche used to celebrate that date by holding a festivity. On the other hand, a minority of Mapuche claim that the *we tripan antü* is related to the Mapuche lunar cycle. It is argued that in ancestral times as well as in the present day, the Mapuche have been organising all the cultural and economic activities in relation to the moon, including the Mapuche year. A Mapuche lunar cycle starts with a new moon and a Mapuche year comprises thirteen of these cycles. Thus, the *we tripan antü* occurs after the

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[132] In 2014 when I developed the fieldwork to investigate this celebration, the winter solstice occurred on the 21st of June.

first new moon called *trüfken küyen* or 'ash moon', [133] which usually occurs during the second fortnight of June (pers. comm. Huichalaf 2014).

Based on my field experience, the minority of people who recognised themselves as experts about the *kimün* linked to this festivity, including my informants, strongly believe that the lack of certainty about the constitutive elements of this festivity is the result of the presumed decline of the celebration that occurred around a hundred years ago. In their arguments, that event led most Mapuche to forget and lose part of the *kimün* linked to this festivity, causing inconsistencies between the ancestral practices and present-day celebrations. However, I consider that the lack of certainty about the *kimün* that underpins this festivity alone does not explain the diverse ways in holding the current celebrations, due to the reasons I discuss as follows.

As was previously discussed, the present-day celebrations are the result of a so-called revival process that tries to emulate practices allegedly performed in former periods. Although there is no certainty about particular aspects of the ancestral celebrations, the main features of those former periods are relatively clear, as they are widely addressed in the well spread oral constructs about the ancestral Mapuche society. As was discussed in Chapter 2,[134] the oral-based background about the Mapuche depicts an idealised ancestral Mapuche society mostly comprised of a rural lifestyle with no significant presence of Western elements. Even though there is no full agreement about several aspects of the ancestral *we tripantü* celebrations, there is a consensus about the key features of the ancestral Mapuche society. Despite that, the present-day celebrations do not necessarily correlate with that construct. As was mentioned, I consider that the lack of certainty about several aspects of the presumed ancestral *we tripantü* celebrations may exert a certain influence on the way the present-day celebrations are usually carried out, but it alone does not explain all the features of the current festivities. I found other two factors implied on the way the present-day celebrations attempt to recreate the ancestral festivities, which corresponds to a lack of tangible and intangible resources to carry out the activities according to the ancestral precepts, and a deliberate modification of certain traditional aspects.

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[133] In 2014 when I developed the fieldwork to investigate this festivity, the new moon known as *trüfken küyen* occurred on the 27th of June.
[134] Refer to 'Mapuche People and the Regional Subgroups' in Chapter 2.

A lack of tangible and intangible resources to carry out the activities according to the ancestral precepts could influence the way that certain celebrations are developed. As tangible resources, I refer to material elements such as a *ruka*, a ceremonial site, a *rewe*, musical instruments and traditional clothes, while as intangible resources I refer to the skills and knowledge required to conduct the activities. Many organisers and participants of the festivities I attended often argued that the lack of resources forces the organisers to adapt the activities to what they are capable to do. In their arguments, the lack of a suitable setting such as a proper ceremonial site or an outdoor area to emulate one could probably be the most significant element.

However, even though some communities and organisers have the possibility of carrying out the celebrations in outdoor areas, they prefer to do it in indoor facilities. Due mainly to weather conditions, an indoor or roofed venue helps the development of activities that require certain elements such as cooking facilities and sound-amplifying equipment, and also encourages the attendance of people. For example, the *we tripantü* celebration organised by the Mapuche community of Lo Barnechea hosted the activities in the facilities of a rodeo club that had several open areas. Despite that, the organisers preferred to carry out the activities in a large dining area that was fitted with a stage, tables and seats. In the case of the Neighbours' Association of Tumbes Peninsula and the Mapuche Community of Constitución, they were primarily looking for indoor facilities to host the celebrations rather than an outdoor venue. In another example, the Mapuche community of Villa Alemana developed their activities in a park, but they installed a large tent to allocate an area for a stage, seats and market stalls.

