

**CHILEAN ART MUSIC DURING THE COLD WAR (1970-1990): POLITICAL
COMMITMENT, EXILE AND DEMOCRATIZING PRACTICES IN MUSICS**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the work of Chilean composers during the turbulent period between 1970 and 1990, spanning the presidency of Salvador Allende and the subsequent coup d'état and dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. The works produced during these years by Luis Advis (1935–2004), Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt (1925–2010), Celso Garrido-Lecca (1926–2025), and Juan Orrego-Salas (1919–2019) bear witness to Chile's rapidly shifting political and cultural landscape, which forced many artists into exile or silence under the dictatorship. Some of these composers later collaborated with folk music ensembles to express solidarity during their exile, whether imposed or voluntarily embraced.

Through selected case studies, this thesis argues that the musical output of these composers constitutes a cultural response to broader geopolitical forces shaping both highbrow and popular culture, particularly the power dynamics of the Global Cold War. By analyzing their lives and works, the study demonstrates how political developments in the Global North influenced cultural production in the Global South, while also highlighting the varied forms of resistance — both overt and covert — and the resilience exhibited by composers and musicians in the Global South. These dynamics extended beyond exile to include the imposition and adaptation of dominant musical styles, practices of cultural diplomacy between host and home countries, and negotiations of indigeneity in artistic expression, all of which affected the composers examined in this study. Accordingly, this thesis considers not only the musical characteristics of these works but also the historical, political, and cultural conditions that shaped their creation. In doing so, it presents these composers and their compositions as historically situated witnesses to their time and place.

Keywords: Chile, exile, 20th Century, art music, folk music, music diplomacy, musical composition

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List of Abbreviations

NCC – Nueva Canción Chilena

PUCC – Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

PUCP – Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú

RMC – Revista Musical Chilena

Introduction

On 7 February 1976, American composer Frederic Rzewski (1938–2021) premiered his virtuoso work, *36 Variations on The People United Shall Never Be Defeated*, for solo piano. The piece is based on the Nueva Canción Chilena (NCC) protest song “El pueblo unido jamás será vencido” by Chilean composer Sergio Ortega (1938–2003), who, in addition to his classical training, collaborated extensively with the NCC movement. Rzewski’s piece was intended as a cynical comment on the United States’ Bicentennial celebrations, and he was considered a “political composer.”¹ It was his way of criticizing American involvement in the overthrow of Salvador Allende’s socialist democratic government in a coup backed and engineered by the CIA. Led by Colonel Augusto Pinochet, the coup established a brutal autocratic regime that persecuted everyone related to Salvador Allende’s government and temporarily suppressed all cultural activities. This led to more than 3,000 political murders in almost two decades of military government, as well as over 10,000 victims of torture and arrest, and an incalculable number of people who disappeared permanently². Several artists, such as Ortega and his close colleague Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt (1925–2010), had to flee into exile to avoid further political persecution. From a safer position abroad, these exiles were able to create art and eventually contribute to artistic and diplomatic efforts to re-establish democratic rule in Chile.

If this factoid reveals anything, it is that, in the 1970s, Chile’s history and musical significance emerged onto the global stage. Prior to the presidency of Allende, Chile was culturally speaking, at least from the perspective of America and Europe, a relatively obscure, semi-isolated country in South America, and the same could be said of its musical production, whether it was related to

¹ John Rockwell, *All American Music: Composition in the Late Twentieth Century*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1983, 86.

² Rafael Sagredo Baeza, *Historia Mínima de Chile*. Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2014, 266-267.

the Western art music canon or not. The NCC movement, which had been initiated several years prior to Allende's rise to power, aimed to position Chile as a particularly musical nation within the southern hemisphere. The subsequent popularity of the movement during the Allende years, which survived its suppression during the Pinochet regime by exiling abroad, demonstrates not only its cultural resilience, but also a quality that has defined Latin American folk movements since the Spanish colonization.³ The fact that art music composers were involved with the movement and subsequently drew inspiration from it during their exile years, is an element that is not as well known in history as, for example, the situation of art composers in neighbouring Argentina during their respective dictatorships.⁴

This dissertation examines the manner in which composers of art music began to collaborate with members of the Nueva Canción movement. The question arises as to whether this phenomenon occurred during the Allende era (1970-1973) or exclusively during the period of exile (1973-1990). The present study explores whether the intentions to collaborate were born from a common political desire or true aesthetic interests, or even both. In light of the artistic collaboration with the NCC members, it is pertinent to inquire whether the composers proceeded to develop or integrate techniques or ideas originating from NCC into their subsequent musical compositions. In the event that such integration occurred, it becomes essential to inquire the mechanisms through which it transpired. In the following paragraphs, I will articulate the main structure of this research. First, I must define the historical and political framework of this thesis. My work will center around the two leadership periods evoked in the opening paragraph: Salvador Allende's presidency –

³ J. Patrice McSherry, *Chilean New Song: The Political Power of Music, 1960's-1973*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015, 3-4.

⁴ Luis Eduardo Herrera, *The CLAEM and the Construction of Elite Art Worlds: Philanthropy, Latinamericanism, and Avant-Garde Music*. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2013.

which occurred between 1970 and 1973; a period that was cut short by a year when his general Augusto Pinochet, backed by the CIA, staged a coup on September 11, 1973. After the coup, which ended in Allende taking his own life before he could be made prisoner, a period of intense political repression followed, culminating in 17 years of harsh dictatorship, constant failures to sustain neoliberal economic policies, the imposition of a constitution — which is still enacted, albeit largely reformed to suit democratic needs — and a referendum to reestablish democratic rule in which Pinochet tricked citizens to keep him in power 8 years more after its issue, effectively ending his rule in 1990. Henceforth, this 20-year period of convulsed Chilean history will serve as the historical backdrop for my study.⁵

During these decades, the extent of the Cold War between the Western Powers (United States of America and Western Europe among others) vs the Warsaw Pact allies (the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe) had extended beyond its borders. As a consequence, indirect confrontation between the capitalist and communist ideological systems reached the rest of the world, where a third way of thought, known as the Non-Aligned Countries, sought to grapple with its recent political emancipation from its old European metropolises.⁶

While Latin America did not entirely subscribe into the Non-Aligned movement given its already century and a half of independence from Iberian colonizers, the political, cultural and economical system in the region was deeply dependent on U.S.-American and European (even Soviet) influence. As such, many leaders like Salvador Allende sought to inspire themselves from these

⁵ See chapters 8 & 9 in John Lawrence Rector, *The History of Chile*. Second edition. Greenwood, 2019.

⁶ See “Introduction” in Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

decolonial emancipation movements to escape the current logic of “third-world position” which made Latin American countries juggle their dependency to either U.S.-American or Soviet help.⁷

Second, I will identify the group of art music composers involved in this exchange between academia and NCC folk groups. This group was composed of four core composers: Luis Advis (1935-2004), who wrote the *Cantata popular Santa María de Iquique*, a piece that mixed the popular idioms of the NCC movement and classical music structures, performed and popularized by the folk band Quilapayún. Peruvian composer Celso Garrido-Lecca (1926-2025), who was living in Chile at the time, and who collaborated with NCC star singer Victor Jara (1932-1973) on some songs and wrote a large-scale ballet named *Los siete estados* to celebrate folk music and dance within an art music setting. Then came the aforementioned Sergio Ortega and Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, who wrote songs for the folk bands Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani, including setting poems from the Canto General – a large epic poem about Latin-American history written by Pablo Neruda (1904-1973), by then Chile’s most important and famous poet. From these composers, there is only accessible material and scholarship from three of them: Advis, Garrido-Lecca and Becerra-Schmidt.⁸

I was unsuccessful in convincing Sergio Ortega’s family to give me access to his working materials and scores to pursue my research, which is a significant drawback, given that – it seems – he was the most politically committed of this generation to left wing causes. To counter this informational lacuna, I have decided to present a special case of an art music composer who also collaborated with Nueva Canción artists from a very different vantage point: Juan Orrego-Salas (1919-2019), a

⁷ David M. K. Sheinin, “Argentina’s Secret Cold War Vigilance, Repression, and Nuclear Independence”, in Field Jr., Thomas, *Latin America and the Global Cold War*, 174-198.

⁸ See Chapter 5 in McSherry, J. Patrice. *Chilean New Song: The Political Power of Music, 1960’s-1973*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015

Chilean composer who lived in the United States as head of the Latin American music center. While not exactly a socialist, he was a composer who was committed to democratic ideals of social justice; as such he became attracted to the plight of the exiles (as he himself became a voluntary exile in 1973 after the coup) and composed music for Quilapayún during these difficult times; facts that were written into his biography which will be used as my main source of information to study his life and work in between 1970 and 1990.⁹

As such, this study will cover these composers' lives and works over 20 years, focusing on the works that were either composed for Quilapayún that have art music elements – such as Advis' cantatas populares *Santa María de Iquique* and *Sinfonía “Los tres tiempos de América”*; works that were produced in exile such as the song *Américas* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, or *Un canto a Bolívar* by Juan Orrego-Salas; or works that were further inspired by the collaborations with the NCC movement, such as the *String Quartet No. 2* by Celso Garrido-Lecca or the opera *Viudas* by Orrego-Salas. Note that not all these composers collaborated with Quilapayún or other NCC members while they were in exile, as it was the case of Garrido-Lecca, who returned to Perú; nor did all of them develop personal styles inspired by NCC, as it was the case of Luis Advis, whose collaborations with Quilapayún remained separate from the rest of his “academic” catalogue.

Nonetheless, the compositions showcased in this study demonstrate the need for these composers to show support to important political causes like social justice or the struggle for democracy, which are common topics in Latin American history at large, and which were – during those decades – crucial to voice support to the beleaguered Chilean democracy. In selecting these composers, I have drawn upon the work of Juan Pablo González, the foremost Chilean

⁹ Juan Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros, visiones y repasos: Capítulos de mi música y mi vida*. Santiago: Ediciones Radio Universidad de Chile, 2006.

musicologist, who has conducted extensive research on Chilean, Latin American, and popular music as a whole, and who supervised Elly Bolton's thesis on Luis Advis *Cantata Santa María de Iquique*; Daniela Fugellie, who has worked extensively on Chilean art music composers and who, in 2024, led the repatriation of Becerra-Schmidt's autographs to Chile; Gerard Béhague, a French musicologist who worked extensively on Latin American concert music and was the first to compile a brief yet comprehensive musical history of Chile; and finally J. Patrice McSherry, an American political scientist who has also examined Nueva Canción and its relationship with musicians trained in the academy – showing a great range of interdisciplinarity.

Third, this research will cover several interdisciplinary approaches that overreach traditional historical-musicology frameworks given the social and political aspects that are presented in this thesis. Examining the Cold War from a global perspective necessitates drawing on historiographical approaches developed over the past two to three decades, as the conflict is no longer understood solely as a confrontation between capitalist and communist spheres of influence. From the large proxy conflicts such as Vietnam and Afghanistan; the indirect coup operations in Latin America and Africa; to the desire of the recently decolonized nations to develop a separate, Non-Aligned project that rejected direct capitalist or communist influences in favor of one that reflected their cultural and social interests, the Global Cold War historical approach covers this broader, yet more nuanced overview of this conflict from different vantage points.¹⁰ This facilitates not only the comprehension of historical processes intertwining all these geopolitical areas, but

¹⁰ In this sense, Westad's monograph on the Global Cold War cited above will be helpful to reach these means.

also the understanding of artistic trends that directed the creative will of musicians within these conflicts.¹¹

As such, I will equally mobilize some concepts pertaining to subaltern theories and decolonization practices, which is in part necessary to understand the project from a further informed perspective regarding the continuous struggles to which many of the indigenous populations of the Americas have been subject ever since Spanish colonization. Most of these studies demonstrate that, even during their independent era, groups who recognize themselves as indigenous, as well as the agricultural and working classes, have been subject to internal colonialism/colonial modernity dynamics, perpetuating dependency on European colonial and cultural modes and ideologies of human development, effectively barring other alternatives.¹²

This will certainly explain the need for certain artistic voices to operate from a bottom-up perspective, especially in a place as isolated as Chile, where a Eurocentric political rule inspired by Ancient Roman patrician rule was sustained for a century after independence. As a result, this tight Eurocentric social structure on one hand kept art music from developing any folklike affinities, while most other Latin American countries openly embraced folk and indigenous musics. On the other, it did not allow indigenous and rural Chilean folk musics to be showcased as part of the national folklore. When the regime's cultural grips started to loosen after the 1950s, this was the moment when Chilean folk musicians knew their heyday and inadvertently set themselves to developing one of the most important movements of folk music with social content:

¹¹ For this point, notions picked from Mark Carroll, *Music and Ideology in Cold War Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2003 will be complemented with the ideas from chapters 6 and 7 in Hess, Carol A. Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream*. Oxford University Press, 2013

¹² For this instance, some ideas in Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006, will be essential to explore.

the Nueva Canción Chilena.¹³ However, I will equally need to mobilise concepts drawn from Richard Middleton's articulation theory, in which he explores how musical genres combine and intertwine.¹⁴ As such, this will serve as the main method for analysing the relationships between folk and art music within the cantata popular genre, both for Advis and for all the composers who wrote for Quilapayún.

Given the interrelationship of the topics, it will also be necessary to define the presence of some indigenous extracted artistic movements, particularly *indigenismo*, which defined several artistic currents during the twentieth century, including art music, in Latin America. This is important to define because – within *indigenismo* – there are several elements that today could be considered problematic, such as the extraction of indigenous musical materials out of their social context and their reproduction in art music. This happens because the movement emerged during a moment when Eurocentric culture was expanding into new territories of knowledge and in many cases, stripped indigenous cultural material from its original setting and put it into works of art or exhibits that – inadvertently – trivialized the needs or functions of such materials.¹⁵

However, in Latin America, the situation became more complex because several nations in the region, during the first half of the twentieth century, experienced strong cultural shifts that led them to the progressive amalgamation of indigenous elements within the broader cultural landscape through *mestizaje* – which implies the mixing of indigenous and European culture into a single culture. This mixture, however, implies the sublimation of indigenous cultural elements

¹³ The books by Rector and Sagredo Baeza cited above – among some other additions – will be helpful in this goal.

¹⁴ See subsection “Articulation in practice” in Richard Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1990, 16-33.

¹⁵ While there's no single material that addresses the subject of *indigenismo* as a whole, some of the current considerations by Dylan Robinson, *Hungry Listening: Resonant Theory for Indigenous Sound Studies*. University of Minnesota Press, 2020 and by José Eduardo Zárate Hernández, “Del *indigenismo* a la *indigeneidad*. Los dilemas del pluralismo étnico contemporáneo”. *Andamios*. 2019, 16 (40), 57-84, will be mobilized in this dissertation.

into Eurocentric forms. *Indigenismo* evidently aligns with this paradigm and with internal colonial modernity, as artists in Latin America usually showcased indigenous materials within European art forms. This is important to keep in mind because while this artistic trend subsided in the second half of the twentieth century with the rise of new forms of artistic colonial modernity in Latin American cultural circles – mostly through the imposition of cosmopolitan avantgarde – it does not mean it disappeared completely, especially when some composers within my analysis group, included indigenous elements within their own work.¹⁶

In this regard, a fourth consideration must be accounted for. In many cases, I worked directly from the composers' own reflections and writings, and as such, I draw comparisons based on the composers they cite. In the case of Celso Garrido-Lecca and Juan Orrego-Salas, we find them drawing inspiration from composers one or two generations before them, such as Béla Bartók (1883-1945), Aaron Copland (1900-1990), Paul Hindemith (1895-1963), and Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971). In the case of Orrego-Salas alone, he draws comparisons from his own generation as well, naming Benjamin Britten (1913-1976), Alberto Ginastera (1916-1983), and Leonard Bernstein (1918-1990) as influences. In this regard, Orrego-Salas also rejected any association with Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), Anton Webern (1883-1945), and the post-serial school, exemplified by Pierre Boulez (1925-2016) and Karlheinz Stockhausen (1928-2007). However, such comparisons become scarce in the writings of Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, who certainly worked alongside these two composers in Europe during the 1980s and may even have done so with his contemporaries Luciano Berio (1925-2003), Krzysztof Penderecki (1933-2022), and his Argentine colleague Mauricio Kagel (1931-2008), yet never mentioned any of them as influential

¹⁶ Zárate Hernández, "Del indigenismo a la indigeneidad".

to his work, nor indeed anyone mentioned above.¹⁷ In Luis Advis' case, the comparisons falter because, oddly enough, his close colleagues in Chile — notably the dramaturgist Jaime Silva — situate him closer to an even older, nineteenth-century generation, namely Richard Wagner (1813-1883) and Richard Strauss (1864-1949).¹⁸

From this summary, I can draw one clear inference. Most of these Chilean composers actually held up as model other composers, whether European or American, who had themselves worked in the Americas. Bartók, Hindemith, and Stravinsky all took up residence in the United States as a result of European fascism and the Second World War. Britten did the same yet returned to England once the tide turned in favour of the Allies during the war. Bernstein, Copland, and Ginastera, meanwhile, were born in the Americas. As such, I would argue that their need to compare themselves to these figures — rather than to others of their own generation — was grounded more in a shared continental experience than in stylistic affinities or training. For these reasons, I will focus my research primarily on their own influences and, whenever possible, on the broader context, rather than associating them with a specific generation of European or American composers — an approach that is more suitable given Chile's relative isolation, both continentally and musicologically.

As a fifth and final consideration, I would have to include several aspects as well related to diplomacy and exile into my discussion, which are two common themes to the development of twentieth century music in both high and lowbrow spaces, which contributed to the positive reception of works abroad – and to a degree – might have facilitated the exiles of several of these

¹⁷ In this respect, I am referring to Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt's writings "Crisis de la enseñanza musical en occidente" (a series of articles from 1958) and a lengthy 1985 interview with Ernesto González Greenhill, which reads almost as a confessional act regarding his style, both published in the scholarly journal *Revista Musical Chilena*.

¹⁸ Jaime Silva, "Escuchemos la música de Luis Advis para recuperarla". *Revista Musical Chilena* 67, no. 204 (2005), 127.

composers. For these I will mobilise theories such as the affective emotional affinity, which is crucial in art diplomacy to understand why and how two different cultures enact soft power measures as in cultural liaisons to find similar affinities between the host culture and the diplomatic corps to start cultural dialogues that might translate later into political dialogues and collaboration instead of competition. Through this dialogue – ostensibly – more complex political actions can be made. The success of Chilean exiles in getting their folk protest music recognized through NCC is an example of that: by putting forward their struggle as one for democracy, human rights through their songs, they were able to rally support and interest for their cause in their host countries.¹⁹

In this sense, discussing the situation of exile will also be helpful in understanding the dynamics these composers experienced while abroad. It is especially important to consider that the most common definition of exile is “prolonged absence from one’s native country or a place regarded as home, endured by force of circumstances or voluntarily undergone for some purpose.”²⁰ This definition applies to both individuals and communities who settle in foreign countries. As we will see in the following pages, the efforts and networks built by Chilean exiles over two decades enabled their musicians to voice their concerns for freedom and their hopes for the return of democracy to Chile. However, it is equally crucial to explain the concept of “inner exile,” a phenomenon experienced by many artists in the 20th century when they were unable to flee their country and instead turned inward as a form of resistance, awaiting a more auspicious moment.²¹ This was the case for Luis Advis, who remained in Chile due to an undisclosed illness during the dictatorship. He stopped composing “popular” and classical music for almost a decade, at least in

¹⁹ See for instance Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht and Mark C. Donfried. *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2010.

²⁰ Oxford English Dictionary, “exile (n.1), sense I.1.a,” December 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/8215458361>.

²¹ The examples given in Roberto Illiano and Massimiliano Sala, *Music and Dictatorship in Europe and Latin America*. Brepols, 2009, will be helpful for this matter.

the public eye, while secretly preparing a nearly hour-long symphony, *Los tres tiempos de América*, written for folk band and chamber orchestra. This work encapsulated his hopes and fears about the Latin American condition. Although the symphony was completed, it was not premiered in Chile until 1988, as the dictatorship persisted, and exiled folk groups were still unable to return.

The organisation of the thesis is as follows. The first chapter will be introductory, covering many of the theoretical frameworks briefly discussed above. It will begin with a historical overview of the Global Cold War, which is a theory proposed by Odd Arne Westad that focuses on the geopolitical conflicts between the United States, the Soviet Union, and the Non-Aligned Movement, with particular attention to Latin America's position within this system. The second part of this chapter will explore the artistic implications of these geopolitical tensions, particularly examining how avant-garde modernism came to be seen as the only viable path for modern compositions in Latin America during the 1950s, leading many composers to abandon the "folk" indigenist trends they had previously embraced. In both sections, the internal colonialist elements that enabled these dynamics will be thoroughly examined. The third and final part of the chapter will discuss the social dynamics that facilitated these exchanges, particularly focusing on music diplomacy within the context of the Cold War, as well as the situation of musicians in exile prior to the Chilean case — providing a foundation for the discussions in this dissertation.

Once this introductory chapter is complete, a second, shorter chapter will address the Chilean case. This chapter is divided into two main sections. The first will outline the historical and social characteristics of Chile: a country geographically isolated in the Pacific region, influenced by both the Inca and Spanish empires, and that, after independence, established itself as a thoroughly Eurocentric project. This project led to the creation of a European-style aristocracy that governed the country for almost a century, excluding peasants and workers — whether of European,

indigenous, or mixed descent — from political power and the ruling class. Chile, like other former Spanish colonies, was deeply shaped by mestizaje.

The second part of this chapter will address the cultural state of the country, focusing specifically on music during the twentieth century. This section will demonstrate how the social context shaped a musical mainstream in which Eurocentric trends predominated. Compared to the rest of Latin America, Chile remained musically isolated, never developing a nationalist or indigenist school in the 20th century and instead adhering to Impressionist, late Romantic, and neo-Classical canons imported from Europe.²² Similarly, the diffusion of folk music was dominated by Central Valley huaso music, a style derived from Spanish folk music, with indigenous and mixed traditions underrepresented in the Chilean musical scene. Finally, we will examine how the dictatorship censored the arts, permitting only works linked to working-class music, which were profitable to institutions and required minimal state intervention.²³ While there was no comprehensive monograph in Spanish to guide the literature review of Chilean music, numerous articles published in *Revista Musical Chilena* (RMC) proved invaluable in developing the case studies of several composers examined in this project. Particularly significant were the interviews with Becerra-Schmidt concerning his exile²⁴, as well as the first published analytical study of Orrego-Salas's *Missa in tempore discordiae*, one of the works analyzed in this dissertation.²⁵

²² Gerard Béhague, "Latin American Music c. 1920 c. 1980" in Leslie Bethell *The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume 10, Latin America Since 1930: Ideas, Culture, and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

²³ Karen Donoso, *Cultura y dictadura. Censuras, proyectos e institucionalidad cultural en Chile. 1973-1989*. Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2019.

²⁴ Becerra-Schmidt, Gustavo. "En torno al exilio y a la transición a una forma de inmigración", *Revista Musical Chilena*, Vol. 57, nos. 199, (2003). 57-65.

²⁵ Orrego-Salas, Juan. "Altazor y la *Missa in tempore discordiae*: reciprocidad de palabra y música", *Revista Musical Chilena*, 47, no. 182 (1994), 14-43.

After Chapters I and II have laid the groundwork for this research, I will focus on the study of four composers in three chapters. This structure reflects the nature of their lives and exiles, which unfolded under similar and differing circumstances around the world during the two decades covered by this study. I must also clarify the genre and type of music explored in these chapters. The music presented by these composers includes both art music models, such as the opera *Viudas* by Juan Orrego-Salas, the cantata *El movimiento y el sueño* by Celso Garrido-Lecca, and the *Ossietzky-Oratorium* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, as well as hybrid forms combining academic and folk music, such as the cantatas populares *Santa María de Iquique* by Luis Advis, *Allende* by Becerra-Schmidt, or the songs *Un canto a Bolívar* by Orrego-Salas. Most of this music is vocal, including songs, cantatas, or oratorios, with notable exceptions like Orrego-Salas' *Oboe Concerto* and Garrido-Lecca's chamber works *Trío para un tiempo nuevo* and *String Quartet No. 2*. The inclusion of these more "abstract" works is justified by the influence of Nueva Canción songs by Violeta Parra and Victor Jara on each Garrido-Lecca and Orrego-Salas.

Chapter III will focus on the activities of Luis Advis. As mentioned earlier, Advis created the cantata popular genre, which combined classical cantata structures with the spirit of popular music in Chile. This fusion often allowed messages of popular anger and grievance to surface. This was particularly evident in Advis' music, which will be explored in three of his works: the groundbreaking *Santa María de Iquique* (1970), which incorporated popular instruments and performers, such as Quilapayún, a seminal Chilean Nueva Canción folk ensemble, within a Baroque cantata framework. The cantata tells the story of a violently suppressed miners' strike in Iquique in 1907. This work set the tone for subsequent cantatas populares, such as *Canto para una semilla* (1972), in which Advis set music to the words of Violeta Parra, the founder of the Nueva Canción movement. Her *Décimas*, part of her final poetry collection, were set to both music and

words by Advis in this cantata, which highlighted Parra's commitment to expressing the suffering of the working class in Chile. For these matters, the article on popular and classical music by Juan Pablo González about popular music in Chile, as well as the thesis of Elly Bolton on the Cantata Santa María de Iquique will be helpful to guide my own analysis of the work.²⁶

Following this, we will examine how Advis, unlike many of his colleagues, remained in Chile during the fall of Allende, the Pinochet coup, and the dictatorship's rise and fall. While his colleague Garrido-Lecca reported being struck by illness during this period, Advis stopped composing for at least three to five years after the coup, only resuming in 1979 with film scores and instrumental works unrelated to Nueva Canción. However, during these years, Advis secretly composed what he believed to be the next logical step after a cantata: a symphony for folk ensemble and orchestra. The *Sinfonía Los tres tiempos de América* reflects his need for this music to exist. A 40-minute work for voice, folk group, and chamber orchestra, it represents a larger form of expression, completed in secrecy during Pinochet's dictatorship and premiered outside Chile in 1988. This illustrates how Advis endured a long, silent inner exile, refraining from premiering any works in the popular genre while the political climate made it unsafe for such music to be performed in Chile.

Chapter IV will address a more "classic" type of exile, focusing on two composers. The first will be Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, an art composer who embraced multiple styles, including neoclassical, jazz, modern, avant-garde, and electronic/electroacoustic music. His stylistic versatility allowed him to incorporate postmodern canons that dominated academic music during

²⁶ Eileen K Bolton, "'Ecos de un tiempo distante': La Cantata Popular Santa María de Iquique (Luis Advis – Quilapayún) y sus resignificaciones sociales a 40 años de su estreno". Masters diss. Universidad de Chile, 2011.

his exile in West Germany during the late 1970s and early 1980s. His collaborations with exiled folk musicians from the Nueva Canción movement will be explored through works like *Los Sátrapas* and *Chile 1973* (unperformed works directly responding to the coup), as well as the more “mature” and geopolitically significant *Ossietsky-Oratorium* and *Percussion Concerto*. Two important collaborations with Quilapayún during their exile will also be examined: *Américas* and the cantata popular *Allende*, the latter of which remained unperformed during Becerra-Schmidt’s lifetime and was only premiered in 2018.

The second part of this chapter will focus on Celso Garrido-Lecca, born in Peru but active in Chile, whose leftist ideology led him to engage with folk music while developing avant-garde art music. His collaborations with the Nueva Canción movement, including songs for Victor Jara and the ballet *Los siete estados*, will be discussed. Although this ballet was lost during the coup, his cantata *El movimiento y el sueño* survives, an avant-garde work using large orchestral forces, mixed choirs, narrators, and tape recordings to explore the struggle between aspirations and earthly suffering, referencing both South American guerilla movements and the space race. Two of his “mature” works, composed after he fled Chile, will also be analyzed: *Trío para un tiempo nuevo*, which includes a quote from Violeta Parra’s posthumous song “Gracias a la vida”, and *String Quartet No. 2*, an homage to Victor Jara, quoting his songs “Plegaria a un Labrador” and “Paloma quiero contarte” while interweaving them with an “authentic” Andean Quechua song.

Finally, Chapter V will be devoted, as previously mentioned, to the legacy of Juan Orrego-Salas. This composer, who was several years older than many of his contemporaries, had a head start in every significant trend in 20th-century art music. He developed an eclectic style, yet one that dismissed influences from jazz or folk music, at least initially. Like Becerra-Schmidt and Garrido-Lecca, Orrego-Salas benefited from educational experiences in the Global North. However, unlike

Becerra-Schmidt, whose exile forced him to build a career in West Germany, Orrego-Salas made a conscious decision to spearhead a project for a Latin American Music Center in the United States. He was a founding member of this institution in 1961, and it still exists today at Indiana University in Bloomington, standing as a testament to what was once considered “Good Neighbor” diplomacy toward contemporary — often modern — composers. It was under the auspices of this institution that Orrego-Salas devoted his career as a composer and teacher, including composing his *Missa in tempore discordiae*. This setting of the Mass predates that of his American colleague and friend Leonard Bernstein, and in it, Orrego-Salas expresses his fears and dissatisfaction with faith in the face of what he viewed as a “century of violence.”²⁷ The work was partially inspired by U.S. involvement in Vietnam and partly by the growing political unrest in Chile during the late 1960s, which led to both Allende’s presidency and Pinochet’s reactionary dictatorship.

The second part of the chapter will focus on his works from the 1980s, which reveal a heightened political consciousness on his part. As this chapter will explore — framed by an active examination of Orrego-Salas’ biography — the composer was an avowed pacifist who believed in social justice, yet he never fully abandoned his bourgeois position. It was this “privilege” that led him to choose voluntary exile during Pinochet’s dictatorship, as he vehemently opposed the regime. However, this same privilege also allowed him to compose music in protest from a relatively safe position. His collaborations with the folk band Quilapayún, notably the pieces *Un canto a Bolívar* and *Lo que no digo, lo canto*, provide examples of his engagement with political themes. Of these, only *Un canto a Bolívar* was premiered and recorded by the band. In addition, Orrego-Salas composed several more academic works, such as *Biografía mínima de Salvador Allende*, the *Oboe Concerto*,

²⁷ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 302.

and the opera *Viudas*, all of which reflect his political views at the time. The *Biografía mínima de Salvador Allende* pays tribute to Allende's figure with a solemn song reminiscent of Orrego-Salas' collaborations with Quilapayún, yet in a more academic style. The *Oboe Concerto* can be compared to the *String Quartet No. 2* of his colleague (and rival) Garrido-Lecca, as both pieces serve as conscious homages to Victor Jara, quoting his music. In Orrego-Salas' concerto, the musical form serves as a means of embedding Jara's *Plegaria a un Labrador* as a mournful elegy for oboe and string orchestra. Finally, his opera *Viudas* encapsulates all these elements: Orrego-Salas combines protest songs with troubadour chants, and themes of political demands and violence appear repeatedly in the plot, all while maintaining his distinctive eclectic style.

Chapter I: Between avant-gardism, modernity and *indigenismo*: the state of the arts and policy during the Global Cold War in Latin America

1. Tercera posición: Latin America at The Threshold of The Global Cold War

The geopolitical role of Latin America in the Cold War is a relatively recent field of study. Most of the major works consulted for this project have been produced within the last 15 years — especially when compared to the more extensive literature on the superpowers’ struggle for control over Eurasia, as well as on North America and Cuba, the latter being the only country in the Americas to experience a long-lasting communist regime.²⁸ Nonetheless, the substantial body of scholarship that has emerged in this period, notably the books from Patrick Iber *Neither Peace nor Freedom: the Cultural Cold War in Latin America* or Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser, *In from the Cold: Latin America’s New Encounter with the Cold War* (among others), they all reveal a region deeply embedded in a complex web of geopolitical networks involving Latin American countries, the superpowers of the Global North, and the Afro-Asian-European members of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The study of these networks has focused primarily on geopolitics, shown for instance in Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, highlighting Latin America’s transformation into a contested region critical to maintaining the global balance of power. The United States, which had treated the region as its “backyard” for much of the 20th century, was challenged by the Soviet Union, which promoted a vision of social justice as an alternative to the U.S.’s capitalist, survival-of-the-fittest approach.²⁹ However, Latin

²⁸ Fidel Castro’s Revolution brought him to power from January 1st, 1959 until 2008 when he stepped down, well after the end of the Cold War. Thomas C. Wright, *Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution and Beyond*. Third edition. Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2018, 247.

²⁹ Westad, 2.

American nations were far from passive or powerless. Recent scholarship, such as the collective book Thomas C. Field Jr. *Latin America and the Global Cold War*, highlights the willingness of some politicians to actively engage with the Non-Aligned Movement, as well as the efforts of national elites to strategically navigate between both superpower blocs — often with the aim of securing benefits primarily for themselves. This section of the chapter seeks to deconstruct the two-power world order by highlighting Latin America’s proactive and nuanced role in shaping Cold War dynamics.

A. The Empire of Liberty Versus The Empire of Justice in Their Quest for The “Third World”: Latin America in the Balance of Powers Between the United States and The USSR

As a concept, the Global Cold War was first introduced by Odd Arne Westad in his monograph *The Global Cold War*. Westad argues that both American and Soviet superpowers possess “imperial” expansionist dynamics, typically justified through ideological principles. Over time, these actions came to be seen as neocolonial by the nations they affected. On the one hand, the United States sought to export its ideology of individual liberty and equality, reshaping other nations according to its ideals of free trade and liberal democracy.³⁰ These ambitions were evident in their engagements across the Global South during Cold War conflicts. U.S. military interventions in Latin America and Southeast Asia often took the form of asymmetrical proxy wars designed to preserve pro-Western regimes favorable to U.S. economic interests. On the other hand, the Soviet Union aimed to uplift and modernize non-European societies through Marxist-Leninist egalitarian ideals.³¹ In contrast, the Soviet Union pursued internal Russification of non-European

³⁰ Westad, 10-11.

³¹ Id., 48.

populations and later extended these efforts abroad, culminating in the ultimately unsuccessful Soviet-Afghan War that began in 1979.

Westad describes this dichotomy as the “Empire of Liberty” versus the “Empire of Justice,” which sent shockwaves through countries outside the dominant Northern Hemisphere spheres of influence — namely Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Many of these nations became contested ground, with efforts from both superpowers to draw them into their respective orbits. In Latin America, this struggle often played out among national elites, who were internally divided into opposing political camps. The left was represented by artists, intellectuals, and investigative journalists — many affiliated with the Soviet-funded World Peace Council, an organization which included figures such as Chilean poet Pablo Neruda and Mexican painter Diego Rivera. The right was largely composed of middle and upper-class groups, as well as media and industrial conglomerates aligned with the CIA-backed Congress for Cultural Freedom.³²

The latter, for instance, engaged in pro-American media efforts aimed at manufacturing consent. One notable case, studied by Seth Fein, is Mexico’s *Project Pedro*, in which the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), in collaboration with local elites and emerging media entrepreneurs, created a network of pro-American newsreels. In 1957, this expanded into a primetime television news program designed to counteract Mexican neutrality during the Cold War by portraying the U.S. as a peacekeeping capitalist superpower that improved the well-being of its citizens, all while supporting its stakeholders in Mexico.³³ Despite its political intent, *Project Pedro* was financially

³² Patrick Iber, *Neither Peace nor Freedom: The Cultural Cold War in Latin America*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015, 57.

³³ Seth Fein, “Producing Cold War in Mexico: The Public Limits of Covert Communications” in Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser (eds.). *In from the Cold: Latin America’s New Encounter with the Cold War*. Duke University Press: Durham, 2008, 187.

unsustainable and was later restructured as a radio program, *El Mundo en Marcha*, hosted by journalist Jacobo Zabludovsky. This program continued to produce pro-American content focused on Mexican-American relations.³⁴ The project proved more durable, as both Zabludovsky and the media company he worked for, Televisa, remained influential well beyond the Cold War.³⁵

By contrast, leftist movements inspired by Soviet ideals of justice and equality had a comparatively weaker and more inconsistent foothold in Latin America, despite the region's long-standing history of resistance to oppressive sociopolitical regimes. While some attempts at communist regimes were short-lived — such as in Guatemala (1951–1954) and Chile (1970–1973) — others, like Nicaragua under the Sandinistas (1979–1990), achieved longer-term influence despite opposition from U.S.-backed Contra forces.³⁶ Nonetheless, the most enduring and extensively studied case is Cuba. After January 1, 1959, Fidel Castro's revolutionary government initiated a series of “Sovietization” reforms, including land redistribution, collectivization, nationalization of key industries, mass education campaigns, and the socialization of healthcare.³⁷

Although both superpowers offered perceived advantages — whether for the middle class or the working poor — Latin American elites did not always align ideologically with either capitalism or

³⁴ Fein, 192.

³⁵ While never operating on public funds, Televisa has been known for its pro-government practices, rarely to never offering critical journalism against the Mexican State. In addition, their owners have been extremely condescending towards the working classes. Rubén Arnoldo González, “Si la televisión hiciera presidentes... Televisa y las elecciones federales del 2012” (2013). *Proceedings of the XXV Encuentro Nacional AMIC (Asociación Mexicana de Investigadores de la Comunicación) Democracia, Comunicación y Movimientos Sociales, UAEM, Toluca, June 14th, 2013*. Toluca: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 4.

³⁶ Nevertheless, Daniel Ortega, who ruled as president of Nicaragua back then, recently came back in office. Ever since his return, Ortega became a dictator with military support from Russia and China and has effectively abandoned many — if not every social change projects he could harbor in the past. J. Mark Ruhl, “Repolicizing the Nicaraguan Army: Civil-Military Relations Under Daniel Ortega (2007–2017).” *Journal of Political & Military Sociology* 46, no. 1 (2019), 175.

³⁷ See Part III, Chapter 4 in Boris Goldenberg, *Cuban Revolution and Latin America*. London: Routledge, 1965, 214–235.

communism. Instead, they often crafted pragmatic strategies to court support from both blocs. Importantly, the Non-Aligned Movement, formed following the Bandung Conference and led by recently decolonized African and Asian nations as well as Yugoslavia — a European country disillusioned with Stalinism — provided an alternative path. For some Latin American countries, this third option offered the possibility of autonomy amidst global polarization.

B. The Bandung Conference and The Non-Aligned Movement: Latin America in Relationship to Decolonization Movements of Mid to Late Twentieth Century

The recently decolonized nations of Africa and Asia — under the leadership of figures such as Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Achmed Sukarno (Indonesia), and Gamal Abdel Nasser (Egypt) — founded the Non-Aligned Movement following the Bandung Conference in 1955.³⁸ This initiative aimed to offer a political alternative to the neocolonial agendas of both the capitalist West and the Soviet Union, which were increasingly perceived as neo-imperialist forces. A notable exception at the conference was the presence of a European leader, Josip Broz “Tito” of Yugoslavia, a communist dissenter who had broken with Soviet policies years earlier for similar reasons.³⁹

The conference brought together 28 nations from Asia and Africa — recently decolonized, partially colonized, or never colonized — alongside Yugoslavia. Its final communiqué outlined five principal objectives: economic cooperation, cultural cooperation, the protection of human rights and self-determination, the resolution of colonial problems, and the promotion of world

³⁸ China was also part of the group in the Bandung conference, as Zhou Enlai presented several speeches of reassurance that Chinese Communism was also against Imperialist and Colonialist Rule. However, their assertion in supporting the communist rebel movements in Southeast Asia was an intrusion against colonial independence of countries such as Vietnam or the Philippines. See “Final Communiqué of the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung Conference”. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia (Ed.). *Asia-Africa speak from Bandung*. Djakarta: 1955, 161-169.

³⁹ It was on Tito’s need for an alternative view on Marxism, one that could really be applied for nations with different contexts than the Soviet Union (non-colonialist) that pushed him to join the movement started by the recently decolonized Afro-Asiatic powers. See *id.*

peace. While these principles aimed to guide international engagement, the conference's most immediate impact was geopolitical. It contributed to accelerating the decolonization of many African nations still under colonial rule at the time.⁴⁰

However, according to scholar Frederick Cooper, this was far from a purely idealistic movement. In post-independence Africa, widespread discontent emerged, even in nations that had long embraced resistance narratives. This discontent stemmed from the constant outsider's perception that African nations were too unstable to be governed by Western conceptions of the state; models that often ignored economic and scientific development, hindered social progress, and failed to account for the continent's complex realities, such as multiethnic federations ruled by strongmen.⁴¹ Scholars like Quito Swan argue that decolonization itself could become a double-edged discourse. For instance, Sukarno's plan for Indonesia included the annexation of West Papua in 1962 as a means of deterring renewed Dutch or Western colonial incursions — an action taken without regard for the voices of West Papuans, who were ethnically and culturally distinct from the Austronesian Indonesians.⁴²

Although the Non-Aligned Movement declined after the 1980s — particularly following the Washington Consensus, a multilateral congress which led several Latin American and African nations to adopt privatization as a strategy for economic reform — its legacy remains significant.⁴³

⁴⁰ Westad, 99.

⁴¹ Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History", *The American Historical Review*, 99, no. 5 (1994), 1521.

⁴² Quito Swan's article deals on how the West Papuans, themselves Melanesians, adjoined to the Black diaspora because of their skin color, and as such sought help from African Nations like Senegal or the Black American emancipation movements. Quito Swan, "Blinded by Bandung? Illuminating West Papua, Senegal and the Black Pacific" in *Radical History Review*, 131. 2018, 60.

⁴³ Vico Melo, "Bandung e a Solidariedade Afro-Latino-Asiática: o nascimento, a crise e as possibilidades descoloniais da cooperação Sul-Sul". *AbeÁfrica: Revista da Associação Brasileira de Estudos Africanos*, 04, 2020, 48.

Scholar Ahmad R.M. Umar identifies two central outcomes: first, the promotion of self-determination, which became foundational for decolonization; and second, the reshaping of international geopolitics. The movement helped transition the world order from one dominated by European empires to one in which formerly colonized nations gained formal legal equality with their former colonizers.⁴⁴ Vico Melo adds that the Bandung Conference also sparked South–South collaboration beyond geopolitics, including social issues such as women’s rights. For example, during the 1961 Cairo Conference of Afro-Asian Women, delegates addressed how colonial patriarchal structures compounded pre-existing gender inequalities. Melo further notes that the conference paved the way for broader Third-Worldist cooperation beyond Africa and Asia — most notably with Latin America, where countries faced neocolonial pressures from both the U.S. and the USSR. A key example of this solidarity was the 1978 Buenos Aires Summit, where countries of the “Third World” gathered to oppose neo-imperialist influence from the global superpowers.⁴⁵

This movement also fostered closer collaboration at the national level. Scholar Eugenia Palieraki, for instance, highlights Chile’s role as a bridge between Latin America and the Non-Aligned Movement. Under Salvador Allende’s Unidad Popular government (1970–1973), Chile deepened ties with Algeria, even maintaining diplomatic channels as a government-in-exile until 1976 after Allende’s overthrow and death.⁴⁶ However, the Non-Aligned Movement failed to gain widespread traction across Latin America, likely because the region was already immersed in its own anti-

⁴⁴ Ahmad Umar suggests further in this article that, despite the emergence of neocolonial politics through pacts such as the SEATO (dissolved in 1977) or ASEAN (still existing), this legacy has endured as the continuous struggle for peoples to keep their right on self-determination. See Ahmad Rizky Mardhatillah Umar, “Rethinking the Legacies of Bandung Conference: Global Decolonization and the Making of Modern International Order” in *Asian Politics & Policy*, 11 (3), 2019, 471.

⁴⁵ However, this happened shortly after Argentina was victim of a pro-American coup and foreshadowed the end of the “Third-Worldism” as an alternative during the 1980s. Melo, 46.

⁴⁶ Eugenia Palieraki, “Chile, Algeria, and the Third World in the 1960s and 1970s: Revolutions Entangled” in Field Jr., 292.

colonial and revolutionary struggles dating back before the Cold War. Historical figures such as Augusto César Sandino, who vowed to resist U.S. intervention at all costs, embodied this more militant approach.⁴⁷ Consequently, some governments in the region embraced peaceful multilateralism, adopting pragmatic or mediating positions between the great powers in an alternative form described by some Latin American countries as *tercera posición*.

C. Tercera posición. A Latin American Alternative to The Non-Aligned?

The expression *tercera posición* was initially formulated by Argentine president Juan Domingo Perón during his first term. This position aimed to prioritize national interests while mediating between the two dominant geopolitical blocs. It typically combined capitalist economic interests — such as foreign investments that revitalized devastated economies — with public support for social justice programs that promised equality to the working and middle classes.⁴⁸ However, as the following pages will show, in many cases *tercera posición* served as a vehicle for internal neocolonial elites to accumulate wealth and obstruct democratic processes within their countries.

The idea of *tercera posición* as a discourse promoting national interests could be seen as a reflection, at least in practice, of the Bandung principles of self-determination. Yet, Latin American nations had gained independence from their Iberian colonizers (Spain and Portugal) more than a century earlier. Throughout the 19th century, many of these nations consolidated their control over inland territories, often clashing with indigenous populations. This was largely

⁴⁷ This stance would lead eventually to several movements of revolutionary fervor that aimed to end the American neocolonial grasp in the region, including those of Cuba, Nicaragua, Colombia, or Peru, to name a few. Westad, 93.

⁴⁸ Although this term was first employed by Peron, it effectively became the discourse of the Argentine governments all along the Global Cold War. Sheinin, 174-175.

because the newly formed states inherited a Eurocentric nation-building project from the Spanish and Portuguese empires.⁴⁹

First, these clashes happened because, politically and economically, the legacy of colonialism in Latin America was rooted in private land exploitation. Charles McKelvey, for example, describes how systems like the *encomienda*, and later the *hacienda* or *fundos*, enabled landlords to exploit indigenous labor, laying the groundwork for economic systems of exploitation and superexploitation.⁵⁰ Second, on ideological terms, Larry Neal explains how the Eurocentric legacy was preserved by the Spanish and Portuguese empires through Catholic evangelization. This ideology later clashed with the equally Eurocentric rationalist modern project that sought to shape the post-independence states.⁵¹

The tension between Eurocentric elites, marginalized indigenous communities, and working-class groups led to widespread conflict in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The 1929 global economic crisis became a turning point in Latin American geopolitics, ushering in populist leaders who mobilized the masses to achieve both personal and collective goals. These leaders often invoked the suffering of the poor, and occasionally of indigenous and Afro-descendant communities, as central to their social justice narratives.⁵²

⁴⁹ In this instance, we will see in the next chapter of this thesis one of these conflicts: the one happening in Chile between the recently independent nation-state and the indigenous Mapudungun people.

⁵⁰ Through the ideas of Immanuel Wallerstein, McKelvey explains how superexploitation keep the agricultural laborers and working classes in underdevelopment conditions under capitalism in what McKelvey calls the economic “periphery and semi-periphery” to maintain the “confort” in the economic cores: essentially the countries of the developed, Western world. Charles McKelvey, *The Evolution and Significance of the Cuban Revolution: The Light in the Darkness*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, 4-5.

⁵¹ See Chapter 4 in Larry Neal, *The Soul of Latin America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001, 77-111.

⁵² In this sense for example, Juan Domingo Perón is an heir of such populist politics. Other noticeable examples here are Getúlio Vargas of Brazil or the political party Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) in Mexico. Michael L Conniff, *Populism in Latin America*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999, 2-3.

It is therefore unsurprising to see *tercera posición* framed as a socially inclusive movement in Argentina and other countries. However, its implementation was typically led by wealthy elites aligned with a Eurocentric/Western blend of religious conservatism and economic liberalism. David M.K. Sheinin, for instance, demonstrates how Argentina used its social-justice credentials to bypass the U.S. embargo on Cuba in the 1970s — selling Argentine-made Ford and Chrysler cars as a sign of solidarity — while simultaneously suppressing progressive leftist movements to align with U.S. anti-communist interests.⁵³ Similarly, Gilbert M. Joseph shows how Mexico used *tercera posición* styled rhetoric to promote national unity and international peace, even while it repressed internal dissent such as the 1958-59 railway strikes, the 1968 student movement, and Marxist peasant revolts during the 1970s.⁵⁴

At this point, it is necessary to introduce the concept of alternative or colonial modernity. In *Colonialism in Question*, Frederick Cooper, drawing from subaltern studies, argues that colonialism is embedded in the Western project of modernity, and that modernity often adapted itself as a messianic mission in colonized territories. Drawing from David Scott and Achille Mbembe, Cooper shows how colonial powers dismantled and restructured colonized societies to fit a modernist, rational logic. Paraphrasing Achille Mbembe: “this was colonial modernity’s ambition; a universal goal, like the one organized religion had in the past.”⁵⁵

The extent to which *tercera posición* constitutes a repackaging of neocolonial modernity in Latin America should be analyzed within the region’s specific historical context, which differs

⁵³ The anti-Communist purges happened as early as 1951, repeating in 1955, 1966 and 1973 under Argentine governments that kept the *tercera posición* stance. Sheinin, 185.

⁵⁴ This “national unity” was often in line with American Interests, as Renata Keller upholds it. Indeed, these repressions were often backed by the CIA. Renata Keller in Gilbert M. Joseph, “Border crossings and the remaking of Latin American Cold War Studies”, *Cold War History*, 19:1 (2019), 153.

⁵⁵ Mbembe here refers to the role Christianity and Islam had in some African societies during the Early Modern period, when these religions were brought by Portuguese and Arab colonizers. Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 142-143.

significantly from colonial experiences in Africa or Asia. While Cooper's work focuses on Afro-Asian contexts under direct French and British colonial rule, Latin America had been independent for over a century. As noted earlier, Neal argues that Western ideological frameworks had already been deeply ingrained through Iberian evangelization and education, particularly via Catholicism, confirming Mbembe's ideological quandaries cited above. Thus, mixed-race, European-descended, and even some indigenous populations were already incorporated into neocolonial nation-building projects grounded in Thomist Catholicism: a theological and social framework envisioning a "Kingdom of God on Earth." The integration of Western modernity into Latin Americas' assimilative social project was far from seamless. Hardline Catholics viewed Enlightenment rationalism as fundamentally incompatible with their mystical worldview and the authority of Church dogma. These ideological tensions ultimately contributed to civil conflicts, such as those that erupted in 19th-century Mexico and Argentina.⁵⁶

Race played a significant role in this process. Influenced by Thomist ideals of eclecticism, Latin American societies pursued cultural unity and syncretism over separatism. This led to the promotion of *mestizaje*, the blending of indigenous and Iberian heritages.⁵⁷ Nineteenth and twentieth century thinkers such as José E. Rodó, José Vasconcelos, and Octavio Paz championed this ideological tenet as a unique social synthesis distinct from U.S. racial models. In theory, this *mestizo* identity unified indigenous, white, and mixed-race people under a single national identity. This is particularly valid especially for Uruguayan José Rodó's *Arielismo*. In this ideology, which is heavily directed towards artistic production, Rodó proposed that Latin American arts should be distinguished from US mass capitalist culture, yet still based upon Eurocentric models where the

⁵⁶ Neal, 136-137.

⁵⁷ For my research purposes, I will use the terms *mestizaje* and *mestizo* to describe mixed-race Latin American individuals or their cultural affiliation.

Spanish, Italian, and other Romance cultural models served as “spiritual” guides. Much later in the Mexicans Vasconcelos’ and Paz’s ideas, these Eurocentric guides remained, yet they fused more thoroughly with indigenous cultural traditions.⁵⁸

However, this utopian and ideological racial fusion failed to deliver social justice to indigenous peoples and impoverished *mestizos*. Instead, it often affirmed a mostly white or mestizo middle class, many of whom had access to education and ways to keep reproducing their economic and cultural capital. Indigenous people were expected to assimilate into these schemes or face exclusion. For example, President Lázaro Cárdenas promoted a Soviet-style “Mexicanization” program that formally included indigenous communities but subordinated their ideals to colonial-modernist nation-building goals.⁵⁹ Similar dynamics occurred in Brazil, where indigeneity and blackness were celebrated rhetorically but rarely translated into improved living conditions.⁶⁰

These dynamics are further examined by Argentine philosophers Enrique Dussel and Walter Dignolo. In his *16 Theses of Political Economy*, Dussel argues that effectively, colonial modernity has been internalized in Latin America via epistemological and economic channels. He traces the economic foundations of this assimilation to the sixteenth-century world-empire system under Charles V, which established a direct, subordinate relationship between the colonial metropolis and its colonies. By the late eighteenth century, this model transitioned into the Anglo-American world-system, rationalist and economically liberal, which likewise upheld a hierarchical structure,

⁵⁸ Carol Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* New York: Oxford University Press, 2013, 19.

⁵⁹ Mexicanization, in this context, means the assimilation of indigenous cultural elements by the mestizo, Spanish-speaking hegemonic culture and not the opposite (“Not Indianizing Mexico”). Guillermo De la Peña, “Social and Cultural Policies Toward Indigenous Peoples: Perspectives from Latin America.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34, no. 1 (2005), 727.

⁶⁰ Juliette Dumont and Anaïs Fléchet, “Pelo que é nosso! Naissance et développements de la diplomatie culturelle brésilienne au XX^e siècle”, in *Relations internationales*, 137, 2019, 71.

positioning European centers above their sub-colonial peripheries (primarily in Latin America) and newly colonized territories in Africa, Asia, and Oceania. As new republics emerged in Latin America, their elites aligned with this new centre of power, making dependency both economic and ideological. The result: the working class and peasantry remained superexploited, and indigenous belief systems were invalidated.⁶¹

In contrast, Walter Mignolo's book *The Politics of Decolonial Investigations* offers a stark application of these ideas in evaluating the political complexity of Latin American colonial modernity. He examines how U.S., British, and other Western European interests were supported by a feudal-style landed gentry in Peru throughout the 19th and 20th centuries — a situation equally applicable to other Latin American countries. This condition, described as “internal colonialism,” builds on the ideas of Antonio Gramsci, José Carlos Mariátegui, and their Latin American Marxist successors over the twentieth century. In this view, the colonial regime merely shifted hands while remaining fundamentally subservient to the economic and ideological dictates of new foreign powers; a system that closely mirrors Latin America's colonial past and present.⁶²

Thus, *tercera posición*, as promoted by Perón, aligns more closely with a neocolonial project than with a decolonial path like the suggested one at the Bandung conference. On one hand, it preserved capitalist-imperialist structures that benefited Western powers and internal elites. On the other, it cloaked exclusionary practices in rhetoric about democracy and inclusion, giving the appearance of active representation and participation of mestizo and indigenous groups — who in reality

⁶¹ Enrique Dussel, *16 tesis de economía política: interpretación filosófica*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 2014, 167-168.

⁶² Walter Mignolo, *The Politics of Decolonial Investigations*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2021, 388.

remained politically and economically marginalized. As such, *tercera posición* was no alternative to Bandung as a revolutionary decolonizing program.

While these concepts may initially seem distant from the musicological focus of the following chapters, they are essential for understanding cultural phenomena such as *indigenismo* and for analyzing frameworks related to cultural diplomacy. These ideas also illuminate how the Global Cold War influenced musical expressions in Latin America, particularly regarding authoritarianism, exile, and coloniality in the second half of the twentieth century.

2. Art Music in Latin America: Avant-garde, National Modernity and *Indigenismo*

Now that I have outlined how geopolitical dynamics have shaped the nations in the region, I will turn to the artistic dynamics specific to the Latin American art music context. At first glance, it appears that the same dichotomy between U.S. and Soviet interests extended into the development of art music in the Americas during the second half of the twentieth century. This was evident in the division described by Mark Carroll in his book *Music in the Cold War*, where capitalist Western nations embraced avant-garde music as the music of freedom, while countries in the Warsaw Pact adopted an “anti-formalist”, socialist-realist stance, favoring folklore and popular music to connect art music with the masses.⁶³

Initially, this Western avant-garde vision seemed to dominate discourse around art music in Latin America during this period. As we will see, U.S. and Western European influence over artistic matters initially suppressed Latin American compositional autonomy, since most funding for study abroad came from those regions. However, over time, some states permitted a return to

⁶³ See chapter 3 in Carroll, 37-49.

nationalism. Notably, while Cuba aligned politically with the USSR, its artistic practices were never confined to reproducing folk-based models in art music.

This chapter will also explore the concept of indigenismo, an artistic movement that elevated indigenous art elements as symbols of national heritage yet often excluded indigenous individuals from the creative process. Thus, the chapter will present a twofold discussion: First, I will examine the trajectory of art music composition in Latin America in between avant-garde and folkloric styles. Second, I will discuss the influence of indigenist music, this within a model that is uniquely rooted in Latin America, with a scope and analytical framework that cannot be replicated elsewhere.

A. The Empire of Liberty Versus The Empire of Justice ... Redux: Avant-garde as The Music of Cosmopolitan Freedom and National Modernity as Socialist Realism in the Cold War, and its Latin American counterparts

In the musical sphere, the dichotomy between the “Empire of Liberty” (USA) and the “Empire of Justice” (USSR) was also palpable. This subsection examines how the two dominant Cold War ideologies clashed in the realm of the arts, vying for ideological supremacy.

A key point to consider is that while the Soviet Union produced an official ideological text — the Prague Manifesto — to articulate its artistic goals, the West did not generate a comparable document. Instead, postwar artistic norms in countries like France, West Germany, and the United States gradually coalesced into a form of “cosmopolitanism” that became the prevailing aesthetic. Over time, post-tonal serialism and experimental music came to define this cosmopolitan ideal. As Mark Carroll explains, although the capitalist West lacked a founding artistic manifesto, Nicolas

Slonimsky's 1950 Paris festival *L'Œuvre du XXe siècle* functioned as an ideological *pièce de résistance* for this vision.⁶⁴

Carroll details how the festival was designed as a cultural stronghold for Western artistic values. Slonimsky was aided by Nikolai Nabokov, a relatively obscure composer at the time. Both were Russian émigrés who had fled the Bolshevik Revolution and had personal motivations for opposing communism. In fact, both operated as covert CIA agents under the guise of cultural diplomacy. Nabokov, for instance, chaired the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), the organization that promoted American cultural diplomacy, effectively dictating his avant-garde conception of art as the ultimate expression of freedom.⁶⁵ The festival featured music by post-serial⁶⁶ composers such as Pierre Boulez, Luigi Dallapiccola, and Olivier Messiaen, as well as works from Second Viennese School composers like Anton Webern and Arnold Schoenberg (then still alive), alongside Igor Stravinsky, who had recently embraced twelve-tone techniques as a gesture of ideological alignment with the West.⁶⁷

Richard Taruskin argues that Western composer's motivations were partly psychological and partly philosophical: he explains that the discourse of freedom was, in fact, little more than rhetoric. He contends that the notion of twelve-tone theory rests on an academicism that interprets

⁶⁴ The festival was greatly financed by the CIA as part of a series of efforts proposing modern art as the "absolute expression of freedom". This bulwark of expositions also included expositions of contemporary art by Jason Pollock, Mark Rothko and Georgia O'Keefe where avant-garde plastic arts travelled around several countries in Europe and Latin America as part of a campaign of ideological cosmopolitanism in arts. Carroll, 2-3.

⁶⁵ For a full assessment, please see Chapter 4 in Iber, 85-115.

⁶⁶ Serialism is a method of art music that employs the twelve notes on the chromatic scale (musical keyboard-based system) as having an equal value, no longer directed by any sort of melodic/harmonic hierarchy. It employs a mathematically constructed method (it uses a matrix of numbers from zero to eleven), each one assigned to all the notes in the keyboard. Post-serialism extends this technique to other musical elements such as dynamics (strong to quiet), note duration, attack (accent), etc. Griffiths, Paul. "Serialism." *Grove Music Online*. 2001.

⁶⁷ Stravinsky was going to commit even further into twelve-tone composition, as it was seen in the festival's successor *L'opera del XX secolo*, Carroll, 167.

serialism as the only viable path for musical progress, rendering all other forms of musical creation outdated and invalid; a position that follows Theodor Adorno's own Hegelian logic of progress.⁶⁸ Taruskin further suggests the "freedom" argument also stemmed from a psychological association tied to the twelve-tone system's prohibition under the Third Reich. This "forbidden fruit" quality appealed to a younger generation of composers; however, it must be recalled that the ban was not rooted in the technical difficulties or intellectual alienation the system posed, but rather in the ethno-religious community to which Schoenberg belonged: the Jews.⁶⁹

Nonetheless, not all composers featured at *L'œuvre du XXe siècle* adhered to post-serialism.⁷⁰ Works like *Façade* by William Walton, *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis* by Ralph Vaughan Williams or the premiere of Francis Poulenc's *Stabat Mater* stood out as modernist yet non-serial contributions.⁷¹ English composers, in particular, never fully subscribed to continental European models. Walton, for instance, anticipated postmodernism through his embrace of eclecticism.⁷² Their inclusion demonstrates that Western programming was not entirely closed to non-serial music, so long as it avoided romanticism or overt nationalism — traits associated with either Nazi-era aesthetics or Soviet ideology. This openness is further evidenced by the festival's inclusion of works by Soviet composers previously condemned under the Zhdanov decree — an infamous anti-modernist manifesto of the Soviet era — most notably a suite from Dmitri Shostakovich's banned opera *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*. Nevertheless, the festival's primary emphasis remained on

⁶⁸ Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Late Twentieth Century*. Oxford University Press, 2010, 27.

⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁷⁰ See the list compiled by Carroll for more information, 177-185.

⁷¹ Even by the late 1940s, most British composers were still waking up from the golden slumber of the English Musical Renaissance: a movement that favored a late romantic language that harkened influences from British folk music or Tudor-era art music. The dean from that old guard, Vaughan-Williams, was alive still actively composing at the time *L'œuvre du XXe siècle* happened. Meirion Hughes, and R. A. Stradling. *The English Musical Renaissance, 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music*. 2nd ed. New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, 188.

⁷² It should be noted that Walton and Benjamin Britten (who was part of *L'Œuvre du XXe siècle* selection board) also stand out from British mainstream composition at the time as romantic modernists. Carroll, 168.

neoclassical and post-serial aesthetics, with particular focus on Igor Stravinsky — portrayed as a Russian émigré who had escaped communism and, incidentally, as a composer who successfully navigated through all of these major stylistic shifts from the early to the mid-twentieth century.⁷³

However, a note must be taken into consideration regarding Stravinsky and his association with freedom as a concept. Two authors, Jonathan Cross and Joan Evans, would certainly suggest that Nabokov's intention to promote this composer as the ultimate champion of such an ideal must be significantly nuanced. First, Cross suggests that Stravinsky's initial resistance to composing music within a twelve-tone system stemmed from what he then considered the extreme views on the serial system held by Theodor Adorno and by composers such as Pierre Boulez. Indeed, the latter would affirm that "all non-serial composers are useless".⁷⁴ To a degree, it must be said that these positions were undoubtedly shaped by the trauma of the Nazi persecution of Jews, which affected Adorno personally and informed his reading of Schoenberg's music, as well as by the broader trauma World War II exerted upon Boulez (and Adorno).⁷⁵ As Mark Carroll states, this circle of composers and music theorists occupied much the same moral position as Picasso did when confronted by a Nazi officer who admired his *Guernica* hanging in his studio.⁷⁶

This is further supplemented by Adorno's aversion to Stravinsky's avowed antisemitism which was duly recorded by Taruskin in his own writings and which allowed Adorno to remain critical

⁷³ In this sense, Taruskin makes a nuance about his "late conversion" to the twelve-tone system. It only came after the mixed reviews from his 1947 neoclassical opera *The Rake's Progress* from a younger generation of composers. After this, a chance meeting with conductor Robert Craft came an opportunity to instruct himself with serial music over the following years, culminating in the *Cantata* composed between 1951-1952, in which he applied serialism for the first time. This supports the final arguments of Carroll about *L'oeuvre du XXe siècle* being a festival about Stravinsky as a successful Russian émigré rather than about serialism.

⁷⁴ Pierre Boulez in Jonathan Cross, *The Stravinsky Legacy. Music in the Twentieth Century* 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 227.

⁷⁵ Cross, 229.

⁷⁶ Carroll, 109.

of the Russian émigré. This, in fact, explains why Adorno argued that even Stravinsky's post-*Rite* output — that is, his broader neoclassical period following World War I — relied on collective, ritual rhythms and an idealised past that could be considered reactionary and non-developmental when compared to Schoenberg's progressiveness.⁷⁷ Still, while Adorno clearly omits Schoenberg's partial return to tonality in his later years, he nonetheless acknowledges Stravinsky's own developments in twelve-tone music as critical for his musical development.⁷⁸

Besides, Joan Evans has shown equally how deeply Stravinsky accepted the wooing coming from the Nazi regime. An avowed admirer of Mussolini, Stravinsky gradually received opportunities to perform his own brand of modernism, despite heavy criticism from the purist German *völkisch* camps in Nazi Germany. This began with the performance of his works during the Baden-Baden festivals in April 1936, including his *Concerto for Two Solo Pianos*, alongside other international composers sanctioned by the regime, such as Jean Françaix, in a concert clearly oriented towards neoclassical aesthetics.⁷⁹ The continued recognition of his figure and of his modernism persisted over the following two years: not only did works such as *Firebird* and *Petrushka* become popular, but he also allowed the European premieres of his neoclassical ballets *Jeu de Cartes* and *Persephone* in Dresden and Braunschweig respectively, over the course of 1937.⁸⁰ Evans asserts that Stravinsky's cleaned-up image derives from two circumstances: his inclusion in the *Entartete Musik* exhibition in Düsseldorf in May 1938, where he was cast out as a degenerate modernist, and the convenient sanitization of any involvement with the Nazi regime carried out by his acolyte

⁷⁷ Cross, 229-230

⁷⁸ *Id.*, 231.

⁷⁹ Joan Evans, "Stravinsky's Music in Hitler's Germany." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 3 (2003): 549.

⁸⁰ See *id.*, 551-568 for a full detailed account of all of Stravinsky's involvement from 1936 to 1938 in Nazi Germany.

Robert Craft in several writings.⁸¹ In this sense, these elements should be factored into the overview offered by *L'oeuvre du XXe siècle*, given that Stravinsky may not have been a perfect model for “democratic” music, insofar as his neoclassical output and political views were itself quite reactionary.

This context becomes relevant when considering Chilean exiled composers like Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt and Juan Orrego-Salas, who worked in Western nations and composed in postmodern idioms. By the 1970s, however, the serialist niche of “capitalist art music” had largely given way to the rising popularity of minimalism, exemplified by Steve Reich and Philip Glass in the United States, and Louis Andriessen in Western Europe.⁸² As will be discussed in Chapter IV, Becerra-Schmidt was the only exiled Chilean composer to incorporate minimalist influences, particularly in his “pacifist-branded” Percussion Concerto.

In the Eastern bloc, composers initially adhered to the Prague Manifesto, issued after the 1948 Prague Musicological Conference. This document represented the official musical stance of future Warsaw Pact nations and their international allies. Interestingly, its signatories included English composer Alan Bush and Brazilian composer Cláudio Santoro — both aligned ideologically with Marxism despite their countries’ positions within the Western sphere. The manifesto’s core tenets included denouncing Western formalism and advocating that Marxist composers follow late Romantic traditions, especially those incorporating folk elements.⁸³

⁸¹ Robert Craft in Evans, 550.

⁸² For more information on minimalism, see Introduction in Patrick Nickleson, *The Names of Minimalism: Authorship, Art Music and Historiography in Dispute*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2023, 1-27.

⁸³ More information about Bush’s involvement into the Communist sphere can be read in Julie A. Waters, “Marxists, Manifestos, and ‘Musical Uproar’: Alan Bush, the 1948 Prague Congress, and the British Composers’ Guild.” *The Journal of Musicological Research* 30, no. 1 (2011): 23–45.

“Formalism,” in this context, referred to dissonance, avant-garde experimentation, and anti-monumentalism — features associated with Western modernism.⁸⁴ The concept originated with the 1948 Zhdanov Decree, championed by Soviet Composers’ Union Secretary Tikhon Khrennikov, and the Prague Manifesto was a direct consequence of this policy.⁸⁵ However, these ideological restrictions lost traction after Stalin’s death in 1953 and Khrushchev’s subsequent denunciation of Stalin in 1956.⁸⁶ This shift is evident in the careers of composers like Witold Lutosławski and Krzysztof Penderecki, who remained in the Eastern bloc but embraced avant-garde idioms and contributed to international innovations.⁸⁷ Similarly, composers like Arvo Pärt (Soviet Estonia) and Henryk Górecki (Poland) defied expectations by pioneering “sacred minimalism,” garnering acclaim across ideological lines.⁸⁸

Musicologist Peter Schmelz has argued that reducing Cold War musical dynamics to an avant-garde West versus a tonal East is overly simplistic. He contends that this dichotomy was more rhetorical than real, as Eastern bloc composers were often drawn to the aesthetic and technical

⁸⁴ The Zhdanov doctrine targeted prominent Soviet composers such as Dmitri Shostakovich, Sergei Prokofiev, and their teacher Nikolai Myaskovsky for writing music deemed incompatible with the postwar Soviet narrative of triumph. These composers, who favored modernist and abstract approaches that did not align with Western avant-garde models either, sought to develop late Romantic and neoclassical traditions in original ways — far removed from the “proletarian,” folk-oriented aesthetics that reflected the personal tastes of Stalin and the Soviet cultural elite. See Chapter 10 in Marina Frolova-Walker, *Stalin’s Music Prize: Soviet Culture and Politics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016, 222-257.

⁸⁵ Waters, 28.

⁸⁶ Eventually, by the 1970s, Soviet composers such as Edison Denisov, Alfred Schnittke, and Sofia Gubaidulina began to develop their own avant-garde approaches, each cultivating a distinctive style either resonant with or independent from the traditions of Darmstadt, Paris, or New York. Notably, Schnittke drew inspiration from Sergei Slonimsky — Nicolas Slonimsky’s nephew — who was himself a native of Soviet Russia. For more information on how avantgarde musical movements became mainstream in the USSR, see Peter J. Schmelz, *Such Freedom, If Only Musical: Unofficial Soviet Music during the Thaw*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, 303.

⁸⁷ Lutosławski is best known for introducing polyrhythms into Western concert music; techniques that have long been practiced in various African musical traditions. Penderecki, for his part, was associated with the “New Complexity” movement and contributed significantly to the development of micropolyphony. See Chapter 6 in Vest, Lisa Cooper. *Awangarda: Tradition and Modernity in Postwar Polish Music*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2021, 155-189.

⁸⁸ According to conductor Paul Hillier, who wrote a biography of Arvo Pärt, his music has often been compared to Górecki’s, despite their roots in distinct Christian traditions: Pärt drawing from Protestant and Eastern Orthodox influences, and Górecki from Catholicism. Paul Hillier, *Arvo Pärt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, ix.

possibilities offered by the Western avant-garde; possibilities that ultimately influenced socialist-realist compositions.⁸⁹ In the context of my study, Schmelz's argument is particularly relevant to Chilean composers such as Luis Advis and Celso Garrido-Lecca, who embraced more accessible, folk-inspired languages. Especially, Garrido-Lecca's music in the late 1980s incorporated substantial avant-garde elements into his folk-based idiom. Conversely, his counterpart Juan Orrego-Salas incorporated folk idioms into his already modernist style during the same period. However, before going through the specifics of my research, I must portray the musical panorama in Latin America during the Cold War.

B. The struggle between cosmopolitanism and nationalism in Latin America

This same ideological struggle also permeated the fate of musical composition in Latin America during the second half of the twentieth century. However, before addressing music specifically, it is important to consider several historical and contextual factors.

To begin, Western-style art music had become a prominent artistic force in the region by the early twentieth century, having been introduced during Spanish colonization. As Gerard Béhague notes in the *Oxford Anthology of Latin American Music*, this period was marked by significant stylistic shifts. Early twentieth-century compositions were largely shaped by modernist influences and lingering traces of European nationalism.⁹⁰ Most works from this era reflect strong nationalistic and modernist tendencies, which will be examined thoroughly in the following section. From the late 1930s through the 1960s, European neoclassical and, later, serial (and post-serial) styles gained foot in Latin America. Early adopters of serialism included the Argentine composer Juan

⁸⁹ Schmelz, "Introduction: Music in the Cold War." *The Journal of Musicology* 26.1 (2009): 8-9.

⁹⁰ Gérard Béhague, "Latin American Music", 307.

Carlos Paz, who began composing in this style during the 1930s with support from German exile Hans-Joachim Koellreutter, a refugee from the Nazi regime.⁹¹

The influence of Western academic institutions was evident from the outset. In her book *Representing the Good Neighbor*, musicologist Carol Hess explains how U.S. cultural diplomacy facilitated educational opportunities for Latin American composers at institutions such as Tanglewood, Curtis, and other American conservatories. These collaborations often culminated in musical tours, such as the one for Carlos Chávez's ballet *Horse Power* (H.P.) during the 1930s, and were institutionalized through festivals like the Caracas Music Festival, established in 1954.⁹² While these festivals ostensibly aimed to foster Pan-American cultural dialogue, they were largely directed by U.S. interests.

As a result, preferred musical trends were often dictated from the United States or Europe, and Latin American composers were expected to conform to these styles in order to gain recognition and secure coveted scholarships and grants — whether public or private.⁹³ Until the late 1950s, these festivals accommodated a wide range of musical expressions, from folk-inspired to modernist and neoclassical works. However, at the Caracas festivals, avant-garde styles gradually became dominant. By the final edition in 1961, most participating composers were working in serial or late modernist/neoclassical idioms, largely abandoning the folklorist approaches that had prevailed in earlier decades.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Luis Eduardo Herrera, *The CLAEM and the Construction of Elite Art Worlds: Philanthropy, Latinamericanism, and Avant-Garde Music*. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2013. 198-199.

⁹² Hess, 75.

⁹³ In this case, public scholarships were offered through Fulbright Institute programs, while private funding came primarily from the estates of wealthy families such as the Rockefellers and the Carnegies. Hess, 148.

⁹⁴ *Id.*, 146.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Latin American composers found new avenues to engage with avant-garde music beyond U.S. institutions. Daniella Fugellie and L. Eduardo Herrera have studied the role of the Centro Latinoamericano de Altos Estudios Musicales (CLAEM), an institution in Buenos Aires funded by both the Rockefeller Foundation and Argentina's Di Tella family. CLAEM supported numerous Latin American composers, providing residencies and instruction from figures such as Coriún Aharonián and Graciela Paraskevaídis.⁹⁵ The philanthropic backing extended to CLAEM's successor, the Cursos Latinoamericanos de Música Contemporánea (CLAMC), and enabled students to work with European avant-garde composers like Luigi Nono and Helmut Lachenmann — further reinforcing the Western orientation of these initiatives.⁹⁶

In socialist Cuba, where one might have expected a flourishing of Socialist Realism in music, no such movement emerged as a single stylistic force. After the Revolution, Fidel Castro reformed the educational system, making it both compulsory and egalitarian. This allowed many Cubans, previously excluded from musical education to access state-funded conservatories. Music educators were also among the first to incorporate Afro-Cuban elements into the Western art music curriculum.⁹⁷ Nonetheless, unlike the Eastern Bloc, Cuba never established an official doctrine for musical composition. This flexibility aligned with the government's broader goal of democratizing culture. In fact, when Soviet officials visited the island in 1961, composer Juan Blanco publicly defended avant-garde techniques, earning the admiration of his peers and the displeasure of the

⁹⁵ Herrera, 80.

⁹⁶ Omar Corrado, "European Professors at the Cursos Latinoamericanos De Música Contemporánea: Two Experiences – Piriápolis, 1974; Buenos Aires, 1977." *Twentieth-Century Music* 17, no. 3 (2020), 332.

⁹⁷ Ricardo N. Lopez León and Osvaldo Lorenzo Quiles, "Cuba", in Torres-Santos, Raymond, ed. *Music Education in the Caribbean and Latin America: A Comprehensive Guide*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017, 11-12.

Soviets. As a result, Cuban composers were free to work in folk (Afro-Cuban or not), modernist, popular, or Western European-imported avant-garde idioms.⁹⁸

By the 1970s, it seemed no Latin American country offered a consistent alternative to the dominance of the avant-garde. Béhague notes that Mexican composers in the 1970s and 1980s began to revisit folk and indigenous models,⁹⁹ and Elena Montero da Silva and Amílcar Zani have observed a similar trend in the rise of neo-tonal music across the region.¹⁰⁰ However, this resurgence coincided with the broader “explosion” of the Western art music canon in the 1970s — by then, avant-garde music had arguably lost its status as the “music of freedom.”¹⁰¹ Still, some works of the period reveal a complex entanglement of nationalist and ideological discourse. For example, Blas Galindo’s *Cantata a la Patria* included texts that celebrated the institutional legacy of the Mexican Revolution. Yet, as previously discussed, these institutions had become increasingly ineffective and repressive by the height of the Cold War.¹⁰²

Ultimately, none of these artistic directions — whether avant-garde or socialist realist — can be considered true expressions of colonial modernity in the arts, as both were largely imported. Nonetheless, the musical indigenist movement, which will be analyzed in the next section, represents a more authentic invention emerging from Latin America’s own colonial modernity.

⁹⁸ Marysol Quevedo, *Cuban Music Counterpoints*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2023, 109-110.

⁹⁹ Behague, “Latin-American Music”, 343.

¹⁰⁰ Monteiro da Silva, Eliana and Almicar Zani. “Compositores Latino-Americanos and New Paradigms of the 20th Century Classical Music.” *Opus (Salvador, Brazil)* 19, no. 2 (2013): 132.

¹⁰¹ While not necessarily an academic source, music critic Alex Ross’ illustrates this stylistic explosion in the Western art music canon after the 1970s in the final chapter (*Sunken Cathedrals*) of his twentieth century music compendium *The Rest is Noise*. See Chapter 14 in Alex Ross, *The Rest Is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century*, New York: Picador, 2007, 558-588.

¹⁰² As in Argentina, Mexico also experienced a *guerra sucia* (dirty war) — an asymmetric conflict in which the government employed excessive repression against civilian dissident groups. These groups were often perceived by the state as the civilian support networks of the guerrilla movements it was also fighting. Joseph, 153.

C. Indigenismo: Colonial Modernity and Indigenous Musics in Latin America

As stated earlier, Latin American societies in the twentieth century pursued cultural unity and syncretism rather than exceptionalism or ethnic separatism as a social construct. The concept of *mestizaje* served as the driving force behind this cultural synthesis. For thinkers such as Rodó, Vasconcelos, and O. Paz — discussed in an earlier section — *mestizaje* referred to the blending of Indigenous Latin American and Iberian European societies and cultures. This framework gave rise to a distinctive cultural “melting pot,” conceptually different, at least in theory, from that of the United States.¹⁰³

Eventually, the need to celebrate Indigenous roots within this cultural admixture — extolled through the works of Vasconcelos and later disseminated through Latin America — led to the emergence of the art movement named indigenismo. While *indigenismo* is often loosely translated as “indigeneity,” the term carries a more specific meaning: it denotes an artistic and ideological current that valorizes Indigenous cultural values and artistic expressions within national identities.¹⁰⁴ I have chosen to retain the term *indigenismo* in Spanish throughout this research, as it best captures the historical and conceptual nuances of the movement.

In music, *indigenismo* often manifested through techniques reminiscent of the rhythmic innovations introduced to the Western canon by Stravinsky’s primitivist revolution.¹⁰⁵ During the first half of the twentieth century, Latin American composers — alongside artists in other media — sought to develop national artistic languages distinct from those of Europe and North America. *Indigenismo* offered a compelling solution, allowing composers to integrate motifs drawn from “raw” Indigenous sources within the framework of established European forms. A striking

¹⁰³ Hess, 19.

¹⁰⁴ Zárate Hernández, 58.

¹⁰⁵ Monteiro da Silva and Zani, 120.

example is Carlos Chávez's *Sinfonía No. 2 "India"*, in which he incorporates chants from Indigenous traditions of northern and western Mexico into the most prestigious form of Western classical music at the time: the symphony. The composition's rich rhythmic syncopations and shifting time signatures closely follow the Indigenous musical materials that Chávez wove into the score.¹⁰⁶

1) How to Consider *Indigenismo*: A Colonial Modernity for the Subaltern Artist in the Latin American Twentieth Century Context

One major flaw within the *indigenismo* movement lies in its structural limitations. Formal education in Latin America has historically excluded Indigenous individuals from participating in creative, analytical, or nation-building projects. As a result, artistic movements like *indigenismo* often led to processes of cultural assimilation or appropriation. Similarly, sociocultural concepts such as *mestizaje* were gradually co-opted into discourses that implicitly favored European heritage over Indigenous contributions. While Gerard Béhague acknowledges the processes of appropriation and exoticism, he does not critically engage with how Eurocentric values shaped the incorporation of Indigenous music into the art music tradition.¹⁰⁷

In this sense, Georgina Born, drawing on the analysis of Jann Pasler, makes a stark claim: such processes have always been part of European/Eurocentric music. She takes the example of two French composers who made use of Indian music following their visits to the subcontinent: Albert Roussel (1869-1937) and Maurice Delage (1879-1961). Both wrote works in which, despite displaying some appreciation for Indian musical methods — improvisation, in the case of Roussel's *Évocations*, or the loose musical structures and unequal-tempered timbre, in the case of

¹⁰⁶ Hess, 78-79.

¹⁰⁷ Béhague, "Indianism in Latin American Art-Music Composition of the 1920s to 1940s: Case Studies from Mexico, Peru, and Brazil.", *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 27, 1 (Spring/Summer 2006), 30.

Delage's *Ragamalika* — the procedures and ideology underpinning them are intrinsically forms of musical appropriation.¹⁰⁸ These blatant practices, I suppose, are the reason why Latin American writers have adopted a more critical view towards the cultural construction of indigenismo. Mexican historian José Eduardo Zárate argues that Indigenous communities should reclaim ownership over their traditional narratives, artistic expressions, and modes of cultural transmission within the national context; something they were largely prevented from doing throughout most of the twentieth century. Such a reclamation, he contends, would enable them to free themselves from state and institutional mechanisms of co-option.¹⁰⁹

As a result, *mestizaje* as a sociocultural concept, and *indigenismo* as an artistic movement, must be understood within the framework of colonial modernity. This is because these two concepts are inscribed into an ideological project in which Indigenous populations are recognized as intrinsic to the modern Latin American identity, but only in ways that serve the vision of Eurocentric elites. These elites retain control over all forms of knowledge production and transmission, such as public education, and political agency, such as the access to political parties, among many other elements. As a consequence, their power reduces the subaltern Indigenous to a symbolic presence within a modernity they are ultimately excluded from shaping. These populations may be represented but remain disempowered in the project's core dynamics.¹¹⁰

Because of the workings of this system, individuals occasionally “broke through” these structural barriers. For instance, Blas Galindo, an Indigenous composer from the Wixarika people of western

¹⁰⁸ Born, Georgina, and David Hesmondhalgh, eds. *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, 13-14.

¹⁰⁹ Zárate Hernández, 60.

¹¹⁰ It is a tragic irony that Indigenous and other subaltern groups are unable to improve their livelihoods within the ideological framework of modern rationalism: a movement that ostensibly promotes progress and advancement. In this sense, modernity remains colonial, as its promises of progress are accessible only to those who control the social project. Mignolo, 392.

Mexico, successfully entered the national musical scene.¹¹¹ Yet, his compositional trajectory largely mirrored that of *mestizo* elite composers — moving from nationalist (though not explicitly *indigenista*) works, to neoclassicism, avant-garde experimentation, and ultimately composing official state music, such as the aforementioned *Cantata a la Patria*.¹¹²

Another case is that of *mestizo* composer Theodoro Valcárcel, who, like many of his Latin American contemporaries, sought to elevate Indigenous material. He notably used the Andean pentatonic scale as a marker of Peruvian Indigenous identity.¹¹³ However, following his untimely death in 1942, many of his orchestral works were deemed unfit for performance due to their unconventional instrumentation; ironically, the very element that most authentically honored Andean polyphonic traditions.¹¹⁴ Even today, performances of Valcárcel's works often fail to remain faithful to his original intentions. This reflects the persistence of the colonial modern project, which tends to override attempts at genuinely Indigenous expression within the arts.¹¹⁵

As a contrapuntal response to *mestizaje* and *indigenismo*, writer and cultural theorist Ariel Dorfman developed foundational critiques of modern coloniality in the arts. His works — including *Para leer al Pato Donald* (a graphic novel with the collaboration of illustrator Armand Mattelart), “Inocencia y decolonialismo,” and “Salvación y sabiduría del hombre común” — are

¹¹¹ Saez, Diana V. “Cantemos a Coro: An Anthology of Choral Music from Latin America.” ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2011, 89.

¹¹² For instance, Galindo's best-known work, *Sones de Mariachi*, is based upon Mexican mariachi music, a genre issued mostly from mestizaje of European, Indigenous, and even African musical elements. Béhague, “Latin-American Music”, 313.

¹¹³ Béhague, “Indianism”, 32.

¹¹⁴ Prior to European contact, Native Andean communities of the Diaguita group had developed polyphonic musical systems, both instrumental and vocal. These traditions were later incorporated into Inca music and disseminated across annexed territories, including regions of present-day Chile. For more information, see José Pérez de Arce, *Polifonía Imperial: Familia y ayllu. Paisaje sonoro en Chile central y norte chico durante el Tawantinsuyu* (1470 – 1536). Santiago: Chimuchina, 2017.

¹¹⁵ In this regard, Peruvian scholar Raúl R. Romero has emerged as a dedicated advocate for Valcárcel's original manuscripts, working to produce critical editions that remain faithful to the composer's artistic vision.

key to understanding the mechanisms of colonial modernity in Latin America and the broader subaltern world.

Particularly relevant to the period under analysis is the essay “Inocencia y decolonialismo”, in which Dorfman explores how children’s literature from First World countries conveys hidden messages of “civilization and order” as necessary paths to progress for subaltern societies. He analyzes the *Babar* series by Jean de Brunhoff, where an orphaned elephant receives education and customs in the human world, then returns to the jungle to rule over his fellow (uncivilized) elephants. Dorfman uses this narrative as an allegory for Latin American elites or intellectuals who study in neocolonial centers such as the United States, Western Europe, or even the USSR, only to return home to teach fractured or incomplete models of “civilization” that reinforce foreign hegemony.¹¹⁶ In this context, many Latin American composers who trained abroad through Fulbright or Rockefeller fellowships can be seen as embodying this allegory: they were often expected to return to their home countries to promote the “proper” practices of the avant-garde while discouraging neo-folklorist or overtly Indigenous tendencies.

It is also worth noting that certain national approaches attempted to nuance or address the limitations of *indigenismo*. As discussed earlier, post-revolutionary Cuba restructured its educational programs to embrace stylistic diversity, incorporating genres such as Afro-Cuban music into conservatory curricula. A similar pattern can be observed in Chile under the Allende government, where conservatories and music faculties began integrating popular and folk music into official academic programs, closely following the Cuban model.¹¹⁷ However, outside the

¹¹⁶ Dorfman, Ariel. “Inocencia y neocolonialismo: un caso de dominio ideológico en la literatura infantil” in *Ensayos quemados en Chile*. Second edition. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Godot, 2016, 43-44.

¹¹⁷ McSherry, 150.

Cuban case, these models remained either limited, gatekept (both intellectually and logistically), or were forbidden after regime shifts.

1) How Not to Consider *Indigenismo*: A Disclaimer for Canadian or US-American Readers in Times of Indigenous Struggle for Truth and Reconciliation

It is with this purpose that I must include a disclaimer regarding the considerations to be made in this thesis. This study primarily analyzes cultural processes that have occurred in the Latin American context over the past century. As previously discussed, the relationship with Indigenous peoples in this region was already framed within national projects. Chile represents a particularly complex case: by the time *indigenismo* and Indigenous folk musics began to share the stage with Western art music and musicians, academic debates were already underway in South America concerning the concept of “internal colonialism” as a component of “colonial modernity”.¹¹⁸

Given the current focus in Canadian academia on truth and reconciliation, this research must be approached differently. First, the context of Indigenous populations in South America is marked by multiple, concurrent struggles. For example, the Mapuche (or Mapudungun) – after being inspired by other armed land reclamation movements in Central America in the mid 1970s – they began to adopt guerrilla warfare to reclaim their land rights during Pinochet’s dictatorship, which imposed harsh repressive policies against Indigenous peoples.¹¹⁹ Moreover, none of the composers studied here took an explicit stance on the Mapuche armed struggle cause.

¹¹⁸ Although this occurred primarily in Argentine and Brazilian universities, it was by no means limited to institutions in these countries. To understand Brazil’s evolution from a Eurocentric nation to its current status as a Latin American cultural powerhouse, see Dumont and Fléchet, 137.

¹¹⁹ César Enrique Pineda’s sociological study *Arde el Wallmapu: Autonomía, insubordinación y movimiento radical mapuche en Chile* serves as a key reference on the subject, as it addresses Mapudungun self-determination through a decolonial lens. This work will be examined in the following chapter as part of the discussion on Chile’s Indigenous history. See Pineda, César Enrique. *Arde el Wallmapu. Autonomía, insubordinación y movimiento radical mapuche en Chile*. Mexico City: Bajo Tierra Ediciones, 2018.

Second, only a handful of the compositions analyzed in this thesis will include quotations of Indigenous music. We must acknowledge that in many cases, Indigenous music was extracted and reproduced without the consent of the communities involved — a process that Dylan Robinson characterizes as a form of “hungry listening,” aiming to produce nationalistic Eurocentric music.¹²⁰ This practice mirrors the approach taken by several Mexican and Peruvian composers.¹²¹ Much of the *indigenista* art music was created during nationalist assimilation campaigns that, while lacking the extremity of Canada’s Residential Schools or the total erasure of Indigenous cultures, nonetheless sought gradual syncretism and dilution of such cultures into a big, national one.¹²² As a result, we must say national assimilation/absorption processes in Chile and elsewhere Latin America were no less complicit in violent repression and cultural erasure, albeit in a less documented fashion compared to U.S. or Canadian policies.