The previous examples show that the lack of resources do not necessarily condition the way a celebration is held as is commonly claimed; rather, it relates to a deliberate modification of certain traditional aspects. I consider that such deliberate modification of traditional aspects is by far the most significant factor implied in the way the present-day celebrations are held, which responds to a need to adapt or modify certain practices to suit the present-day contexts of the Mapuche. As was discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3,[135] there are cultural codes linked to Mapuche music tradition that suggest that several musical practices and knowledge should be restricted to certain people, performance contexts and activities. However, there are several performing artists who

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[135] Refer to 'A Discussion about the Place of Mapuche Music in Present-day Chilean Society' in Chapter 2 and 'How the Research Considerations Influenced this Study' in Chapter 3.

believe that those codes can be adapted under certain circumstances to suit the current realities and needs of the Mapuche. In the same way, the *we tripantü* celebrations possess codes or principles that dictate the way to perform the activities, which can be maintained or adapted in the way explained as follows.

There are people involved in the organisation of the festivities who believe that such traditional principles should always be followed and by doing so, they set up activities that are consistent with their construct of the ancestral celebrations. On the other hand, there are others who believe that traditional principles can be adapted, which generate activities that move away from the construct of the ancestral festivities. For example, in the views held by the people involved in the organisation of the two *we tripantü* celebrations carried out in Lo Barnechea and the one held in Los Ángeles, a *rewe* is a very sacred element that can be placed only in a proper ceremonial site. That implies that there is no such a thing as a provisional *rewe* and therefore, they did not built one. In these three celebrations there were people who recited short prayers, but they did not constitute religious ceremonies; thus, there was no *ngellipun* nor *masatun*. By contrast, in other six celebrations that I attended, the organisers built provisional *rewe* and the activities began with a *ngellipun* followed by a *masatun*. Although these organisers were aware of the sacred character that traditionally is ascribed to a *rewe*, they hold a flexible view that allows the arrangement of a provisional altar.

Among the eleven *we tripantü* celebrations I attended, there were several other traditional aspects that were deliberatively modified, such as the performance of a *ngellipun* in the afternoon, the inclusion of non-Mapuche dancers and the use of indoor facilities. These and other adaptations were not merely the result of a lack of knowledge or resources to perform the activities according to the traditional principles; rather, they were the product of a strategy for improving the attendance of people at the celebrations, engaging the participants in the activities and reflecting the current lifestyle of the Mapuche.

Arguably, the community character ascribed to the present-day celebrations plays a major role in the way certain traditional aspects are modified. As was mentioned, Mapuche people who claim to know about the *kimün* linked to the *we tripantü* celebrations are emphatic in arguing that the ancestral festivities used to be family events, but that the present-day contexts and needs of the

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Mapuche society have brought a community character to the activities. In their arguments, there are two social functions underpinning the community character of the celebration, which relates to the enhancement of Mapuche cultural and identity aspects among the Mapuche and the improvement of coexistence with the non-Mapuche population.

First, the community character of the *we tripantü* celebration represents a means to enhance cultural and identity aspects among Mapuche people. As was discussed in Chapter 2,[136] since the creation of the indigenous reservations, Mapuche cultural practices involving music became a means to enhance affirmative notions of self-identity and cultural identity. As was exemplified in the accounts of two present-day celebrations, organisers and people that lead the activities usually engage in explanatory talks and discourses about the Mapuche culture and identity, stating that the *we tripantü* celebrations represent an opportunity to re-enchant the Mapuche with their own traditions.

Second, the community character ascribed to this festivity has led the Mapuche to share part of the traditional culture with the non-Mapuche population. As was argued in Chapter 2,[137] one of the significant features of the Mapuche culture relates to its community lifestyle. Based on the fact that the Mapuche people present a significant social coexistence with the non-Mapuche, there are many Mapuche who claim that in certain cases the two peoples form communities together, and therefore they should celebrate together. For example, the organisers of the celebration held in Labranza explicitly stated that the activities were organised to celebrate in community, which in this case was formed by Mapuche and non-Mapuche co-workers. As a matter of fact, the eleven *we tripantü* celebrations that I attended were organised, in part, to share the celebration with non-Mapuche classmates, co-workers or neighbours. With the exception of the activities held at Bolleco School community and Mapuche Student Home Pelontwe, by far most of the participants of the festivities were non-Mapuche people.

It is clear that the present-day *we tripantü* celebrations do not necessarily correlate with the construct of the ancestral festivities, which mainly relates to the three factors discussed above: the dearth of knowledge about the ancestral festivities, lack of tangible and intangible resources to

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[136] Refer to 'Present-day Music Culture (c.1930–)' in Chapter 2.
[137] Refer to 'Mapuche People and the Regional Subgroups' in Chapter 2.

carry out the activities and deliberate modification of certain traditional aspects. As was mentioned above, I consider that the deliberate modification of particular traditions is the factor that determines most the way the present-day *we tripantü* celebrations are held, which correlates with my informants' views about how to disseminate Mapuche musical knowledge. In Chapter 3,[138] I explain that all my informants and other Mapuche performers began to perform and disseminate Mapuche musical knowledge by incorporating several non-traditional means, such as on-stage performances, musical workshops and music albums, as well as aiming at both Mapuche and non-Mapuche audiences. As with the deliberate modification of particular aspects of the *we tripantü* celebration, all my informants were aware of the principles that dictate the way to manage the traditional musical knowledge, but they started to adapt certain practices in order to facilitate the performance and dissemination of certain musical practices.

Furthermore, the notion that the present-day *we tripantü* celebration is an instance for enhancing traditional aspects among the Mapuche and improving the coexistence with the non-Mapuche is similar to the 'political goals' shared by several Mapuche performers. As was detailed in Chapter 3,[139] all my informants, as well as other Mapuche performing artists, argue that their performance activities are underpinned by a 'political' purpose, which aims to improve both Mapuche cultural aspects among the Mapuche and the perceived discrimination against the Mapuche by the Chilean population.

The mainstay of the religious activities performed in the *we tripantü* celebrations corresponds to traditional musical practices. By performing *toques* and dancing, the people who conduct the activities recite the prayers, mark the stages of the ceremony and most importantly, provide the participatory character required for the religious practices. In the *ayekan* activities, traditional musical practices are also performed such as the dance called *choyke purrun* and the singing practice referred to as *ülkantun*, which are characterised by their presentational features. In contrast with the religious activities, traditional music is not essential for the development of the *ayekan*. Thus, it is common that non-traditional Mapuche music and also non-Mapuche musical practices are incorporated to the *ayekan* activities performed in the present-day *we tripantü* celebrations.

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[138] Refer to 'Competent Performing Artists and Their Role as Informants of this Study' and 'My Informants' in Chapter 3.
[139] Refer to 'Competent Performing Artists and Their Role as Informants of this Study' in Chapter 3.

Chapter 6—Conclusions

As was pointed out in the research questions, I aimed to examine the main musical sound elements of traditional Mapuche music, the autochthonous understandings associated with traditional music, the relation between performance contexts and performer's roles, and the principal identity aspects of traditional music. In doing so, I was able to delineate the main features of several musical sound aspects, performers' understandings and performance contexts of traditional Mapuche music. The principal finding of this thesis relates to the delineation of the main features of the musical sound itself of traditional Mapuche music, which comprises a set of sound aspects referred by my informants as *wünül*. As was discussed in Chapter 1,[140] there is a dearth of research pertaining to the musical sound elements of traditional music; thus, these findings aim to fill that lacuna. In the main, this was covered by my field research activities that included the investigation of the *we tripantü* celebration, the traditional music performed by my informants in recitals, lectures and workshops among other performance contexts, and the incorporation of my informants and other people involved in music making into my research sphere. The views, categories and delimitations held by my informants about their music culture were key in both articulating my own concept of Mapuche music and delineating the aesthetic traits that I consider to be the identity of traditional Mapuche music.