What differentiates the Latin American context is the political engagement of many of these hybrid musical forms. For instance, in Mexico, this engagement reached its zenith under the ruling party’s push for full assimilation of Indigenous culture into the national project. While Guillermo de la Peña highlighted the adverse political, social, and educational outcomes for Indigenous populations during the mid-20th century, he did not fully address the cultural implications.¹²³ Artistically, however, the integration of Indigenous motifs became a cornerstone of Mexican national identity, celebrated and institutionalized by the state. Although not pertaining to the realm of music, one of its most prominent expressions was the mural paintings of Diego Rivera and David Alfaro Siqueiros, which adorned public buildings throughout Mexico. These murals sought

¹²⁰ Robinson, 38.

¹²¹ See Béhague, “Indianism”, for the cases of Carlos Chávez or Theodoro Valcárcel.

¹²² De La Peña, 727.

¹²³ De La Peña, 729.

to revive Indigenous stone art traditions by merging them with the European fresco technique. More than a mere aesthetic revival, the murals celebrated the Indigenous past, commemorated resistance against Spanish colonization, and affirmed the emergence of a *mestizo* nation as the foundation of modern Mexican identity.¹²⁴ However, many of these murals portrayed a romanticized Indigenous past — often glorifying the great civilizations of Mexico, some of which were themselves centralized and imperial — rather than engaging with contemporary Indigenous struggles. The few murals that did depict present-day Indigenous life often did so through a “noble savage” lens, idealizing rural existence.

In Chile, as it will be detailed in Chapter II, Indigenous presence in national culture and music remained marginal until the 1960s. This changed notably during the presidency of Salvador Allende (1970–1973), when NCC emerged as the dominant art form, offering a decolonial aesthetic alternative to elite culture.¹²⁵ This movement was violently interrupted by the Pinochet regime, which resumed production of Eurocentric art music – especially repertoire works – as the main component.¹²⁶

Nonetheless, Indigenous Andean elements continued to appear in Chilean music during and after Pinochet’s rule, serving as cultural resistance across ethnic lines.¹²⁷ Composers such as Garrido-Lecca, Becerra-Schmidt, Orrego-Salas, and Advis consciously incorporated Indigenous musical elements to mourn or protest the loss of democracy. Often, this was done in collaboration with

¹²⁴ Irene Herner Reiss, “Cómo Pensar El Arte Público? A 100 Años Del Muralismo Mexicano.” *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales* 67, no. 246 (2022), 134.

¹²⁵ Gonzalez, Juan-Pablo. “Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony of Music in Latin-America: The Chilean Pop.” *Popular Music and Society* 15, no. 2 (1991), 67.

¹²⁶ Caterina Preda, *Art and Politics under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017, 105.

¹²⁷ Daniel Party’s article about popular music under Pinochet shows how it survived by rebranding itself as Canto Nuevo. Daniel Party, “Beyond ‘Protest Song’: Popular Music in Pinochet’s Chile” in Illiano and Sala, 676–677.

folk-indigenous groups such as Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani, whose members were of diverse ethnic backgrounds (white, mestizo, or Indigenous).¹²⁸ Although these activities were largely carried out in exile, they nonetheless demonstrated how Chilean cultural resistance abroad could intersect with and give voice to Indigenous struggles.

Nevertheless, the use of Indigenous elements in these Chilean exiled compositions may indeed align with Robinson's concept of "hungry listening" — a Eurocentric approach that extracts both tangible (land, resources) and intangible (cultural) materials from Indigenous communities.¹²⁹ This resonates with Enrique Dussel's critique in *Filosofía de la cultura y la transmodernidad*, where he argues that cultural appreciation in Latin America has historically been filtered through Eurocentric lenses. Dussel, resonating with Zárte, advocates for a new appreciation that originates within Indigenous communities themselves. He cites the example of Nobel Laureate Rigoberta Menchú, whose autobiography extols her Mayan K'iche' heritage and denounces the violence inflicted by the Guatemalan state during the Cold War.¹³⁰

However, it is essential to recognize that some centralized Indigenous cultures in Latin America, such as the Aztec and Inca, developed musical practices that transcended ritual function to become vehicles for aesthetic and emotional expression. In the Inca Empire, for instance, instrumental courtship songs performed on the *quena* flute by males were appreciated subjectively by their female partners, influencing social outcomes. This suggests a degree of musical intentionality and

¹²⁸ McSherry, 150.

¹²⁹ Robinson, 48-49.

¹³⁰ Dussel, *Filosofía de la cultura y la transmodernidad*. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México, 2015, 55.

subjectivity that may not align neatly with North American Indigenous traditions, thus complicating any direct application of the “hungry listening” framework in this context.¹³¹

Nevertheless, in contemporary contexts, Robinson’s concept remains relevant. Many compositions by Chilean exiles, whether they were Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani, or other folk groups, were performed primarily for European audiences. These performances invariably reflected Eurocentric listening norms, dislocating Indigenous sounds from their original contexts. This dynamic is exemplified by the prolific production of Chilean exile music abroad: between 1973 and 1990, over 488 albums of Chilean folk music were released, primarily to support the democratic cause.¹³²

Given these complexities, this thesis will only engage selectively with the issue of “hungry listening,” focusing instead on the cultural dynamics of the Cold War. Three key considerations frame this approach: First, Eurocentric listening practices were the dominant paradigm during the Global Cold War. Second, the Bandung Conference proposed cultural decolonization through the emergence of subaltern cultures — alternative expressions aimed at critiquing and replacing colonial-centric forms of art.¹³³ Third, while a subaltern cultural movement did emerge in Latin America during the Cuban Revolution and contributed to the rise of *Nueva Canción* as state music in Chile, the more radical elements were largely excluded by the Chilean composers studied here. Their works remained, to a significant extent, aligned with Eurocentric modes of production and consumption.¹³⁴

¹³¹ This idea is completely applicable to the northern and central areas of Chile, which were historically occupied by the Inca Empire. Pérez de Arce, 5.

¹³² Mary Campos Pérez, Laura Jordán González, & Javier Rodríguez Aedo. “Transfonografías del exilio chileno en Europa”. *Revista Musical Chilena*, 76, No. 237, (2022), 13.

¹³³ Final Communiqué, 163-164.

¹³⁴ Campos Pérez et al., 15.

To deepen this analysis, Dussel reminds us that Latin American culture is defined by two interrelated tensions. First, while indigeneity should be celebrated, the imperial structures of centralized Indigenous societies — many of which were later mirrored within colonial regimes — must also be subject to critical examination. Second, unlike the United States and Canada, Latin America is inherently hybrid, with its culture shaped inseparably by both pre-Columbian Indigenous and European traditions, philosophical influences and cultural markers.¹³⁵

Therefore, this study considers *indigenismo* as a stylistic byproduct of Eurocentric listening. Yet, it must be situated within the specific historical context of the Cold War in Latin America. In this light, *indigenismo* in the compositions under study is seen as both aesthetic appropriation and a vehicle for political resistance against an authoritarian regime that enforced a narrow, Eurocentric cultural canon.¹³⁶

3. Diplomacy, Exile, Collaboration or Resistance: The Dynamics of Music and Politics in the Twentieth Century

The third section of the chapter addresses a distinctive phenomenon that characterizes both twentieth-century music history and the broader history of Latin America: the figure of the musician as diplomat and as exile. A dual framework is therefore necessary. The twentieth century witnessed the expansion of music's role into a thoroughly politicized function whether as an instrument of overt or covert propaganda, or as part of broader transactional efforts involving various actors. While musical diplomacy had existed previously, it was in this century that it assumed a more defined role as a tool of cultural diplomacy.¹³⁷ During the Cold War, music

¹³⁵ Dussel, *Filosofía de la cultura*, 84.

¹³⁶ Preda, *Art and Politics*, 105.

¹³⁷ See, for instance, Mark Ferraguto's excellent article on eighteenth-century musical diplomacy in Europe, in which musician-diplomats sought to establish what he terms an "Europe-wide music-scene" through standardized practices. Mark Ferraguto "Eighteenth-Century Diplomats as Musical Agents" in Frédéric Ramel, and Cécile Prévost-Thomas,

became a subtle means of fostering cultural agreements and positioning nations within the ideological camps of the global conflict. Books like *Virtuosi Abroad: Soviet Music and Imperial Competition During the Early Cold War, 1945/1958* by Kiril Tomoff show how these dynamics of diplomacy played in the musical arena.

At the same time, the intense political struggles of the century led to the involuntary displacement of entire cohorts of musicians and artists into exile. This was often the result of governments adopting authoritarian or totalitarian practices that suppressed free expression or endangered the lives of dissenters. Yet exiled artists were far from silent. They continued to produce powerful works, often reflecting their condition and serving as denunciations of the regimes that expelled them. Equally significant is the phenomenon of inner exile, which occurs when an artist remains in their country but refrains from performing, publishing, or composing under an authoritarian regime. This may stem from fear of retaliation or from a conscious decision to embrace silence as a moral stance: an act of resilient resistance in the face of oppression.

A. Music Diplomacy in the 20th Century: A Way of Working Out Through The Geopolitical Struggle Between the Superpowers During The Global Cold War

The definition of cultural diplomacy offered by Nicholas Cull — “a country’s policy to facilitate the export of examples of its culture” — serves as a useful point of departure for this section. As Cull suggests, states often rely on public relations mechanisms abroad, such as cultural or educational institutions, to achieve this goal in an affirmative manner.¹³⁸ Equally important for this study is Anne Dulphy’s definition, which describes cultural diplomacy as a form of political willpower that includes ideological elements and values, directed toward foreign cultures, and

eds. *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy: Sounds and Voices on the International Stage*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, 43-64.

¹³⁸ Cull, Nicholas J. “Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008), 33.

through which cultural values are cultivated between two nations.¹³⁹ These definitions prove especially relevant within the historical context of the Cold War, a period when cultural soft power became critical to the development of individual careers and to maintaining seemingly stable and sensitive relations between the two superpowers.¹⁴⁰

To understand cultural diplomacy, it is necessary to consider how it is practiced within fine arts. Particularly relevant here is the concept of emotional elective affinity, originally developed by Torbern Bergman and later applied to art diplomacy by Jessica Gienow-Hecht. She defines this as “an alliance between different people that is based on cultural fascination rather than on political calculation [which] does not dismiss the state nor state-centered historiography. Rather, it revises our understanding of international history by paying attention to the phenomenon of emotional experiences and its long-term political consequences.”¹⁴¹ As such, through mutual emotional affinity, cultural diplomacy operates at an emotional and intellectual level within individual or collective psychology, since it supports mutual aesthetic goals. In other word, emotional effective affinity materializes through cultural activities such as language courses, concerts, or film screenings and festivals. Nevertheless, Gienow-Hecht’s focus on the highbrow/lowbrow distinctions in American cultural diplomacy will prove insightful for understanding the collaborations between exiled Chilean art music composers and Nueva Canción musicians.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Dulphy, Anne. “Introduction” in Anne Dulphy, Robert Frank, Marie-Anne Matard-Bonucci, et Pascal Ory, (ed.), *Les relations culturelles internationales au XX^e siècle : De la diplomatie culturelle à l’acculturation*, Peter Lang, 2010, 27.

¹⁴⁰ The most enduring legacy is the Cliburn International Piano Competition, examined in detail by Kiril Tomoff. Established after pianist Van Cliburn’s victory at the 1958 Tchaikovsky International Piano Competition in Moscow, it enabled pianists from beyond the Iron Curtain to compete in Texas. Kiril Tomoff, *Virtuosi Abroad: Soviet Music and Imperial Competition During the Early Cold War, 1945/1958*. Cornell University Press, 2015, 82-83.

¹⁴¹ Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, “Trumpeting down the Walls of Jericho: The Politics of Art, Music and Emotion in German-American Relations, 1870-1920,” *Journal of Social History*, vol. 36, no. 3, 2003, 587.

¹⁴² See Gienow-Hecht, “‘How Good Are We?’ Culture and the Cold War.” *Intelligence and National Security* 18, no. 2 (2003): 269–82 and (with) Mark C. Donfried. *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2010.

In the Latin American context, several studies offer more focused insights into the region's cultural diplomacy. Patrick Iber's *Neither Peace, Nor Freedom* and Caroline Hess's *Representing the Good Neighbor* both examine the cultural diplomacy strategies implemented in Latin America during the Cold War. Rival efforts were carried out by two opposing agencies: the World Peace Council (WPC), backed by the Soviet state, and the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), covertly funded by the CIA. These agencies pursued different aims. The WPC appealed to pro-Soviet artists and intellectuals — figures like Mexican painter Diego Rivera and Chilean poet Pablo Neruda — emphasizing anti-cosmopolitan, pro-nationalist, and patriotic values aligned with the Soviet Zhdanov doctrine (Zhdanovshchina). In contrast, the CCF pursued more commercial and institutional goals, such as funding cultural agents, sponsoring academic studies in the U.S., and facilitating transnational cultural exchange.¹⁴³

Iber also discusses the strategic co-optation of a discourse of freedom that ultimately served U.S. geopolitical interests. In this vein, Hess notes how “creative freedom” was, in fact, “limited” to the promotion of dodecaphonic and post-serial compositional techniques. In chapters 5 and 6 of her book, she details how composer Alberto Ginastera adopted a serialist-expressivist idiom in his third and fourth compositional periods (between 1960 until 1981). This “later style” is particularly striking given that Ginastera's earlier work was rooted in “folk” materials.¹⁴⁴ These stylistic shifts become intelligible only when considering that Ginastera received a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1946 to modernize his musical language,¹⁴⁵ and that he was regarded as a “musical Robert McNamara” — a cultural analogue to the U.S. Secretary of Defense — dedicated to promoting

¹⁴³ These included the Rockefeller and Fulbright programs discussed earlier in this thesis, which often operated with the support of Latin American elites. Iber, 57.

¹⁴⁴ To further understand the importance of this change, see Chapter 1 from Schwartz-Kates, Deborah. *Alberto Ginastera: a Research and Information Guide*. New York: Routledge, 2010, 1-22.

¹⁴⁵ *Id.*, 6-7.

musical cosmopolitanism as a counterweight to “folk socialist realism” in Latin America.¹⁴⁶ Ginastera’s trajectory, along with many Latin American composers, illustrates a broader regional gravitation away from folklorism and neoclassicism — styles that had dominated the first half of the twentieth century — toward avant-garde idioms more in line with U.S. strategic interests during the Cold War.

To further explore this point, Juliette Dumont and Anaïs Fléchet analyze Brazil’s efforts to align its cultural diplomacy with “Western requirements.” The study is notable for examining a case in which cultural diplomacy initiatives emerged from a developing country. Initially, Brazil’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Itamaraty) projected a “whitewashed” image of the nation, emphasizing its natural resources and adherence to Eurocentric norms. Over time, however, Brazil diversified its cultural portfolio, increasingly promoting Afro-Brazilian cultural elements, such as samba, and sports like soccer as symbolic ambassadors of national identity. Dumont and Fléchet highlight the ways these efforts reflect internal tensions within modern/colonial nation-building projects.¹⁴⁷

Finally, Danielle Fosler-Lussier characterizes U.S. musical diplomacy as a strategy wherein emissaries of American musical institutions promote “freedom of expression” abroad through cultural channels. This practice functioned as a direct response to what the U.S. State Department saw as Soviet musical propaganda. The resulting American anti-folklorism was, in large part, a political reaction to the constraints on artistic freedom imposed by the Zhdanov Doctrine and the

¹⁴⁶ Hess, 154. Additionally, as Schwartz-Kates notes, Ginastera maintained a close friendship with Juan Orrego-Salas and Panamanian composer Roque Cordero, forming a tight-knit circle known as “Los Latinoamericanistas” (The Latin-Americanists). Schwartz-Kates, 7.

¹⁴⁷ Dumont and Fléchet, 71.

Prague Manifesto.¹⁴⁸ As Hess explains, Latin American composers adapted to this American ideological shift by gradually abandoning indigenismo and other nationalist tendencies in favor of neoclassicism in the 1950s, and later, the avant-garde in the 1960s.¹⁴⁹

This research will apply these frameworks to the case of Chilean composers who went into exile in Europe. Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt and Sergio Ortega, for instance, secured teaching positions in West Germany and France, respectively. In doing so, they functioned, intentionally or not, as cultural diplomats of the Chilean democratic restoration. Their contributions, whether through their compositions or their participation in exile-related cultural initiatives, will be explored in further chapters.

B. The political situation of the composer in the shadow of authoritarianism during the 20th Century: Exile, collaboration, opportunism, or resistance

If the twentieth century is to be characterized by something beyond the development of semi-scientific methods in music theory — such as serialism or microtonality — it would be in the way composers, for the first time, confronted the real possibility of becoming political actors within an increasingly politicized environment teeming with notions of diplomacy and propaganda. Nowhere was this more evident than in Europe, where dictators sought to use art music as a symbol of national pride, attaching various ideological discourses to its promotion. For instance, while the USSR embraced socialist realism, as discussed in a previous section, other totalitarian nations constructed more complex nationalist narratives around the art music they endorsed. In Nazi Germany, for example, there emerged a homegrown neoclassical tendency that promoted

¹⁴⁸ This reaction must be understood in light of the fear provoked by the loosening of Stalinist doctrines during the Khrushchev Thaw, a period in which the USSR actively engaged with non-Soviet countries in the Middle East and Latin America through a more moderate socialist discourse. Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*, Oakland, University of California Press, 2015, 168.

¹⁴⁹ Hess, 152.

communal music settings and neo-counterpoint, while still permitting a degree of state-sanctioned modernism¹⁵⁰ — so long as it was not associated with “entartete Musik” (degenerate music), which was perceived as having Jewish or Black origins.¹⁵¹

Despite the enduring myth — partly reinforced by popular narratives — of fascist regimes favouring only post-Romantic, tonal, and neoclassical music, the reality is more nuanced. While these styles were indeed encouraged, German and Italian fascist regimes did not wholly reject atonality. As Gianmarco Borio explains, it was specifically the Schoenbergian (i.e., Jewish) version of atonality that was banned. In fact, the Nazi regime sanctioned an “Aryanized” form of atonal music, promoted by musicologist, composer, and Nazi Party member Herbert Windt, beginning with his 1924 article “Richard Strauss und die Atonalität.” In this reading, Strauss, particularly through works like his opera *Elektra*, pioneered a musical universe that moved beyond conventional harmonic functions. This interpretation was later extended to the music of Hans Pfitzner (*Symphony in C-sharp minor*, Op. 36a) and Paul von Klenau (the opera *Michael Kolkhaas*), which were celebrated as triumphs of German modernist art.¹⁵²

In Italy, composers such as Ildebrando Pizzetti, Gian Francesco Malipiero, Alfredo Casella, and Luigi Dallapiccola developed works rooted partly or entirely in serialism and expressionism. The first three, associated with the *Generazione dell'Ottanta*, marked a departure from Italy's

¹⁵⁰ According to Joan Evans, Stravinsky's neoclassical modernism was promoted as a part of a predominant style that was quite present in Nazi Germany. He was not alone in this regard: several other international composers with rather democratic credentials who practiced neoclassical modernism were likewise favoured, among them Lars-Erik Larsson (Swedish), Jean Françaix (French), and Bohuslav Martinů (Czechoslovak). Evans, 587.

¹⁵¹ This term was broadly applied to music by Jewish composers — including those who were not German — as well as to jazz and any music perceived as such, such as Ernst Krenek's opera *Jonny spielt auf*. Leo Samana, “Entartete Musik: Perpetrators and Victims”, In Siegel, Dina and Frank Bovenkerk (eds.), *Crime and Music*, Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021, 15-16.

¹⁵² Pfitzner and von Klenau were celebrated since both espoused anti-Semitic and pro-Aryan rhetoric. Borio, Gianmario “Lectures politiques de l'analyse : Was ist atonal? Enjeux politiques de la définition de l'atonalisme” in Esteban Buch (ed.) *Du politique en analyse musicale*, Paris: Vrin, 2013, 176-177.

nineteenth-century operatic tradition by embracing symphonic and instrumental genres. While Casella's career benefited from his overt support for Mussolini, Pizzetti and Zandonai achieved more discreet, though still recognized, success. Their music absorbed late Romantic and neoclassical idioms, and — though not systematically serial — was unafraid to employ dissonance.¹⁵³ Dallapiccola's case stands apart due to his sustained engagement with serialism, influenced first by Adorno and later by the Second Viennese School. His commitment deepened after he and his Jewish wife faced political persecution during the fascist hardline period between 1938 and 1945. *Canti di prigionia* and *Il prigioniero* exemplify his most advanced serialist techniques, both thematically centered on the experience of political repression.¹⁵⁴

Such political and ethnic persecution pushed many composers into exile. The cases of Jewish composers like Arnold Schoenberg, Kurt Weill, Erich Wolfgang Korngold, and Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (who left Italy in 1939 following the anti-Semitic racial laws) are especially notable. All had established careers before emigrating and found significant success in the United States.¹⁵⁵ Politically committed figures such as Paul Hindemith and Ernst Krenek in Germany, or Arturo Toscanini in Italy, are particularly relevant to this study as they openly opposed Hitler and/or Mussolini.¹⁵⁶ This is of interest given the parallels with Chile under Pinochet, where

¹⁵³ Ben Earle, *Luigi Dallapiccola and Musical Modernism in Fascist Italy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 143. See its chapter 3 for further information about these composers.

¹⁵⁴ For instance, *Canti di prigionia* explores the fate of three historical figures — Mary Stuart, Boethius, and Girolamo Savonarola — who were condemned to death for their political or religious convictions, while *Il prigioniero* is a one-act opera that addresses the same subject through fictional, unnamed characters. See Chapters 4 and 5 in *id.*, 194-234; 235-276.

¹⁵⁵ Schoenberg and Castelnuovo-Tedesco worked as composition teachers across the United States, while Weill and Korngold established themselves as prominent composers in the emerging Broadway and film music industries, respectively. See Chapter 3 in Michael Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich*, Oxford University Press, 1997, 75-129.

¹⁵⁶ Among this group of politically engaged musicians, Toscanini's case is particularly noteworthy. He continued working in Italy and across Europe while openly denouncing fascist regimes, enduring constant surveillance, public attacks, and even physical assault after refusing to perform the fascist anthem *Giovinezza* during a 1931 concert at La Scala. After nearly a decade of harassment, Toscanini left Europe in 1939 upon securing conducting engagements in the United States, returning to Italy only in 1946, following the end of World War II.

politically engaged musicians — especially those linked to NCC — were also persecuted. Their engagement with Chilean folklore, itself deeply rooted in Indigenous Andean and Mapuche struggles, made them targets. Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, for example, not only composed but served as a cultural diplomat for the Allende government in West Germany. Celso Garrido-Lecca was a committed supporter of the NCC, composing songs for the Chilean singer Víctor Jara and creating a now-lost ballet based on Andean music.

Nevertheless, at least one composer linked to the NCC, Luis Advis, remained in Chile during Pinochet's rule. His case parallels those of composers who stayed in Nazi Germany and resisted from within, such as Karl Amadeus Hartmann and Boris Blacher. Hartmann refused to have his works performed in Germany, sending them instead to England and Czechoslovakia before falling “silent” until 1945. Blacher, on the other hand, subtly embedded political critique in his music, disguising atonality and jazz references in works like *Capriccio über eine Volkslied* and *Concertantemusik*. Eventually, his compositions were blacklisted, and he entered a form of inner exile.¹⁵⁷ These examples provide useful analogies for understanding Advis's decision to remain in Chile, although his continued presence there was largely due to illness.

My research also considers the figure of Juan Orrego-Salas, a particularly intriguing case. Born into an aristocratic family, he emigrated to the United States in 1961 to establish the Latin American Music Center in Bloomington, Indiana. His music was performed both in the U.S. and Chile, and he actively participated in American musical diplomacy. At the same time, he collaborated with Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani, setting politically engaged poetry to music and

¹⁵⁷ None of these composers ceased composing during World War II. Hartmann produced several works with resistance-oriented themes, such as the overture *China kämpft* (*The Struggle of China*) and his *Symphonische Hymnen*. Blacher, for his part, wrote the oratorio *Der Großinquisitor*, based on Fyodor Dostoyevsky's namesake short story, which explicitly denounces political persecution. Levi, Erik “Several Shades of Grey: Resistance Amongst Composers During The Nazi Era” in Illiano and Sala, 18-19.

supporting a Chilean vision of democracy.¹⁵⁸ His political commitment became evident in 1973, when he returned his passport to the Chilean embassy following the military coup. This identification will be explored further as I analyze Orrego-Salas's musical and political stance during the 1970s through the 1990s. While some contemporaries described him as "conservative," his autobiography and later lectures — particularly his framing of NCC as a groundbreaking genre — reveal a more nuanced ideological trajectory.¹⁵⁹

Orrego-Salas's story transcends those of the exiled composers in Europe because it unfolds entirely within Cold War paradigms. While comparisons to Richard Strauss or Alfredo Casella might be tempting, both composers maintained careers within their respective regimes and only distanced themselves from them once affected by anti-Semitic policies. Neither went into exile nor practiced inner exile.¹⁶⁰ The most apt comparison is with his colleague Alberto Ginastera. As Hess recounts, Ginastera's 1966 opera *Bomarzo* — despite a successful premiere in Washington — was condemned by the Catholic Argentine dictatorship for its sexual content and later dismissed as outdated by New York critics.¹⁶¹ Disillusioned with both the U.S. art scene and the political situation in Argentina, Ginastera emigrated to Switzerland in 1971, where he spent the rest of his life refining a musical language that synthesized his earlier work.¹⁶² Similarly, Orrego-Salas became disenchanted with the "American Dream" and deeply troubled by the political crisis in Chile.

¹⁵⁸ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 319.

¹⁵⁹ This is the way Celso Garrido-Lecca remembers Orrego-Salas in his memories. He doesn't specify if he's politically or artistically conservative. Celso Garrido-Lecca in Nelson Niño, "Celso Garrido-Lecca: Synthesis and Syncretism in Concert Music of the Andes Area (1985–2000)." ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2011, 376.

¹⁶⁰ Both composers' wives were Jewish and became harassed because of the racial laws in Germany and Italy respectively.

¹⁶¹ Hess, 142.

¹⁶² Schwarz-Kates, 17.

Having concluded this overview of the historical, sociological, and musicological elements relevant to this study, I now turn to a more focused discussion of Chile and its complex political and cultural history. This context, markedly distinct from that of its more powerful Andean neighbors, shaped a unique trajectory during the Cold War — even as its dictatorship shared certain characteristics with those of Argentina and Uruguay.

Chapter II. The Chilean context: historical and musicological considerations during the twentieth Century

I may now refer to Chilean socio-political and musical history in this chapter. The territory known today as Chile has a rich history spanning over 15,000 years, from the era of hunter-gatherers who first settled there (making it one of the last regions in the Americas to be populated) to the modern nation-state. However, for the purposes of this study, I will briefly examine only the past 600 years: from the Inca conquests in northern Chile — where they reached as far south as the Araucanía region and encountered resistance from the Mapuche people — to Spanish colonization, and the eventual formation of one of the most distinctive nations in the Southern Cone. I state that this contextualization chapter has the purpose to familiarize English readers with this topic, and as a means of providing important historical context both in terms of indigenous peoples and Chilean art music.

As such, the historical overview will be followed by an equally brief contextualization of Chilean art music. In the North American academic context, few studies have addressed this subject. On one hand, Chilean art music did not develop a clearly distinctive “national” voice in the early 20th century, remaining somewhat isolated from broader Latin American musical trends. On the other hand, the extensive scholarship on the *Nueva Canción* movement in the latter half of the century may have overshadowed the study of Chilean art musics’ development. Nonetheless, recent scholarship — such as Nelson Niño’s thesis and subsequent article on Celso Garrido-Lecca’s Chilean works, as well as Juliana Guerrero’s study on *cantatas populares*, a unique musical genre among South American composers — reveals complex interconnections between art music composers and their folk and popular music counterparts. This thesis will further demonstrate how the worlds of popular and art music were deeply interconnected between 1967 and 1973, and even

after this period. Therefore, it is essential to understand the art music background of Chilean composers had, and how it impacted their development across the late 20th Century.

In this sense, the two main English-language sources featured here are John L. Rector's *The History of Chile* — the most comprehensive existing monograph in English dedicated exclusively to the subject — and Gerard Béhague's chapter on Latin American music in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. Nonetheless, most of the sources drawn upon here come from Spanish-language scholarship, such as Rafael Sagredo Baeza's *Historia mínima de Chile*, or the historiographical compendium *Cien años de propuestas y combates: La historiografía chilena del siglo XX*, prepared by Julio Pinto Vallejos and María Luna Argudín.

1. An overview of Chile's history

A. The Mapudungun and The Quechua Inca

The history of Indigenous peoples in the region now known as Chile begins with the arrival of the first groups of Homo sapiens around 15,000 years ago, likely as a result of migrations moving southward by land or along the Pacific coast by sea. Chile was among the last regions in the Americas to be populated. Among the many Indigenous groups that emerged, the most prominent — both historically and contemporarily — has been the Mapuche, also known by their original name, the Reche (“the true people”), and later as Mapudungun (“people of the land”). The Mapudungun's historical origins remain uncertain, but archaeological evidence dates their presence to the 9th or 10th century CE.¹⁶³ Initially hunter-gatherers, they later adopted agriculture and, after the arrival of the Spanish, incorporated herding into their subsistence practices.¹⁶⁴ Over time, the Mapudungun expanded their territory significantly: from the Maule River in the north to

¹⁶³ Rector, 30-31.

¹⁶⁴ Pineda, 35-36.

the Chiloé Archipelago in the south, and eastward into Patagonia, where they encountered the Aonikenk (or Tehuelche) peoples. This territorial expansion occurred roughly between the early 14th and late 17th centuries, with its later stages influenced by the disruptions of Spanish colonization.¹⁶⁵

The second group of relevance to this study is the Inca, or Quechua, people. Originating in the central highlands of Peru, they undertook a vast military expansion during the 15th century, establishing one of the two centralized empires in pre-Columbian America: the Tawantinsuyu.¹⁶⁶ Their empire stretched as far north as modern-day Ecuador and southern Colombia, eastward into Paraguay and northern Argentina, and southward to the Maule River in central Chile. The Inca state was highly militarized and expansionist, implementing the *mitmae* system — one of the earliest recorded instances of forced displacement in Latin American history. Under this policy, able-bodied males from conquered populations were relocated, often great distances from their homelands, to serve as auxiliary soldiers or forced laborers; a tactic that in turn avoided uprisings from the conquered populations.¹⁶⁷

This system likely provoked strong resistance from the Mapudungun, who, unlike other southern groups such as the Atacameños and Diaguita, fiercely opposed Inca incursions. As a result, Inca expansion into central Chile was marked by repeated advances and retreats: first reaching the Choapa River, then the Maipo River, and finally establishing a southern boundary at the Maule River during the reign of Huayna Cápac, the only Inca ruler to extend the empire into the Southern Cone.¹⁶⁸ The conflicts between the Incas and Mapudungun foreshadowed the dynamics that would

¹⁶⁵ Pineda, 40.

¹⁶⁶ Name given to the Inca Empire as a whole.

¹⁶⁷ D'Altroy, Terence. *Los incas*. Translated by Ignacio Hierro Grandoso. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 2003, 297.

¹⁶⁸ Huayna Capac's military and administrative campaigns resulted in the incorporation of nearly half of present-day Chilean territory and approximately one-sixth of modern Argentina into the domain of the Tawantinsuyu. *Id.*, 101.

later characterize Spanish colonization. However, the prolonged contact between the Mapudungun and the Spanish allowed for the development of more complex and deeply rooted relationships than those experienced with the Incas.

B. The Mapudungun and the Spanish colony

The Spanish Empire effectively inherited the conflict between the Incas and the Mapudungun. Although Spanish authorities initially rejected the idea of expanding south of Peru and west of the Andes, military leaders such as Pedro de Valdivia pushed beyond the Maule River — previously established as the southern boundary of the Inca Empire — advancing as far as the Biobío River. This incursion provoked repeated resistance from the resilient Mapudungun, who successfully repelled or expelled Spanish forces beyond this frontier on several occasions.¹⁶⁹ By around 1620, the Biobío River had become a de facto border between Spanish-controlled territory and Mapudungun lands. Over time, the relationship between the two groups evolved into a complex mix of hostility, negotiation, and commercial exchange.¹⁷⁰ It was only after Chilean independence and the early stages of industrialization that the modern Chilean state launched a violent campaign to seize the Gulu Mapu — the Chilean portion of the ancestral Mapuche territory, Wallmapu — from its Indigenous inhabitants.

¹⁶⁹ For instance, the city of Valdivia — located well south of the Biobío River — was established by the Spanish in 1554, but was seized by the Mapudungun during their reconquest campaign of 1598 and remained under Indigenous control until its reoccupation by Spanish forces in the mid-17th century. Sagredo Baeza, 57.

¹⁷⁰ The Mapudungun demonstrated a comparatively high resilience to smallpox and other introduced diseases, distinguishing them from many other Indigenous groups in the region. Coupled with their formidable martial skills, strategic acumen, and rapid mastery of horseback riding, they earned the respect of Spanish colonists. These advantages enabled them to engage in trade using livestock — particularly cattle and horses — acquired through raids, alongside other locally sourced goods. Over time, some Mapudungun communities permitted the establishment of Spanish missionary settlements, particularly in the Chiloé Archipelago, and even sanctioned intermarriage. Nevertheless, these intercultural relationships were often marked by tension and episodes of conflict, followed by periods of uneasy reconciliation with the Spanish settlers. Rector, 35.

This historical and cultural division between groups remains significant, as it helps explain enduring social and ethnic divides within Chilean society, particularly among Indigenous communities, the working class, and the ruling aristocratic elites. During the colonial period, Chile was governed under two overlapping Spanish administrative systems: the Viceroyalty of Peru and the Capitanía General de Chile (Governorate of Chile), the latter being the final colonial authority before independence. Although many colonial institutions common to other Spanish territories — such as interracial marriage — were present in Chile, the colony’s relatively small population allowed Spaniards to maintain demographic dominance. Nevertheless, geographic isolation enabled the Chilean landowning elites to assert considerable local power, often lobbying directly to Spanish-appointed governors to defend their interests.¹⁷¹

It is important to note that alongside elite landowners, there existed a significant population of impoverished and disenfranchised *encomenderos*. Although they occupied a higher legal and racial status than Indigenous and enslaved peoples, many were nearly as economically marginalized. Over time, many of these individuals intermarried with Indigenous communities, contributing to the emergence of Chile’s future working class.¹⁷² Racial and cultural mixing was further shaped by the presence of whaling settlements along the Chilean coast. These settlements, composed largely of Western European and later U.S.-American sailors — who were almost exclusively male — intermingled with both Spanish settlers and Indigenous populations.¹⁷³ This pattern of

¹⁷¹ Sagredo Baeza, 80.

¹⁷² By the late 18th century, the Chilean population had become predominantly white; however, its demographic trajectory followed a more heterogeneous pattern than that observed in other Southern Cone nations such as Argentina or Uruguay. Alberto Edwards, “Cuatro palabras” in Pinto Vallejos, Julio & Luna Argudín, María (eds.), *Cien años de propuestas y combates. La historiografía chilena del siglo XX*. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2006, 140.

¹⁷³ This practice was so widespread that it was even documented in literary works from the Global North, notably in Herman Melville’s novel *Moby-Dick*. See Chapter 27, Knights and Squires in Herman Melville, *Moby Dick*. Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics, 1993.

admixture continued after independence and indirectly contributed to the arrival and settlement of larger European immigrant populations throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

C. Colonial Modernity in Chile Between 1810 and 1960: The Portalian Regime at The Heart of Colonial Modern Development

Chilean independence was achieved after an eight-year war, spanning from 1810 to 1818. In the aftermath, Chilean society, much like other nations in the Southern Cone, became increasingly reliant on European immigration as a means of economic and cultural development. As was the case across many *criollo*-led postcolonial societies in Latin America, Chile pursued the military conquest and subjugation of Indigenous populations with an intensity and scale previously unseen. This escalation was largely enabled by the technological advancements of the Industrial Revolution, which created a substantial gap in military capacity between the Chilean state forces and those from Indigenous communities.

These campaigns were supported by a social structure that historian Alberto Edwards characterized as comprising two broad Hispanic influences: the industrious and tradition-bound northerners, and the more opulent and pleasure-seeking southerners. According to Edwards, the former came to dominate, shaping the emerging Chilean aristocracy — a class which, in his view, could be described by the following characteristics:

“El origen étnico y la formación de nuestra antigua clase dirigente explican de sobra sus características: [...] sus aptitudes económicas, sus virtudes domésticas y prácticas, su religiosidad independiente y puritana, su especial idiosincrasia que mezcla el buen sentido burgués con la soberbia aristocrática, la vigorosa cohesión de sus familias, sus cualidades y defectos como elemento de organización política hicieron de ella un grupo social lleno de originalidad y vigor [...] y que logró marcar con el sello de su genio al mismo pueblo viril que por tantos años dominara.”¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ “The ethnic origin and [social] formation of our former ruling class amply explain its characteristics: [...] its economic aptitudes, its domestic and practical virtues, its independent and puritan religiosity, its particular idiosyncrasy that blends bourgeois common sense with aristocratic pride, the strong cohesion of its families, its qualities and shortcomings as a political organizing element made it a social group full of originality and vigor [...] and one that managed to leave the mark of its genius upon the very virile people it dominated for so many years”. Edwards, 141.

We have to notice as well that, by the mid-19th century, the Mapudungun had expanded their influence beyond their ancestral lands of Wallmapu, becoming the dominant cultural group not only in the southern Chilean valleys but also across the Andes into Argentine Patagonia.¹⁷⁵ However, their relationship with the newly independent Chilean state was soon to deteriorate. In 1830, following years of elite infighting, Diego Portales established a highly influential and conservative regime. The *República Portaliana* (Portalian Republic), a semi-democratic regime grounded in social conservatism, military repression, and economic modernization, dominated Chilean politics for three decades.¹⁷⁶ It became a paradigmatic example of colonial modernity, imposing stability through authoritarian rule. Under this regime, successive presidents — each serving ten-year terms — suspended civil liberties in the name of social progress, industrialization, and colonization.¹⁷⁷

Beginning in the 1850s and culminating in 1881, the Mapudungun were militarily defeated and forced to relinquish their territories to facilitate the colonization of southern Chile, regions largely inaccessible during the colonial era. This effectively ended any remaining commercial or diplomatic relationships between the Mapudungun and the Chilean state. The process represents a clear case of settler colonialism, echoing practices seen in North America. Harsh repression and

¹⁷⁵ Pineda, 40.

¹⁷⁶ Alberto Edwards characterizes Diego Portales as “the restorer of an ideological monarchy,” portraying him as the architect of a new republican regime rooted in deeply conservative, traditionalist, and authoritarian principles drawn from monarchical thought. Edwards, 163.

¹⁷⁷ Historian Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt Letelier, however, contends that this apparent stability was largely illusory, noting that Portalian presidents frequently relied on “state-of-emergency” laws to maintain order — an indication of underlying fragility, exemplified most starkly by the assassination of Diego Portales himself. Jocelyn-Holt Letelier, Alfredo. “Estado, cultura y nación en el Chile decimonónico” in Pinto & Luna, 331.

forced Chilenization ensued — that is, the imposition of *mestizo*¹⁷⁸ and *criollo* Chilean language and customs on Indigenous peoples.¹⁷⁹

As scholar César Enrique Pineda has shown, Chilenization functioned as a cultural assimilation program that disrupted the Mapudungun's traditional ways of life. They were compelled to abandon self-sufficient agricultural and pastoral practices and adapt to exploitative agro-industrial systems. Their language and culture were rendered subordinate to the Eurocentric, neo-colonial framework of the Chilean state. For nearly a century, the Mapudungun's once-defiant spirit was suppressed.¹⁸⁰ As a consequence, the southern and subpolar regions of Chile saw higher concentrations of European settlers who underwent a comparatively “smoother” process of Chilenization as part of their integration into the emerging nation-state.¹⁸¹

By the late 19th century, the cultural and class divide in Chile had sharpened. The upper class — composed mainly of white *criollo* elites and landowners — stood in contrast to the lower classes, which increasingly comprised mixed-race and urbanized Indigenous populations. A significant working class emerged during the nitrate boom in the north, where laborers toiled under brutal conditions in some of the world's richest mineral zones. These same deserts would later supply

¹⁷⁸ *Mestizo* Chileans have historically been referred to as *rotos* — a term that literally translates to “broken,” implying a “fractured” or “impure” ethnicity. This derogatory connotation transformed the word into a pejorative slur, leading to its gradual disuse in literature. Interestingly, while largely absent from Spanish-language literature, the term does appear in John L. Rector's cited work on Chilean history. Rector, 36.

¹⁷⁹ *Criollos* were mostly or uniquely of Spanish origin. *Id.*

¹⁸⁰ Pineda's study stands among the most recent contributions to the field, employing decolonial and subaltern methodologies to examine the centuries-long history of exploitation and resistance experienced by the Mapudungun, particularly in relation to the modern neo-colonial Chilean state. Pineda, 57-58.

¹⁸¹ Learning Spanish language was the only requirement for new settlers to Chile (and their descendants); many of which came from Spain, Italy, Britain and modern Germany or Croatia. Rector, 111.

copper, lithium, and other metals critical to the industrial revolutions of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries.¹⁸²

Chile's original territorial claims in the Atacama Desert were limited during the early 19th century, as most of the region belonged to Peru and Bolivia. However, from the 1850s onward, Chilean entrepreneurs — such as José Tomás de Urmeneta — partnered with foreign investors (British, German, and American) to introduce modern mining techniques and accelerate extraction.¹⁸³ This aggressive expansionism eventually led to international conflict. Dissatisfied with the tax incentives offered by Bolivian and Peruvian governments, Chilean and British investors became increasingly confrontational. Tensions escalated after Peru nationalized its mines in 1875 and Bolivia, under President Hilarión Daza, annulled treaties and seized foreign-owned property in 1878. Bolivia declared war on Chile, and when it was revealed that Peru had a mutual defense pact with Bolivia, Chile responded by declaring war on both. Thus began the War of the Pacific, in which Chile's relatively small but well-equipped military prevailed.¹⁸⁴

As previously noted, Chile's dispossessed rural classes were afforded few, if any, rights. The expansion of agriculture into the south — facilitated by the dispossession of Mapudungun lands — enabled the creation of lucrative haciendas. Yet the landed elite increasingly relocated to urban centers, delegating management to administrators. Agricultural laborers, often drawn from the Indigenous populations, endured overwork, poor wages, and illiteracy.¹⁸⁵ A similar fate befell

¹⁸² The extractivist policies governing the exploitation of mineral resources have constituted a central factor in shaping Chilean class conflict since the nineteenth century. Jocelyn-Holt, 333.

¹⁸³ Rector, 104.

¹⁸⁴ Although the combined Peruvian and Bolivian forces significantly outnumbered the Chilean army, the presence of international industries operating within Chile provided the country with a markedly superior merchant and naval fleet. This logistical advantage ensured a more effective tactical supply chain, enabling Chile to prevail in a war despite its numerical inferiority. *Id.*, 107.

¹⁸⁵ Pineda, 58-59.

miners in the north and the small but growing industrial workforce (mainly railway workers) during successive industrial booms. These conditions laid the groundwork for the class conflicts of the 20th century.¹⁸⁶

The Chilean aristocracy, among the most insular in Latin America, traditionally wielded both military and ecclesiastical authority. As noted by historians such as Alberto Edwards and Jocelyn-Holt Letelier, this elite class prioritized economic liberalism and social domination over political freedom. Laws overwhelmingly favored landowners and European middle-class immigrants, and executive power remained concentrated through long presidential and senatorial terms. Popular representation was minimal.¹⁸⁷ However, according to historian Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, 1891 marked a significant turning point: A civil war disrupted the economic prosperity achieved under President Balmaceda and exposed deep rifts within the ruling elite. Although the elites emerged victorious, the war left them ideologically weakened, as the middle and working classes had, for the first time, asserted their economic agency independent of elite control.¹⁸⁸

Between 1891 and 1925, the Chilean middle class rose to political prominence, while the working class would only begin to assert itself in the 1960s. The middle class benefited from capital gains and social reforms during the early 20th century — a context central to this study, as most of the composers analyzed herein belonged to this social group. As John L. Rector has demonstrated, university enrollment, intellectual production, and political influence all expanded during this

¹⁸⁶ Rector cites Baldomero Lillo's *Bajo la tierra* as a literary work that documents the hardships and injustices endured by miners and other members of the working class throughout the nineteenth century. Rector, 105.

¹⁸⁷ In his introductory contribution to the recent scholarly texts compiled in Pinto and Luna's anthology on Chilean historiography, Gabriel Salazar Vergara contends that the definition of "the people" as employed by the ruling classes was consistently ambiguous, shaped more by patriotic sentiment than by clearly delineated social strata. Salazar Vergara, Gabriel. "Introducción", in Pinto & Luna, *Cien años de propuestas y combates*, 316.