The analysis of the present-day Mapuche musical practices led me to articulate an umbrella concept of Mapuche music that comprises the fields of traditional and non-traditional Mapuche music, with the aim of addressing the wide range of musics that should be regarded as Mapuche. On the one hand, traditional Mapuche music includes the subfields of ritual music and *ayekan* music, which are characterised by the participatory-religious and presentational-secular character that underpin their respective musical practices. Although participatory and presentational performances imply different mindsets, performance settings and levels of musical expertise, the subfields of ritual and *ayekan* music share three aesthetic traits that I regard as the most distinctive musical features of traditional Mapuche music. Those traits correspond to the exclusive use of Mapuche musical instruments, lyrics that are primarily in Mapudungun and a set of musical sound aspects referred to as *wünül*.

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[140] Refer to 'The Research Problem' in Chapter 1.

On the other hand, the field of non-traditional Mapuche music includes practices based on Western musical forms and genres that incorporate some elements from the traditional field. As has been pointed out, this study focuses on traditional Mapuche music, but it was necessary to address some aspects from the non-traditional field in order to articulate some of my arguments. For instance, I discussed how the concept of Mapuche music outlined by the literature does not address the particularities of non-traditional Mapuche musical practices. I recognise that further research focused on the genres and musical elements that form the whole non-traditional music field might contribute to the scholarly discussion about this music culture.

As was mentioned above, the central finding of this study relates to the main features of the musical sound itself of traditional Mapuche music, which comprises a set of sound aspects referred to as *wünül*. The concept of *wünül* addresses sound elements such as pitch, melody, texture, rhythm, interpretative techniques in performance and improvisatory practices, among other components that make a given music to sound traditional. As I consider them to be the ones that reflect the distinctiveness of traditional music better, I concentrated on the features of *wünül* associated with tonal material, rhythmic patterns and the distinctive use of the acciaccatura, glissando and vibrato.

The tonal material of traditional Mapuche music is characterised by the physical behaviour of the Mapuche melodic instruments. The *trutruka*, *ñolkin* and *trompe* are musical instruments able to produce a fundamental sound and partials, configuring an intended tonal material based on the intervallic organisation of the harmonic series. As was detailed in Table 6,[141] the repertoire I analysed presents a tonal material that concentrates in the partials from 3 to 10. In the case of singing, the tonal material is chiefly based on the same intervallic organisation of the harmonic series. As is detailed in Table 8,[142] some traditional songs comprise the very same tonal material of the Mapuche musical instruments, while others present a consistent variation that modifies partial 7 by dropping it a half-tone. In a few cases, such variation also involves the addition of a music note between partials 4 and 5.

In relation to rhythm in traditional music, I focused on the main patterns performed by Mapuche rhythmic instruments, namely *kultrun*, *kaskawilla*, *wada* and *pifilka*. In most of the music samples

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[141] Refer to 'The Main Musical Traits of *Wünül*' in Chapter 4.
[142] Ibid.

I analysed, these instruments present consistent and clear compound time patterns that can be indistinctively notated in 3/8 or 6/8, which are detailed in Music Score 23 and Music Score 25.[143] In some cases as the entrance and departure sections of some traditional dances, these instruments perform binary patterns as detailed in Music Score 24.[144]

Among several interpretative techniques in performance, I consider that distinctive use of the acciaccatura, glissando and vibrato represents the first step in investigating this aspect in traditional music. In singing and playing of *trutruka* and *ñolkin*, there is a recurrent use of acciaccaturas, glissandos and vibrato that varies in extent among different performers. The music performed in *ñolkin* presents more melodic turns that can be referred as a kind of trill or strong vibrato. The melodic interpretative technique that most characterises traditional Mapuche music corresponds to the use of an ascending glissando or acciaccatura to reach the last note of a musical phrase, which usually is performed with a staccato.