¹⁸⁸ Jocelyn-Holt, 352.

period, culminating in the formation of the *Federación de Estudiantes de Chile* (FECH) in 1906. This student federation became a key actor in advocating for working-class demands within Congress. Its ultimate aim, and that of the broader middle-class intelligentsia, was to bring about gradual reform rather than revolutionary change.¹⁸⁹ In 1948, historian Julio César Jobet formally acknowledged the need to integrate the working classes, long marginalized and silenced, into the national historical narrative.¹⁹⁰

The middle class began to assert real political influence in 1918, amid shifting global dynamics. As British economic dominance waned and U.S. influence grew, Chile's middle class scored significant victories. In that year's parliamentary elections, the *Alianza Liberal*, the middle-class party, emerged triumphant. Two years later, its candidate, Arturo Alessandri, won the presidency. Alessandri, a representative of the rising middle class, advocated moderate reforms, particularly in labor legislation, drawing inspiration from European models to curb worker exploitation.¹⁹¹ Nonetheless, the post-World War I economic crisis devastated Chile's export-dependent economy, leaving Alessandri unable to implement substantial reforms. In 1924, the military intervened under the pretext of curbing aristocratic power, and in 1925, Alessandri returned to enact a new constitution. This constitution expanded executive authority, though not absolutely, and enabled key social and economic reforms crucial for the survival of the middle and working classes.

¹⁸⁹ The emergence and enduring presence of the FECH was significantly supported by the establishment of several key universities, including the Universidad Católica de Chile in 1888 and the Universidad de Concepción in 1919. Rector, 122.

¹⁹⁰ Until 1948, Chilean historians reduced themselves to what Jobet, and later Gabriel Salazar Vergara, called the "patrician history" in Chile. It is to say a positionality of history extremely favorable to the ruling aristocracy. Salazar Vergara, 311-312.

¹⁹¹ Alessandri formalized the introduction of labour contracts, insurance and worker's unions into Chilean legislation. Sagredo Baeza, 218.

The following decades remained turbulent. The global economic crash of 1929, followed by World War II's boom-and-bust cycles, kept the Chilean economy in a state of fluctuation. Political stability was maintained largely because middle-class politicians adeptly navigated these crises.¹⁹² Broader working-class participation in politics only materialized in the 1960s with the election of the moderate conservative Eduardo Frei Montalva in 1964.

D. The Chilean context in the Global Cold War (1964-1990)

Eduardo Frei's often-overlooked democratizing legacy was deeply rooted in the Catholic-liberation movement, aligned with the reformist spirit of the Second Vatican Council (1962). This movement reflected a broader modernizing vision of the Church that had been circulating since Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and Pope Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931). These foundational encyclicals advocated for the improvement of the working classes and promoted a "social gospel," emphasizing the Church's responsibility toward social justice and economic equity.¹⁹³

Influenced by these ideas, Frei introduced key principles of the capitalist welfare state to Chile for the first time. His administration launched the country's first significant agrarian reform to regulate the *fundos* system, aiming to eradicate rural poverty.¹⁹⁴ He equally implemented a range of welfare

¹⁹² Sagredo Baeza, 227.

¹⁹³ In my article on Austrofascism, I examined how these two papal encyclicals informed the establishment of the Austrian regime between 1934 and 1938. Whereas in Austria, these documents were interpreted to justify a staunchly Catholic and conservative government positioned as a bulwark against Nazi fascism, their reception in Chile three decades later followed an entirely different trajectory: there, the Chilean Christian Democrats embraced the encyclicals as a foundation for advancing social compromises with the working classes. Rodriguez Mayen, Sebastian. "*Rendre au Reich ce qui appartient à Dieu : La musique liturgique de Mozart en Autriche occupée.*" *Les Cahiers de la SQRM*, 21 (1), 2020, 33.

¹⁹⁴ Regarding the *fundos*, these were expansive agricultural estates functioning under quasi-feudal arrangements which, despite their considerable size, produced relatively low yields due to the severe exploitation of labor. When President Frei implemented his agrarian reform, nearly 400 *fundos* were seized by agrarian unions, plunging the landed aristocracy into a state of profound disarray. Rector, 178.

programs — including health care, education, and public housing — intended to eliminate urban shantytowns.¹⁹⁵ Frei also advanced an initial proposal to nationalize Chilean copper, one of the country's most valuable natural resources.

These measures, while moderate by international standards, provoked anxiety and resentment among sectors of the aristocracy and upper middle class — groups often ideologically aligned with neo-feudal and internal colonialist aspirations.¹⁹⁶ Although Frei's reforms successfully uplifted segments of the working class and began a symbolic dismantling of the landed estates, they were perceived by many as insufficient. A widespread sense that change had not gone far enough drove growing numbers of Chileans toward the political Left.

Salvador Allende's socialist program, implemented under the coalition *Unidad Popular*, resonated not only with labor unions and working-class movements but also with radical Christian activists inspired by the principles of Catholic social justice, precursors to the Liberation Theology movement.¹⁹⁷ However, dissatisfaction with the pace of reform also gave rise to more militant groups, such as the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR), which began targeting banks and symbols of aristocratic power in the months leading up to the 1969 elections.¹⁹⁸ In response to

¹⁹⁵ Sagredo Baeza, 243.

¹⁹⁶ This topic will be further explored in Chapter 5. Steve J Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006, 16.

¹⁹⁷ Raúl E. Zagarra Medina contends that liberation theology is grounded in a constellation of principles derived from various emancipatory practices cultivated within the Latin American Catholic Church. These include: a radical stance against all forms of oppression; the cultivation of solidarity among the oppressed through the formation of emancipatory networks oriented toward social justice; the identification and critique of all structural sources of oppression and violence — not solely the economic ones; and the affirmation of Catholicism as a religious tradition committed to social liberation and justice as the highest expressions of divine love. Zagarra Medina, Raúl Eduardo. *A Revolutionary Faith: Liberation Theology Between Public Religion and Public Reason*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2023, 8-9.

¹⁹⁸ It is important to reaffirm that this thesis does not focus on the study of guerrilla movements. Nevertheless, addressing their existence is essential, insofar as their presence intensified anxieties among middle- and upper-class sectors, who perceived them as potential threats to democratic stability and, consequently, used their actions to justify the military's appropriation of legitimate violence. Sagredo Baeza, 247.

this radicalization, the Christian Democrats nominated Rademiro Tomic, a candidate perceived as left-leaning enough to challenge Allende. Nevertheless, Allende narrowly won the 1970 presidential election. The runner-up was Jorge Alessandri — son of former right-wing president Arturo Alessandri — who had governed between 1958 and 1964. Alessandri's strong support among conservative Christian Democrat voters revealed a backlash against Frei's reformist agenda.¹⁹⁹

Upon assuming office, Allende sought to deepen and expand Frei's legacy, accelerating the nationalization of copper by 1972 and requisitioning failing businesses and industries in an effort to reduce unemployment.²⁰⁰ However, this level of state intervention alarmed the traditional aristocracy and alienated moderate sectors, who had only supported progressive — not revolutionary — reform. Economic instability intensified. The elite retaliated through hoarding essential goods, exacerbating inflation that was already spiraling due to increased public spending. At the same time, Chile's dependence on U.S. economic aid placed it at odds with the Nixon-Kissinger administration, which viewed Allende's government as a threat to regional stability during the Cold War. Though Chile was not formally boycotted, the U.S. suspended economic assistance, imposed bureaucratic barriers to industrial development, and covertly supported disinformation campaigns through the media.²⁰¹ These measures contributed to the destabilization

¹⁹⁹ Rector, 168.

²⁰⁰ The importance of copper nationalization will be further discussed in Chapter IV when analyzing Celso Garrido-Lecca's lost ballet *Los siete estados*.

²⁰¹ This outcome was primarily due to the renegotiation of outstanding loans with the International Monetary Fund, which made an outright economic boycott untenable given the strategic interests of the U.S. economy. Rector, 187-188.

of Allende's administration, despite his receiving international support from countries in the Global South and the Non-Aligned Movement.²⁰²

On September 11, 1973, the Chilean armed forces, led by General Augusto Pinochet — who had once pledged to uphold social order — launched a military coup, with substantial backing from the United States. The presidential palace, *La Moneda*, was bombed, and President Allende committed suicide before being apprehended by the insurgent forces.²⁰³ The coup marked the beginning of one of the most violent dictatorships in Latin American history. In the immediate aftermath, mass repression unfolded. Thousands of grassroots activists, intellectuals, students, artists, and Allende supporters were arrested, tortured, or executed. Within the first month alone, 45,000 people were detained; the total number of political arrests over the course of the dictatorship remains unknown. At least 3,000 people were killed, a third of whom remain missing. Moreover, over 200,000 Chileans fled into exile, including at least 30,000 who were officially deported.²⁰⁴ The Pinochet regime swiftly dismantled all existing guerrilla movements, including the MIR, the radicalized Christian Democratic group MAPU, and the *Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez*. It banned all socialist and communist parties.²⁰⁵ As subsequent chapters will discuss, many exiles were cultural or diplomatic representatives of the Allende government who continued to advocate for Chilean democracy abroad. These exiles found refuge in North America, throughout Latin America, and across both sides of a divided Europe.

²⁰² Salvador Allende dispatched his diplomats on missions to secure support from Non-Aligned countries, aiming to foster solidarity among emancipatory struggles. Among the allies he engaged, such as Algeria — with its left-leaning ruling parties — he sought to build a network of mutual support that, despite its promise, ultimately proved unsuccessful. Palieraki, “Chile, Algeria, and the Third World”, 277.

²⁰³ Rector, 193.

²⁰⁴ Stern, in the foreword to his book *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*, makes the sordid account of the coup's effects on arrested, tortured, killed and forcefully exiled people. Stern, xxii.

²⁰⁵ Rector, 198.

Economically, the regime reversed key reforms: it privatized land, reinstated aristocratic property rights, and abandoned copper nationalization efforts. With support from the so-called Chicago Boys — a group of neoliberal economists trained in the U.S. — the dictatorship implemented sweeping market reforms, dismantling the welfare state established under Frei. These policies opened vast sectors of the economy to private enterprise, catering to a relatively small and privileged middle class. Yet these reforms failed to achieve sustained success. By 1982, Chile faced a deep economic crisis. GDP contracted by nearly 14% in a single year, and unemployment soared to 23%.²⁰⁶

Mounting economic hardship, along with years of repression, generated increasing internal discontent. External pressure also grew, driven by international solidarity movements analogous to the anti-apartheid campaigns in South Africa. Despite the regime's brutality, Allende's internationalist legacy endured, empowering Chileans in exile to campaign for democracy throughout the late 1970s and the 1980s.²⁰⁷ Ultimately, this convergence of domestic resistance and international condemnation led Pinochet to call a referendum in 1988, offering the electorate a choice between extending his rule or initiating free elections. Voters rejected his continued leadership. On March 11, 1990, Patricio Aylwin was sworn in as president, formally ending the dictatorship.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Rector, 196.

²⁰⁷ This international legacy is addressed by Stern, 15; and explored in greater depth in Eugenia Palieraki's article, "Chile, Algeria and the Third World in the 1960s and 1970s."

²⁰⁸ Although no longer head of the executive, Pinochet remained chief commander of the Chilean armed forces. However, the public outcry following the discovery of a mass grave in August 1991 compelled him to relinquish this position. In 1998, he assumed the role of senator for life shortly before his arrest in London on charges of crimes against humanity; he was subsequently released two years later. Nevertheless, his power and authority were significantly diminished thereafter. Mark Ensalaco, *Chile bajo Pinochet: la recuperación de la verdad*. Translated by Jesús Izquierdo Martín. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2002, 347.

As the following chapters will explore, the collaboration between Chilean intellectuals and exiled artists, particularly composers, was instrumental in rallying support for democratization. Just as the *Nueva Canción* movement played a vital role in mobilizing public sentiment during Allende's presidency, the cultural activism of the diaspora was pivotal in sustaining the democratic cause during the years of authoritarian rule.

2. Chilean Art Music in the 20th Century: Isolation, academicism, breakthrough

It is therefore unsurprising that the history of music in Chile parallels the country's political developments throughout the twentieth century. Whether in art or popular forms, Chilean music remained largely dependent on European and Eurocentric models until the 1960s, when art composers began seeking greater autonomy from these influences.

A. From 1900s to 1960s: Cultivation of homegrown European models

Between 1945 and the 1960s, the adoption of European neoclassical and later post-serial musical styles became increasingly common in Latin America. As Carol Hess notes in *Representing the Good Neighbor*, composers in the region gradually shifted after 1945 from “national topics” in music toward works of “absolute music.”²⁰⁹

Chilean music, however, presents a notable exception to this trend. According to Gérard Béhague, Chilean composers initially rejected any synthesis with Indigenous musical traditions, at least during the first half of the twentieth century.²¹⁰ Composers such as Domingo Santa Cruz, active during the early to mid-twentieth century, produced neoclassically oriented works — such as his *Five Pieces for String Orchestra* (1937) and *Sinfonía Concertante* (1945) — that drew heavily on Iberian and German Baroque idioms. He later developed an impressionistic voice, as exemplified

²⁰⁹ Hess, 144.

²¹⁰ For a broader discussion on how Latin American music was far more “indigenized” than the one produced by Chilean composers, see Béhague, Gérard, “Latin American Music c. 1920 c. 1980.”

in *Cantata de los Ríos de Chile*, op. 19. His student, Juan Orrego-Salas, composed *Canciones Castellanas*, op. 20, drawing on Iberian Renaissance models, while his *Sinfonía No. 1* (1949) employed European classical and Romantic forms. From these influences, Orrego-Salas developed a highly personal idiom that was neither fully atonal or post-tonal, nor aligned with common-practice tonality.²¹¹ In the realm of popular music, a preference for European styles over Indigenous ones was similarly evident. *Música típica*, the folk music of Chile's Central Valleys, garnered the highest social approval, largely due to its Iberian and Western European roots. This genre was promoted both before and after Salvador Allende's government as the national music of Chile.²¹²

The apparent aversion to folkloric or Indigenous elements in art music was reinforced by international musical developments after the mid-1950s. During this period, the Organization of American States (OAS) began offering scholarships that enabled Latin American composers to study in cultural centers such as New York, Darmstadt, and Paris — strongholds of post-serialist composition.²¹³ As previously discussed, such grants facilitated Orrego-Salas's emigration to the United States, where he directed the Latin American Music Center (LAMC) from 1961 until his retirement in 1987. In Chile, institutional support — particularly from the Universidad de Chile — enabled composers like Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt and Celso Garrido-Lecca to produce avant-garde works during the 1960s.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Béhague, Gérard, "Latin American Music c. 1920 c. 1980.", 329-330. Orrego-Salas' case will be fully studied in Chapter V.

²¹² For further discussion see Jedrek Mularski, *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America: Chile During the Cold War Era*. Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2014.

²¹³ Hess, 152.

²¹⁴ Furthermore, as noted by Gérard Béhague in "Latin American Music c. 1920 c. 1980", 345, Juan Orrego-Salas was regarded as the leading figure, or "dean", of the Chilean composers after 1960.

B. 1960 to 1973: Syncretization of Art and Popular Musics

Nonetheless, the honeymoon with Western art music trends proved short-lived. Composers such as Sergio Ortega, Celso Garrido-Lecca, and Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt soon grew disillusioned with the prevailing state of modern composition.²¹⁵ According to musicologist Nelson Niño, the careers of several Chilean art music composers followed a particularly interesting trajectory: Ortega and Garrido-Lecca, for instance, transitioned into songwriting for members of the Nueva Canción movement, contributing protest songs performed by figures such as Víctor Jara (1932–1973) and ensembles like Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún. This collaborative synthesis between avant-garde composers and the NCC reached its peak during the Allende era.²¹⁶

The NCC movement was embraced as the “official” sound of the social-democratic government due to its emphasis on marginalized musical traditions, including urban folk styles and Indigenous music from Quechua, Aymara, and Mapuche origins. Composers, performers, and lyricists foregrounded the struggles of the Chilean working class and Indigenous peoples. In *Music, Politics, and Nationalism in Latin America*, Jedrek Mularski identifies two competing forms of nationalism within Chilean folk and popular music: one rooted in the Spanish/European traditions of the Central Valleys and promoted by the white aristocracy, and the other embodied by the indigenous/mestizo NCC, supported by leftist elites, working-class sectors, and Indigenous activists.²¹⁷ However, it is important to note that the final years of the Allende administration were

²¹⁵ Becerra-Schmidt’s dissatisfaction had been evident since the late 1950s, when he published a series of articles titled *Crisis de la enseñanza musical en Occidente* (*The Crisis of Music Education in the West*).

²¹⁶ Niño, 95.

²¹⁷ Mularski, 60-61.

marked by escalating tensions between these musical factions, which occasionally erupted into violence during public performances.²¹⁸

One of the most emblematic songs of the movement is *El pueblo unido jamás será vencido*, composed by Ortega and performed by Jara, the folk music groups Quilapayún or Inti-Illimani, and several other artists.²¹⁹ Garrido-Lecca and Jara also co-wrote at least two songs affirming Indigenous Andean and Chilean peasant resistance against the enduring colonial order upheld by European immigrant and criollo elites as we will see in Chapter IV.

These years were pivotal for the composers involved, as they were able to create works that bridged folklore and common-practice idioms. These compositions, aimed at broader audiences, reflected the growing influence of the NCC as a pan-Chilean musical movement. One early example of this more popular orientation was Ortega's opera *Fulgor y muerte de Joaquín Murieta* (1967), based on a poem by Pablo Neruda.²²⁰ While Garrido-Lecca was still composing avant-garde-influenced pieces such as *Antaras* (1968), an orchestral work shaped by mathematical serialism, by 1970 he had begun sketching *Los siete estados* (1972) — an unpublished and unperformed ballet grounded in Chilean Andean folk music.²²¹

²¹⁸ Mularski recounts an incident at the renowned Viña del Mar 1973 festival. Quilapayún was invited to perform and went on stage with politically charged songs. The audience — largely conservative or apolitical — responded with jeers, prompting a group of Unidad Popular supporters in attendance to confront the hecklers violently. The altercation escalated into a brawl, leading to the interruption of the performance and the suspension of the festival. Mularski, 215.

²¹⁹ Among these artists was American composer Frederic Rzewski, who composed a set of theme and variations based on this song. His work will be examined in greater detail in Chapter IV. Hess, 171.

²²⁰ Joaquín Murrieta is the legendary figure who inspired the character of “El Zorro,” a Mexican outlaw who defended the poor in California during the early Gold Rush. However, Pablo Neruda reimagines Murrieta as a Chilean emigrant drawn to California by the promise of gold, who ultimately turns against the prospectors to aid the oppressed Mexicans left behind after Mexico's defeat in the mid-19th-century Mexican-American War. Daniel Balderston. “Fulgor y muerte de Joaquín Murieta de Pablo Neruda: historiografía y mito.” *Anclajes: revista del Instituto de Análisis Semiótico del Discurso* 7, no. 7 (2003), 29.

²²¹ Niño, 407.

Among the group, Becerra-Schmidt maintained the most radical stance. While he never fully abandoned the avant-garde, his compositions began to merge experimental techniques with political and cultural themes. These included *La Araucana* (1965) and *Machu-Picchu* (1966), both oratorios; *Cuatro Canciones de Neruda* (1970) for tenor and electronics; and *Los Sátrapas* (1973), a work for voice, synthesizer, and media projection. The latter, based on a poem by Neruda, served as a denunciation of Pinochet's coup and was among Becerra-Schmidt's first works in exile.²²²

This evolution invites reflection on the trajectory of Chilean music in the wake of the 1973 coup. It appears that composers were attempting to forge a form of Chilean socialist realism — not only during Allende's presidency but also in the years leading up to it, spurred in part by the widespread influence of the NCC, but also by the influence of the eclectic — and fully-democratized — Cuban education system. Yet this project seems to have been abruptly curtailed, or at least interrupted, by the onset of the dictatorship.

C. 1973 to 1990: The Myth of the Cultural Blackout and a brief introduction to Chilean musicians on exile

When Pinochet seized power in September 1973, *Nueva Canción* music, along with folk, socialist realist, and avant-garde currents in art music, was immediately banned. Artists associated with these movements faced arrest, torture, execution, or exile — the latter occurring either voluntarily or forcibly. As literary scholar Ariel Dorfman (b. 1942) has shown, repression extended beyond physical harm to the systematic erasure of artistic work. Hundreds, if not thousands, of books, recordings, and likely musical scores were confiscated from archives, publishing houses, and

²²² The poem *Los sátrapas*, published in a Buenos Aires journal, is among the last works Neruda wrote.

universities. These materials were either destroyed as pulp or publicly burned in an *autodafé* one month after the coup.²²³

While the 1980s and 1990s have been addressed in studies such as Daniela Fugellie's, the more hardline phase of the Pinochet regime (1973–1980) remains relatively underexplored in musicological literature. Among the most recent and relevant contributions are *El golpe estético: Dictadura militar en Chile 1973–1983* by Luis Hernán Errázuriz and Gonzalo Leiva Quijada (2012), and *Cultura y dictadura: Censuras, proyectos e institucionalidad cultural en Chile, 1973–1989* by Karen Donoso (2019). Both sources engage with the concept of *apagón cultural* — a term also referenced in Hess's and Fugellie's works — but ultimately reject it as a myth. They argue that despite heavy censorship, there was significant cultural production under the dictatorship.²²⁴

Karen Donoso's views are reinforced by more recent studies published in the last decade by Pablo Toro Blanco, Camila Ponce Lara, and Constanza Vera Neira, as well as by scholarly works by Matías Alvarado Leyton and Isabel Jara Hinojosa. Going further than her contemporaries, Jara Hinojosa adopts Nelly Richard's concept of the “catastrophe zone” to describe the Chilean cultural landscape under Pinochet.²²⁵ Rather than relying on the *apagón cultural* narrative, she emphasizes the ways in which the arts were redirected into new and formerly explored trajectories following

²²³ Dorfman compiled several of his writings in a book, many of which adopt a decolonial perspective critical of U.S. cultural imperialism. In the introduction, he reflects on the systematic purge of cultural materials produced under Allende's government, which had briefly succeeded in fostering a “revolutionary” literary movement. Dorfman, *Ensayos quemados en Chile*, 8.

²²⁴ Luis Hernán Errázuriz and Gonzalo Leiva Quijada. *El golpe estético: Dictadura militar en Chile 1973-1983*. Santiago: Editorial Ocho libros, 2012, 78.

²²⁵ From the Spanish *zona de catástrofe*. It is important to note that Nelly Richard's work has been published primarily in Spanish. See Nelly Richard in Alvarado Leyton, Matías. *Las políticas culturales de la dictadura cívico-militar chilena: Un análisis a su relación con la cultura 1973-1982*. Master's Thesis (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2019).

the collapse of Allende's social democratic project²²⁶. Artistic creation, she argues, adapted to new aesthetic and political forms that maintained the capacity for critical reflection on existence and subjectivity. Artists recalibrated their aims to produce works that could survive under dictatorship, often by adapting contemporary ideals to fit within conservative or traditionalist artistic frameworks.²²⁷

Nevertheless, most of these authors pay scant attention to music as a distinct subject, beyond noting its censorship by state-run media. An exception is Romanian scholar Caterina Preda, who provides a compelling account of how music was ideologically framed and supported during the Pinochet era. She concurs with Donoso and Errázuriz that while culture was expected to remain apolitical, it was never devoid of ideology. The regime sought to reverse the principles of socialist realism and even, to some extent, avant-garde aesthetics. Influenced by the nationalist-conservative wing of Pinochet's government, cultural policy aimed to restore the "Western Catholic European" values of order, morality, decency, authority, and hierarchy — values historically associated with *chilenidad*.²²⁸ In many ways, the regime aspired to recreate the socio-cultural ideals of the 19th-century Portalian era. Accordingly, from 1975 onward, the government supported Eurocentric art forms such as opera, ballet, and classical music (including symphonic and chamber music). Private associations like the Agrupación Beethoven, Grupo de Cámara de Chile, and Fundación Andes benefited from this support, as did the Promúsica Orchestra, which was affiliated with the Department of Cultural Extension and offered free educational concerts across Chile in 1981.²²⁹

²²⁶ Jara Hinojosa, Isabel. "Ambivalencia de la política artístico-cultural de la dictadura pinochetista. Revisitando el "apagón cultural" y la "catástrofe" in Karina Dappiano (et al.) *Sombras, suspiros y memorias: Prácticas culturales y dictaduras en el cono sur*. Lanús, Argentina: Edunla, 2020. 135.

²²⁷ *Id.*, 135-136.

²²⁸ *Chilenidad*, meaning "Chilean-ness," encompassed traditional values considered as such by conservative sectors to be at the core of the national identity. Preda, *Art and Politics*, 105.

²²⁹ *Id.*, 114.

However, Preda provides little information about the actual repertoire of these ensembles, even in the second half of her study, which discusses alternative cultural forms. Chilean scholar Federico Schumacher, by contrast, offers insights into the fate of avant-garde and particularly electroacoustic music. As universities were defunded and privatized, resources for music programs dwindled. As a result, most university-based initiatives in composition were either suppressed or never materialized. Schumacher identifies only a few composers and compositions from the 1980s, including a mention of *Anacrusa*, performed at the Goethe Institute and discussed in detail by Daniela Fugellie. Indeed, the 1980s witnessed a modest resurgence of electroacoustic music through the *Encuentros de Música Contemporánea*, held biennially from 1985 during the regime's gradual political liberalization. Notable participants included José Vicente Asuar (1933–2017), who presented three works at each festival; Gabriel Brnčić (b. 1942), who premiered *Bach y las tres monedas* (Bach's Three Coins) in 1980; and Eduardo Cáceres (b. 1955), who presented *Encuentros para un fin de siglo*.²³⁰

Exiled musicians left Chile either voluntarily or by necessity. Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún — two NCC groups — were on international tours during the coup and were unable to return due to the risk of persecution. The same applied to composers like Becerra-Schmidt and Brnčić, who were working abroad in West Germany and Argentina, respectively.²³¹ Others, such as Sergio Ortega and Celso Garrido-Lecca, chose exile. Ortega moved to France, where he continued composing in postmodern styles and producing protest music for Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún.²³² Garrido-Lecca, a Peruvian citizen then residing in Chile, fled to Peru, where he began to develop a hybrid

²³⁰ Schumacher, Federico. *La música electroacústica en Chile: 50 años*. Santiago: Fondart Ediciones. 2005, 61.

²³¹ Sensing the shifting political tides against liberation movements in South America, Gabriel Brnčić relocated to what was then a “revolutionary” Barcelona in late 1974, where he continues to reside.

²³² Fugellie, Daniela. “Ausentes Presentes: Art Music from the Chilean Exile in the Anacrusa Festivals at the Goethe-Institute Santiago (1985–89).” *Twentieth-Century Music* 17, no. 3 (2020): 373.

compositional language that merged avant-garde and folk idioms, deeply shaped by his engagement with the NCC movement.²³³

In contrast, Juan Orrego-Salas was already living in the United States. Though he never acquired U.S. citizenship, he was outspoken in condemning the “suspension of democracy” in Chile and became apatrid.²³⁴ Following a major setback related to his “apolitical” oratorio *The Days of God*, he engaged in minor collaborations with the NCC and incorporated its elements into several of his works throughout the 1980s. Less is known about Luis Advis’s activities during this period. According to Garrido-Lecca, Advis remained in Chile due to an undisclosed illness.²³⁵ However, as musicologist Nelson Niño suggests, it is likely that Advis entered a form of internal exile, as reflected in his works, which fused Baroque and Romantic idioms with Chilean folk traditions.²³⁶

Now, as a brief comparison, and merely for the sake of nuance, I must consider that on the other side of the Chilean border, there was some level of collaboration with — and protest against the Proceso dictatorship. Esteban Buch has written extensively on Argentine composers and institutions and has shown, across two of his writings, different instances of actual cooptation and collaboration, as well as of protest and resistance. In the first case, he shows how Alberto Ginastera, the renowned composer, capitulated entirely to the demands of the regime. By the late 1970s, the composer had become a political reactionary,²³⁷ fed up with the “human rights claims targeted against Argentina from 1978 onwards”, as he wrote from his newfound home in Geneva

²³³ Niño, 1.

²³⁴ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 177.

²³⁵ Garrido-Lecca in Niño, 369.

²³⁶ Niño, 97.

²³⁷ Buch writes that, in his youth, Ginastera vehemently defended his folk-infused compositions in the left-wing journal *Crítica*, against attacks from Juan Carlos Paz, the composer at the forefront of the twelve-tone avant-garde in the Southern Cone. Esteban Buch, “L’avant-garde musicale à Buenos Aires : Paz contra Ginastera”. *Circuit : musiques contemporaines* 17, no. 2 (2007): 19-20.

– a somewhat ironic situation.²³⁸ He was commissioned to write a work celebrating the 400th anniversary of the foundation of Buenos Aires — a foundation marked by blood and iron, given that the Spanish conquistador Juan de Garay had suppressed the Querandí people in the process. Ginastera answered the commission gleefully, composing an orchestral work titled *Iubilum*, Op. 51.²³⁹

However, on this same logic, Esteban Buch writes that Mauricio Kagel, a younger Argentine composer living in Berlin at the time who was, incidentally, part German like Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, took up German nationality (unlike Becerra). Kagel reportedly held the Proceso dictatorship in contempt and, as a consequence, composed several works against fascism and militarism in the late 1970s, such as *Der Tribun* (The Tribune, 1978) and *Diez marchas para malograr la victoria* (Ten Marches to Spoil the Victory, 1979). While these works never allude directly to the 1976 Argentine dictatorship, Buch argues that Kagel’s opposition to earlier authoritarian regimes in South America during the 1960s and early 1970s is sufficient proof that these marches were written in defiance of that regime.²⁴⁰ Evidently, these comparisons are important, and show that, across the border, there were developments that mirror or contrast the cases I am going to study over the next chapters.

Having now outlined the Global Cold War context and its specific manifestations in Chile, I will proceed to examine the cases of the four composers introduced in these introductory chapters. In

²³⁸ Alberto Ginastera in Esteban Buch, “Conquistadores, Indians and Argentine Generals: *Iubilum* op. 51, a Commission to Alberto Ginastera (1980)”, in Buch, Esteban and Igor Contreras Zubillaga, eds. *Composing for the State: Music in Twentieth-Century Dictatorships*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2016, 191.

²³⁹ *Id.*, 187.

²⁴⁰ Esteban Buch, *Música, dictadura, resistencia: La Orquesta de París en Buenos Aires*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016, 83.

doing so, I aim to elucidate how their individual trajectories represent three distinct forms of exile: forced, internal, and voluntary.

Chapter III. Inner exile or resistance as a real possibility to protest: The case of Luis Advis (1935-2004)

1. Luis Advis and the Cantata popular genre

The *cantata popular* (folk-music cantata) is an art music “byproduct” of *Nueva Canción* I consider this is significant for two reasons. First, proponents of art music have historically regarded other musical styles as subordinate due to rationalistic and technocentric misconceptions dating back to the eighteenth century. These misconceptions privilege genres that employ notation, not only for their ease of reproduction but also for their reliance on hierarchical structures of performance.²⁴¹ Second, this distinction is relevant because of the context within which the NCC movement emerged. As stated in earlier chapters, NCC sought to foreground musical genres that were, if not stigmatized, willfully overlooked in Chilean society. The *huaso* music of the Central Valleys, of Iberian folk origin, despite being unnotated like most folk traditions worldwide, was promoted by Chile’s socially conservative institutions — who controlled most of the media and national discourse at the time — as the sole legitimate national musical language.²⁴² The cantata popular came to challenge both the subordination of popular musics and the predominant Iberian folk styles that dominated the musical landscape of Chile in the 20th Century.

The NCC movement rose up from two favorable circumstances. First, the liberalizing policies of President Eduardo Frei’s administration created space for broader political discussion and a decentralization from colonial-nationalist models. The arts, particularly music, benefited from this openness. Second, the Cuban Revolution, with its emphasis on musical and cultural renewal for

²⁴¹ It should also be specified that, according to Juan José Carreras, the cantata developed differently in the Iberian Peninsula, where it was primarily directed toward religious music. Moreover, Malcolm Boyd notes that the cantata outgrew its chamber music boundaries during the nineteenth century with some examples provided by Beethoven’s *Der glorreiche Augenblick* and Mendelssohn’s *Die erste Walpurgisnacht*. Boyd, Malcolm, Juan José Carreras, et al. “Cantata.” *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 21 Nov. 2024.

²⁴² Mularski, 15.

the oppressed and the neglected social groups, fostered the emergence of a new subgenre: the *Trova Nueva*.²⁴³ This form of songwriting gave rise to a new type of troubadour which sang about class oppression and the people's hardships. Artists such as Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés became inspiring voices of popular struggle within Cuba.²⁴⁴ This momentous cultural shift influenced this unprecedented change to Chilean music in the 1960s: figures like folk singers Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara, as well as folk groups such as Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún, brought to prominence previously marginalized folk traditions — including indigenous Andean and southern folklore — while conveying messages of social resistance and solidarity. Their rapid recognition soon elevated these artists to national and international renown.²⁴⁵

It was within these artistic circles that the *cantata popular* emerged. Considering it a “byproduct” is itself transgressive: the genre arose from a popular movement, while the cantata as a form originated in the sphere of prestige and cultural hegemony. Cantatas belong to the Western art music tradition, which by then represented the celebrated European heritage that upper-class Chileans — and, crucially, those in power — regarded as the highest form of artistic expression.²⁴⁶ The artists of the NCC movement, however, did not occupy such privileged positions. They came from working- or lower-middle-class backgrounds and gradually built reputations throughout the 1950s and 1960s by illuminating silenced realities through their music. Yet, they also sought to

²⁴³ *Trova Nueva* might be translated as New Song; essentially *Nueva Canción Chilena* or *Canto Nuevo* are synonyms to *Trova Nueva*.

²⁴⁴ Jonah Durrant Olsen, “‘No Hay Revolución Sin Canciones’: State, Revolution, and Music in Chile and Cuba.” *Journal of Latin American Geography* 20, no. 3 (2021): 118-119.

²⁴⁵ Aurélie Prom, “Les Conflits Sociaux Et Identitaires À Travers La Nouvelle Chanson Chilienne : Une Approche Culturelle De L’Histoire Politique Du Chili, 1950-1973.” *Cahiers D’histoire* 34, no. 1 (2017): 137.

²⁴⁶ In the twentieth century, the definition of the cantata genre became considerably broad, with some works being cantatas in name only. Juliana Guerrero, “La Cantata: El Cruce Entre Lo Culto y Lo Popular.” *Revista Musical Chilena* 67, no. 220 (2013): 95-96.

appeal to more intellectual and upper-class audiences. These factors together explain the rise of the *cantata popular*.²⁴⁷

Among the most distinctive features of this *cantata popular* is the introduction of spoken recitatives, an element discussed in the works of Chilean musicologists Juliana Guerrero and Juan Pablo González. While reminiscent of the Baroque practice of dry recitatives, this feature also served to democratise the work's rhetoric, rendering the text accessible to listeners unfamiliar with the conventions of art singing. The *cantata popular* likewise incorporates arias and choruses functioning as commentary on the dramatic action — a device essential to the construction of a compelling narrative arc.²⁴⁸ While the inclusion of spoken recitatives cannot in itself be considered a modern innovation, the fusion of elements — old and new, folk and academic — produces a work that is nonetheless decidedly modern in character. As Guerrero demonstrates in her study, such a fusion gave rise to a genre that functioned as a vessel for the social ideas and imperatives of its time.²⁴⁹

A final point of view in these matters is provided by one of the creators themselves. Juan Orrego-Salas — a composer whose work will be further analyzed in Chapter V — provided, in 1980, a revealing reflection on the emergence of this genre:

“The [growing] interest of academically trained musicians in studying and working within genres rooted in popular traditions and aimed at audiences that extend beyond an 'elite' of insiders, as well as in expressions carrying religious, political, or social messages, is now paralleled by the growing interest of popular musicians in expanding their musical knowledge [and] means of expression.”²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ Prom, 155.

²⁴⁸ Guerrero, “La Cantata”, 104.

²⁴⁹ Guerrero’s analysis is noteworthy since she mobilizes theories of popular music theorists Simon Frith, Franco Fabbri and adds a decolonial perspective through the nuances provided by Chilean musicologist and Nueva Canción enthusiast Juan Pablo González, *Id.*, “La Cantata”, 96.

²⁵⁰ “Este interés del músico con formación académica por los géneros arraigados en las tradiciones populares y dirigidos a un público que rebasa los límites de la ‘élite’ de iniciados, como también por expresiones portadoras de mensajes religiosos, políticos o sociales, aparece hoy equiparado por el creciente interés del músico popular por

As we will see during this chapter and the following ones, Orrego-Salas' argument is grounded in truth, since there was a mutual interest between Chilean art music composers and folk music artists to develop a thorough musical collaboration.

Taking into consideration all these elements: I argue the *cantata popular* must be understood as a hybrid genre which fulfilled artistic functions with political goals in the Chilean music scene. To define genre, we may turn to musicologist Franco Fabbri's formulation:

“a set of musical events (real or possible) whose course is governed by a definite set of socially accepted rules. The community accepting these rules — explicitly or implicitly — involves authors (if any), performers (if any), audience (if any), critics (if any), promoters (if any), and so on. Rules accepted concern acoustics, musical composition, performance, economy, proxemics, behaviour, etc.”²⁵¹

This definition points me into several considerations. First, it is worth considering that Fabbri argues that while genre is bound by convention, it is equally socially constructed, recognised, and mediated — and therefore not a purely formal construct. This aligns with the observations Jedrek Mularski makes regarding the predominance of *huaso* music in the 1960s, discussed in the opening paragraph. While *huaso* styles were not officially sponsored by state actors — as Nueva Canción Chilena was — their predominance in the media and public discourse, notably the press, created the impression that this music, along with its corresponding rural, traditional, and Iberian aesthetic, was hegemonic to Chilean culture as a whole.²⁵² The meteoric rise of NCC and hybrid genres such as the *cantata popular* effectively disrupted this seemingly hegemonic paradigm.

profundizar sus conocimientos musicales y expandir sus medios de expresión”, Orrego-Salas, *Literatura chilena en el exilio*, 4 no. 2 (1980), 6.

²⁵¹ Franco Fabbri, the founder of genre theory, has articulated most of his ideas in a single, recently published short thesis. Fabbri, Franco. *Genre theories and their applications in the historical and analytical study of popular music: a commentary on my publications*. Doctoral thesis, University of Huddersfield, 2012, 10.

²⁵² Mularski, 16.

Second, Fabbri's definition makes a particularly salient point when considered in relation to Chile in the early 1970s, a moment in which a formalistic understanding of art music was undoubtedly pervasive. As Gérard Béhague observed in his overview of Latin American music discussed in the preceding chapter, musical institutions catered exclusively to anti-nationalist, modernist, and avant-garde aesthetics. This is evident in the works of Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt and Celso Garrido-Lecca from the 1960s, which concentrate on the development of avant-garde techniques and feature unconventional scores; works that will be briefly examined in the following chapter as part of a broader discussion of their musical development. As such, the *cantata popular* equally served to forge a convergence with other musical genres and with more accessible styles existing within the art music tradition.

Third, Guerrero, in her discussion of the *cantata popular*, draws on Fabbri's ideas as well as those of Simon Frith regarding the listener's role in defining genre. She argues that this framework helps conceptualize the *cantata popular* as a genre that employs hybridization to connect two kinds of audiences: on one hand, those unfamiliar with the rules and expectations of art music; on the other, those unaccustomed to the rhetoric of folk and protest music.²⁵³ This hybrid rhetoric, in turn, granted the *cantata popular* an unexpected form of cultural authority. As part of the new "official music," it rose in status not only because of its distinctive form but also because of its politically charged content, given the lyrics of these words – as it will be shown further on the chapter – focused on the social struggles of the Chilean people. It was within this cultural milieu that the *cantata popular* reached its zenith, when Luis Advis (1935–2004), a Chilean composer from Iquique in northern Chile, premiered the first work in the genre in 1970.

²⁵³ Guerrero, "La Cantata", 104.

To further develop these ideas, I will draw on elements of Richard Middleton's articulation theory, as it is essential for understanding how musical relationships between genres operate. In *Studying Popular Music*, Middleton demonstrates how genres that might appear far removed from one another articulate in ways that make it easier to comprehend and legitimize the elements situated between two seemingly disparate genres, thereby providing a clearer picture of their interrelationship.²⁵⁴ This is important for the study of the *cantata popular*, since, as Guerrero and Prom have noted, the intersection between high-brow and low-brow musics is one of the key components of this genre. Accordingly, I will briefly present two ideas developed within Middleton's theory.

The first is the articulation of pure musical material, that is, melodic and rhythmic elements within the music itself. To illustrate this, Middleton analyses two songs by Elvis Presley that trace the passage from elements derived from blues and jazz to the newly emerging genre of rock-n'-roll: "Milkcow Blues Boogie" and "Heartbreak Hotel." In these songs, he identifies a process he terms "boogification," referring to the inclusion of syncopations and cross-rhythms (expressed through triplets and off-beat notes) within songs that are otherwise tone-rich and well intonated, with sustained notes and legato phrasing — elements uncommon in the blues or country music that constituted Elvis' original source material.²⁵⁵ In this way, Middleton suggests, this articulation subverts the expectations of a Protestant bourgeois society by rendering these elements more sensual and appealing to young audiences, thereby recontextualizing notions of love for a time demanding greater openness in relationships.

²⁵⁴ Middleton, 16.

²⁵⁵ *Id.*, 18-19.

The second idea concerns the articulation of text and music into new musical forms. Here, Middleton draws on an example from a century earlier: the case of the English folk singer-songwriter Ned Corvan. Living in nineteenth-century England and witnessing the early stages of the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of mass entertainment, Corvan began his career working with folk songs and workers' songs. His talent, however, increasingly met the demands of the more "bourgeois" and entertainment-oriented genre of the music hall. Even so, Corvan recognized that much of this audience was itself drawn from the working classes. Consequently, he rearticulated many of these folk and working-class themes into new songs intended for the music hall. The "Toon Improvement Song," for example, is based on the Scottish folk tune "Na Good Luck About the House," yet addresses the theme of speculative urban development, which had reduced the availability of urban spaces for working-class children to play.²⁵⁶ Accordingly, these articulative elements must be considered not only in Advis' *cantatas populares* but throughout this thesis wherever an articulation between genres occurs, given the significant interplay of musical and textual elements that merits attention in the analysis of these works.

2. Santa María de Iquique

Luis Advis was born in Iquique in 1935. Although he came from a privileged family, his path to music was rather unconventional in a Latin American context. He initially studied philosophy, later teaching at the Universidad de Chile in Santiago and in other institutions, including in his hometown.²⁵⁷ With this intellectual background, Advis began formal music studies through private lessons, becoming a student of none other than Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, then the leading Chilean composer whose work will be analyzed in Chapter IV.

²⁵⁶ Middleton, 18-19.

²⁵⁷ Gonzalez, Juan-Pablo. *Luis Advis. Como un rayo para Chile*. Santiago: SCD Publicaciones. 2024. Accessed November 21, 2024.

Advis' early compositions sought to bridge the gap between classical and popular idioms; thus, it is unsurprising that he was the only composer capable of conceiving the *cantata popular Santa María de Iquique*, based on a working-class tragedy that took place in his hometown in 1907. Indeed, in that year, a general strike broke out among the niter workers. Iquique, as one of the country's main niter mining centers, became a focal point of the working-class movement. The military brutally repressed the strikers at their gathering point located in the Santa María School in Iquique, killing as many as a thousand workers.²⁵⁸ Given the significance of this event in the history of the Chilean working class — which was still largely suppressed from public consciousness, as discussed in Chapter II — as well as its enduring resonance for this social group, it is unsurprising that Advis chose this subject for his cantata, as it encapsulated both his political commitment and his longstanding aim of bringing art music closer to broader audiences.

Advis' style was marked by a strong affinity for late Romantic composers. According to musicologist Álvaro Gallegos, he was likely the composer of his generation who most consciously drew on the musical languages of Richard Wagner, Gustav Mahler, and Richard Strauss. Although leitmotifs are present in his works, their role remains subtle rather than dominant, yet his connection to these models is nonetheless perceptible.²⁵⁹ This is most evident in his synthesis of folk and popular elements within European art-music forms: on one hand, he employs large-scale European forms such as the cantata, the song cycle, and the symphony, enriching them with Chilean folk musical traditions; on the other hand, Advis — much like Wagner, Strauss and Mahler — integrates recurring motifs throughout his compositions, as will be seen in *Canto para una semilla* and the *Sinfonía Los Tres Tiempos de América*. This latter aspect is further illuminated by

²⁵⁸ Sagredo Baeza, 217.

²⁵⁹ Álvaro Gallegos M., "Apuntes estéticos sobre la música de Luis Advis". *Revista Musical Chilena* 69, no. 206 (2006), 97.

one of several eulogies published following his passing in 2004, in which Chilean playwright and colleague Jaime Silva drew a direct comparison between Advis and Wagner. Silva regarded the combination of music and text in *Cantata Santa María de Iquique* and *Los Tres Tiempos de América* as possessing “a full dramatic scope equivalent to that found in Wagner’s operas.”²⁶⁰ The parallel proposed by Silva will therefore serve as a guiding framework in the analyses of *Santa María de Iquique*, the song cycle *Canto para una Semilla*, an adaptation of Violeta Parra’s *canto-poesía*, and the *Sinfonía Los Tres Tiempos de América*. This will be especially helpful given that these works, particularly *Canto para una semilla* and the *Sinfonía*, employ recurring motifs that are central to their dramatic and structural coherence. Furthermore, the *Sinfonía*’s expansive scope, both in form and content, situates it firmly within Mahler’s conception of the symphony as an all-embracing world.