I hope that my findings may positively impact on the Chilean scholarly community and on other areas related to Mapuche music and culture, as it is there where the outcomes of this research project may have a more practical and pertinent application. This thesis enumerates several research considerations regarding the study of this music culture that point out how some Mapuche cultural aspects are commonly perceived and addressed by people involved in music making. As was discussed in Chapter 3,[145] those particularities certainly tend to condition several activities regarding fieldwork and, by acknowledging them, it may facilitate the design and conduction of further studies. As I consider, there are two main topics that this study may contribute as a starting point.

Firstly, several present-day musical practices I investigated were not consistent with some of the generalisations about this music culture. As was argued throughout Chapter 4, this is mainly the result of the biased approach of most literature and people involved in music making to articulate a construct of Mapuche music. Based on that, further research is required to investigate if the musical practices performed in former periods really correlate with their respective generalisations. If that was the case, it may indicate that at some point Mapuche music making has

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[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Refer to 'Research Considerations for the Study of Mapuche Music', in Chapter 3.

undergone significant changes. If not, it may indicate that the same biased approach is present in that literature. In both cases, the review of the primary sources I identify in Table 3[146] seems to be a pertinent beginning for such discussion. Secondly, in Chapter 2[147] I discussed how the Chilean educational program suggests that schools should include content and repertoire regarding Mapuche music. However, there is a severe lack of teaching material to address those educational aims. This thesis provides several findings that certainly facilitate the design of pertinent teaching material regarding traditional Mapuche music.

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[146] Refer to 'Research Focused on Social, Cultural and Historical Aspects' in Chapter 2.
[147] Refer to 'A Discussion about the Place of Mapuche Music in Present-day Chilean Society' in Chapter 2.

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Appendix I: prescriptive transcription of *ül* '*Mari Mari*' by Joel Maripil

Prescriptive Transcription
by Javier Silva-Zurita
Audio from the album *Akun Auwkin*
Recorded in Santiago in 2011

Mari Mari
Mapuche Song - Ül

Composed and perfromed
by Joel Maripil

CALL

Mu - len mew mo - ngen mu - len mew mo - ngen mu - le - pa - in, mu - len mew mo - ngen mu - len mew mo - ngen

mu - le - pa - in, fa - chi ma - pu mew fa - chi ma - pu mew fa - chan - tü nga, fa - chi ma - pu mew fa - chi ma - pu fa - chan - tü nga.

Mu - len mew dung - gu mu - len mew dun - gu fa - pu - le mai - ta pi - ngein a - pwen, mu - len mew dun - gu mu - len mew dun - gu

fa - pu - le mai - ta pi - ngein a - pwen, ma - ri ma - ri may ma - ri ma - ri may com pu che, ma - ri ma - ri may ma - ri ma - ri may

com pu che. Bor bo rro bo rroy bor bo rroy, bor bo rro bo rroy bo bo rroy, bor bo rro bo rro bor bo rro y,

bor bo rro bo rro bor bo rroy. Bor bo rro bo rro bor bo rro y, bor bo rro bo rro bor bo rroy, bor bo rro bo rro bor bo rro y,

bor bo rro bo rro bor bo rroy, bor bo rro bo rro bor bo rroy.

Mu - len - mew mo - ngen mu - len mew mo - ngen mu - le - pa - in, mu - len mew mo - ngen mu - len mew mo - ngen mu - le pa - in, fa - chi ma - pu mew

fa - chi ma - pu mew fa - chan - tü nga, fa - chi ma - pu mew fa - chi ma - pu mew fa - chan - tü nga. Mu - len mew dun - gu mu - len mew dun - gu

fa - pu - le mai - ta pi - ngein a - pwen, mu - len mew dun - gu mu - len mew dun - gu fa - pu - le mai - ta pi - ngein a - pwen, ma - ri ma - ri may

ma - ri ma - ri may com pu che, ma - ri ma - ri may ma - ri ma - ri may com pu che.

Appendix II: prescriptive transcription of *ül* 'Kalfüray' by Elisa Avendaño

Prescriptive Transcription
by Javier Silva-Zurita
Audio recorded in Villa Alemana
June 2014

Kalfüray

Mapuche Song- Ül

Composed and performed by
Elisa Avendaño