Advis composed the *Cantata Santa María de Iquique* between 1969 and 1970. It premiered during the *Nueva Canción* festival that same year, shortly before Allende and *Unidad Popular* won the presidential election. The cantata became a piece of ideological groundwork for *Unidad Popular*, as it was performed at several party meetings alongside *Canto al programa*, another explicitly ideological work. Yet *Santa María* stands out for its structural and technical sophistication, representing a genuine hybridization of classical and folk traditions. This hybridity manifests in several ways.

First, the work alternates between sung sections, recitatives, and instrumental interludes — a formal trait inherited from the art music tradition. Second, Advis replaced the traditional recitatives with spoken-word passages, rendering the vocal declamation more accessible to listeners

²⁶⁰ Silva, 127.

unfamiliar with the cantata form. Third, the instrumentation combines elements from both worlds: guitars (including the *charango*), *quena* flutes, and the Peruvian *cajón*, alongside instruments from the art music tradition such as the violoncello and double bass.²⁶¹

As previously noted, *Santa María de Iquique* recounts a state-perpetrated massacre against the working class. According to Eduardo Carrasco, the artistic goal of the *cantata popular* was to create a cantata adapted to the Chilean context, distinct from its European model. Its social goal, conversely, was to recover silenced histories of the working class — particularly episodes of violence and repression — so they could be exposed and provoke either righteous indignation or public debate.²⁶²

Carrasco's argument is further affirmed by Eileen K. Bolton across her thesis "*Ecos de un tiempo distante*". In this text, she offers a detailed analysis of the work, noting that even its title brings it closer to the people's history and concerns. Her study focuses on three key songs — "Vamos mujer" (Song No. 2), "Soy obrero" (Song No. 3), and the "Final song" — as central to understanding the piece. She selects these because they best encapsulate the internal relationships between social and political themes, given how they show a protest movement is perceived from individual, social and collective points of view. In addition, she considers in this analysis the recurring musical motifs that structure the work. Moreover, Bolton argues that the recurrence and variation of these musical topics are essential for the audience's comprehension of the 37-minute work, as thematic familiarity enhances both recognition and emotional impact.²⁶³ While Carrasco's and Bolton's perspectives are valuable points of reference, the present analysis will focus on the

²⁶¹ Guerrero, "La Cantata", 101.

²⁶² Eduardo Carrasco in McSherry, 136.

²⁶³ Bolton, 146.

work itself — its structure and, most importantly, its place within Advis' broader output — as this study will equally examine the two subsequent works that are central to his politically engaged compositional production.

Although the *cantata* consists primarily of sung and instrumental sections, Advis incorporated ample space for spoken narration: an essential feature that broadened the genre's accessibility. Juan Pablo González attributes the power of these spoken recitatives to two factors. First, they must be delivered with rhythmic cadence, maintaining continuity between spoken and sung sections and producing a seamless flow. Second, the spoken narrative vividly portrays the harsh conditions of workers during the early twentieth-century nitrate boom, fostering empathy and inviting audiences of the 1970s to draw parallels with contemporary struggles evoked by the Chilean Left. The rhetorical dimension of the *cantata* thus finds full expression in its spoken passages.²⁶⁴

The *cantata popular* thus wielded a unique moral authority: on one hand, it drew from the Eurocentric musical tradition still highly regarded by the upper and middle classes (and by European immigrants across the social spectrum); on the other, it gave voice to the oppressed, offering a morally charged testimony of historical injustices committed by the Chilean state. The success of Advis's *Santa María de Iquique*, followed by his collaboration with Ortega on *Canto al programa*, therefore exceeded mere aesthetic appreciation, acquiring profound moral and political resonance.

²⁶⁴ Juan P. González, Óscar Ohlsen, Claudio Rolle. *Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1950-1970. Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1950-1970*. Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2009, 305-306.

The cantata's premiere adopted the structure shown in Table 1. However, I propose in Table 2 a structure that would be more convenient to analyse the piece given there are “musical variations” mentioned above by Bolton and González which are present in the instrumental interludes that follow each one of the songs:

Tables 1 and 2: 1. Original structure of Santa María de Iquique (left) and 2. Proposed structure for this analysis, based on the observations made by Bolton and González (right)

Announcement (Pregón)
Instrumental prelude
Spoken Narrative No. 1
Song No. 1 (“El sol en desierto grande”)
Instrumental interlude No.1
Spoken Narrative No. 2
Song No. 2 (“Vamos mujer”)
Instrumental Interlude No. 2
Spoken Narrative No. 3
Sung Interlude
Spoken Narrative No. 4
Song No. 3
Instrumental Interlude No. 3
Spoken Narrative No. 5
Litany Song
Song No. 4
Announcement
Final Song

Announcement – Prelude and variations
Spoken Narrative 1
Song No. 1 (“El sol en desierto grande”) – Interlude with variations
Spoken Narrative No. 2
Song No. 2 (“Vamos mujer”) - Interlude with variations
Spoken Narrative No. 3
Sung interlude
Spoken Narrative No. 4
Song No. 3 (“Soy obrero”) – Interlude with variations
Spoken Narrative No. 5
Litany Song – Song No. 4 (“A los hombres de la pampa”) – Announcement – Final Song

Table 2 clarifies which sections are continuous and which are not, given that the final four movements consist of four songs meant to be performed without interruption. The numbers selected for analysis, which will be mostly based upon the relationship between text and music, are the *Announcement and Prelude*, *Song No. 3* and its interlude, and the final four numbers, which follow without pause. The *Announcement* is characterized by a rising and falling melody in 6/8 for guitars and voice, ideally accompanied by cello strokes. (Fig. 1)

Figure 1 *Cantata Santa María de Iquique* by Luis Advis: 1. Pregón y variaciones M. 1-11.

1 *Andante maestoso*

Solista 1
Solista 2

Se - ño - ras y se - ño - res ve - ni - mos a con - tar a -
re - mos la ver - dad ver -

Coro 1
Coro 2

(2ª vez) re - mos la ver - dad ver -

Guitarra

Dm *simile sempre* C7 F

Violoncello

Tacet C. bajo C I

7

Solista 1
Solista 2

que - llo que la his - to - ria no quie - re re - cor - dar. Pa - só en el nor - te
dad que es muer - te a - mar - ga de o - bre - ros del sa - lar. Re - cuer - den nues - tra his -

Coro 1
Coro 2

dad que es muer - te a - mar - ga de o - bre - ros del sa - lar. Re - cuer - den nues - tra his -

Git.

Eb Dm Gm A7 Bb D7 Gm

C III C III C I C III

Vc.

The text accompanying this melody recounts the story of the murdered Chilean nitrate workers massacred in 1907:

Señoras y señores
venimos a contar
aquello que la historia
no quiere recordar [...]

Seremos los hablantes,
diremos la verdad,
verdad que es muerte amarga
de obreros del salario.²⁶⁵

Ladies and gentlemen,
we are here to tell a tale,
a tale that [official] history
wishes to forget [...]

We shall speak [for the absent];
we shall say nothing but the truth —
a truth that is the bitter death
of the niter labourers.

After the *Announcement* song, a purely instrumental variation of the theme is performed as a *Prelude* by two *quen*as, beginning simply with guitar accompaniment, which keeps the slow tempo of the announcement song. The music melodic modality hovers around E minor natural. (Fig. 2)

Figure 2 *Cantata Santa María de Iquique* by Luis Advis: 1. Pregón y variaciones M. 8-14 (from variations).

The musical score for Figure 2 is a five-staff arrangement. The top two staves are for Quena 1 and Quena 2, both in treble clef. The third staff is for Guitarra (guitar), also in treble clef. The fourth staff is for Violoncello (cello), in bass clef. The bottom staff is for Contrabajo (bass), in bass clef. The score begins with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The first staff (Quena 1) has a measure with a whole note and a half note. The second staff (Quena 2) has a measure with a whole note and a half note. The third staff (Guitarra) has a measure with a whole note and a half note, marked with 'p' and 'pp'. The fourth staff (Violoncello) has a measure with a whole note and a half note, marked with 'arco' and 'ppp'. The fifth staff (Contrabajo) has a measure with a whole note and a half note, marked with 'pizz.' and 'pp'. The score includes various dynamic markings and chord symbols, such as 'Dm', 'C7', 'F', and 'C1'. The overall texture is sparse and melodic, with a focus on the instrumental variations of the theme.

It then develops into a denser, quicker, though never convoluted, contrapuntal texture including *charango*, guitar, bass drum, and cello. (Fig. 3 in next page)

²⁶⁵ Advis, *Santa María de Iquique* (libretto), 7.

Figure 3 *Cantata Santa María de Iquique* by Luis Advis: 1. Pregón y variaciones M. 53-59 (from variations)

The musical score for Figure 3 consists of seven staves. The top two staves are for Quena 1 and Quena 2, both marked with a forte (*ff*) dynamic. The third staff is for Char. (Charango), showing chords and triplets, with chord symbols Am and G indicated. The fourth staff is for Guit. (Guitar), also featuring triplets. The fifth staff is for Bombo (Bass Drum), showing a rhythmic pattern. The sixth staff is for Vc. (Violoncello), marked with a forte (*ff*) dynamic. The seventh staff is for Cb. (Contrabajo), also marked with a forte (*ff*) dynamic. The score includes measures 53-59, with various musical notations such as triplets, chords, and dynamics like *ff*.

This model is repeated in Songs Nos. 1 and 2, which, like the *Announcement*, remain within a folk idiom which is characterized by modality (pentatonic in some cases, but mostly natural minor modes), singable lines and the constant presence of folk instruments like the quenás or cajones. In each case, the sung section is followed by an instrumental interlude that develops the thematic material in a purely instrumental language — a rhetorical strategy of familiarization, as suggested by Bolton and González. It is then when Middleton’s articulation theory enters for the first time here. Some common aspects between classical and folk music such as the modal mixtures instead of the tonal aspects probably would be the starting point, yet I think the singable lines are possibly the most important common elements that enter here, because as we see in Figure 3, the melodies that have been sung are metamorphosized in the quenás that enter into dialogue between each other, as it would happen in a baroque cantata. Although this was a common procedure in the

cantatas, entering a language that comes from another musical genre is what makes the articulation relevant for the analysis, especially when the subject matter is a political cantata.

Middleton's articulation becomes even more relevant in *Song No. 3*, which departs completely from the prevailing style. This is because Advis wrote a guitar ostinato supported by *quenás* and bass drum, evoking rock-n'-roll — a genre closely associated with the folk revival and, by extension, the rise of NCC as a genre.²⁶⁶ (Fig. 4)

Figure 4 *Cantata Santa María de Iquique* by Luis Advis: 9. Canción No. 3. M. 12-20

The musical score is for 'Canción No. 3' from the 'Cantata Santa María de Iquique' by Luis Advis. It is written for a soloist (Solista) and guitar (Guit.). The key signature has one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into two systems, measures 12-16 and 17-20. The guitar part features a rhythmic ostinato pattern. The lyrics are in Spanish.

System 1 (Measures 12-16):

- Solista:** bre - ro pam - pi - no y soy tan re vie tan re vie - jo co - mo el que
sie - to me ha si - do in - fiel, só - lo tie só - lo tie - rra cas - ca - da y
- Guit.:** D/F# F B7/F# C1

System 2 (Measures 17-20):

- Solista:** más y co - mien y co - mien - za a can - tar mi voz
sal; pie - dra a - ma pie - dra a - mar - ga de mi do - lor,
- Guit.:** E C/G D/F#

The lyrics reinforce the sense of foreboding conveyed by the music, foreshadowing the massacre as the workers (*obreros*) are herded into the school to be contained until the government devises a “solution” to their demands:

²⁶⁶ As discussed in Chapter II, within the context of the Nueva Canción, rock & roll became a vehicle for democratizing access for working-class musicians. Consequently, folk music found a pathway within this democratization to showcase both talent and social struggles. It is therefore unsurprising that Quilapayún released a successful album supporting peace in Vietnam, *Por Vietnam*, two years before the cantata premiered. McSherry, 71.

Soy obrero pampino y soy
tan reviejo como el que más
y comienza a cantar mi voz
con temores de algo fatal.

I'm a Pampean worker
and I'm as old as I can be
and my voice begins to sing
fears of a fatal blow.

Lo que siento en esta ocasión
lo tendré que comunicar.
Algo triste va a suceder
algo horrible nos pasará.²⁶⁷

What I'm feeling right now
I must communicate.
Something sad is going to happen
something terrible is going to befall us

As such Middleton's approach here is more than evident given the rhythms, similar instrumentations, and even protest lyrics have entered into the terrain of the cantata. As such, the ideas expressed by McSherry regarding rock and roll and the Nueva Canción movement become an important support to understand the context. First, the rock music style, with its strident rhythmic patterns, was not initially regarded as part of the movement. It appears to have gradually permeated the folk music sphere as folk musicians began collaborating with others more deeply rooted in rock. Many of these groups were associated with pop aesthetics, such as Los Bops, a group that was marginally political but primarily aligned with hippie culture, in the years preceding the creation of the cantata.²⁶⁸ Second, the broader aesthetic of the outcast, marginalised, and rebellious youth embodied by these rock musicians facilitated a mutual understanding between rock and folk practitioners who, as noted above, occupied the margins of official national discourse, a point equally raised by Eileen Bolton in her thesis.²⁶⁹ In sum, these interactions between rock and folk musicians in Chile left a discernible mark on the musical styles of both groups, indirectly allowing rock idioms to permeate Advis' cantata, and to resonate beyond it.

²⁶⁷ Advis, *Santa María de Iquique* (libretto), 15.

²⁶⁸ McSherry, 74.

²⁶⁹ In this regard, Bolton goes further, explaining how the relationship between rock musicians and NCC members persisted even after the dictatorship and the restoration of democracy in Chile, at times giving rise

to compelling musical experiments — among them a psychedelic reinterpretation of Jara's celebrated song *El derecho de vivir en paz* (another Vietnam-related work), rendered through electric organs and guitars with distortion effects. Bolton, 216-217.

The song's ardent rock infused rhythms and lyrics are premonitory of the final four numbers of the cantata, which are performed without interruption. This continuity is significant, as elsewhere the music is generally separated by short pauses or spoken recitatives. Here, the uninterrupted sequence is intentional: following the massacre, words alone cannot contain the unspoken grief that has haunted the people for decades. This segment begins with the *Litany Song*, which narrates the massacre

Murieron tres mil seiscientos,
uno tras otro.
Tres mil seiscientos mataron,
uno tras otro.

Three thousand six hundred died,
one after the other.
They killed three thousand six hundred,
one after the other.

La Escuela Santa María
vio sangre obrera,
la sangre que conocía
sólo miseria.²⁷⁰

The School of Santa María
saw worker's blood,
blood that knew only one thing:
misery.

Here Advis employs a plainchant-like texture, yet he avoids conventional tropes such as the *Dies*

Irae motif to depict the massacre at the Santa María de Iquique school. (Fig. 5)

Figure 5 *Cantata Santa María de Iquique* by Luis Advis: 11. "Letanía". M. 1-12

The musical score for "Letanía" (Measures 1-12) is presented for four parts: Coro, Quena 1, Solista, and Guit. The tempo is marked *Lento (a modo de Letanía)*. The lyrics are in Spanish and English.

Coro: Mu - rie - ron tres mil seis - cien - tos, u - no tras o - tro tres mil seis - cien - tos ma - ta - ron, u - no tras

Quena 1: (Instrumental melody)

Solista: La Es - cue - la San - ta Ma - rí - a vió san - gre o - bre - ra la san - gre que co - no - cí - a só - lo mi -

Coro: o - tro.

Guit.: (Instrumental accompaniment with chords Am and Am#6, and markings p and C V)

²⁷⁰ Advis, *Santa María de Iquique* (libretto), 17.

The inclusion of plainchant warrants closer consideration. At the time, religious references within folk music were minimal at best. The contemporaneous NCC song *Plegaria a un Labrador* by Víctor Jara — which will be examined in later chapters owing to its quotation in works by two other composers — evoked Catholic prayer while simultaneously articulating a call for social struggle and class consciousness. Equally, Bolton makes no mention of this religious dimension in her thesis about the Cantata. The inclusion of solemn plainchant may therefore be understood as Advis’ own commemorative device: a means of honouring the deceased through the social and cultural conventions of a deeply Catholic society, and of appealing to the more traditionally minded members of his audience.²⁷¹

When the plainchant subsides, *Song No. 4* follows, structured in a regular strophic pattern of alternating stanzas and choruses. Its repetition creates a “secular” continuation of the preceding litany. (Fig. 6 in next page)

²⁷¹ It is worth recalling that the government preceding Allendes’ Unidad Popular was that of Frei’s Christian Democratic Party — a coalition of predominantly Catholic figures who, while representative of a society deeply shaped by Catholic practices and values, nonetheless pursued a meaningful modernisation and expansion of the Church’s social outreach over the course of the twentieth century. Sagredo Baeza, 238.

Figure 6 Cantata Santa María de Iquique by Luis Advis: 11. Canción No. 4. M. 1-6

Solista

A los hom - bres de la pam - pa, que qui - sie - ron
je - res de la pam - pa se pu - sie - ron
ni - ños de la pam - pa que mi - ra - ban

Quena 1

Char.

Guit.

Bombo

A los hombres de la pampa
que quisieron protestar,
los mataron como a perros,
porque había que matar.²⁷²

The men of the pampa/
who sought to protest
were murdered like dogs
for they had to be silenced

This is followed by a choral refrain, later reprised in the final song, warning of the dangers of speaking out against violence during that era: (Fig. 7)

No hay que ser pobre, amigo, es peligroso.
No hay que ser pobre, amigo, es peligroso.
No hay ni que hablar, amigo, es peligroso.
No hay ni que hablar, amigo, es peligroso.²⁷³

It's dangerous to be poor, my friend. It's
dangerous! (bis)
It's dangerous to speak out, my friend. It's
dangerous! (bis).

Figure 7 Cantata Santa María de Iquique by Luis Advis: 11. Canción No. 4. M. 19-21

²⁷² Advis, *Santa María de Iquique* (libretto), 18.

²⁷³ Advis, *Santa María de Iquique* (libretto), 18.

19

Coro 1

No hay ni que ha-blar, a-mi-go, es pe-li-gro-so.
 No hay que llo-rar, a-mi-ga, es pe-li-gro-so.
 No hay que na-cer, hi-ji-to, es pe-li-gro-so.

Coro 2

gro-so. No hay ni que ha-blar, a-mi-go, es pe-li-
 gro-so. No hay que llo-rar, a-mi-ga, es pe-li-
 gro-so. No hay que na-cer, hi-ji-to, es pe-li-

Guit.

Dm C#m Dm C#m E7
 C V C IV C V C IV

Vc.

Cb.

After this scheme is repeated for two additional stanzas and choruses, a final stanza of defiance emerges over a melody similar to the previous ones:

¿Dónde están los asesinos
 que mataron por matar?
 lo juramos por la tierra,
 los tendremos que encontrar,
 lo juramos por la vida,
 los tendremos que encontrar,
 lo juramos por la muerte,
 los tendremos que encontrar.
 ¡Lo juramos compañeros
 ese día llegará!²⁷⁴

Where are the assassins
 who killed for the sake of killing?
 We swear it by the earth
 we will find them;
 we swear it by life itself
 we will find them;
 we swear it by death itself
 we will find them.
 We swear it, comrades:
 that day will come!

This final stanza is profoundly prophetic of the eventual end of Pinochet's dictatorship, anticipating the Truth and Reconciliation process that followed.

The *Final Announcement* recalls the opening one, leading directly into the closing song. This last number alternates between a warning against future authoritarianism and a message of hope,

²⁷⁴ Advis, *Santa María de Iquique* (libretto), 18.

envisioning a Chile united in the fight for its rights. Once again, the text takes on a prophetic quality with respect to the forthcoming dictatorship and the decade-and-a-half long resistance the Chilean people waged against it. (Fig. 8)

No basta sólo el recuerdo,
el canto no bastará;
no basta sólo el lamento;
miremos la realidad.
Quizás mañana o pasado.
o bien, en un tiempo más,
la historia que han escuchado,
de nuevo sucederá.
Es Chile un país tan largo,
mil cosas podrán pasar,
si es que no nos preparamos
resueltos para luchar.²⁷⁵

It is not enough to remember;
it is not enough to sing;
it is not enough to lament;
we must face our reality.
Perhaps tomorrow or the day after,
or sometime later,
the history you have heard
will happen again.
Chile is such an elongated land
a thousand things may occur
if we are not prepared
to fight.

Figure 8 *Cantata Santa María de Iquique* by Luis Advis: 11. Canción Final. M. 10-19

Unámonos como hermanos,
que nadie nos vencerá
si quieren esclavizarnos,
jamás lo podrán lograr. [...]
Luchemos por los derechos,
que todos deben tener
luchemos por lo que es nuestro,
de nadie más ha de ser.²⁷⁶

Let us unite as brothers;
no one shall defeat us.
If they seek to enslave us,
they will not succeed [...].
Let us fight for the rights
that everyone should have.
Let us fight for our right to exist;
it belongs to no one else!

²⁷⁵ Advis, *Santa María de Iquique* (libretto), 20.

²⁷⁶ *Id.*, 20.

Finally, the anxiety chorus from *Song No. 4* returns, only to be surpassed by the chorus of unity in the concluding song. (Fig. 9)

Figure 9 *Cantata Santa María de Iquique* by Luis Advis: 11. Canción Final. M. 76-80

The musical score for 'Canción Final' (Measures 76-80) is written for a full ensemble. The tempo is marked *Allegro*. The score includes parts for three vocal choruses (Coro 1, Coro 2, Coro 3), guitar (Guit.), bass (Vc.), and drums (Bombo, Cb.). The lyrics are in Spanish, expressing a message of unity and hope. The guitar part includes chords such as Dm, C V, C I, F, C7/G, F, and F5+/A. The bass part features a simple, steady rhythm. The drums provide a driving beat. The vocal parts are arranged in a way that allows for a powerful, unified chorus.

Coro 1: U - ná - mo - nos co - mo her - ma - nos, que na - die nos ven - ce - rá si

Coro 2: mi - go, es pe - U - ná - mo - nos co - mo her - ma - nos, que na - die nos ven - ce - rá si

Coro 3: U - ná - mo - nos co - mo her - ma - nos, que na - die nos ven - ce - rá si

The *Cantata Santa María de Iquique* thus stands as a groundbreaking work, employing the cantata form to integrate folk idioms, rock and roll, and spoken narration, adapting academic musical languages for audiences beyond the concert hall. As signaled by Middleton's theory, the adaptation of different materials into the cantata becomes an efficient rhetoric way to bind musics that otherwise are different. The simplicity Advis sought for this work was already something

advanced in the opening paragraphs by Juliana Guerrero and stressed equally by Bolton and González. It was something sought to appeal people outside the usual academic circles because the musical elements, as well as the text accompanying the work are transparent and direct. Nonetheless, as Eduardo Carrasco asserts, the general circumstances that could have allowed a larger outreach for this cantata — and several other works within the NCC — while targeting the general audiences in Chile, only reached the educated classes and left-wing circles at most.²⁷⁷

Its enduring legacy, however, seems to have emerged most powerfully through contexts of protest and exile. There is evidence that the *Cantata* was performed within a political prison setting at the jail of Concepción in 1975. According to the testimony of Alfredo Padilla, a musicologist who was imprisoned alongside his students at the time, he organized the performance over many months, having “a lot of free time to practice in secret.” When the concert finally took place, it caught the prison guards by surprise and moved them emotionally as much as it did the other prisoners.²⁷⁸ In this way, the story of the *cantata* became a direct reflection of the authoritarianism, repression, and murder embodied by the Chilean — and other Latin American — dictatorships.²⁷⁹

In exile, Quilapayún performed the *Cantata* as their flagship work during festivals dedicated to Nueva Canción Chilena exiles, and its reach extended further still through other folk groups. This was due in part to the four or more versions of the work that Quilapayún performed between 1970 and 1973, both in Chile and abroad during their world tours. Bolton affirms that these variations carried a life of their own, while clearly demonstrating that the work’s influence persisted despite

²⁷⁷ Carrasco in McSherry, *Chilean New Song*, 107.

²⁷⁸ In the same account, Padilla recalled that they had to bring the *Cantata* recording into the prison clandestinely; in a near-samizdat fashion, he and his students copied every lyric and memorized the chords while hiding in a former solitary confinement cell. Alfredo Padilla in Bolton, 156-157.

²⁷⁹ In another testimony collected by Bolton, a similar phenomenon occurred in Uruguay, where the pianist Miguel Ángel Estrella was held as a political prisoner. The recording was smuggled in, listened to in secret, and used as a form of protest against the guards, who never discovered it. Eduardo Carrasco in Bolton, 158.

the Pinochet dictatorship's suppression of folk music initiatives in Chile throughout the 1970s.²⁸⁰ Carrasco points to a more striking and practical dimension of its survival: while acknowledging that the cantata became a messenger of the historical defeat of a stillborn political project, he equally argues that it served as a vivid reflection of the atrocities committed daily under the Pinochet dictatorship, and as a message of unyielding unity for Chileans in their resistance. This is corroborated by the aforementioned accounts of prison sing-outs and collective listenings of banned recordings; practices that, as noted in the preceding paragraph, also took place outside of Chile.²⁸¹ Taken together, these arguments suggest that the work's prophetic resonance in relation to Pinochet's coup and the ensuing resistance contributed decisively to its enduring significance within Chile's collective consciousness.

3. *Canto para una Semilla* – A politically engaged elegy to Violeta Parra
 Advis composed another *cantata popular*: *Canto para una semilla*, his second contribution to the genre. In this instance, however, the work bears a closer resemblance to an oratorio than to a traditional cantata, owing to its dramatic disposition. Much like *Cantata Santa María de Iquique*, *Canto para una semilla* tells a narrative story, yet its dramatic scope is considerably broader. The work was equally a commission, this time from Inti-Illimani, another folk group in Chile belonging to the NCC movement, likely originating from the success of Santa María de Iquique.²⁸² The work is scored for two soloists — a high voice (typically female) and a low voice (typically male)²⁸³ —

²⁸⁰ Bolton, 148.

²⁸¹ Eduardo Carrasco in Bolton, 159.

²⁸² Javier Osorio F. "Canto para una semilla. Luis Advis, Violeta Parra y la modernización de la música popular chilena." *Revista musical chilena* 60, no. 205 (2006): 36.

²⁸³ *Canto para una semilla* was composed in 1972, long before Western academia began making more philosophical considerations regarding sex and gender. At that time, women in Latin America were only beginning to benefit from the achievements of first- and second-wave feminism. In this regard Violeta Parra, alongside the Chilean writer Gabriela Mistral and the Argentine singer Mercedes Sosa, was among the first South American women to achieve worldwide recognition.

charango, two quenás, guitar, Andean bass drum, violoncello, contrabass, and choir. The combination of two soloists, a choral ensemble, and a more intimate dramatic setting places the work firmly within the definition of a twentieth-century oratorio, while simultaneously situating it within the structural framework of a cantata.²⁸⁴

Unlike *Santa María*, the textual material was largely pre-existing: instead of using only his own text, Advis set to music several poems and songs by Violeta Parra (1917-1967), who is considered as the “mother” to Nueva Canción Chilena movement. This is due to Parra’s extensive work collecting and studying Chilean folk songs is, in many respects, comparable to Béla Bartók’s ethnomusicological endeavors in Eastern Europe half a century earlier. Despite lacking formal academic training, Parra’s contribution extended far beyond mere preservation: through her art, she gave voice to the struggles of Chilean workers and peasants long subjugated to the *hacendado* and patrician classes.²⁸⁵ In addition to collecting, she composed original songs, including “Gracias a la vida” (“Thanks to Life”), written a few months before her suicide in 1967, and many others that are included in her collection of *Décimas*, which are both songs and poems. Advis cleverly inserted spoken excerpts of her songs in the Cantata between the musical numbers, while the songs themselves — her poetry set to music — function as meditations on her work.

Two South American scholars have written on the *Canto*, yet they have not explored the work thoroughly. First is the succinct view of Daniela Banderas, who argues that while *Canto* shares many similarities with *Santa María*, it surpasses it in harmonic, timbral, chromatic, and overall

²⁸⁴ It is worth noting that, while the oratorio remained predominantly sacred well into the twentieth century, certain composers — such as Igor Stravinsky — did venture into secular territory, as exemplified by *Oedipus Rex*. In the Soviet context, moreover, state-enforced irreligion redirected the genre toward political subjects, with works largely devoted to glorifying the patriotic or revolutionary causes or, during the Stalinist period, the cult of personality. Howard E. Smither, “Oratorio.” *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 8 Apr. 2026.

²⁸⁵ McSherry. 10-11.

musical expressivity.²⁸⁶ Javier Osorio F. conducted a more detailed analysis of the work and also emphasizes expressivity as the key to understanding it. However, he attributes this expressiveness to structural elements tied to emotional moments in Violeta's life — such as love and loss, her connection to her family and to society, and the realization that her work transcends individual feeling by recognizing in her own pain the suffering of others.²⁸⁷

This study focuses on the songs within *Canto para una semilla* that most explicitly engage with political themes. My emphasis is necessary, as Chilean scholarship has thus far paid insufficient attention to the work's broader political implications. Although the *Canto* as a whole is inherently militant, only certain songs articulate overt political meanings. These pieces are highlighted here due to their particular relevance to the political climate of Chile in the 1960s and 1970s.

As such, I will focus on the following songs: “El compromiso” (The Engagement), “La denuncia” (The Denunciation), “La esperanza” (Hope), and the “Canción final” (Final Song). The first two reflect Parra's growing commitment to becoming an engaged artist. As mentioned in the introduction, she collected music through her travels across Chile. During this time, she became acutely aware of the suffering of the Chilean people. By visiting rural and impoverished towns, she confronted the harsh conditions faced by peasants and miners.²⁸⁸ This is especially striking in the song named “La esperanza”, which reflects the collective struggle that emerged during the 1960s, shortly before the rise of the *Unidad Popular*, which eventually came to power. The final

²⁸⁶ Daniela Banderas, “Música sin fronteras: Una aproximación a la obra de Luis Advis”. *Resonancias* 9 no. 16 (2005), 15.

²⁸⁷ Osorio F., 38.

²⁸⁸ Martha Nandorfy, “The Right to Live in Peace: Freedom and Social Justice on the Songs Of Violeta Parra and Victor Jara” in Daniel Fischlin, *Rebel Musics: Human Rights, Resistant Sounds, and the Politics of Music Making*. Edited by Daniel Fischlin and Ajay Heble. Black Rose Books, 2003, 176.

song synthesizes all her hopes for the people's unified struggle against oppression and expresses a vision of future cooperation among Latin Americans.

The first song in my exploration is “El compromiso,” set in C minor and sung by the choir and a male soloist, accompanied throughout by the folk ensemble. After an instrumental introduction featuring the quenenas, the unison choir takes a prominent role, supported primarily by the guitar, which clarifies the musical message for the audience. (Fig. 10)

Figure 10 *Canto para una semilla* by Luis Advis: IV. El compromiso. M. 12-14

It is in this context that the “indifference motif” (Fig. 11) appears for the first time. Here, the choir divides into two parts using simple harmonies of thirds (major or minor depending on the root (in green) and perfect fourths (in red).

Figure 11 *Canto para una semilla* by Luis Advis: IV. El compromiso. M. 41-45

The text accompanying this section is straightforward and expresses Parra's rejection of indifference:

No puede ni el más flamante
pasar en indiferencia

si brilla en nuestra conciencia
amor por los semejantes.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ Luis Advis, *Canto para una semilla*. Santiago: Sociedad Chilena de Derecho de Autor, 1999 [1972], 12.

Not even the brightest [mind]
can remain indifferent [to the world's
suffering],

when deep within its conscience
lies love for humankind.

It is at this point that the idea put forward by Jaime Silva at the opening of this paragraph takes concrete form. The use of this indifference motive is evocative of Wagner's deployment of musical leitmotifs — that is, as recurrent ideas associated with a character, object, or, in this particular case, an abstract concept.²⁹⁰ While in Wagner's operas such elements recur across numerous sections of a work rather than being confined to a few, in Advis' works musical motifs are used in a simpler way. Instead of a motive that recurs in between works, Advis employs a motif's reiteration to underscore the emotional or intellectual weight of a given idea only for a work as a whole.

The second song to be studied is “La denuncia,” set in C-sharp minor and performed by the female soloist and choir with the folk ensemble. This song follows a regular stanza–chorus structure in which the soloist sings the stanzas. (Fig. 12)

Figure 12 *Canto para una semilla* by Luis Advis: V. La denuncia. M. 13-16

13

Solista Mujer

las no - ches son cru - das ve - mos a lan - ta cria - tu - ra pe - lean -

Char.

Guil.

G#7 C#m E5+ E

C IV

²⁹⁰ Whittall, Arnold. “Leitmotif.” *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 13 Apr. 2026.

The chosen poem reflects the concerns of both Parra and Advis for the hardships endured by Chile's poor and the ineffectiveness of religious discourse and piety toward the forgotten:

El pobre vive en silencio
y sufre ya muy cruel castigo
de ver a sus diez chiquillos
en la miseria y el vicio.
Al borde del precipicio
se está agusanando el trigo.

[...]

Los llevan por el calvario
cargados con una cruz
les niegan hasta la luz
los ciegan con su sudario
los dejan sin los rosales
sin aire y sin manantiales.

[...]

De qué nos sirven los templos
de qué el sol y el aire puro
cuando su sol es oscuro
y van caminando a tienta.²⁹¹

The poor man lives in silence,
suffering the harsh punishment
of seeing his ten children
lying in misery and vice.
On the edge of the precipice,
grains of wheat rot away. [...]

They are taken over Calvary,
carrying their cross,
denied of light,
blinded in a shroud,
left without rose gardens,
without air or springs of water. [...]

What good, then, are the temples,
our sun and pure air,
when their sun lies dark,
and [humans] can barely walk?

The chorus is sung by the choir, which continues to use the “indifference motif.” Although presented in two separate score lines, it preserves the essential harmonic elements established in “El compromiso.” (Fig 13)

Figure 13 *Canto para una semilla* by Luis Advis: V. La denuncia. M. 106-113

No pue - de ni el más fla - man - te pa - sar en in - di - fe - ren - cia

No pue - de ni el más fla - man - te pa - sar en in - di - fe - ren - cia

²⁹¹ Advis, *Canto para una semilla*, 14.

Also noteworthy are the quena instrumental bridges between the soloist and chorus. Though simple, their rhythmic patterns, especially when set against the guitar harmony and a bass line in contrary motion, evoke Baroque counterpoint. (Fig. 13) Again, and thinking about how articulation works, Advis uses this device cleverly to create an aesthetic link between *Nueva Canción* and Baroque music, and we could consider this his willingness to affirm the genre as a distinct heir of a past tradition. (Figs. 13 & 14)

Figure 14 *Canto para una semilla* by Luis Advis: V. La denuncia. M. 50-53

The musical score for Figure 14 shows measures 50-53 of the piece 'La denuncia' from 'Canto para una semilla' by Luis Advis. The score is written for a six-part ensemble: Quena 1, Quena 2, Chorus (Char.), Guitar (Guit.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabajo (Cb.). The key signature is D minor, indicated by three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The quena parts play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The guitar part features a series of chords: F#m, F#m6, C#m, and G#7. The Violoncello and Contrabajo parts play a simple bass line. The Chorus part has a melodic line with some rests. The score is labeled with measure numbers 50, 51, 52, and 53 at the top of the first staff.

The third song in my exploration, “La esperanza,” is set in D minor and led again by the male soloist, always accompanied by the choir. It follows the same stanza–chorus structure as the previous song, with the soloist singing the stanzas and the choir repeating the “indifference motif.” This time, the motif features wider intervals such as sixths (Fig. 15, in green, next page).

Figure 15 *Canto para una semilla* by Luis Advis: VI. La esperanza. M. 63-68

63

Coro 1

de ni el más fla - man - te pa - sar en in - di - fe -

Coro 2

de ni el más fla - man - te pa - sar en in - di - fe -

By this point, it becomes clear that the composer seeks to express hope for the future and the possibility of change:

No pierdo las esperanzas
de que esto tenga su arreglo.
Un día este pobre pueblo
tendrá una feliz mudanza.
El toro sólo se amansa
montándolo bien en pelo.²⁹²

I do not lose hope
that our grievances will be mended.
One day, this poor people of mine
will move beyond its suffering.
The bull is only tamed
by holding it firm while mounting it.

The folk language is particularly strong here; some sections are performed exclusively by solo percussion and voice. As seen in the choir part, the chromaticism becomes bolder: the soloist is given a tritone between the second degree (E) and the lowered sixth degree (Bb) near the end of the stanzas (Fig. 16, in green, next page).

²⁹² Advis, *Canto para una semilla*, 16.

Figure 16 *Canto para una semilla* by Luis Advis: VI. La esperanza. M. 57-62

57

Solista Varón

Coro 1

Coro 2

Guit.

Güiro

Bombo

pri - van - do al po - bre ro - to - so de sus ra - dian - tes co - lo - res.

No

No

F7

C I

The lyrics at this point of the stanza also evoke sadness and loss of joy:

De rabia esconden las flores
las meten en calabozos
privando al pobre roto
de sus radiantes colores.²⁹³

Furious, they hide the flowers,
they cast them into dungeons,
depriving the broken poor
of their radiant colors.

The final song in my study is the “Canción final.” It follows the spoken recitation of Violeta’s swansong “Gracias a la vida”. This song takes the form of a rondo finale, in which the A section is sung by both soloists (Figs. 17 & 18 in next page) and the B section by the choir (Fig. 19 in next page).

²⁹³ Advis, *Canto para una semilla*, 16.

Figure 17 *Canto para una semilla* by Luis Advis: VIII. Canción final from Epílogo. M. 10-13

10

Solista Mujer

tan ven-tu-ro-so que den-tra por mi-ra-zón. Se em-bar-ga mi co-ra-zón en es-te si-glo mo-dér-no ve-o que a-

Guit.

G7 C F Am/E B7/F# Em Gm A7

C I C III

Vc.

Figure 18 *Canto para una semilla* by Luis Advis: VIII. Canción final from Epílogo. M. 22-24

22

Soliista Varón

zo-nas ar-dien-tes. Se a-bra-cen los con-ti-nen-tes por es-te mo-men-to cum-bre que sur-ja u-

Char.

C7 F Bb Dm E7 Am Cm6 D7

C I C III C II

Guit.

C I C I

Vc.

Cb.

Figure 19 *Canto para una semilla* by Luis Advis: VIII. Canción final from Epílogo. M. 33-36

33

Coro 1

fun-di-da en u-na. De to-das par-tes los hu-rra, a-quí to-dos son her-ma-nos y a-sí es-ta-rán: de la ma-no co-mo for-

Coro 2

fun-di-da en u-na. De to-das par-tes los hu-rra, a-quí to-dos son her-ma-nos y a-sí es-ta-rán: de la ma-no co-mo for-

Coro 3

fun-di-da en u-na. De to-das par-tes los hu-rra, a-quí to-dos son her-ma-nos y a-sí es-ta-rán: de la ma-no co-mo for-

There is a slower C section before the third recurrence of the AB pattern. Scored for choir alone, its lyrics invoke hope and unity: (Fig. 20)

Todo estará en armonía,
el pan con el instrumento
el beso y el pensamiento
la pena con la alegría.
La música se deslice
como cariño de madre
que se embelezcan los aires
desparramando esperanzas.²⁹⁴

All will be in harmony:
bread with instrument,
kisses with thoughts,
sorrow with joy.
Music will flow
like motherly love,
and the air will be adorned,
pouring out with hope.

Figure 20 *Canto para una semilla* by Luis Advis: VIII. Canción final from Epílogo. M. 41-44

The image shows a musical score for three voices (Coro 1, Coro 2, and Coro 3) in 3/4 time. The score is in Spanish and English. The tempo is marked 'cresc. hasta compás 51' and the dynamics are 'pp'. The lyrics are:

Coro 1: el be-so y el pen-sa-mien-to la pe-na con la a-le-grí-a. La mú-si-

Coro 2: rá en ar-mo-ní-a el pan con el ins-tru-men-to el be-so y el pen-sa-mien-to la pe-na con la a-le-grí-a. La mú-si-

Coro 3: rá en ar-mo-ní-a el pan con el ins-tru-men-to el be-so y el pen-sa-mien-to la pe-na con la a-le-grí-a. La mú-si-

This song also exhibits the highest degree of chromatic modulation (Fig. 20): the first AB section of the rondo begins in A minor, the second section (which incorporates the C episode) modulates to D minor, and the work ultimately concludes with a repeat of the B section that closes with an emphatic cadence in G minor.

²⁹⁴Advis, *Canto para una semilla*, 20.

The recognition of Advis' cantatas was due in part to what Jedrek Mularski calls "the new official music": an ideological framework reflecting what was expected of artists during this period.²⁹⁵ This work portrayed Violeta Parra as she was: an engaged artist who, had she lived longer, would have been at the center of the Nueva Canción Chilena movement. As with the preceding cantata, the musical mechanisms conveying political messages are essentially the same: the inclusion of spoken declamation, the use of a relatively simple musical language — although in this case enriched with more chromatic key changes, wider intervallic leaps, and dissonances such as tritones to amplify the dramatic scope of the work and underscore the suffering of the people — and the prominent use of folk instruments.

However, and unlike *Santa María*, the work introduces a recurring motif — which I have termed the "indifference motif" — across movements four through six, the most politically charged of the cantata, marking a stark departure from its predecessor. Neither Banderas nor Osorio pay sufficient attention to the recurrence of this motif, although the latter's remarks on the importance of Parra's political commitment remain pertinent here: "[Parra] finds meaning in music as an instrument for political "denunciation." Song — the concrete act of singing and the symbolic possibility of expressing one's own voice through music — can serve the expressive functions outlined above, through the communicative properties of music".²⁹⁶ While these authors do not account for the repetition of this motive, it nonetheless reflects Advis' (and equally Parra's) imperative to speak out through her music on behalf of the poor and the oppressed — the very people she encountered in the course of collecting Chile's folk songs.

²⁹⁵ Mularski, 104.

²⁹⁶ [Parra] encuentra el sentido en la música como instrumento para la "denuncia" política. El canto -la acción concreta de cantar y la posibilidad simbólica de expresar la propia voz a través de la música- puede servir a las funciones expresivas antes señaladas, a través de las propiedades comunicativas de la música. Osorio F., 40.

Having established the function of this motive, it is worth noting that its recurrence across movements of considerable stylistic diversity — ranging from evocations of the Baroque to plainchant — serves to reinforce its emotional force precisely through the variety of musical contexts in which it appears. This diversity of setting amplifies the “indifference motif’s” capacity to transmit what is, at its core, a deeply compassionate message: the imperative to speak out and stand in solidarity with the oppressed — not from a position of moral righteousness, but out of love, as Violeta Parra’s own words make clear. In this sense, the motive reinforces the political message of the cantata as a whole — one directed toward solidarity with the poor and oppressed, the denunciation of violence, and ultimately, the expression of hope for a future defined by peace, mutual understanding, and democratic reconciliation. This is, moreover, entirely consistent with the parallel drawn earlier by Jaime Silva, who compared Advis’ compositional procedures to those of Wagner: the inclusion of a leitmotif of this kind undeniably enhances the work’s emotional and intellectual scope, lending it a dramatic coherence that transcends the sum of its individual movements.

Neither Banderas nor Osorio offer any remarks on the immediate reception of *Canto para una semilla*. The work was premiered at a moment when the political instability surrounding Allende’s project was beginning to make itself felt. By the end of 1972, political clashes, economic strain, and sustained social unrest had begun to affect the arts scene in ways that were both varied and far-reaching — not least in prompting artists such as Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani to undertake tours abroad, particularly to Europe. In doing so, these groups assumed the role of cultural diplomats of last resort for the Allende government. While their efforts, and those of other Chilean political actors, ultimately proved insufficient to secure meaningful international support for Allende, their artistic work — sustained by compositions such as *Santa María de Iquique* and

Canto para una semilla — nonetheless gave enduring voice to those who, like Advis himself, remained within Chile. The full significance of Advis' musical project, however, would only become apparent years later, when he returned to folk music as a symbol of resistance in his 1987 symphony *Los Tres Tiempos de América*.

4. Luis Advis: the art of passive political resistance

When the coup took place, Luis Advis did not leave Chile. Despite his association with the UP government, the NCC movement, and his progressive university affiliations, he remained in the country. His colleague and friend Celso Garrido-Lecca acknowledges that illness prevented him from leaving.²⁹⁷ However, it is noteworthy that during the Pinochet dictatorship he composed relatively few works compared to his mentors and contemporaries in exile. In particular, he refrained from writing in overt folk or popular styles, instead composing mostly in neoclassical languages and for small ensembles, effectively abandoning the style that had made him famous. Nonetheless, two works from this period are remarkable for their inclusion of the folk language that had earned him recognition in Chile and abroad: the *Suite Latinoamericana* (for sextet, 1976; orchestrated in 1994) and the symphony *Los Tres Tiempos de América* for voice, folk ensemble, and orchestra, composed and premiered in 1987.

When compared to other composers of resistance in the twentieth century, most notably those discussed in Chapter I, Advis appeared to comply with the compositional canons favored by the Pinochet government, as examined in Chapter II: music tailored to bourgeois audiences. However, there is a notable gap between 1973 and 1979 in which he composed little or nothing at all — a circumstance similar to that of his colleague Garrido-Lecca in Peru, as will be seen in the following

²⁹⁷ Garrido Lecca in Niño, 369.

chapter. Yet Eileen Bolton notes that in 1974 Advis still managed to premiere — almost in secret — his *Oratorio Escénico 1850*, a collaboration with the aforementioned playwright Jaime Silva, dedicated to the Universidad Austral de Chile for its twentieth anniversary.²⁹⁸ This suggests that, despite outward appearances, Advis' commitment to politically engaged music never fully waned, even as the imperatives of secrecy and public compliance demanded otherwise.

After that period, he began composing highly academic works, absolute music such as *Sobre un tema alemán* (*On a German theme*) for piano, the *Sonatina for piano and bassoon*, the *Suite sobre un tema de Ch. Joplin* for piano (all composed in 1983), and the score for the film *Julio comienza en julio* (1979). The latter could be seen as evidence of his compliance with nationalist expectations, as the film's plot is sympathetic to the conservative Church, landlords, and aristocracy.²⁹⁹ By contrast, pieces such as the *Suite Latinoamericana* or the *Rin y cueca* (*Rin and Cueca Dances*), which adopted folk idioms and showed appreciation for non-European musical traditions, were shelved. Considering that the *Suite* was originally written for chamber sextet and only revised for full symphony orchestra in 1994 after the dictatorship ended, it is likely a work intended for a broad audience. The piece pays homage to several non-European and mixed musical traditions, including an Afro-Caribbean conga, a heavily percussive Peruvian waltz, and a tango march finale.

The nearly fifteen-year absence of folk and popular idioms from Advis' musical language makes their reappearance all the more compelling in the context of the symphony *Los tres tiempos de*

²⁹⁸ Bolton, 155. While Bolton does not describe the work in detail, other historical sources, namely Sagredo Baeza and Rector, suggest me that the oratorio may refer to the Liberal Civil War of 1851, which originated in a constitutional controversy several years earlier and reached its height in 1850, when Liberal factions increasingly contested Conservative supremacy in Chilean politics.

²⁹⁹ All of these works are composed in a strictly academic vein, and the film appears to align with the “acceptable” cultural ideals of the Pinochet regime, as discussed by Donoso and Preda in Chapters I and II. Preda, *Art and Politics*, 114.

América, particularly with regard to its timing. By 1987, Pinochet's dictatorship was beginning to crumble. On the one hand, the internal resistance movement was gaining strength and receiving increasing international support, including the moral impact of Pope John Paul II's visit to Chile that same year.³⁰⁰ On the other hand, foreign backing for the regime was diminishing: the Bolivian, Argentine, and Uruguayan dictatorships collapsed one after another, and pressure from Western democracies to withdraw support from Pinochet increased to levels comparable to international opposition against South African apartheid.³⁰¹ Although a constitution approved in 1980 established a gradual transfer of power to civilian forces, after an eight-year transition period Pinochet remained the sole proposed candidate in a 1988 continuity referendum, even provoking division within the army. The referendum took place on October 5, 1988. An astounding 56% of the vote cast a "no," rejecting Pinochet as a future presidential candidate.³⁰² This led to a further transition period lasting less than a year and a half, culminating in the 1989 presidential election.³⁰³

A. Los tres tiempos de América: a song for the exiles from an inner exile

It was under these auspicious winds of change that Advis composed one of his masterpieces, the *Sinfonía "Los tres tiempos de América."* The work marked a return to his NCC roots by incorporating a folk ensemble and a vocalist not necessarily trained in *bel canto* technique, alongside a European-style chamber orchestra. It is important to note that by this time the remnants

³⁰⁰ It is important to remember that a substantial portion of both the high and low Catholic clergy supported Pinochet's repression. When Pope John Paul II visited Chile in 1987, he did not fully endorse the dictatorship; on multiple occasions during his trip, he called instead for peaceful reconciliation. Nonetheless, much of the groundbreaking work by Chilean Catholics toward the restoration of democracy came from the Vicaría de la Solidaridad, an organization that had exposed human rights violations in Chile since 1978. Stern, 122.

³⁰¹ By 1985, Pinochet's only remaining regional ally was Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay, whose thirty-year-long regime was also beginning to show signs of fracture. Yet, despite continued support from the Reagan administration in the United States, the economic "miracle" under early neoliberal policies had begun to falter after a decade, rendering living conditions under Pinochet increasingly untenable. Rector, 203-204.

³⁰² Had Pinochet won the "Yes" vote, he would have remained in power for an additional four years and would have been eligible for re-election after his first constitutional term, potentially extending his rule until 1996. Sagredo Baeza, 263.

³⁰³ The winner was Patricio Alwyin (1918-2016), who held a term from 1990 to 1993. Sagredo Baeza, 264.

of the *Nueva Canción Chilena* had transformed into the *Canto Nuevo* (CN) movement. To avoid censorship, anything that could be perceived as “pure” Andean folklore rather started fully fusing genres as a strategy, incorporating jazz and rock and eventually encouraging the inclusion of large orchestras.³⁰⁴

This context helps explain why Advis may have integrated an orchestra within the folk ensemble. As expected, he chose to collaborate with one of the leading NCC ensembles, Quilapayún, in order to present a convincing fusion aligned with CN aesthetics. For the soloist, he selected Paloma San Basilio, a Spanish singer experienced in resisting censorship — for instance, when she performed the title role in *Evita*, Andrew Lloyd Webber’s musical that was banned under the Argentine *Proceso* dictatorship.³⁰⁵ The symphony comprises three parts and lasts nearly an hour. Within this form, spoken narration plays a significant role and is delivered by the soloist, who also sings in certain sections. The orchestra, which includes piano, functions more as a rich ornament than the principal feature of the symphony. The voice and the folk ensemble remain in the foreground, much like in the *cantata popular* genre.³⁰⁶ The poetry is entirely by Advis and intertwines

³⁰⁴ According to Daniel Party, this encouragement of orchestral arrangements was facilitated by the celebrated Argentine conductor Waldo de los Ríos, when Canto Nuevo musicians signed with the label Hispavox between 1975 and 1977. Although de los Ríos died in 1977, his legacy endured in the following years. Party, 677.

³⁰⁵ The military dictatorship of the Proceso in Argentina maintained an anti-Peronist discourse, effectively banning all representations that could be perceived as favorable to Juan Domingo Perón and his wife, Eva Perón, who died young and whose memory was posthumously venerated as the “spiritual chief of the nation.” Furthermore rock music, even that associated with musicals, was considered part of countercultural currents and was suppressed during the years of the Proceso. Ezequiel Adamovsky, *A History of Argentina : From the Spanish Conquest to the Present*. Translated by Rebecca Wolpin. Durham: Duke University Press, 2023, 219.

³⁰⁶ In these works, the folk ensemble is relatively large, while the orchestra is chamber sized. The folk ensemble includes a quena and two zampoñas (Andean panpipes) as aerophones; a charango, a tiple, a cuatro, two cavacinos, three guitars, and a bass as cordophones; and a light bass drum, a set of maracas, a zurdo (Andean bass box), and a tambourine as percussion. The orchestra comprises an oboe and a horn in F as wind instruments; timpani (3), side drum, glockenspiel, and suspended cymbal as percussion (maracas may be played by a percussionist if the folk ensemble lacks them); and piano and strings configured for a small orchestra of 12 to 21 players. Advis, *Sinfonía “Los Tres Tiempos de América”*. Unpublished score, 1987, ii.

philosophical reflections and historical grievances with poetic devices. In the sleeve of the recording, he describes the genesis of the work as follows:

“I began writing this work — some of its songs and its general concept — by the end of year 1970. Somewhat neglected, I resumed it in 1977, when I found inspiration to compose additional passages. Finally, between October and December 1986, I revised the entire work and wrote the declamations that unite the sections, considering it complete. It is dedicated to many people: many have passed away; others are still alive. Some are entirely unknown to me, while others I knew but never met. These were people who, for a moment and for myself, were almost like countries, their faces etched into the walls of various places: the hills of Ouro Preto, a public plaza in Buenos Aires, the lights of Quito at night, a church in Asunción, or the Bay of Santa Marta”.³⁰⁷

The symphony was begun during the height of the NCC movement. It was likely set aside by the composer after the success of *Santa María de Iquique*, the rushed commission of *Canto al Programa*, and the more successful *Canto para una Semilla*, as these projects demanded significant time and energy.

Given the available evidence, this symphony was likely conceived as the natural continuation of Advis’ broader compositional trajectory, particularly when considering the historical weight of the symphonic genre. It aligns with several widely accepted paradigms of symphonic writing. First, it reflects the universality of the nineteenth-century symphony, as defined by Mark Evan Bonds, through its subject matter — the joys and struggles of Latin America as a whole. This is a theme of particular significance in the first and last movements, where the composer addresses all Latin American nations collectively and constructs an allegory in which Latin American animals — predators and prey alike — coexist and work in concert. Second, it incorporates the modern structural concessions described by Stephen Walsh, as the work is organised into parts containing

³⁰⁷ Comencé esta obra, algunas de sus canciones y la idea general, a fines de 1970. Algo olvidada, la retomé en 1977, cuando compuse algunos trozos más. Finalmente, entre octubre y diciembre de 1986, después de revisar lo hecho y escribir los Relatos que la integran, consideré que estaba terminada. Ella está dedicada a muchas personas. Algunas, muertas; otras, vivas. Algunas, desconocidas; otras que nunca conocí. Personas que, en un momento, para mí, fueron países y cuyos rostros siempre están dibujando las murallas del lugar, las laderas de Ouro Preto, una plaza de Buenos Aires, las luces de Quito en la noche, una iglesia de Asunción o la Bahía de Santa Marta. Luis Advis, *Sinfonía Los Tres Tiempos de América*, sleeve notes, Hispavox 79 0957 1, 1988, 33 1/3 rpm.

multiple movements rather than adhering to a traditional four-movement structure; a formal choice that nonetheless preserves thematic unity and cohesion across this large-scale form. Third, it poses a challenge to what Wilson calls “the conservativeness of the institution,” hybridising the symphony with Nueva Canción Chilena and *música campesina* practices, thereby allowing folk and popular musical idioms to flourish within the genre.³⁰⁸

As such, the work fits within the “symphony as a world” paradigm proposed by Gustav Mahler, insofar as Advis’ all-embracing conception incorporates a breadth of elements that lend the symphony its expansive character.³⁰⁹ While Advis does not call for the large Western orchestral forces characteristic of Mahler’s symphonies, he compensates for this by substituting instrumental density with a lush and colourful Chilean and Andean folk ensemble. Far from diminishing the work’s scope, this substitution reinforces its all-embracing perspective by introducing authentic non-European elements into the symphonic fabric — a contribution that may be understood as Advis’ own distinctive extension of Mahler’s “symphony as a world” conception.

Despite the dictatorship’s constraints on his creative activity, Advis continued composing the work throughout the late 1970s. He explains that his travels across Latin America inspired the symphony, citing many historically significant places marked by suffering or resistance: Ouro Preto, for instance, was the largest center of gold and slave mines in Brazil and became the largest city in the Americas during the Portuguese colonial era. The Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires became a site of grievance for the mothers of those who disappeared under the Proceso

³⁰⁸ Mark Evan Bonds, Stephen Walsh, and Charles Wilson. “Symphony.” Grove Music Online. 2001; Accessed 21 Nov. 2024.

³⁰⁹ “A symphony must be like the world. It must embrace everything”. This remark was made by Gustav Mahler in conversation with Jean Sibelius in 1907 and has since been widely reprinted and discussed in scholarly and journalistic commentary on Mahler. Among the more recent instances is its appearance in the aforementioned *The Rest Is Noise* by *The New Yorker* journalist Alex Ross — a reference particularly pertinent here, given that Ross, in that section of the book, argues that art music has ceased to be an exclusively European domain. Ross, 562-563.

dictatorship. In Santa Marta, we can see a Colombian parallel to Iquique, as a strike by fruit workers was brutally repressed, an event later immortalized in literature by Gabriel García Márquez in his masterwork *One Hundred Years of Solitude*.

On this subject, Father Luis Carlos Molina Herrera wrote an essay that uses this episode from García Márquez's novel as a starting point for a discussion on social injustice caused by capitalist, technologically driven notions of progress in Latin America. In the second part of his essay, he explains how profoundly this affects the region: "In Macondo, the arrival of the multinational banana company unleashes the exploitation of humankind leading to strikes and a bloody repression. At the same time, in everyday life, *politiquería* — petty politics — emerges in alliance with civil power, along with fraud and, as a consequence, a senseless civil war, a tyranny of unspeakable cruelty, and countless futile deaths".³¹⁰ This reasoning could easily be extended to the situation in Latin America during the time of García Márquez and Advis. As discussed in Chapter II, a similar process unfolded in Chile under Pinochet, when the country became a testing ground for neoliberal economics — an experiment that produced rapid growth benefiting Pinochet and his inner circle but soon collapsed. In this sense, Advis' symphony must be regarded as a true product of its time.

³¹⁰ "En Macondo, desde la llegada de la multinacional bananera, la explotación del hombre desata las huelgas y su represión sangrienta. Al mismo tiempo, en la vida cotidiana aparece, unida al poder civil, la *politiquería*, el fraude y, como consecuencia, la guerra civil sin sentido, la tiranía de crueldad indecible y muchas muertes inútiles". Luis Carlos Molina Herrera S.J., "Gabriel García Márquez y la ética en Cien años de soledad – II." *Universitas philosophica* 32, no. 65 (2015): 264.

The symphony opens with a prologue (divided into a prelude and a spoken-word recitative) and is divided into three parts (hence its title), with all sections outlined in the first recitative.³¹¹

Conozco tu verdad en los tiempos que te marcan:

Aquél que fue primero y será el último,

el tiempo de la tierra y de la raza;

aquél que vino entonces y se obstina,

el tiempo del clamor y de la llaga.

Y aquél que está en el fondo de tu aliento [...]

Horizonte de paz en las mañanas.³¹²

I learn about your truth through the times that have left a mark on you.

That which was the first and will be the last, the time of the Earth and of the race;

that which came after and clings on,

the time of clamour and of open sores,

and that which lies deep within your breath [...],

a horizon of peace [seen] every morning.

Thus, these three parts are subdivided in the musical structure as follows:

- Part I “Tiempo de tierra y de raza”: Prelude, recitative (relato, in Spanish), Song “Mi tierra ha nacido”, recitative, Song “Aparece el mestizo”, recitative, Song “América tiene amores”, recitative.
- Part II “Tiempo de clamor y de llaga”: Instrumental interlude I – small recitative, Song “Hombre de América” – Small recitative, Song “Un hombre desterrado” – small recitative, Song “¿Dónde está el que yo quiero?”
- Part III “Horizonte de paz”: Instrumental interlude II, Song “Quiero tu tierra tranquila”, Recitative with music, Song “Cuando el coyote y el huemul”.³¹³

As the structure alone demonstrates, each of the three parts is preceded by a symphonic or instrumental prelude, followed by a sequence of recitatives and songs. A surface-level structural analysis shows that the first part contains a larger number of spoken-word recitatives, as the narrative takes precedence over the music and songs. In the remaining two parts, the recitatives are shorter and serve both as commentary on the preceding song and as an introduction to the following one.

³¹¹ All recitatives are spoken and never sung, following the format provided in NCC cantata popular genre.

³¹² Advis, *Sinfonía Los Tres Tiempos de América*.

³¹³ Part I: Time of The Earth and of The Race: “My Land Has Been Born”, “The Mestizo Appears”, “America Has Love in It”. Part II: Time of Clamour and of Open Sores: “Man of America”, “A Banished Man”, “Where Is the One I Love?”. Part III: A Horizon of Peace: “I Want Your Land in Peace”, “When The Coyote and The Huemul”. Advis, *Sinfonía Los Tres Tiempos de América*.

Something striking in this symphony is the use of contrapuntal polyphony. While contrapuntal writing is not unheard of in folk music, it is far less common than three- to four-part homorhythmic textures. In this work, Advis employs dense layers of vocal lines that frequently exploit canon technique within a folk-music environment similar to those found in regions of Spain, France, or Italy.³¹⁴ However, we should not forget that Advis fuses these traditions into a Chilean–Pan-Andean musical context.

In this sense, the concept of genre erasure or fusion described by Simon Frith and Franco Fabbri becomes relevant: such mutual polyphonic devices found resonance with Andean music, which originally employed interlocking lines on *siku* flutes and was later adapted to vocal writing with the introduction of European styles³¹⁵, ultimately finding a place within folk ensembles like Inti-Illimani or Quilapayún.³¹⁶ This process could be considered a form of dialogue or of art-colonization. However, given that the NCC movement possessed a broad social scope and included artists denouncing neocolonial injustices such as the Vietnam War, I would argue it belongs more to the former category.³¹⁷

As with *Cantata Santa María* and *Canto para una semilla*, I have chosen to analyze those sections of the symphony that most compellingly illustrate how Advis sustained his political commitments against oppression and in favor of liberation and peace across the continent. I begin with a brief discussion of the prelude, highlighting the balance achieved between the orchestral and folk

³¹⁴ See “Introduction” in Ardian Ahmedaja, (ed.). *European Voices II: Cultural Listening and Local Discourse in Multipart Singing Traditions in Europe; CD and DVD with Audio and Video Examples Included*. Germany: Böhlau, 2011, 9-16.

³¹⁵ Pérez de Arce, 11.

³¹⁶ McSherry, 6-7.

³¹⁷ Quilapayún themselves composed the song “Por Vietnam” in 1968 as a means of expressing that the American intervention in Vietnam constituted an injustice comparable to those experienced by Chileans and other Latin Americans, while also serving as an explicit denunciation of American imperialism. Mularski, 77.

ensembles, followed by an examination of “América tiene amores,” which underscores the centrality of Latin America in Advis’ thought. I then turn to “Un hombre desterrado” and “¿Dónde está el que yo quiero?”, both of which convey the profound impact and sense of loss associated with exile. Finally, I discuss the closing songs, “Quiero tu tierra tranquila” and “Cuando el coyote y el huemul,” as expressions of the composer’s ultimate aspiration for peace and reconciliation. The introduction is purely instrumental. What is particularly noteworthy in the score is the absence of separate systems or staff groupings for the folk ensemble and the orchestra; they are placed on the same page with equal hierarchy. (see Fig. 22 in page 139)

In the first part of the symphony, calm and reflective tempi predominate. Only in the final song, “América tiene amores,” does the pace accelerate. After the soloist sings the chorus accompanied by solo piano, the composer deftly introduces a vocal-instrumental *fugato*, performed by the voices and instruments of the folk ensemble (Fig. 21)

Figure 21 *Sinfonía Los tres tiempos de América* by Luis Advis: III. América tiene amores. M. 68-70

68

1 ra - gua; ser-piente empluma-da a-dor-na el fervor de Gua-te-ma - la. Las pal mas de Costa
pla - no, la/a-bra za/el e-nigma/en-te - ro con el in dio/i-lu-mi-na - do. Bo-li-via/yPe-rú la

2 Las pal mas de Costa Ri - ca son las
Bo-li-via/yPe-rú la bus - ca - en-la

3 piente empluma-da a-dor - na el fer - vor de Gua te-ma - la.
bra za/el e-nigma/en te - ro con el in dio/i-lu-mi-na - do.

Figure 22 *Sinfonía Los tres tiempos de América* by Luis Advis: I. Introducción. MM. 29-36.

The musical score is for the introduction of 'Sinfonía Los tres tiempos de América' by Luis Advis, measures 29-36. The score is written for a large ensemble, including Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Clar.), Trumpet (Tpt.), Guitar (Guit.), Flute (Flat.), Maracas (Mar.), Violin 1 (Vl. 1), Violin 2 (Vl. 2), Viola (Vla.), Cello (Vc.), and Double Bass (Cb.). The tempo is marked 'a tempo' and the dynamics are 'mf' and 'molto rit.'.

The score is divided into two systems. The first system includes Oboe, Clarinet, Trumpet, Guitar, Flute, Maracas, Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. The second system includes Oboe, Clarinet, Trumpet, Guitar, Flute, Maracas, Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. The tempo is marked 'a tempo' and the dynamics are 'mf' and 'molto rit.'.

The score is written for a large ensemble, including Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Clar.), Trumpet (Tpt.), Guitar (Guit.), Flute (Flat.), Maracas (Mar.), Violin 1 (Vl. 1), Violin 2 (Vl. 2), Viola (Vla.), Cello (Vc.), and Double Bass (Cb.). The tempo is marked 'a tempo' and the dynamics are 'mf' and 'molto rit.'.

However, when this passage (Fig. 23) is combined with the full orchestra and ensemble, the texture becomes less dense, ensuring that the vocal lines remain prominent. It is important to note how carefully the score is crafted so that the folk singers never lose their pitch: the piano and plucked *cordófonos* (guitar, cuatro) provide solid harmonic support to an otherwise dynamic vocal counterpoint.

Figure 23 *Sinfonía Los tres tiempos de América* by Luis Advis: Parte 1. III. América tiene amores. M. 124-127

124

Voz Mujer
la - - - das. A - mé - ri - ca tie-ne her-ma - - - nos que la bus - - - can y la

Coro 1 Varones
oh - - - - - oh - - - - -

Coro 2 Varones
y sien-ten la tar-de ti - bia y vie-ne Ar-gen-ti-na y can-ta

Coro 3 Varones
li-via y Pe-rú la bus-can en la tie - - - rra Más tar-de U-ru-guay le en-tre-ga sus co - li - - - nas Y al

Cuat.
Dm Fm G7 Cm F7

Guit.
Dm Fm G7 Cm F7

Pno.

In this section, all Latin American countries are mentioned, with the notable inclusion of Haiti — a nation often excluded due to not being part of Ibero-America.

América tiene hermanos
Que la buscan y la llaman [...]
Recibe con las Antillas
La cubana carcajada
Haití con su rito antiguo

Y la luz dominicana.³¹⁸

America (the continent) has siblings
who search and call for her. [...]
The Cuban receives with the Antilles

³¹⁸ Advis, *Sinfonia*, np.

an open laughter.
Haiti with its ancient rite

and the Dominican light.

The song concludes with the folk ensemble expanding into a full choral texture, joining the soloists amid a flourish that combines folk instruments and orchestra. After this climax, the song returns to its opening material.

In this sense, stable pitch in folk singing is another aspect through which Middleton's articulation theory can be approached. In his theory, he emphasizes that, in certain cases, a singer's intonation and pitch are essential to understanding how musical styles are successfully articulated. As an example, Middleton suggests that Elvis' intonation and pitch were crucial to his success in integrating blues and jazz vocals into rock music.³¹⁹ In Advis' music, this pitch stability is confirmed in the recording, where the musicians maintain a stable pitch despite being gradually absorbed by the ensemble in several moments. As such, the lyrics and the work as a whole remain intelligible and accessible throughout, demonstrating that folk musicians had no need to display any sort of professional bravura before art musicians trained in a conservatory — a fact that speaks to the considerable success of this work.³²⁰

In the song "Un hombre desterrado", the folk ensemble employs an almost purely monodic texture, sustaining one pitch per phrase for most of the piece. Although a brief harmonic or contrapuntal passage emerges, the work never fully departs from its fundamentally monodic character (Fig. 24 in next page).

³¹⁹ Middleton, 17.

³²⁰ According to my email correspondence with Felipe Valdés and Osiel Vega, who are currently editing Advis' work, the *Sinfonía* is a rarely performed piece, as it requires collaboration with conservatory musicians. Nonetheless, it has recently become a more

sought-after work in Chile. As a result, they have edited the piece, and the score — which they graciously provided for my analysis — is not published but is available to performers, with parts for both instruments and choir.

Figure 24 *Sinfonía Los tres tiempos de América* by Luis Advis: Parte 2. II. Un hombre desterrado. M. 1-9

Allegro non troppo.

1 Coro

Allegro non troppo.

2

p Un hom-bre des-te-rra-do que sien-te/a-je-no/el pan que co-me,

p Un hom-bre des-te-rra-do que sien-te/a-je-no/el pan que co-me,

6

1 a-je-no/el ai-re que res-pi-ra, a-je-no/el ros-tro que lo mi-ra.

2 a-je-no/el ai-re que res-pi-ra, a-je-no/el ros-tro que lo mi-ra.

This monodic passage strongly recalls similar moments in both the *Cantata* and the *Canto*, where monody was reserved for sections expressing profound sorrow. However, in the symphony this device gains new depth, as monody alternates with second- and third-species counterpoint, allowing for a more complex development of this expressive level.³²¹ Following the articulation theory once again, this is a moment of more sustained interweaving between genres. Species counterpoint is generally considered part of art music and is regarded as one of its most complex forms of development. While Advis does not necessarily develop this section as a fugue for folk ensemble — as his mentor Becerra-Schmidt did some years earlier for the same performers with the fugue *Revolución, Op. 160*³²² — he nonetheless engages them in a comparable exercise, achieving a more dramatic and compelling musical effect with the rest of the ensemble.

³²¹ The importance of monody is interesting since, according to Nigel Fortune and Tim Carter, it is a present device existing both in ethnic musics and Italian Cantatas from the 18th Century, yet especially on the Italian Cantatas. Nigel Fortune and Tim Carter, “Monody”, *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 15 Oct. 2025.

³²² See next Chapter IV, 191-194.

Consequently, Advis successfully demonstrates that authentic folk performers could reach technical heights otherwise reserved for art musicians (Fig. 25).

Figure 25 *Sinfonía Los tres tiempos de América* by Luis Advis: Parte 2. II. Un hombre desterrado. (M 73-80)

Taking all of the above into consideration, the text accompanying the monody (Fig. 24), and later the contrapuntal development, reinforces the expression of human desolation caused by exile:

Un hombre desterrado
Que siente ajeno el pan que come.
Ajeno el aire que respira,
Ajeno el rostro que lo mira [...]
Un hombre desterrado,
Y la nostalgia que atenaza,
Y todo lejos, sin retorno,
Y hoy extraño y extranjero.³²³

A banished man
who feels strange the bread he eats.
Strange, the air he breathes;
strange, the face that looks at him [...]
A banished man,
who's eaten by nostalgia,
today far away, with no return,
today strange and [turned into] a foreigner

The following song, “¿Dónde está el que yo quiero?”, addresses the disappeared, primarily during the Chilean dictatorship, but also under the Argentine and Uruguayan authoritarian regimes. This

³²³ Advis, *Sinfonia*, np.

ballad is written exclusively for the soloist, with the orchestra playing a highly prominent accompanying role (see Fig. 26 in next page).³²⁴

The text reflects the experiences of many Chilean, Argentine, Brazilian, and other South American families who lived through these fraught years, when husbands, wives, children, or siblings were forcibly disappeared by the regimes.

¿Dónde está el que yo quiero, dónde está?
Se me fue por las calles, se alejó.
Lo cercaron los perros de metal
Y en zarzales oscuros se enredó [...]
¿Dónde está el que yo quiero, dónde está?
¿Dónde está la que quise, dónde está?
¿Dónde están nuestros hijos?
¿Dónde están los que amamos?
¿Dónde están sus ojos?³²⁵

Where is the man I love, where is he?
He went through the streets, he got away.
He was surrounded by metallic dogs
and got entangled in a dark hawthorn. [...]
Where is the man I love, where is he?
Where is the woman I loved?
Where are our children?
Where are our loved ones?
Where are their eyes?

Again, as in the *Canto para una semilla* song “La esperanza” we see tritones appearing in the melody, which is in E minor. The one shown here is in between E and B-flat, while the whole passage is made from chromatic chords in guitars and charango (Fig 26 in next page, in green).

³²⁴ The comparison of this symphonic song with the Lover’s aria in Prokofiev’s *Alexander Nevsky* cantata is tantalizing, since it presents a soloist singing over a musical “desolate landscape” after a war cataclysm. Philip D. Roberts, “Prokofiev’s Score and Cantata for Eisenstein’s *Alexander Nevsky*.” *Semiotica* 21, no. 1-2 (1977): 157-158.

³²⁵ Advis, *Sinfonia*, np.

Figure 26 *Sinfonía Los tres tiempos de América* by Luis Advis: Parte 2. III. ¿Dónde está el que yo quiero?. M. 6-10

The image shows a musical score for a vocal and instrumental ensemble. The vocal part is for a woman (Voz Mujer) and is written in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in Spanish. A green box highlights a specific measure in the vocal line, which corresponds to the lyrics "Con-ti-nen-te y cam-pa-na se que-bro." The instrumental parts include two guitar staves (Guit.), a violin (Vc.), and a bass (Bajo). The guitar parts are written in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat, and the violin and bass parts are written in a bass clef with a key signature of one flat. The score is for measures 6 through 10.

The finale is a chorale for the folk ensemble on the words “¡Corre hombre-ciervo/liebre corre!”³²⁶, as the protagonist is hunted by hunters or wolves. The orchestra provides a dense accompaniment, culminating in a full instrumental flourish that heightens the dramatic intensity of this frantic manhunt of the innocent. (see Fig. 27 in next page)

The final two songs, “Quiero tu tierra tranquila” and “Cuando el coyote y el huemul”, comprise most of the last part of the work. In both, the full forces are employed. In “Quiero tu tierra tranquila”, the folk ensemble once again uses a very simple canon-like structure, employing polyphony over the piano and orchestral strings. (see Fig. 28 in page 147)

³²⁶ “Run, deer-man/hare-man, run! The huntsman and his hounds are coming in for you!”, *Sinfonia*, np.

72

Coro 1
Varones

Co - re hom bre c ier - vo, co - re! Co - re hom bre c ier - vo, co - re. Co - re hom bre ra - ta,

Coro 2
Varones

Ah Ah Ah *f* Ah

Coro 3
Varones

Ah Ah Ah Ah *f* Ah

Ob.

Cor. en Fa

Char.

Tiple

Guit.

Guit.

72

Timp.

Plat.

Maracas

Surdo

Pno.

Vi. 1

Vi. 2

Vla.

Vc.

Bajo

arco

Figure 28 *Sinfonía Los tres tiempos de América* by Luis Advis: Parte 3. II. Quiero tu tierra tranquila. M. 25-30

25 *cresc.*

Coro 1 Varones Quie - ro tus cam - pos fe - cun - - - dos y tus de - sier - tos col -

Coro 2 Varones cun - - - dos y tus de - sier - tos col - ma - - - dos. *cresc.*

Pno. *cresc.*

Vl. 1 *cresc.*

Vl. 2 *cresc.*

Vla. *cresc.*

Vc. *cresc.*

Bajo *cresc.*

The lyrics evoke a serene and calm natural world³²⁷:

Quiero tu tierra tranquila
Quiero tu cielo aquietado
Quiero tus campos fecundos
Y tus desiertos colmados³²⁸

I want your land in peace
your skies clear
your fields fertile
your deserts in bloom

³²⁷ In this sense, Advis approaches the same idealized natural world that his mentor envisioned for the ending of his cantata *Chile 1973*, where Becerra-Schmidt intended to project a scene on film of a couple holding hands as they crossed a blooming natural landscape, as a sign of future peace and reconciliation (see chapter IV, 177). However, as I will show there, Advis could never have known of this, since *Chile 1973* remains unperformed to this day. It is very likely, however, that Becerra-Schmidt communicated something of his work to his former pupil, and that Advis, in turn, devised the ending of his symphony as a way of sharing the same feelings his mentor held about the future of Chile and Latin America.

³²⁸ Advis, *Sinfonia*, np.

This song is rather brief compared to the preceding ones, and it is followed by the only spoken-word recitative in this section, accompanied by folk ensemble instruments (quena, flute and charango; see Fig. 29)

Si pudiese ocurrir. Si fuese cierto
que ya se acaba el día y en el cielo
van surgiendo las voces cristalinas,
las manos que se ofrecen, las miradas,
la canción que festeja la vendimia. [...]
Si pudiese ocurrir. Si fuese cierto
que se anuncia la noche y todos, juntos,
se miran sin creer que ya no exista
ese lento dolor de tiempo duro
que aplastaba y mataba y persistía.³²⁹

If it could only happen... If it could only be true
that when the day is over
voices appear in the heavenly abode,
hands and friendly looks,
accompanied by a song that celebrates the harvest. [...]
If it could only happen... If it could only be true
that when the night is coming
we all look at each other believing
that the pain of the hard times is gone
that pain that crushed, killed and lingered.

Figure 29 *Sinfonía Los tres tiempos de América* by Luis Advis: Parte 3. III. Interludio cantado. M. 1-6

15 Rela con fondo musical

1 *Adagio*

Quena *ppp* *ppp*

Tiple Am Em Am Em Bbm6 A Dm G7 *ppp* *legato*

Guitarra *ppp*

³²⁹ Advis, *Sinfonia*, np.

The Symphony's finale "Cuando el coyote y el huemul" begins with a reprise of the melody from the previous song and opens with a solo voice accompanied by the orchestra and the folk ensemble (Fig. 30)

Figure 30 *Sinfonía Los tres tiempos de América* by Luis Advis: Parte 3. IV. Cuando el coyote y el huemul. M. 20-25

20

Voz Mujer

cons-tru-yan ni-do al co-li-bri y cuan-do el pu-ma y el quet-zal se a-cer-quen quie-tos a dor-mir.

Cuat.

Maracas

Pno.

Vc.

Bajo

The text functions as an allegory of predator and prey coexisting in peace, as the melody of the last song is superimposed over the melody of this song:

Cuando el coyote y el huemul
 Construyan nido al colibri
 Y cuando el puma y el quetzal
 Se acerquen quietos a dormir.

When the coyote and the huemul (Chilean deer)
 build together a nest for the hummingbird
 and when the quetzal and the mountain lion
 get together calm to sleep.

El guacamayo va a aprender
 La fuerza pura del jaguar
 Y las vicuñas mirarán
 Volar al cóndor y al chercán.³³⁰

Then the macaw will learn
 the sheer force of the jaguar
 and the vicuñas will watch
 the condor and the wren fly together

When the soloist ends her stanzas, the motif from “Quiero tu tierra tranquila” enters in canon in the choir, unfolding into a unified polyphonic texture supported by the full orchestra (Fig 31).

Figure 31 *Sinfonía Los tres tiempos de América* by Luis Advis: Parte 3. IV. Cuando el coyote y el huemul. M. 58-64

The musical score for Figure 31 shows the following staves and details:

- Coro 1 Varones:** Melody line with lyrics: "Quie - ro tu tie - rra tran - qui - - - la".
- Coro 2 Varones:** Melody line with lyrics: "Quie - ro tu tie - rra tran - qui - - - la" and "Quie - ro tu cie - lo a - quie -".
- Ob. (Oboe):** Harmonic line with sustained notes.
- Cor. en Fa (Cor Anglais):** Harmonic line with sustained notes.
- Char. (Charango):** Rhythmic line with harmonic markings: C#7, F#m, C#m, D.

The work ultimately concludes with the soloist repeating the opening line of the song, while the orchestra and ensemble gradually fade into a pianissimo, bringing the work to a serene end.

As we have seen throughout my exploration of the work, the dense contrapuntal polyphony is an aspect that is important in the symphonic writing as it is for the folk instruments. Such dense contrapuntal polyphony was a common feature in much twentieth-century symphonic writing. Two instances of works that could bear comparison are Benjamin Britten’s *Spring Symphony* and

³³⁰ Advis, *Sinfonia*, np.

Hanns Eisler's *Eine deutsche Symphonie*. In *Spring Symphony*, Britten likewise incorporates contrapuntal writing and even features the folk canon "Summer is icumen in" in its finale. Nonetheless, this work is typically removed from direct political interpretation, except if we stick to musicologist Edward Stein's interpretation: he asserts that the blessing concluding the *Symphony* suggest that the work constitutes a deeply personal celebration of peace after World War II. Britten, a resolute pacifist, could not have hoped for a more affirmative conclusion.³³¹

Hanns Eisler's *Eine deutsche Symphonie* might be a lesser-known example, yet it is a symphony that features choral counterpoint alongside an explicit political messaging. Eisler devised this work as a stark denunciation of the political failures of the Weimar Republic that enabled the rise of Nazism, as well as a protest against concentration camps and human rights abuses. This is most poignantly signaled at the conclusion of the ninth movement, "The Worker's Cantata" (*Arbeiterkantate*), where Eisler — through Bertolt Brecht's incisive poetry — confronts the issue of class and political conflict in Germany.³³²

It is impossible to determine whether Advis was familiar with these two mid twentieth century works, particularly the latter, despite his alignment with avowed socialists. Nevertheless, it seems evident to me that the second and third parts of *Los tres tiempos de América* lie somewhere between the political conflict expressed in Eisler's *Eine deutsche Symphonie* and the hope for peace found in Britten's *Spring Symphony* that I determined in the last paragraph. However, as we saw through their clever and mindful articulation in this work, Advis employs musical techniques and poetry that are much closer to the Chilean folk language and situates them within the context

³³¹ To explain further purposes within my thesis, Britten's pacifism will be further examined in Chapter V, where his *War Requiem* will be compared with Chilean composer Juan Orrego-Salas's *Missa in tempore discordiae*. Erwin Stein, "Britten's Spring Symphony." *Tempo* (London), no. 15 (1950): 24.

³³² Kenneth H. Marcus, "Listening to Human Rights: Class Conflict in Hanns Eisler's Deutsche Sinfonie." *German History* 41, no. 2 (2023): 223-224.

of *Canto Nuevo*, given both the genres employed and the political message he sought to communicate.

B. Resistance or inner exile?

The existence of these works invites us to reconsider how to understand Luis Advis. He was a composer who operated on both sides of the political spectrum. On one hand, he wrote music that complied with the artistic canons promoted by the Pinochet government — works that exalted Eurocentric forms and even a film score supporting the interests of the landed aristocracy. On the other hand, he composed works that celebrated the diversity of Latin American musical traditions, even if occasionally adapted for the concert hall, and thus resisted the Eurocentric ideals imposed by the regime. In this sense, Advis' situation is comparable, at least to some extent, to that of other composers who gave musical expression to their genuine political and social convictions despite operating under harsh political conditions. In doing so, he became, in every sense, a testament to the capacity of composers in Chile and South America to cultivate voices of resistance from within the very heart of a dictatorship.

This is the reason why I have sought to compare Advis with Dmitri Shostakovich during Stalinism and Karl Amadeus Hartmann under Nazism. Shostakovich composed works intended to serve Stalin's cult of personality, particularly under the cultural policy of Zhdanovshchina. As discussed in Chapter I, Zhdanovshchina demanded music of Eurocentric extraction that incorporated folk material, promoted edifying messages, and envisioned a glorious proletarian future. This policy is evident in overtly propagandistic works such as *Song of the Forests*, Op. 81, *The Sun Shines over Our Motherland*, Op. 90, and the film score for *The Fall of Berlin*, among others written to satisfy the Politburo's artistic directives.³³³ In this sense, Advis' compositions such as the 1983 sonatas

³³³ Fay, Laurel E. *Shostakovich : A Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 171.

or the soundtrack for *Julio comienza en julio* demonstrate his willingness to produce art music according to the Eurocentric directives promoted by the Pinochet state as the “official” aesthetic of the dictatorship.³³⁴ We must clarify, however, that the main difference is that Shostakovich was obliged to compose folk-like and accessible music, whereas Advis was forced to abandon his folk language entirely and adopt classical and Romantic Eurocentric canons.³³⁵

Returning to the comparison, while composing for the state, Shostakovich also wrote deeply personal works that reflect the harrowing anxieties he endured and for which he was branded a formalist in the 1948 decree. Some of these works were highly complex, such as the *Violin Concerto No. 1 in A minor*, Op. 77, and the *String Quartet No. 4 in D major*, Op. 83.³³⁶ My argument becomes even stronger when we consider that Shostakovich also composed a symphony — his *Symphony No. 10 in E minor*, Op. 93 — just months after Stalin’s death, as a personal act of closure after years of artistic repression. In this absolute-music symphony, musicologist David Fanning identifies two key subjects: the “Stalin theme,” a brutal ostinato in B-flat minor dominating the scherzo, and Shostakovich’s personal monogram D-S-C-H (D, E-flat, C, B natural), featured prominently in a waltz during the allegretto (third movement). In the fourth and final movement, these two motifs clash, and in the end, D-S-C-H triumphs twice. This has been

³³⁴ Preda, *Art and Politics*, 105.

³³⁵ However, as Federico Schumacher’s research demonstrates, the “canon” was not limited to the revival of classical or romantic idioms on the concert stage. Electronic and electroacoustic music continued to be permitted, provided it remained entirely within an apolitical and abstract sphere, though confined to a highly niche scene. Schumacher, 70-71.

³³⁶ However, works by Shostakovich, such as *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, Op. 79, although based on folk (klezmer) music, also had to wait for their premiere, as their subject matter could be perceived as overly focused on a specific demographic — namely, the Russian Jews, a population that endured severe hardships under both the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. Fay, 168-169.

interpreted as the composer's assertion of personal victory over Stalin's will: a highly dissonant and deeply personal statement, and, in Soviet terms, an act of "formalism."³³⁷

A second valuable comparison can be made with Karl Amadeus Hartmann, who lived under Nazi Germany. Hartmann entered a state of inner exile: he composed in complete secrecy, away from Nazi oversight, and sent all his works written between 1933 and 1939 abroad to music festivals or concerts as an act of personal defiance — ironically sometimes receiving praise from the regime. Erik Levi suggests that Hartmann's relative obscurity allowed him to gain attention elsewhere, even as his works explicitly denounced Nazi atrocities and violence.³³⁸ It is equally worth noting that, during the Second World War, Hartmann's creative activity retreated into complete secrecy — to the point of composing politically charged works such as the overture *China kämpft*, dedicated to the Chinese resistance against Japanese occupation. Advis acted similarly with *Los tres tiempos de América*. The symphony was composed throughout the entire Pinochet dictatorship, and as we have seen, it was not premiered in Chile. Once completed in 1987, Advis chose to send it abroad. It is very likely that Advis's illness at the time, as well as his other "acceptable" works, cast him in a more compassionate light before the regime — which was already in decline — thus enabling him to present his music abroad regardless of its nature.

The symphony was premiered in 1988 in Extremadura, Spain, by the folk ensemble Quilapayún, Paloma San Basilio, and members of the Spanish Radio & Television Orchestra (ORTVE). It was

³³⁷ See David Fanning, *The Breath of the Symphonist: Shostakovich's Tenth*. London: Royal Musical Association, 1988.

³³⁸ Hartmann embedded numerous messages of resistance in his works, such as *Miseræ* (1933), written in memory of his friends who were sent to the Dachau concentration camp near Munich. The German press initially welcomed the piece and rarely questioned why its premiere took place in Prague rather than in Germany. Levi, 13.

almost immediately recorded in studio and became a tremendous commercial success.³³⁹ However, this success seems to have remained within the limits of record sales: the work has been performed only sparingly in Chile, and Quilapayún rarely includes it in their repertoire. Several factors may account for this. First, the work requires a symphonic or chamber orchestra, which is often financially impractical for folk ensembles. Second, it demands a high-voice soloist, which poses challenges for Quilapayún, whose members are all lower voices, and hiring an external soloist is not always feasible (This might not be a problem for other folk groups, yet there is always the financial constraint of getting an orchestra). Finally, the timing of the work coincided with a moment in Chilean history when both NCC and CN began losing relevance as political musics: the restoration of democracy in Chile shortly thereafter, along with the post–Cold War shift of many radical struggles toward more “pacified” forms of reform — at least until the present resurgence of decolonial consciousness — diminished its political impact. Consequently, the work did not achieve the legendary status of its two predecessors, even though its scope may be more expansive and transcendental, given that it was conceived as a symphony rather than a cantata.

Nevertheless, *Los tres tiempos de América* stands as a personal triumph. While the symphony contains no personal monogram or motivic confrontation comparable to Shostakovich, it is the very form Advis presents that expresses defiance. First, the work reconfigures the *cantata popular* genre — one in which Advis had composed at least two major works that were highly popular during Allende’s government, elevated to the status of official music, and subsequently banned under Pinochet. Second, it represents another instance of genre hybridization in Advis’s career, this time within the genre considered “supreme” in art music: the symphony. Third, these elements

³³⁹ The sources concerning the premiere of this work vary considerably in their reported dates. Although an official notice in the *RMC* announced its premiere for 1988, later publications corrected this to 1992. According to Felipe Valdés Carraha, the Chilean premiere took place in 1994. The work’s success was primarily commercial.

together constitute a successful challenge to Pinochet's attempt to reassert art music as an exclusively Eurocentric practice, leaving no room for folk traditions. The fact that Canto Nuevo flourished during the dictatorship and ultimately found its way into Advis's symphony demonstrates that music can resist even the most repressive impositions even if, in the end, the work had to be premiered abroad.

On these matters, the next chapter will examine forms of expression that flourished through two composers who escaped the Pinochet dictatorship: Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, who exiled himself to Germany and collaborated extensively with Quilapayún, and Celso Garrido-Lecca, a Peruvian who worked in Chile before and during Allende's government; a man that, despite returning to his home country, adopted many ideological elements of the NCC movement and developed an original musical language that reflected his left-wing commitments.

Chapter IV: Exile as an open and straightforward possibility to protest: The cases of Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt (1925-2010) and Celso Garrido-Lecca (1926-2025)

Having examined the case of Luis Advis and his position as an inner exile collaborating with Nueva Canción musicians, I now turn to two composers who experienced forced exile beyond Chile's borders. As the Pinochet dictatorship tightened its control over musicians who had actively supported the Allende government's project of establishing new alternative musics as "official" culture, many artists chose to flee, while others were compelled to remain abroad. Several composers were already residing outside Chile, and numerous folk musicians happened to be touring Europe as cultural ambassadors of Allende's socialist administration. Many of these individuals and ensembles were able to secure safe havens primarily in Western Europe, where they subsequently developed careers far from home. Others sought refuge closer in Latin America.³⁴⁰

The first case concerns composer Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, who obtained German nationality through his maternal lineage and established a successful career in composition and pedagogy in the city of Oldenburg, then part of West Germany. Here, I will examine his case as a foreign exile who embraced the dynamics of his new home, which ranged from stylistic adaptations to close collaborations with other exiles. The existing literature on Becerra-Schmidt is scarce. Beyond a small number of articles in English — among them "Ausentes presentes" by Daniela Fuguielle, a Chilean scholar committed to the dissemination of his work — the majority of available material consists of his own words, drawn from a series of interviews he gave between the 1980s and the

³⁴⁰ We can think of Inti-Illimani, mentioned in chapter III, who were based in Rome instead of Paris, or Isabel and Angel Parra, children of Violeta Parra and handlers of her legacy and estate, who exiled themselves to Mexico and Cuba respectively.

2000s, subsequently published in the *Revista Musical Chilena*, Chile's foremost scholarly journal on music and one of the most prominent in Latin America.³⁴¹

In regards of his compositional activity, his stylistic changes will be examined in the composition of works such as *Chile 1973*, an unperformed cantata that reflected his immediate anguishes after the coup; many of these ideas of remaining committed to a cause will be reexplored in his *Ossietzky-Oratorio*, which celebrates the life, death and legacy of pacifist and anti-fascist activist and Nobel Peace Prize winner Carl von Ossietzky (1889-1938); the latter will be exemplified by the fully conscious embrace of postmodern compositional techniques. While in exile, he also composed collaborative works with the folk ensemble Quilapayún: the cantata *Américas* and the more extended *cantata popular Allende*, the latter of which remained unperformed for nearly four decades. These works will be examined in order to determine how they differ from those of other composers who collaborated with folk ensembles, while keeping in mind how they situate themselves within Becerra-Schmidt's broader postmodern aesthetic.

The second case focuses on Celso Garrido-Lecca, a Peruvian composer who had resided in Chile and enjoyed a highly successful career before and during the Allende government. Following the coup, he returned to Peru, where he became head of the Lima Conservatory. In his case, the political works that he created under Allende, the unperformed cantata *El movimiento y el sueño*, and the partially lost ballet *Los siete estados*, represent two different facets of work. –The first employs only avant-garde techniques, whilst the second is tonal and includes folk music and folk musicians mixed with a traditional orchestral ensemble. I will discuss his *Trío para un nuevo*

³⁴¹ While Fugiel's article "Ausentes presents" is important to notice, I will use mostly his own interviews in RMC given they shed more information on his life and work.

tiempo and String Quartet No.2, works in which he consciously quotes and celebrates the life and work of Nueva Canción musicians Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara.

In the following two subsections, I examine how both composers devoted their time and artistic energies to commemorating the coup in the aforementioned works, which are equally representative of their respective experiences of exile as refracted through music.

1. Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt (1925-2010): The art music dean of Chilean exiles

Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt had one of the most distinguished careers among Chilean exiles. Even before his exile, he had become a valuable political asset abroad for Salvador Allende's international program: a diplomatic effort to deploy some of Chile's finest intellectuals in foreign embassies as diplomats or cultural attachés.³⁴² In 1971, shortly after Allende's election, Becerra-Schmidt joined the Chilean embassy in West Germany as a cultural attaché. On one hand, his German settler ancestry facilitated this appointment, as he had learned to speak German at home. On the other, it was his impressive academic and artistic résumé that ultimately secured the position.

Born in 1925 in the southern city of Temuco, Becerra-Schmidt quickly rose to prominence in Chile, earning a professorship in music analysis at the National Conservatory at the age of twenty-one and becoming an assistant professor of composition five years later, shortly after graduating.

³⁴² The two articles by Eugenia Palieraki cited elsewhere in this thesis — “Chile, Algeria, and the Third World” and “Canto General que une a Grecia y Chile” — illuminate two aspects of this program. In the first, Palieraki examines how these efforts were not circumscribed to the developed world, given that Allende sought to establish strong ties with nations undergoing decolonising and emancipatory social and economic projects. In the second, she demonstrates how this program operated reciprocally: the Greek intellectual Danai Stratigopoulou established herself in Chile during the late 1960s and early 1970s as a key cultural mediator between the two countries while translating Pablo Neruda's *Canto General* into Greek.

During the 1950s, his accolades multiplied, particularly after his travels to Europe to refine his compositional skills. In 1958, shortly after composing his *String Quartet No. 5*, he published a seven-volume pedagogical essay entitled “*Crisis de la enseñanza de la composición en Occidente*” (*Music Teaching Crisis in the West*). In these volumes, he lamented how pedagogical approaches to music were increasingly inadequate when confronted with modern and avant-garde compositional methods.³⁴³ Nonetheless, despite proposing several appropriate solutions to these pedagogical shortcomings, Becerra-Schmidt gradually grew disenchanted with strict avant-garde techniques. From the mid-1960s onward, he began developing his own postmodern musical language after having toyed for some years with dodecaphonism and post-serialism.³⁴⁴

Before examining the development of Becerra-Schmidt’s works, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by postmodernity in music. The reason is straightforward: to situate Becerra-Schmidt as a composer belonging to a precise historical moment in which postmodernity was emerging as a defining set of eclectic techniques in musical practice. Two key sources inform this discussion: Jonathan Kramer’s article “The Nature and Origin of Musical Postmodernism,” one of the foundational studies addressing this broad and eclectic musical current, and Kenneth Gloag’s *Postmodernism in Music*, an influential monograph on the subject.

Gloag first addresses the inherently elusive nature of postmodernity itself. Drawing on the ideas of Linda Hutcheon and Hans Bertens, he argues that postmodernism is an exceptionally difficult term to define, not least because it has been applied to a wide range of works for over half a

³⁴³ The full text of “*Crisis de la enseñanza*” is available (in Spanish) through the *Revista Musical Chilena* online archive. The only existing translation into another language is the German version, accessible through the composer’s archive, also available online at the University of Oldenburg.

³⁴⁴ For more information about his compositional paths, see for instance the study by Gonzalo Martínez García, 2025. “Transformación De Las Estrategias Seriales En La Música De Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt: 1955-1959”. *Revista Musical Chilena* 79 (243):39-56.

century, carrying both positive and negative connotations. As a result, the term has come to signify a condition that is complex, paradoxical, and even resistant to definition and against institutional appropriation.³⁴⁵ While Gloag offers an extensive discussion of postmodern thought, this introductory overview suffices to establish a general understanding of what musical postmodernism entails.

Kramer proposes a list of sixteen characteristics that define postmodernism in music, several of which are particularly relevant to the present study. Musical postmodernism neither repudiates nor simply continues modernism; rather, it simultaneously represents both a rupture from and an extension of it. It incorporates a minimal but significant degree of irony, blurs boundaries between past and present musical languages, and avoids totalizing systems such as common-practice tonality and total serialism. Academic and popular styles are merged into a distinctive musical voice, thereby challenging the exclusivity of both musical elitism and populism. Music is no longer regarded as autonomous but as embedded within cultural, historical, social, and economic contexts. Quotation from earlier periods or from diverse cultural traditions is embraced, fostering pluralism and eclecticism. Technology is understood both as a means of producing new music and as a tool for preservation. Finally, musical postmodernism embraces contradiction and destabilizes binary oppositions, allowing for fragmentation, discontinuity, multiple meanings, and layered temporalities in both form and context.³⁴⁶

In the second chapter of his book, Gloag argues that certain musical practices from the early twentieth century may already be understood as postmodern. He points in particular to works by

³⁴⁵ Kenneth Gloag, *Postmodernism in Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2012, 2-3.

³⁴⁶ Jonathan Kramer, *Postmodern Music, Postmodern Listening*. Edited by Robert Carl. New York, New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016, 42-43.

Igor Stravinsky from both his modernist and neoclassical periods, such as the ballets *Petrushka* (1911) and *Pulcinella* (1920). Gloag briefly contrasts these works, noting that in *Petrushka* Stravinsky sought to reinvent tonal music through the use of polychords; procedures later re-developed and exploited by composers such as Michael Torke (b. 1961) in his neo-tonal works of the 1990s.³⁴⁷ This framework is particularly relevant to the present study, as Becerra-Schmidt employs comparable strategies in his own works.

Although Becerra-Schmidt's music may be described as postmodern, debates surrounding postmodernism did not enter the West German musical discourse until well into the 1980s. This delay was due in part to the continued dominance of post-serial and avant-garde aesthetics throughout the late 1970s. As Joakim Tillman notes, the term *postmodernism* only gained currency in West German musicology in response to challenges posed by composers who returned to premodern musical traditions, such as George Rochberg and Krzysztof Penderecki, as well as by the sound art and meditative practices associated with John Cage and the New York School, despite their earlier origins in the 1950s.³⁴⁸ In this context, Tillman identifies his colleague Hermann Danuser as instrumental in initiating these debates, as Danuser was among the first to question whether such emerging compositional approaches belonged to a postmodern tradition — understood as a synthesis of rationalist, tradition-breaking modernist techniques and avant-garde experimental practices aimed at destabilizing established norms.³⁴⁹ In this sense, Becerra-Schmidt's music may already be considered postmodern within the German understanding of the

³⁴⁷ Gloag, 26.

³⁴⁸ Joakim Tillman. "Postmodernism and Art Music in the German Debate" in Auner, Joseph Henry, and Judith Irene Lochhead. *Postmodern Music/Postmodern Thought*. New York ; Routledge, 2002, 76-77

³⁴⁹ Hermann Danuser in Tillman, 77

term, given that he had been developing techniques associated with the movement before it was recognised as such — an argument that will be elaborated in the following pages.

Coming back to Becerra-Schmidt's production, one of the earliest examples of this new, "postmodern" direction is *La Araucana, Op. 93*, a cantata for chorus, spoken voice, and orchestra composed in 1965. The work is based on the early modern Spanish epic of the same name recounting the War of Arauco (ca. 1550-1656).³⁵⁰ This work was classified as a modernist composition insofar as it remains inscribed within the trajectory of modernist music in Chile. It features passages of chromaticism alongside avant-garde and extended techniques such as Sprechstimme for the narrator and unconventional notation for instruments including percussion and strings (lines and arrows indicating attacks). Nonetheless, the piece retains a clear triadic harmonic foundation. Equally notable is the inclusion of Mapuche instruments such as *trompel*, *kultrum* (percussion), and *trutruca* (wooden trumpet), which, according to some critics, function primarily as rhythmic and coloristic elements.³⁵¹ Becerra-Schmidt soon turned to other subjects and techniques, which involved Latin American topics, avantgarde techniques and unconventional notation, such as the oratorio *Machu Picchu, Op. 97* on words by Chilean Nobel laureate Pablo Neruda (1912-1973), work that was created a year later after *La Araucana*. Meanwhile, his national recognition continued to grow. In 1968, he became general secretary of the Faculty of Music at the Universidad de Chile; a year later, he was inducted into the National Fine Arts Academy and

³⁵⁰ The two authors whose historical compilations are part of this study (John Rector and Felipe Sagredo Baeza) do not give a precise date of for the beginning of this conflict. Nonetheless, Lautaro's rebellion in 1553 has been cited as one of the main starting points by both authors, although the Spanish presence and control of the region started in around 1550. The end date however, has been set in 1656 by both of them after the last Mapuche uprising in the region (until the 1830s) was quelled.

³⁵¹ *La Araucana* has never received a complete, duly analysis and it certainly goes beyond the scope of this research. However, this early example of music is significant to mention because it showcases many elements that will be recurring in Becerra-Schmidt's work.

in 1971, he received the Chilean National Arts Prize shortly before assuming his diplomatic post in the Chilean embassy of West Germany at Bonn.

As a diplomat, Becerra-Schmidt actively pursued initiatives aligned with the principles of cultural diplomacy. In a 2003 interview, the composer recalled: “I especially remember the exhibition ‘La libertad de prensa en Chile’ (Press Freedom in Chile), which we organized at the Embassy of Chile in Bad Godesberg (a district in Bonn), in collaboration with my wife Flor Auth, during the government of the Popular Unity”³⁵² The composer thus extended his influence beyond artistic domains, fulfilling the duties of a political agent by organizing exhibitions on subjects unrelated to his musical expertise. His cultural activities fostered democratic dialogue between West Germany and Chile, a connection not without significance: at the time, West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, like Salvador Allende, represented the democratic left.³⁵³ This political engagement also found echoes in his artistic production. Between 1970 and 1973, Becerra-Schmidt composed fewer works than in previous years, and only a handful for large ensembles. Among them was *Historia de una provocación, Op. 135* (*A Tale about an Incitement*, 1972), a chamber opera for soloists, acoustic instruments, and electronics.

A. First works in exile: Los sátrapas and Chile 1973

When the coup took place, Becerra-Schmidt was in Switzerland, which effectively rendered him an involuntary exile. Shortly thereafter, he obtained asylum in West Germany due to his diplomatic status, a circumstance that facilitated his emergence as a prominent voice among Chilean exiles.

³⁵² “Con especial intensidad recuerdo la exposición *La libertad de prensa en Chile*, que hicimos en la Embajada de Chile, en Bad Godesberg, en colaboración con mi esposa Flor Auth, durante el gobierno de la Unidad Popular” Becerra-Schmidt, Gustavo. “En torno al exilio y a la transición a una forma de inmigración”, *Revista Musical Chilena*, Vol. 57, nos. 199, (2003). 58

³⁵³ Brandt was known for his *Ostpolitik*, which fostered improved relations with the German Democratic Republic (or East Germany) in the context of Détente.. For more information see Fink, Carole, and Bernd Schäfer. *Ostpolitik, 1969-1974 : European and Global Responses*. Washington, D.C: German Historical Institute, 2009.

He later recalled: “I took a position against the military coup along with Ambassador Federico Klein [...]. On that occasion, [Minister Counselor] Tomic delivered a very emotional and condemnatory speech against the coup in the public square of Bonn”.³⁵⁴

His immediate reactions to the coup were expressed in two musical works composed between 1973 and 1974. The first was the short piece *Los Sátrapas, Op. 138 (Die Lakaien – The Satraps)*, based on Pablo Neruda’s final poem written after Allende’s overthrow.³⁵⁵ Scored for voices and chamber ensemble with synthesizers, the piece serves as a denunciation of the *golpistas* (coup supporters), portrayed as mere henchmen of American interests.³⁵⁶ One might interpret Becerra-Schmidt’s use of avant-garde techniques such as his continued use of *sprechstimme*, advanced use of orchestral instruments (hovering notes), and disuse of musical tempi in this and subsequent works as intentionally ironic, given that such techniques had long been associated with artistic freedom.

Los Sátrapas has recently been discussed in a brief analytical passage by Wolfgang M. Stroh, a younger colleague of Becerra-Schmidt at the University of Oldenburg. Stroh identifies percussion strikes and vocal gestures as the work’s primary musical elements. This is evident at the opening of the piece, where three side drum rolls are followed by screamed utterances in the alto voice — “Nixon, Frei, Pinochet” — and then by further percussive blows, which Stroh interprets as the

³⁵⁴ “Tomé una postura contraria al golpe militar junto al embajador Federico Klein [...]. En esa ocasión [el ministro consejero] Tomic pronunció un discurso muy emotivo y condenatorio del golpe de estado en la plaza pública de Bonn.” Becerra-Schmidt, “En torno al exilio”, 58-59.

³⁵⁵ We will see that, according to Wolfgang Stroh, this was an update from an original poem in the Canto General, to which Neruda added “septiembre del ‘73” in the subtitle. Wolfgang M. Stroh and Daniela Fugellie Videla (trans). 2025. “Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt En Alemania Desde La Mirada De Un Colega”. *Revista Musical Chilena* 79 (243): 237.

³⁵⁶ The chamber ensemble is composed of flute, oboe, trumpet in C, a large array of percussion for just one player (snare and bass drums, cymbals, two gongs: small and large, wood and temple blocks, triangle and tambourine), amplified guitar and piano, both using drive pedals and a voices (alto or baritone). These can be indeed substituted with synthesizers but it’s preferred to use the acoustic instruments with electrical modifiers. Becerra-Schmidt. *Los sátrapas para solistas y ensamble de cámara*, In *Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt Werke openscore*, Institut für Musik der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, accessed Decemver 7, 2025.

sound of gunfire.³⁵⁷ These musical gestures are subsequently accompanied by the names of three other South American dictators contemporary with Pinochet: Juan María Bordaberry of Uruguay (1973–1976), Emilio Garrastazú Médici of Brazil (1969–1974), and Hugo Banzer of Bolivia (1971–1978). (Fig 32)

Figure 32 *Los Sátrapas*, Op. 138³⁵⁸ by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1973 (MM. 2-3)



The alto voice continues with a vocal line that conveys grief and rage against the “murderous, hungry hyenas of our history.” Melodically, this passage is constructed from tightly clustered intervals, particularly minor seconds, which clash persistently until the singer cries “with so much blood,” at one point even instructed to sing with grinding teeth, as indicated in the score. This section is especially striking because it consists of a solo *a cappella* declamation situated between percussive and instrumental passages.

In the next section of the song, the alto line initiates a stark denunciation drawn directly from Neruda’s poem, now accompanied by the flute, oboe, piano, and percussion. (Fig 33 in next page)

“Sátrapas mil veces vendidos
y vendedores, azuzados
por los lobos de Nueva York.

Máquinas hambrientas de dólares,
manchadas en el sacrificio

³⁵⁷ Stroh, 237. A similar procedure will be studied in Garrido-Lecca’s *String Quartet No. 2*.

³⁵⁸ A note concerning Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt’s opus numbers: Prof. Wolfgang M. Stroh and his team, including Chilean researcher Daniela Fugielle, recently finished indexing Becerra-Schmidt’s prolific catalogue, counting over 280 works in total. The composer did not assign opus numbers to his works; it was only after Stroh and his team completed this numbering that I was able to include them in the titles. As a result, the titles as they appear in the bibliography will lack these opus numbers, unlike the indexing used in this thesis, which follows Stroh’s identification.

de sus pueblos martirizados.”³⁵⁹
 Satraps, who are sold
 and sell out their nations,
 baited by New Yorker wolves.

Machines hungry for dollars,
 tainted in the sacrifice
 and martyrdom of their people

Figure 33 *Los Sátrapas*, Op. 138 by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1973 (MM. 13-14)

The musical score for Figure 33 consists of five staves. The top four staves are for woodwinds and brass: Flauta (Flute), Oboe, Trompeta en Do (Trumpet in D), and Voz 1 (Voice 1). The bottom staff is for Guitarra eléctrica (Electric guitar). The Flauta, Oboe, and Trompeta en Do staves show a melodic line starting with a half rest, followed by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, marked with a mezzo-piano (*mp*) dynamic. The Voz 1 staff shows a vocal line with lyrics in German and Spanish. The Guitarra eléctrica staff shows a melodic line starting with a half rest, followed by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, marked with a mezzo-piano (*mp*) dynamic. The lyrics for Voz 1 are: "Völ-ker mit Hün-en des Hand-dels-horn-en".

Los Sátrapas, Op. 138 would later be incorporated into a larger project: the grand cantata *Chile 1973*, Op. 142, written for voices, chorus, large orchestra, and electronics, and conceived to be accompanied by multimedia projections (film and video). Although the subject of the work was the Chilean coup, the text was written in German to address West German audiences directly and engage them with a politically urgent topic. The libretto draws not only from Neruda’s poetry but also from texts by Peter Weiss, Riga Ros, and anonymous sources. Significantly, the work foregrounds “the people as protagonists.” In other words, the characters in the cantata are unnamed

³⁵⁹ Pablo Neruda in Becerra-Schmidt, *Los sátrapas*, 12-18.

and identified only by their profession or social role — workers, journalists, women, young men. The *Erste Arbeiter* (First Worker) is the main soloist, and at the beginning of his recitative he situates the Chilean social tragedy within the broader spectrum of twentieth-century political violence — the “century of war” — invoking events such as the Holocaust, the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the Vietnam War, among others. (Fig 34)

Figure 34 *Cantata Chile 1973, Op. 142* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1973-74: I. - Erste Arbeiter (p. 5-6)

The musical score is arranged in four staves. The top staff is for Flauta (Flute), showing a melodic line starting with a *mp* dynamic. The second staff is for Tenor, featuring a recitative-like melody with German lyrics: "Ver-hun-ger-te — ich Ske lett und blu-ten-de Wun-de le-bend al-le Lei-den u-ber-wind-end". The third staff is for Piano, with a performance instruction "Hit piano strings with hands" and a *p* dynamic, followed by a "Red." (Reduction) symbol. The bottom staff is for Guitarra eléctrica (Electric Guitar), with dynamics *mp* and *f*.

The text is profoundly illustrative of the historical parallels at play, suggesting that the oppression inflicted upon the Chilean people was commensurate with that experienced under the Nazi regime, the devastation of World War II, and the violence of the American occupation in Vietnam.

Jedes Opfer, jener Kristallnacht – ich,
 jeder gefallene Soldat dieser Erde;
 jeder gehenkte Partisan seiner Heimat,
 jeder erschossene Komissar,
 dreitausendfach im KZ Dachau,
 jeder Begrabene unter Bombentrummer zwischen Freiburg
 London, Wien, Nagasaki und Hanoi,

ausstrahlt wer nennt alle Namen –
in Lidice, Ouradour, Hiroshima
jeder Hungernde verhungert
ich, Skelett, und blutende Wunde, lebend,
alle Leiden überwindend, unsterblich.³⁶⁰

Every victim of that Kristallnacht — Me,
every fallen soldier of this earth;
every partisan hanged in his homeland,
every commissar shot,
three thousandfold in the Dachau concentration camp;
every one buried beneath bomb rubble between Freiburg,
London, Vienna, Nagasaki, and Hanoi,
Erased — who could name them all? —
in Lidice, Oradour, Hiroshima;
every starving one who starved to death.
I, skeleton and bleeding wound, alive,
overcoming all suffering, immortal.

It is important to note that Becerra-Schmidt's musical language was beginning to move toward a more postmodern expression. *Chile 1973* still employs unconventional notation and a predominantly avant-garde musical idiom; for instance, these last dialogues, spoken by the worker, are placed as sprechstimme. Plus, the score, as it has been shown above, dispenses of regular time signatures, measuring marks and generally, a sense of regularity.³⁶¹

Much later in the score, Becerra-Schmidt also incorporates musical quotation. Notably, he includes a direct citation of his colleague Sergio Ortega's popular chant *El pueblo unido jamás será vencido*, sung by the altos and tenors of the choir. Although no specific visual image accompanies this passage, it constitutes one of the work's most emotionally charged moments, as the characters

³⁶⁰ Compiled from Peter Weiss, Riga Ros, Pablo Neruda and other anonymous sources by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, *Chile 1973, cantata para solistas y gran orquesta*, In *Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt Werke openscore*, Institut für Musik der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, 5-7.

³⁶¹ I must clarify this is an unedited manuscript, however, the general idea given in this manuscript is that musical events happen in order, yet they are dispersed and irregular. The only exception is the final "Liebeslied", which is written under conventional order rules.

express their anguish over loved ones lost in the massacres that followed Pinochet's coup. (Fig 35)

Figure 35 *Cantata Chile 1973, Op. 142* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1973-74: II. – El pueblo unido tape (p. 40)³⁶²

In the final section, *Liebeslied* (Love Song), the unconventional notation, absence of time signatures, and irregular rhythms give way to pandiatonic harmonies, conventional time signatures, and common-practice scoring, as well as more structured melodic writing. Equally striking is the fuller use of orchestral resources, which had previously been employed sparingly. This closing section functions as a song of hope and liberation, celebrating unity and the shared appreciation of the natural world.³⁶³ (Fig. 36 in next page)

³⁶² The score indicates this recording of eight choral bars singing “El pueblo unido” must be played in synchronicity with the music from the timpani that play at that time with an “echoing effect” (Trommel, Töne mit Echo).

³⁶³ Becerra-Schmidt hailed from Temuco, a city in the heartland of Araucanía. This region, far from Santiago, is both the ancestral homeland of the Mapuche and an area of ancient forests dating back to the Jurassic era, surrounded by volcanoes and pristine lakes. The beauty of this “forever-abandoned” homeland — at least at that moment — may have inspired the composer to turn to nature as a common ground for imagining solutions to human conflict. Becerra-Schmidt, *Chile 1973*, 85

Figure 36 *Cantata Chile 1973, Op. 142* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1973-74: III. Liebeslied (p. 85 M. 1-7)

Image: Picture's loop: a couple roaming freely in nature, as if it were a reminiscent [of a memory]

The text, first sung then spoke in Sprechstimme, tells about the hope when justice will be served against the perpetrators of crimes against humanity, and of peoples learning their rights and standing against any kind of authoritarianism, while at the same time already acknowledging the role of the Nueva Canción Chilena artists in fighting against authoritarianism by naming Inti-Illimani in his song:

Sung: Liebste, warte, warte auf mich!
 Sprechstimme: Ich bin die Grüppe Inti-Illimani,
 (ich) bin eine Stimme und alle zugleich,
 singe das Lied von der Volksmacht,
 die das Ende is der Gesetzlosigkeit,
 keine verbrechen ihrer Henker verzieht!³⁶⁴

Beloved, my dearest beloved, wait — wait
 for me!
 I am the band Inti-Illimani,
 (I) am one voice, and all at once,
 I sing the song of people's power,
 which is the end of lawlessness,
 for it forgives none of the crimes of its
 executioners!

³⁶⁴ Becerra-Schmidt, *Chile 1973*, 89-90.

At the same time, Becerra-Schmidt pays homage to his pupil and colleague's work Luis Advis, signalling the importance of fighting for rights and freedoms as Advis did in the finale of his cantata popular *Santa María de Iquique*, analyzed in Chapter III of this thesis. (Fig. 37 in next page)

Sprechstimme: Lernend meinen Recht mit
Macht zur erhalten,
Daßes niemand zuschanden vermag.
Ich singe die Internationale,
Jünger wie die Gegenwart
Sung: (ich) Singe das Lied auf mein
Menschsein,
Das sich den Erdball ersingt,
Liebste, warte, warte auf mich!³⁶⁵

Learning to defend my right with strength,
so that no one may bring it to shame.
I sing *The Internationale*,
young as the present itself.
(I) sing the song of my humanity,
which sings itself across the whole earth.
Beloved, my dearest beloved wait — wait for
me!

³⁶⁵ Becerra-Schmidt, *Chile 1973*, 90-91.

Figure 37 *Cantata Chile 1973, Op. 142* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1973-74: III. Liebeslied (p. 88, M. 22-28)

The musical score is for a large ensemble, including woodwinds, brass, piano, guitar, voices, and strings. The score is in 4/4 time and includes various dynamics and articulations.

Woodwinds:

- Flauta 1: *p*
- Flauta 2: *p*
- Oboe 1: *p*
- Oboe 2: *p*
- Clarinete en Si $\flat$ 1: *p*
- Fagot 1: *p*
- Fagot 2: *p*

Brass:

- Trompa en Fa: *p*

Piano: *mp*

Guitarra electrica: *mp*

Voces:

- SA: *p*, *mp* (Mmm...)
- TB: *p*, *mp* (Mmm...)
- 1. Arbeiter: *f* (Lieb - ste war - te war - te auf mich!)

Strings:

- Violines 1: *p* (non vibr.)
- Violines 2: *p* (non vibr.)
- Violas: *p* (non vibr.)
- Violonchelos: *p* (pizz.)
- Contrabajos: *p* (pizz.)

Lyrics:

Lie - ste war - te war - te auf mich!

Ich bin die Grö - ße In - ti - li - ma - ni

Becerra-Schmidt's cantata can indeed be regarded as his first engagement with a postmodernism bearing a distinctly political profile. Accepting the context outlined by Tilman and Danuser, the work deploys a combination of multiple musical styles and elements that extend beyond the mere inclusion of avant-garde practices — such as *Sprechstimme*, unconventional instrumental notation, and pandiatonicism — to encompass the differentiation between conventional and unconventional scoring practices, the strategic ordering of musical materials, the incorporation of technological elements such as pre-recorded tapes (some drawn from archival sources), and the integration of multimedia projection. Taken together, these features represented highly innovative contributions to West German music of the early 1970s. Regarding the latter elements specifically, Wolfgang Stroh asserts that such projections, along with tapes extracted from Chilean broadcasts between 1972 and 1973, constituted significant innovations for the German stage, which Becerra-Schmidt sought to introduce into the concert hall. Yet, much like the cantata itself, they were ultimately shelved on the grounds (at the time) of being deemed impractical or prohibitively expensive.³⁶⁶

A further issue warrants discussion: the choice of language. Becerra-Schmidt selected German for the oratorio's text, as his intended audience was now primarily German-speaking. This decision is particularly significant, as it represents a concrete application of the concept of emotional elective affinity as described by Tobern Bergman and Jessica Gienow-Hecht in Chapter I. By addressing Pinochet's coup in the local language rather than in Spanish, Becerra-Schmidt sought to engage his new audiences more directly and affectively.³⁶⁷ This observation leads to a final, related

³⁶⁶ Stroh, 237.

³⁶⁷ While composing the work exclusively in German is both logical and understandable given his circumstances, one may nonetheless surmise that a Spanish adaptation could have informed and mobilized Latin American audiences — especially those within educated exile communities — about the tragedy unfolding in Chile in 1973. Given the work's subject matter — the rise of Pinochet's dictatorship and the ensuing repression — a Spanish-language version might have further enhanced its communicative and affective reach. However, there is no indication in the manuscript score, or elsewhere in Becerra-Schmidt's archive, that such a version was ever considered.

consideration. Both *Los Sátrapas* and *Chile 1973* have remained unperformed since their completion. According to Wolfgang Stroh, in the same interview in which he presents these works as significant contributions to Becerra-Schmidt's output, *Chile 1973* was at least proposed for performance by the cultural attaché at the Chilean embassy as part of the fiftieth-anniversary commemorations of the coup. Ultimately, the work was deemed "very complex," and, as a result, it remains unperformed.³⁶⁸ In this light, the possibility remains that the work could eventually receive a Spanish translation and performance.

B. Collaborations with the exiles of Nueva Canción Chilena

By the late 1970, Chilean exiled musicians from folk and art music spheres were, in fact, collaborating regularly to create new works. Researcher Daniel Party, in his study of popular music following Pinochet's rise, notes that *Quilapayún* and *Inti-Illimani* underwent significant stylistic transformations in the late 1970s as they collaborated with Becerra-Schmidt and his colleague Juan Orrego-Salas, who composed while in the United States, to produce new *cantatas populares*. These works display a more complex musical language, incorporating avant-garde techniques and notated parts for electronic instruments, most noticeably synthesizers and electric guitars.³⁶⁹ In one way or another, this development represented the pragmatic and logical evolution of the *cantata popular* as a genre — a process that will be analyzed in greater detail in this and subsequent chapters.

1) *Américas* – a short cantata popular based on Pablo Neruda's Canto General

Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt began a collaborative project with *Quilapayún*, the Chilean *Nueva Canción* ensemble led by Eduardo Carrasco, who also served as its artistic director. From the late

³⁶⁸ Stroh, 237.

³⁶⁹ Party, 676.

1970s to the mid-1980s, Carrasco commissioned several works from Becerra-Schmidt. Among these, this study will focus on the “short” *cantata popular Américas*. This work, like others to be discussed in later chapters, sets poems by Chilean poet and Nobel laureate Pablo Neruda, specifically excerpts from his *Canto General*.

Before delving into the analysis, it is important to consider Neruda’s role as a seminal figure within the *Nueva Canción Chilena* movement. By the time of Salvador Allende’s presidency, Neruda’s persona and poetry had become one of the most powerful international voices against the pervasive influence of neocolonial and internal-colonial interests in Chile and across Latin America.³⁷⁰ His poetry inspired numerous musical settings, including by composers outside the Latin American sphere—the most notable being Greek leftist composer Mikis Theodorakis’s large-scale setting of *Canto General*, Neruda’s monumental rewriting of the Latin American liberation epic.³⁷¹ *Canto General* is an epic poem comprising fifteen cantos, hence its title, that recount both the triumphs and tragedies of Latin American independence movements. Deeply influenced by Soviet socialist realism, it aligns ideologically with Becerra-Schmidt’s own leftist convictions and artistic aims, making it a fitting textual choice for *Américas – Cantata popular, Op. 151*.³⁷²

³⁷⁰ We should acknowledge, however, that Neruda was far from a perfect human being. Some of his posthumous confessional writings reveal dark and immoral actions from his youth, brought to light in Mark Eisner’s 2018 biography *Neruda: The Biography of a Poet*.

³⁷¹ Theodorakis composed this work as his personal response to the suppression of the *Nueva Canción* and *Nueva Trova* movements in Latin America. A committed leftist, he had himself endured imprisonment and later exile under the Greek dictatorship, eventually finding refuge through the help of friends in Western European democracies. As a result, he sympathized with the plight of Latin American exiles — whether Chilean, Argentine, or Uruguayan — and composed this work as a homage, premiering it in France and East Germany. See Eugenia Palieraki, and Javier Rodríguez Aedo. “*Canto general* que une Grecia y Chile. Conexiones musicales y co-producción de saberes políticos en el Tercer Mundo (años 1960-1970)”. *Estudios interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 34, no. 1 (2023): 97-128.

³⁷² Greg Dawes dedicates a footnote to the criticism that Neruda’s *Canto General* was “accused” of being a socialist realist work, mostly by “reactionary” critics. While Dawes acknowledges that the poem bears certain influences from socialist realism, he affirms that such “accusations” stem from viewpoints biased against this artistic movement. This bias arises because the poem contains stark denunciations of the injustices perpetrated by colonial and neocolonial societies in Latin America; societies whose structures were often defended by reactionary critics. Dawes, Greg. “Realism, Surrealism, Socialist Realism and Neruda’s ‘Guided Spontaneity.’” *Cultural Logic* 6 (2003). 34-35.

The manuscript score for the cantata specifies scoring for “male soloists and chorus³⁷³”, accompanied by an ensemble that combines indigenous folk instruments — such as *quena* flutes (aerophones), *charango*, *tiple*, and guitar (chordophones), as well as *bastones* (rainsticks) — with Western art music instruments, including side and bass drums, glockenspiel, triangle, and wood or temple blocks. The choral writing alternates between solo passages and TTBB textures, with the score explicitly numbering the voices. At times, voices 1 and 3 (presumably T1 and B1) sing together, as do voices 2 and 4 (T2 and B2). This more flexible arrangement likely accommodated the ensemble’s performance practice, as *Quilapayún* — though capable of reading scores — did not typically follow the strict *TTBB* structure of Western art music, especially when voices were doubled, as frequently occurs in Becerra-Schmidt’s compositions. An additional performance detail is noteworthy: the recorded version sounds a semitone lower than written, allowing the singers to match the tuning of the *quenas*.

One of the most distinctive aspects of the cantata is its use of Andean pentatonic scales. Each stanza is set using this scalar structure, remaining faithful to the folk character of the music. In this case, the scales are based on an E minor paradigm (E–G–A–B–D), performed a semitone lower. (Fig. 38 a and b in next page)

³⁷³ See note 283 relating to the considerations about these conventions back then.

Figure 38 *Américas – Cantata popular, Op. 151* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1979

a) Sección III, Quena parts (M. 2-4)



b) Sección III, Soloist part (M. 2-7)



It is important to notice that if compared to his pupil Luis Advis, Becerra-Schmidt exploited the Andean pentatonic gamut more frequently in his works and to a more poignant effect, given he gives the deployment of the scale's range, partially doubled two octaves above by the *quenas*, as if he wanted to tie the rather “simple” melodic development with a striking feeling: one of contemplative broadness. While it might be tempting to invoke Middleton's articulation for the use of folk pentatonic music at this point, it should be considered that pentatonic music had already become a common element in art music from the late nineteenth century onwards. As a result, any discussion along these lines risks being too broad or overreaching.

Considering the cantata's text, it is a powerful example that showcases the composer's admiration for the natural beauty in Latin America, but also its urban life often filled with squalor and dashed hopes for a better future.

Y no hay belleza como está belleza
de América extendida en sus infiernos,
en sus cerros de piedra y poderío,
en sus ríos atávicos y eternos
y te amo en los recónditos espacios
de las ciudades con olor a estiércol,
en los trenes del alba vacilante³⁷⁴

There is no beauty like this wonder —
of America stretched even into its hellscapes,
in its mountains of stone and power,
in its ancestral and eternal rivers.
And I love you in the hidden spaces
of foul-smelling cities,
in the rhythms of the doubtful dawn.

This is even more valid for some stanzas like the one in the following example (Fig. 39 in next page) — where greater textural and emotional depth is needed to convey grief and pain — the choir accompanies the soloists, sometimes in imitative canons and at other times in homophonic harmonies.

³⁷⁴ Pablo Neruda in Gustavo Becerra Schmidt, *Américas, cantata popular*. Quilapayún, Official website.

<https://www.quilapayun.com/cancion.php?nombre=americas>

³⁷⁵ Neruda in Becerra-Schmidt, *Américas*.

Yo sé que quienes cayeron
defendiendo el honor fueron los pueblos
y amo hasta las raíces de mi tierra
desde Río Grande hasta el Polo chileno
no sólo porque están diseminados
en esta larga lucha nuestros huesos,
sino porque amo cada piedra pobre
y cada mano del profundo pueblo.³⁷⁵

180

but because I love each impoverished stone and every hand of the humble folk

The choir sings in homophonic harmony, as the composer needs to strengthen the message in his music. The harmonic blocks are strengthened by the chords in the guitar and charango as well. The music of the choruses departs somewhat from the Andean idiom, relying more heavily on Western musical paradigms. The tempi are marked “march time,” and the tonality shifts to G minor (again performed a semitone lower), despite the absence of *quena* flutes in these sections to facilitate smoother transitions from preceding material. The *charango* continues to play but is joined by the guitar and Western percussion instruments such as the wood blocks and side drum. (Fig. 40)

Figure 40 *Américas – Cantata popular, Op. 151* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1979 (p. 7)

II Marcha

$d = 132$

Char. con la guitarra

2a vuelta tremolo

Guit. f Solm

G. Am. f Solm

Bajo f

During these sections, the choir alternates between homophonic harmonies and two-voice canons, as in the second marching passage, where T1–T2 and B1–B2 lines engage in echoic imitation: an unconventional arrangement visually reflected in the score’s layout. (Figs. 41 & 42 in next page)

Figure 41 *Américas – Cantata popular, Op. 151* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1979 (p. 23)

Handwritten musical score for Figure 41, showing four staves. The lyrics are written in Spanish and German. The first staff (1) has the lyrics: "canal construcción de tus canchales en tu decapitada minería y tus po — los lo". The second staff (3) is empty. The third staff (2) has the lyrics: "en la cruel construcción de tus canchales en tu decapitada minería y tus po —". The fourth staff (4) has the lyrics: "f".

Or

Figure 42 *Américas – Cantata popular, Op. 151* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1979 (p. 26)

Handwritten musical score for Figure 42, showing four staves. The lyrics are written in Spanish. The first staff (1) has the lyrics: "gan — gan — gana". The second staff (3) has the lyrics: "toda la nieve", "aguas mayo — tes", "volcanes me —". The third staff (2) is empty. The fourth staff (4) has the lyrics: "— meta te dió toda la nieve", "aguas mayo — tes", "volcanes".

Regarding the poetic content, the cantata opens with an allegorical exaltation of South American geography and nations, culminating in a plea for justice for peoples suffering under cruel and oppressive regimes.

El planeta te dio toda la nieve,
aguas mayores y volcanes nuevos
y luego el hombre fue agregando muros
y adentro de los muros, sufrimiento
y es por amor que pego en tus costados.

Te traigo con el canto que golpea un amor
que, no puede estar contento
en la fecundación de las campanas
la justicia que esperan nuestros pueblos.³⁷⁶

The planet gave you all the snows,
the great rivers, and new volcanoes;
but then men began building walls, a
nd within them suffering grew.
And it is out of love that I lay siege to them.

I bring you a song that strikes
with an unrelenting love, u
ntil it hears the bells ring,
announcing long-awaited justice for our
peoples

The interpolation of singing lines and texts contrasts with the first parts where Becerra-Schmidt sought more cohesion and homogeneity, which also contrasts with more discordant texts. Yet as the existing recordings of the work demonstrate, the independence of the vocal lines does not obscure the meaning of the text. (Fig. 43)

Figure 43 *Américas – Cantata popular, Op. 151* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1979 (p. 26)

In this example (Fig. 43), for instance, we see that only tiples and bass guitar play while the choir (Fig. 42) sings in imitation. As such, we see that the sparse instrumentation makes the sung text intelligible when the choir must assume a more complex polyphonic line.

³⁷⁶ Neruda in Becerra-Schmidt, *Américas*.

Within this musical framework, Becerra-Schmidt creates striking dramatic effects. For instance, during the third and fifth (and final) iterations of the pentatonic E minor paradigm, he employs increasingly polyphonic choral settings that underscore the text's themes of suffering and appeals for justice, leading to the work's climactic moment: in which comes in the final march section, presented largely in unison — a technique reminiscent of melodies composed for the *Unidad Popular* (UP) party. (Fig. 44)

Figure 44 *Américas – Cantata popular, Op. 151* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1979. Section VII (M. 1-5)

The musical score for Section VII (M. 1-5) of *Américas – Cantata popular, Op. 151* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt is presented below. The score is in common time (C) and features a variety of instruments and a vocal line. The instruments include Quena en Do, Quena en Do 2, Quena Bastón, Tenor, Timple Canario, Bajo eléctrico, Triángulo, Glockenspiel, Toms, and Bombo. The vocal line has lyrics in Spanish. Dynamics like *p* (piano), *mp* (mezzo-piano), and *f* (forte) are indicated throughout the score.

Quena en Do

Quena en Do 2

Quena Bastón

Tenor

Timple Canario

Bajo eléctrico

Triángulo

Glockenspiel

Toms

Bombo

Todos: *mp*

Es-te es mi can - to lo que pí-do, es e - so por que no

At this point in the analysis, I will evoke the articulation of the material, given that Becerra-Schmidt makes interesting demands on the players. As noted in the previous chapter, Middleton made important remarks on how text and music can create articulation by bringing together materials and styles that are otherwise far removed from one another. In this case, the effect is

particularly significant, given that Becerra-Schmidt intricately weaves dense polyphony for the folk ensemble (voices and instruments) alone, without requiring the involvement of any art musicians. As stated in the analysis of figures 43 through 45, this success is made evident by the fact that the vocal lines remain clearly distinguishable despite the musical density Becerra-Schmidt proposes; a fact that is equally confirmed by the recording. Consequently, the articulation once again proves successful, as the composer manages to integrate the folk musicians into a complex musical paradigm.

At this stage of Becerra-Schmidt's musical development, he appears to have been deeply engaged with the plight of his fellow exiles. In his 2003 interview, he identifies the cantata *Américas* as one of the principal works with an exile topic that he composed in defence of Chilean democracy and as a form of solidarity during exile, stating that the works he wrote at the time “[sic] should be judged in terms of their purpose and the political context for which they were composed.”³⁷⁷. *Américas* was written in 1978 as part of the collaborative efforts he undertook with other exiles. While many of the works produced within this context in the late 1970s took the form of multifaceted artistic collaborations with Chilean and South American exiles alike, *Américas* stands out as the most compelling, in the sense that Becerra-Schmidt extended his reach beyond the sphere of high art.

The combination of Andean folk musics, pentatonic lines that perform expressive scales with evocative poetry, imitative canons that are sparsely scored while singing poignant texts, and a buildup towards a very complex, polyphonic and powerful finale made this work a right choice for

³⁷⁷“Ahí se puede tal vez, juzgar mejor, en algunos casos, su función, cuando corresponde el propósito, en los contextos políticos en que se produjeron.”. Becerra-Schmidt, “En torno al exilio”, 61.

Quilapayún's album "La revolución y las estrellas". The work was included in the 1981 album alongside the next work in this collaboration: the fugue *Revolución*.

2) Revolución

In 1981, Becerra-Schmidt composed a particularly challenging work for *Quilapayún*: the fugue *Revolución, Op. 161* for four voices *a cappella*. The piece is constructed entirely around the single word *Revolución*, which serves as the sole text throughout. Its musical material is derived from quotations of several revolutionary songs: two European — *La Marseillaise* and *L'Internationale* — and three Chilean: the *Chilean National Song*, *El pueblo unido jamás será vencido*, and *Venceremos*, the latter two originally composed for the ensemble by Becerra-Schmidt's colleague Sergio Ortega. Becerra-Schmidt briefly mentions the work as part of his exile catalogue in his two interviews of 1985 and 2003, yet he does not mention the intentions he had about mixing Chilean songs with two well-known revolutionary anthems.³⁷⁸ In the following paragraphs, I argue that this relationship was carefully calculated, as becomes evident in the layout of these songs through the musical development of the piece itself.

The piece opens with several shouted repetitions of the word *Revolución*, followed by the entrance of the fugue. Although the setting lacks a fixed tonality, it gravitates around D minor/major and G major iterations of the quoted melodies. Structurally, it functions more as a canon than a fugue, with the overlapping tunes generating dense polyphonic textures reminiscent of the melodic superpositions found in the works of Charles Ives half a century earlier. (Fig. 45 a & b in next page)

³⁷⁸ *La Marseillaise* and *L'Internationale* emerge from markedly different contexts. The former is associated with the struggle for liberty born of the French Revolution, whilst *L'Internationale* is an anthem arising from the Socialist International: a congress devoted to the defence of the rights and dignity of the working classes.

Figure 45 *Revolución*, Op. 161 by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1979

a) Canon on the melody of *La Marseillaise* (MM. 16-19)

b) Canon on the melody of *L'Internationale* (MM. 36-39)

In the fourth page of the score, one can observe how these melodies are woven together. The *Marseillaise* forms the initial canonic structure, followed by the first entrance of *El pueblo unido* in the second staff, and *L'Internationale* in the final one. These melodic strands interlace continuously, producing an unbroken sonic tapestry. (Fig. 46 in next page)

[illegible]

³⁷⁹ The Quilapayún recording ends solely with a D-major chord. Becerra-Schmidt later performed the work with an SATB chorus, the Oldenburg Bundschuhchor, and in that version the score concludes with the cries originally intended to close it.

Figure 47 *Revolución*, Op. 161 by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1979 (MM. 139-146)

The musical score for three tenors (Tenor 1, Tenor 2, Tenor 3) is presented in 4/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are 'Re - vo - lu - ci - ón' and 'Re - vo - lu - ción'. The score shows a continuous canon between the three parts.

Tenor 1: Re - vo - lu - ci - ón Re - vo - lu - ción Re - vo - lu - ción Re - vo - lu - ción

Tenor 2: Re - vo - lu - ción Re - vo - lu - ci - ón Re - vo - lu - ción Re - vo - lu - ción

Tenor 3: Re - vo - lu - ción Re - vo - lu - ción Re - vo - lu - ción Re - vo - lu - ción

As stated before, the choice of these revolutionary songs is highly intentional, despite the composer not specifying a particular reason for it. *La Marseillaise* and *L'Internationale* are universally recognized anthems of revolution in Europe and beyond, whereas the Chilean songs were far less familiar internationally. On one hand, we might guess Becerra-Schmidt's decision may have been completely ideological. As we have seen by the treatment of these songs in the score, the Chilean revolutionary songs are developed in continuous canon with the two international ones. This procedure could be a very subtle metaphor of the Chilean struggle for change being intertwined with a more international one. On the other hand, this inclusion was influenced by *Quilapayún's* contemporaneous artistic and commercial success that demanded the involvement of larger audiences.

Around the release of their 1981 album *La revolución y las estrellas*, the ensemble had experienced both the benefits and the waning of a broader European interest in Chilean music. As Marcy Campos Pérez observes, Chilean musical productions in Europe had seen a numerical boom in the preceding years due to the arrival of Chilean exiles and their vigorous defense of national and political causes — productions that were also financially successful. However, this boom began to

decline between 1977 and 1980.³⁸⁰ It is therefore plausible that Becerra-Schmidt conceived *Revolución* as a symbolic gesture of solidarity, intertwining European and Chilean revolutionary traditions to reaffirm mutual support among politically engaged artists. *Quilapayún* had already demonstrated a similar commitment to transnational collaboration in their 1980 album *Alentours*, which included Hanns Eisler's *Solidaritätslied* (with lyrics by Brecht), an English-language version of Víctor Jara's *Te recuerdo Amanda*, and the French song "Quand les hommes vivront d'amour."³⁸¹ Within this context, Becerra-Schmidt's seemingly simple yet highly intricate choral score can be understood as an extension of the ensemble's repertoire and ethos. Its endurance is noteworthy: the piece was later reissued in the 2005 anthology album *La vida contra la muerte*.³⁸²

3) Cantata Allende – a missed opportunity

In 1980, Becerra-Schmidt began composing what would become the largest work he ever wrote for the ensemble: the cantata popular *Allende*, *Op. 160*. The text, provided by Eduardo Carrasco (b. 1940), then leader of *Quilapayún*, was set to music by Becerra-Schmidt. The work employs the same ensemble configuration used in the short cantata *Américas* and is divided into thirteen distinct sections. However, despite its relative accessibility, the piece has remained unpublished, and it was only premiered recently, in 2018.³⁸³

It is noteworthy that, compared with the more recitative- and spoken-word-dependent *Santa María de Iquique*, which was discussed in Chapter III, the cantata popular *Allende* relies far less on

³⁸⁰ Campos Pérez, 13-14.

³⁸¹ *Quilapayún*, Official website.

³⁸² *Id.*

³⁸³ The Allende cantata was premiered only in mid-October 2018 during the Valparaíso Contemporary Music Festival. Gallegos M., Álvaro "Estrenan cantata Allende en Festival de Música Contemporánea de Valparaíso", *La Tercera*, October 8, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/culto/2018/10/08/estrenan-cantata-allende-festival-musica-contemporanea-valparaiso/>. Accessed on 21st Sept. 2026.

narration and instead privileges musical expression. As in *Américas*, this cantata integrates both folk and tonal paradigms. In this respect, the Cantata was written in a far more academic language, including more instances of polyphony, but also some “special effects” like Sprechstimme passages, and even *a capella* sections. As such, it will be harder to apply any ideas of articulation except if we think this is effectively an academic cantata written for a folk music ensemble.³⁸⁴ The first two movements are grounded in G major and A minor, respectively; the third employs E minor and the fourth is set in D minor. These choices demonstrate that Becerra-Schmidt drew upon elements more closely aligned with Eurocentric musical traditions rather than exclusively tetratonic or pentatonic frameworks. (Fig 48 a) in this page & b) in next page)

Figure 48 Samples from Movements 1 and 3 from *Allende – Cantata Popular, Op. 160* key signatures

a) Movement 1 in G major



³⁸⁴ As the press article by Gallegos states, this cantata sought to become a really challenging piece for Quilapayún. Gallegos M., Álvaro “Estrenan cantata Allende”.

b) Movement 3 in E minor



Structurally, the cantata unfolds as a dialogue between a soloist — who alternates between brief spoken recitatives and sung arias — and the choir, which embodies the voice of Love but also functions as a collective commentator on the action. Typically, a short recitative is followed by an aria by the same soloist, often accompanied by a vocalized choral texture, as in the second movement. (Fig. 49 in next page)

Figure 49 *Allende – Cantata Popular, Op. 160* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1978. Movement 2 “Batalla”. Opening dialogue

2 1. Batalla 16

Recitado

15" 20"

Batalla

eran los estampidos desde

calle sola brama de bestias locas, odiosa guitarra,

pavoroso alarido de buenas repulcrales, hui-

cas desahucados donde la sangre manaba

ruído de muerte y otros carnicería

The text is allegorical of the chaos occurring in that day, September 11th, 1973, when the coup happened

Brama de bestias locas, odiosa gritería,
Pavoroso alarido de hienas sepulcrales [...] ³⁸⁵
ruido de muerte y atroz carnicería.

Humming of mad beasts,
hateful yelling, horrid shriek of gravely
hyenas [...]
sounds of death and atrocious carnage.

In this part, the soloist sings the main melody, while the chorus, in four parts, just intonates an “echoed vocalise” in mezzo-piano for the entire movement. This effect turns the music solemn in what it a cantata movement related to the beginning of the coup. This is amplified by the guitars that strum notes instead of playing a melody, creating an enveloping effect as if it were rapid fire from machine guns (Figure 50 in the next page)

³⁸⁵ Becerra-Schmidt, *Allende, Cantata popular*, In *Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt Werke openscore*, Institut

für Musik der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, 9.

Figure 50 *Allende – Cantata Popular, Op. 160* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1978. Movement 2 “Batalla”. (MM. 48-52)

Charango *mp*

Guitarra acústica 1 *mp*

Guitarra acústica 2 *mp*

Guitarra acústica 3 *mp*

Guitarra acústica 4 *mp*

Solo *f*
Los e - cos muer - tos Las som - bras en el

Tenor 2 *mp*
O...

Tenor 3 *mp*
O...

Tenor 4 *mp*
O...

Tenor 5 *mp*
O...

Reflejos inmóviles,
despojos iracundos,
banderas derribadas,
desencajados héroes
en el momento eterno
todos desparramados
en el cuarto desierto.³⁸⁶

Immovable reflections,
mad spoils,
discarded flags,
dislocated heroes
in the eternal moment —
scattered on the floor,
in the empty room.

³⁸⁶ Becerra-Schmidt, *Allende*, 32-38.

In the third movement, the “voice of Love” — understood as Allende’s wife, Hortensia — is portrayed as waiting for him, fully aware that he is unlikely to return. The choir performs this section alternately as soloists or in pairs, with occasional passages of homophonic writing, such as in the sixth movement, also written in E minor, which mourns Allende’s death. (Fig. 51 in this page, Fig 52 in next page)

Figure 51 *Allende – Cantata Popular, Op. 160* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1978. Movement 3. (Antiphonal choir part, MM. 19-27)

Tenor 1 (Solo) *sin sa ber de su vi - da. ni sus ma res,*

Tenor 2 *No co - no - ce su nom-bre,*

Tenor 4 *No co - no - ce su nom-bre,*

Ella lo espera, y lo ama
Sin saber de su vida
No conoce su nombre
Ni sus mares,
No sabe de sus rasgos enlutados,
Ni de sus olas rotas
Pero lo espera y lo ama.³⁸⁷

She waits for him and loves him,
without knowing his life.
She does not know his name,
nor his oceans.
She does not know his grieving smirks
or his broken waves.
But she waits for him and loves him

³⁸⁷ Becerra-Schmidt, *Allende*, 57-68.

Figure 52 *Allende – Cantata Popular, Op. 160* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1978.
Movement 5. (Choir parts, MM. 27-31)

Tenor 1
se a - pro - xi - ma a sus ma - nos

Tenor 2
se a - pro - xi - ma a sus ma - nos

Tenor 3
se a - pro - xi - ma a sus ma - nos

Tenor 4
se a - pro - xi - ma a sus ma - nos

Se aproxima a sus manos,
como si fueran labios que se besan.³⁸⁸

She comes close to his hands,
like lips about to kiss

In the next movement, the choral sections are largely *a cappella*, accompanied only by untuned percussion instruments, and they alternate between homophony and canon polyphony. In this regard, the choice appears to be intentional, as Becerra-Schmidt was seeking to write more demanding repertoire for the choir, something Carrasco noted in an interview discussing this work. The *a cappella* setting is therefore particularly effective, as it allows the ensemble to perform a harmonically constrained yet technically challenging passage (see the Eb inflection leading to C

³⁸⁸ Becerra-Schmidt, *Allende*, 98-102.

minor in m. 7 of Fig. 53), while simultaneously articulating the work's affective message of mourning with clarity.

Figure 53 *Allende – Cantata Popular, Op. 160* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1978. Movement 7. (MM. 5-9)

The musical score for Figure 53 is for Movement 7 of *Allende – Cantata Popular, Op. 160* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt. It is in 4/4 time and features four vocal parts (Tenor 1, Tenor 2, Tenor 3, Tenor 4) and two percussion parts (Percusión and Timple Canario). The lyrics are in Spanish and describe a final collapse and the silence of time. The percussion parts include Matraca, Panderero, and Congas. The vocal parts have triplets and other rhythmic markings.

Percusión

Timple Canario

Tenor 1

Tenor 2

Tenor 3

Tenor 4

Lyrics: Nadie sabrá de la gesta del último derrumbe, nadie podrá aclarar los enigmas de esa hora.

Nadie sabrá de la gesta del último derrumbe,
 Nadie podrá aclarar los enigmas de esa hora,
 Nadie escuchó el gemido de la campana rota,
 Ni el silencio del tiempo...³⁸⁹

No one will ever know of the struggle of that final collapse,
 nor unravel the enigmas of that moment,
 nor hear the moans of that broken bell,
 nor the silence of time.

³⁸⁹ Becerra-Schmidt. *Allende*, 108-110.

One of the most striking passages in this popular cantata occurs in the ninth section, where Becerra-Schmidt introduces brief *Sprechstimme* techniques (as an echoed voice). The text here refers to Allende's final moments and impending suicide, as the choir echoes the soloist's final words, "cansado de ser hombre."³⁹⁰ This text is followed immediately afterward by a choral section in A minor, repeating the same sentence. (Fig. 54 a) in this page, b) in next page)

Figure 54 *Allende – Cantata Popular, Op. 160* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1978. Movement 10.

a) Opening dialogue.

³⁹⁰ "Tired of his human existence". Becerra-Schmidt, *Allende*, 129.

b) Musical example (M. 5-8)

Cuatro

Bombo

Tenor

Piano

can - sa do, es - tu - vo, el hom - bre que em - bi - bió e - sa ma - ña - na

Overall, the cantata adheres to traditional and accessible musical techniques. As such, it is difficult — at least on the surface — to understand why it took so long for the work to be premiered. Eduardo Carrasco, the leader of *Quilapayún*, acknowledges that, although the cantata represented an advancement in the group’s musical language, the project lacked the necessary funding to be completed:

“We managed to assemble it in its entirety, but we found no financial support either to perform it publicly or to record it. [For that reason,] it is remarkable that it has not been lost and that people can finally hear it, since it is a powerful work that reflects Quilapayún’s evolution as the only group of the Nueva Canción movement to have experimented with more elaborate forms”.³⁹¹

The ensemble has yet to release a recording of this significant milestone. Nevertheless, the fact that the work has finally been premiered stands as a testament to the meaningful collaborations between Becerra-Schmidt and Quilapayún. This was the largest and most ambitious work Becerra-

³⁹¹ Llegamos a armarla entera, pero no encontramos financiamiento ni para presentarla en público, ni grabarla en disco. [Por ello], es fantástico que no se pierda, y la gente pueda finalmente conocerla, ya que es contundente, y refleja la evolución de Quilapayún como el único grupo de la Nueva Canción que ha experimentado en formas más elaboradas. Eduardo Carrasco in Gallegos M., “Estrenan cantata Allende”.

Schmidt ever projected for a folk ensemble. My observation is based solely on the work's length, which surpasses that of the foundations laid by his student Luis Advis in *Santa María de Iquique* and *Canto para una semilla*.

Placing Becerra-Schmidt within this context, such a commission was both foreseeable and fitting, for two reasons. First, he was older and — by consequence — a more seasoned composer than Advis in large-scale vocal forms, as established in the introductory pages of this chapter. It should therefore come as no surprise that he eventually received an important commission from Quilapayún, even if the musical language of this work does not diverge significantly from that established by Advis in his own compositions. Second, as demonstrated through the analyses of *Américas* and *Revolución*, Becerra-Schmidt was deeply committed to the cause of Chilean exiles in their struggle for democracy. Providing the music for a cantata dedicated to Salvador Allende — the foremost martyr of socialist-democratic ideals in Latin America — must be understood as a particularly poignant expression of this commitment, especially given that Becerra-Schmidt dedicated his service as a cultural attaché in West Germany throughout the three years of Allende's presidency. As such, the cantata occupies an important place among the works pertaining to his exile.³⁹²

It must be noted, however, that following this cantata, Becerra-Schmidt returned fully to concert composition, without ever abandoning his political convictions or his commitment to democracy and peace — a dimension of his work that would find expression in the next two pieces under consideration: the *Ossietsky-Oratorium*, *Op. 173* and the *Percussion Concerto*, *Op. 176*.

³⁹² Becerra-Schmidt, "En torno al exilio", 62.

C. Ossietzky-Oratorium and the Percussion Concerto as synthetic ideas of exile
 Becerra-Schmidt composed a large-scale choral work based on the life of the Nobel Peace Prize laureate and martyr of Nazi Germany, Carl von Ossietzky – *Ossietzky-Oratorium*, *Op. 173* for choir and orchestra – with the idea of naming Oldenburg University after him, the place where he began working as a composition teacher in the mid-1970s.³⁹³ As he stated in his 2003 interview, he received an employment offer as a composition teacher at the recently founded University of Oldenburg in 1974 — a position he accepted because the university was seeking innovative and forward-looking thinkers as it was in the process of defining its scholarly objectives, which, according to the composer, “[sic] were closely related to those experienced in Chile” during the 1971 university reform under Allende; that is to say, focused on giving greater space to student voices and ideas.³⁹⁴

The work was commissioned in 1983 by Jürgen Lütje, dean-chancellor of the University of Oldenburg, to celebrate the tenth anniversary of its founding. It was completed in late 1984, and it stands as one of the most significant achievements of Becerra-Schmidt’s exile period. As the composer himself explains, the work was a colossal composition that had actually taken him more than ten years to make, given that, years prior, he had compiled a series of texts from a considerable number of sources — including writings by Ossietzky himself — for an unnamed project he had originally conceived around this early twentieth-century German figure.³⁹⁵ Evidently, that unnamed project eventually came to fruition through the university commission. The work’s

³⁹³ Becerra-Schmidt, “En torno al exilio”, 61.

³⁹⁴ “Tenía frescas las ideas y la experiencia de la reforma universitaria de la Universidad de Chile”. *Id.*, 60.

³⁹⁵ These texts were compiled by Becerra-Schmidt in collaboration with historians Elke Suhr and Hans Pietruschka. In addition to the writings of Carl von Ossietzky, the compilation includes texts by Ossietzky’s wife Maud and his daughter Rosalinde, as well as authors Bertolt Brecht, Hermann Vinke, Bruno Frei, and Klaus Mann, among others — including anonymized opinion pieces from the journals *Die Weltbühne* and *Monistenblatt* (historical, directed by Ossietzky), and *Nordwest Zeitung Oldenburg* (contemporary to the composer). Becerra-Schmidt, “El Ossietzky-Oratorium”, *Revista Musical Chilena*, 39, 164 (1985), 13.

premiere happened amid a great commotion, as explained by the composer himself, since dormant fascist apologists rose their voice to oppose the premiere:

“This oratorio takes place within a [context of] political struggle to name the University of Oldenburg after Nobel Peace Prize winner Carl von Ossietzky, who was a martyr of fascism. This struggle was tough, as opponents of this idea resorted to public force to prevent it. Over a hundred policemen were deployed to prevent the placement of banners advertising the idea of naming the University after this hero of the opposition to fascism in Germany, and [when students hung those banners] on one of the University towers, they were subsequently removed by the use of police force.”³⁹⁶

Despite the protests, the creation of the work went on, and it was premiered under the baton of Herbert Wiedemann on February 15th, 1985, in Oldenburg, West Germany. Vocal soloists included Hans Pietruschka (a musician and historian who also helped compile the texts), Wolfgang Nietsch, Deirdre Boysen, Ilse Zahn-Wienands, Bernhard Lyon, among others, the Choir of University of Oldenburg and the Oldenburg Bühnenschuh Chorus and three college music ensembles: the University orchestra, Big Band and Percussion ensemble. In addition, Michel Barfub and Fred Ritzel played the two pianos required in the work, and Niels Knolle was in charge of the electronic music employed.

For this oratorio, Becerra-Schmidt pursued –even more consciously – the eclectic and postmodern style of his works in the mid 1960s. This is a work that considers, as indicated by the composer in his writings about the piece, several musical genres that proliferated in the 20th Century, such as jazz, blues, protest song, modernism, minimalism, and avant-garde, even including electronics and *musique concrète* techniques.³⁹⁷ The work’s postmodern nature is confirmed by the cohesion of all the musical styles as an integral part of the work and its narrative. In brief, the oratorio’s plot

³⁹⁶ Este Oratorio se produce en un marco de lucha por darle a la Universidad de Oldenburgo el nombre de ese mártir del fascismo, Premio Nobel de la Paz, que fuera Carl von Ossietzky. Esta lucha fue dura, pues los opositores a esta idea recurrieron a la fuerza pública para impedirlo. Más de cien policías fueron empleados para impedir la colocación de pancartas, en las que se publicitaba la idea de la denominación de la Universidad con el nombre de este héroe de la oposición al fascismo en Alemania, en una de las torres de la Universidad y para quitarlas posteriormente con el uso de la violencia policial. Becerra-Schmidt, “En torno al exilio”, 61.

³⁹⁷ Becerra-Schmidt, “El Ossietzky-Oratorium”, 11.

is as follows: A young student questions the tearing down of banners announcing the university's name change and demands to know who Ossietzky was. A more knowledgeable student then recounts Ossietzky's life, death and legacy across twenty-five musical episodes, which conclude with a reprise of the *Ossietzky-Lied* and a choral postlude.

I find remarkable the use of some elements presented in NCC Cantata popular as elements proper to a piece that denounces the horrors of the nazi totalitarian regime: these elements are modal harmony, unison choruses and especially, the use of spoken voice as conducting guide of the oratorio. Equally important to notice is the use at moments of jazz and blues languages at some point in the piece.

Let us examine first the role of NCC Models in the Ossietzky-Oratorium. I argue this relationship is possible given the presence of the the Ossietzky-lied at a very important moment³⁹⁸. While the Lied for chorus was intended to be a celebration for the naming of Oldenburg University, the composer decided to make it the groundwork for his larger piece. Composed separately in 1975, it was then included later in the cantata.³⁹⁹ This lied shows indeed a musical similarity to NCC anthems. If compared for instance, to Sergio Ortega's "El pueblo unido", we can see some musical connections. (Fig. 55 in next page)

³⁹⁸ The *Ossietzky-Lied* is based on a poem by Bertolt Brecht titled "*Auf den Tod eines Kämpfers für den Frieden*" ([In memory] of a fighter for peace). Its instrumentation corresponds to that of a rock band or small musical ensemble: three guitars and jazz/rock percussion. Becerra-Schmidt, *Ossietzky-Lied, para coro a tres voces y banda de rock*, In *Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt Werke openscore*, Institut für Musik der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, accessed November 15, 2024.

³⁹⁹ In incorporating the *Ossietzky-Lied* into his oratorio, Becerra-Schmidt follows the same procedure he employed for *Los Sátrapas* in his earlier political cantata *Chile 1973*.

Figure 55 *Ossietzky-Oratorium, Op. 173* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1982. 2. Ossietzky-Lied (originally, *Op. 141*) (Choir parts, M. 42-46)⁴⁰⁰

Mezzo-soprano *(mf)* hat sich nicht er - ge - ben *f* Der Münd des Wür - mers ist mit Er de zu ges

Alto 1 *(mf)* ist erschlag-en wur - de Der erschlag-en wur - de hat sich nicht er - ge - ben Der Münd des

Alto 2 *mf* Densich nicht er - ge-ben hat ist erschlag-en wur - de Der erschlag-en wur - de hatsich nicht er - ge - ben Der

Baritone 1 *mf* Densich nicht er - ge-ben hat ist erschlag-en wur - de Der erschlag-en

Baritone 2 *mf* Densich nicht er

Den sich nicht ergeben hat
ist erschlagen worden.
Der Erschlagene würde,
hat sich nicht ergeben.
Der Mund des Würmers
ist mit Erde gestopft.
Das blutige Abenteuer
beginnt!⁴⁰¹

He who did not surrender
has been struck down.
The one who would be struck down
did not surrender.
The mouth of the worm
is muffled with earth.
The bloody deed
Begins!

In both melodies, we can see a very similar rhythm and melodic pattern. While Ortega's "El pueblo unido" march is in a G minor tonality, Becerra-Schmidt's Ossietzky-lied march begins in C major, goes to D flat and ends in D using common tone modulations. Both pieces of music include unison sections as we can see, yet Becerra-Schmidt, in his own, decides to develop his music into a choral canon. The use of the march as a common musical topic here is interesting since, while not military

⁴⁰⁰ This is the only score from this piece that has measure marking numbers given it was written separately.

⁴⁰¹ Berthold Brecht in Becerra-Schmidt, *Ossietzky-Lied für Chor und Rock-Band*, In *Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt Werke openscore*, Institut für Musik der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, accessed November 8, 2025, 45-47.

marches,⁴⁰² they are written on a rather solemn, processional march mode. In this matter, the marches presented here have many of these characteristics such as the leading tone reaching the tonic in Ossietzky, which is indeed rousing; the unison singing in both is bold, rousing and splendid, Becerra-Schmidt's development from a march into a canon could fall into sublime. Nonetheless, their focus on being issued from a popular movement makes them stand as proud marching anthems, thus fulfilling the characteristics of the march topic.⁴⁰³

With the canon for choir, Becerra-Schmidt tried to create – originally – a more complex marching song that developed into a “classical” form with counterpoint. This complexity was meant to work on its own, given its existence as a stand-alone work, however, it's inclusion as the bedrock of the oratorio makes sense, since it is a form that demands a larger complexity.⁴⁰⁴ The Ossietzky-lied is as such, presented in its original way, then interwoven with soloist contemplations as a second to last movement. The prelude music, which is a summatory of all the musical styles found in the oratorio, becomes a choral postlude that equally includes soloist parts. It is – in a way or another

⁴⁰² While Ortega's march is indeed a processional march of the people, Becerra-Schmidt's example could even be considered a “pacifist” or “anti-militaristic” march, given the subject of his composition. Becerra-Schmidt, *Ossietzky-Lied*.

⁴⁰³ As a whole, Musicologist Andrew Haringer points that considerations to marches were considered in the eighteenth century – when topics theory first emerged – as “brave, bold and rousing” within and without a military context, or even “sublime and splendid” when used outside military contexts. However, he also points out that some authors back then, such as Johann Mattheson stated that marches must “conserve their pride [and warlike] nature. Other eighteenth-century authors cited by Haringer are Heinrich Koch and Daniel Gottlob Türk; he also refers to the more contemporary study *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* by Raymond Monelle (2006). Andrew Haringer, “Hunt, Military, and Pastoral Topics” in Mirka, Danuta, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, 201.

⁴⁰⁴ According to the definition found in the Grove Music Dictionary, an oratorio is a form of music that is “made up of dramatic, narrative, and contemplative elements. Except for a greater emphasis on the chorus throughout much of its history, the musical forms and styles of the oratorio tend to approximate to those of opera in any given period, and the normal manner of performance is that of a concert”. Smither, Howard E. “Oratorio.” *Grove Music Online*. 2001.

– composed in a cyclic form alike *Carmina Burana*, another work that ends and begins with a similar music.⁴⁰⁵

Second, I would like to explain the presence of spoken word/sprechstimme in the oratorio. At times, the soloists read passages, at times they perform *sprechstimme*. This is remarkable for two reasons. (Fig. 56)

Figure 56 *Ossietsky-Oratorium, Op. 173* by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1982. 5. Istesso tempo (Marker 14, p. 84)

The musical score is for Figure 56, titled "5. Istesso tempo" (Marker 14, p. 84). It consists of three staves:

- Synthesizers:** The top staff is in 4/4 time. It features a "Sequencer (with the latest sequence)" in the first measure, followed by a glissando in the second measure. The third and fourth measures contain rests.
- Piano (Korg):** The middle staff is in 4/4 time. It features a sustained chord in the first measure, followed by a glissando in the second measure. The third and fourth measures contain rests.
- Solo Bar:** The bottom staff is in 4/4 time. It features a sequence of notes in the first measure, followed by a sequence of notes in the second measure. The third and fourth measures contain rests.

The lyrics for the Solo Bar are: "in der Ham-bur-ger Jus - tiz - ver-wal-tung, die ihm in den jäh-r-li-chen".

⁴⁰⁵ The comparison here is deliberate. *Carmina Burana* is an oratorio composed in 1936 by Carl Orff (1895–1982) during his ethically dubious relationship with the Nazi regime. While the music did not explicitly extol Nazi militarism or racial ideology, it idealized a mythic German past and was thus widely publicized and performed. Orff capitalized on its success and avoided blacklisting during denazification by deliberately fabricating a narrative of having supported the White Rose resistance. Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 139.

Spoken word was an important part of NCC development. When analysing the cantata popular genre for last chapter, I will show how Luis Advis, Becerra- Schmidt's pupil, included spoken word in between the sung and instrumental movements of the cantata *Santa María de Iquique*, in great part to make the work – and genre – more accessible towards publics which had little or prior experience in classical music. When Becerra Schmidt used spoken word, and gradually transformed into Sprechstimme parts and arias, he was likely aiming for the hybridization of two universes: the folk approach to arts existing in NCC musics, and the more artistic, avant-garde oriented demands of art music in Western Europe.

My argument regarding this hybridization is the following. If we were to recall the definition of genre by Franco Fabbri, as it was introduced on chapter III, we would see that he emphasized rules or conventions (over musical composition, performance, etc.) that were defined over a set of musical events by a definite community (composers, audience, etc.).⁴⁰⁶ In this sense, we can see that Becerra-Schmidt effectively adapted spoken word, an important part of the NCC genre that was employed in the cantata popular subgenre, into the rules of avant-garde music when transforming it into sprechstimme. While the usage of this technique was not new to the composer's life and work, since he had employed it for the cantata popular *Allende*, the fact is that he used it now for a concert work with equally strong political connotations. As such, genre hybridization is an element the composer might have devised to make it equally appealing towards audiences expecting avant-garde techniques. This is also a noticeable fact to understand the work's rhetoric. According to the composer, he had in mind the students from the faculty of music at University of Oldenburg while writing the oratorio. Including these languages to allow students to

⁴⁰⁶ Fabbri, *Genre theories*, 10.

hone their skills into popular/folk music, common practice and avant-garde techniques was a desired outcome for him, if weighed in from a pedagogic scope.⁴⁰⁷

A final thing to consider is the inclusion of musics associated with jazz in the seventh movement of the oratorio. The seventh movement is marked as “slow fox” (slow fox-trot) and is “una aria amorosa sobre un poema de Ossietzky” (a love aria upon a poem by Ossietzky). The rhythm is suddenly changed into a tango just to come back into a slow fox. In the oratorio’s plot, this consists of a love song sung by Carl von Ossietzky to his future wife Maud (as in the next movement, it is her turn to answer). (Fig. 57)

Figure 57 *Ossietzky-Oratorium*, Op. 173 by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1982. 7. Aria (Markers 1-2, p. 93-94)

Aria: Slow fox ♩ = 90

Trompeta en Sib

Trombón

Bajo eléctrico

Saxofón Alto

Saxofón Baritono

Baritono

Die Lie-be ist ein Meer voll Tü-cke, O trau im nicht vom es sanft tut; Kennst du auch ein-mal

⁴⁰⁷ Becerra-Schmidt, “El Ossietzky-Oratorium”, 11.

My inquiry here is pointed towards the inclusion of musics associated to jazz in an oratorio where also NCC styles are present. Their presence and usage are far from being something unintentional since these musical genres were banned at some point by authoritarian regimes, hence here the hybridization of genres acquires a supplementary political dimension. Jazz, tango and many other popular musics were banned as “degenerate music” during the time of the Nazis⁴⁰⁸, as NCC was banned during Pinochet for being subversive and contrary to the Eurocentric vision his dictatorship imposed to the arts.⁴⁰⁹ The fact these two musical languages are present in a piece that denounces authoritarianism is something that cannot be overlooked. In one way, it places the composer Becerra-Schmidt in the same spiritual position as Carl von Ossietzky, a victim of authoritarian/totalitarian regimes. In another way, it legitimizes NCC as a musical style that was unfairly persecuted by an authoritarian regime, and as such it reinforces its place on the global struggle against oppression.

As a final thought, the works summarization of styles and techniques represents, to my perception, the composer’s will to encapsulate the entire musical and political experience of the twentieth century. This is achieved through the employment of politically relevant genres such as jazz and protest songs, but also by the inclusion of more abstract avant-garde techniques such as *sprechstimme*/spoken word. To some degree, Middleton’s articulation theory would seem a valid framework to discuss about this juncture of genres, given that Becerra-Schmidt properly incorporates the rhythms, styles, and instrumentation of genres outside academic music—essentially protest song and jazz. As previously noted, Becerra-Schmidt included a student rock band from his university classes at Oldenburg as a means of supporting the Bundesschuh choir.

⁴⁰⁸ Samana, 16.

⁴⁰⁹ Preda, *Art and Politics*, 105.

Later on, the wind instruments and bass in the orchestra play jazz lines. However, this is not a piece in which jazz or protest song appear as recurring stylistic elements visibly seamed into the fabric of the work; rather, it collects them as postmodern vignettes that tie the whole piece together. As such, the postmodern analysis presented here seems better suited to the *Ossietsky-Oratorium*, which should be considered Becerra-Schmidt's most representative political concert piece.

The final work I would like to consider is the *Concerto for Percussion (Konzert für Schlagzeug)*, *Op. 176*. In his obituary for Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, his longtime colleague Juan Orrego-Salas referred to it as “[un concierto] que enclava un mensaje de paz.”⁴¹⁰ This observation is significant, since a “pacifist” work situates Becerra-Schmidt as a composer politically aligned with causes that transcended the North–South dynamics of the Cold War — placing him, instead, within a broader movement against war and (political) violence.

Pacifism, as a political movement, long predates the Cold War. Although writers such as Voltaire, Victor Hugo, and Henry David Thoreau had expressed pacifist ideas since the Enlightenment, the movement only became politically consolidated after the carnage of World War I. The immense death toll and the physical and psychological suffering of survivors gave rise to organized resistance against military violence — a sentiment further reinforced after the devastation of World War II. During the Cold War, pacifist voices gained strength in opposition to conflicts such as the Vietnam War and in support of the anti-nuclear movement.⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ “A concerto that vehicles a message of peace”. Juan Orrego-Salas, “Becerra y los del 25”. *Revista Musical Chilena*, 64, no. 213, (2010), 158.

⁴¹¹ For more information on this subject — particularly from a North American perspective addressing the dilemmas of pacifism within the military-industrial complex and its historical antecedents — see Ryan, Cheyney. “Pacifism(s).” *The Philosophical Forum* 46, no. 1 (2015): 17–39.

Pacifism also became a significant theme in music. The atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Vietnam War were frequent subjects in NCC songs⁴¹², as well as in other protest movements across the Americas. In the realm of art music, Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem*, Op. 66, stands as one of the most emblematic pacifist works of the twentieth century, explicitly denouncing the mass death of the World Wars.⁴¹³ Leonard Bernstein, for his part, offered a more implicit critique of the Vietnam War through *MASS*, a large-scale oratorio reflecting the political and social repression of the United States.⁴¹⁴

In this context, attributing a pacifist subtext to a purely orchestral work, especially a concerto, is a notable gesture on Becerra-Schmidt's part. First, because it is an instrumental composition, any extramusical message would require a programmatic framework to be communicated to the listener.⁴¹⁵ Second, the concerto as a genre has, since the nineteenth century, served primarily as a vehicle for virtuosity and individual expression.⁴¹⁶ Assigning a political subtext to such a form was, at the time, highly unusual.⁴¹⁷ Becerra-Schmidt's *Percussion Concerto* employs an equally a postmodern idiom, as it integrates diverse musical languages across its movements. The first movement draws upon North American popular genres such as blues, jazz, and rock and roll; the second adopts an avant-garde, freely dissonant idiom; and the third leans toward minimalism.

⁴¹² Olsen, 112.

⁴¹³ See Mervyn Cooke, *Britten: War Requiem*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996

⁴¹⁴ These two works will be further discussed in Chapter V.

⁴¹⁵ Roger Scruton, "Programme music." *Grove Music Online*. 2001.

⁴¹⁶ Leon Botstein. "Concerto.", *Grove Music Online*. 2001.

⁴¹⁷ F. Rzewski's *The People United*, based on "*El pueblo unido*", is a virtuosic set of grand variations carrying an explicit political subtext. As Sid Samberg notes, while the work was not a call to arms for restoring Chile's democratic order, it was intended to raise awareness of the plight of Chilean exiles. The work will be studied in further detail in Chapter V. Sid Samberg, "Rzewski as Shaman: The Search for the Source of the Power behind *The People United* will Never be Defeated!", *Contemporary Music Review* 29 (2010), 661. This piece will also be studied in detail in Chapter V.

Regarding the alleged pacifist commitment of the piece, no program or explanatory note has been located in the Oldenburg online archives. However, at the end of the second movement — amid a massive tone cluster in the woodwinds — Becerra-Schmidt includes a quotation from the *Book of Revelation* (20:7–10) in German: “When the thousand years are up, Satan will be let loose from his cell and will launch again his old work of deceiving the nations, searching out victims in every nook and cranny of Earth, even Gog and Magog!”⁴¹⁸

This quotation is far from incidental, as the full passage foretells the final battle between Satan and God preceding the Last Judgment:

“[...] to gather them for battle; their number is like the sand of the sea. And they marched up over the broad plain of the earth and surrounded the camp of the saints and the beloved city, but fire came down from heaven and consumed them, and the devil who had deceived them was thrown into the lake of fire and sulfur where the beast and the false prophet were, and they will be tormented day and night forever and ever”.⁴¹⁹

Then the composer explains in a post-it note attached to the score: “Gog and Magog: barbarian folk who in the End Times were to be subordinate [to Satan] and fight [for him].”⁴²⁰ The text is marked as “only for the conductor and the soloist, it must be observed as a prosodic thread”, meaning this should be the ideas they must have in mind while playing this section of the work.⁴²¹ The music is dissonant — constructed mainly of tone clusters — and written in free meter, with the score instructing performers to follow the conductor as closely as possible. (Fig. 58 in next page)

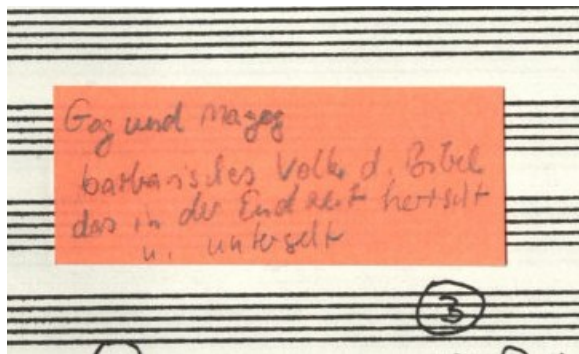
⁴¹⁸ Und wann tausend Jahre vollendet sind, wird der Satanas loswerden aus seinem Gefängnis. Und wird ausgehen, zu verführen den Heiden an den vier Enden von Erde, dann Gog und Magog. Rev. 20:7-8 (English equivalent to King James Version, 7-8) quoted in Becerra-Schmidt, Gustavo. *Konzert für Schlagzeug*, In *Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt Werke openscore*, Institut für Musik der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, accessed November 19, 2024, 84-89.

⁴¹⁹ Rev 20:8-10 (King James Version).

⁴²⁰ “Gog und Magog. Barbarische volk der Bibel das in der Endzeit hertselt und unterselt”. Becerra-Schmidt, *Konzert fuer Schlagzeug*, 89.

⁴²¹ “Text nur für Dirigent und Solo, als prosodischen Faden zu beachten.” *Id.*, 87.

Figure 58 *Konzert für Schlagzeug und Orchester (Percussion Concerto)*, Op. 176 by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, score, 1982. Note on Gog and Magog (p. 89)



To interpret Orrego-Salas's description of the concerto as pacifist, we must first consider his own mystical conception of pacifism, rooted in Catholic thought. This perspective found expression in his *Missa in tempore discordiae* ("Mass for Times of Trouble"), a work that will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter V. Orrego-Salas conceived of mystical union with God as the ultimate form of peace, positioning his *Missa* as a conscious response to Britten's *War Requiem*.⁴²² The text for conductor and soloist quoted in the paragraph above is key to understand this matter. Becerra-Schmidt might have employed apocalyptic imagery as a metaphor against real life evil-doers: his allegory of Gog and Magog could be intended as a political statement, either referencing Chile — with Pinochet as Satan — or reflecting Cold War anxieties about nuclear apocalypse.

The first interpretation is compelling, as it aligns with certain *Nueva Canción Chilena* ideals that drew on "popular" Catholicism both as a mode of expression and as a source of solace amid systemic inequality.⁴²³ If Becerra-Schmidt intended to liken Pinochet to Satan and his followers to the apocalyptic hordes described in Revelation, he may have been enacting a form of poetic justice — casting the dictatorship, which clung to traditional Catholic values, as fallen angels and false

⁴²² Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 107.

⁴²³ See the Democratic Christian youths that supported Unidad Popular, Rector, 172; or the Victor Jara's hit song "Plegaria de un Labrador", which contains Catholic prayer lyrics.

prophets, embodiments of evil itself. This interpretation would resonate with analyses of censorship and moral dogmatism under the Pinochet regime, as discussed in Chapter II through the works of Preda and Donoso.

The second interpretation also holds merit but within a global frame. Becerra-Schmidt lived in West Germany during the escalating East–West tensions of the 1980s, witnessing firsthand the political confrontations between Western and Soviet leaders. The rapid succession of aging Soviet leadership,⁴²⁴ coupled with the heightened rhetoric of the Reagan administration, led to unprecedented fears of nuclear war.⁴²⁵ Moreover, Becerra-Schmidt’s own exile — prompted by Pinochet’s U.S.-backed coup, itself a Cold War proxy — likely reinforced his sensitivity to global militarism and ideological violence.⁴²⁶ These anxieties may well have informed the apocalyptic allegory of his *Percussion Concerto*.

The creation of these major works ultimately allowed Becerra-Schmidt to return temporarily to Chile in the mid-1980s, during which he gave one of the interviews used in this research.⁴²⁷ His commitment to democratic ideals solidified his reputation as one of the most significant Chilean composers in exile, particularly for the ways his music resonated with new audiences abroad. This experience will be now put in contrast with that of his colleague Celso Garrido-Lecca, who experienced a very different type of exile.

⁴²⁴ At this time, the USSR was undergoing a serious leadership crisis. Three leaders — Leonid Brezhnev (1964–1982), Yuriy Andropov (1982–1984), and Konstantin Chernenko (1984–1985) — succeeded one another within three years, as they belonged to an aging generation nearing its end. See Boris Meissner, “Implications of Leadership and Social Change for Soviet Policies” in Niizeki, Kin’ya (ed.) *The Soviet Union in Transition*. London: Routledge, 2019, 48-71.

⁴²⁵ During these years, Reagan’s defense program sought the installation of Pershing nuclear missiles in Europe, alongside the “Star Wars” space-based defense initiative. Additionally, the 1983 Able Archer exercise led to a near zero-hour nuclear crisis. See Downing, Taylor. *1983: Reagan, Andropov, and a World on the Brink*. First U.S. edition. New York: Da Capo Press, 2018.

⁴²⁶ See Chapter II.

⁴²⁷ See Ernesto González Greenhill’s interview.

2. Celso Garrido-Lecca: exile in solidarity from Peru

The case of Celso Garrido-Lecca (1926-2025) is particular among the exiled composers, since technically, he cannot be considered an exile. Born in Piura, Peru, in 1926, Garrido-Lecca consolidated a significant part of his career in Chile after setting sail for Santiago in 1950. There, he remained for twenty-three years, except for a few spent in the United States while studying at Tanglewood with Aaron Copland, with whom he developed a lasting friendship. His years in Chile and the strong ties he formed with composers such as Becerra-Schmidt and Sergio Ortega led him to eventually regard himself as “more Chilean than Peruvian,” as he affirmed in a series of interviews conducted by Nelson Niño, which will serve as a valuable source for this thesis.⁴²⁸

Following his return to Peru after Pinochet’s regime change, a large portion of his musical output paid homage to his Chilean experience. This is why his case is particularly relevant here: he developed a compositional language deeply informed by both Chilean and Peruvian musical expressions, eventually defining his style as “Andean.” Many of these “Andean-style” art music works were inextricably linked to both *Nueva Canción* and Indigenous musics, as Garrido-Lecca himself explains in Niño’s thesis.

A. Celso Garrido-Lecca, a “committed composer”?

Celso Garrido-Lecca received most of his musical education in Chile and abroad. Nothing in his pre-1970 career explicitly revealed his political views, as most of his compositions up to that point were focused on “pure musical” development. He described himself as a “left-wing” composer — a position quite opposite, as will be shown, to that of his elder colleague Juan Orrego-Salas, who discreetly held some left-leaning views without ever openly avowing them, a situation that may

⁴²⁸ Garrido-Lecca, Celso in Niño, 366.

have provoked tension between them.⁴²⁹ Among this group of composers, Garrido-Lecca stands out as the only one who was overt about his political affiliations, a stance he maintained well into his later years.⁴³⁰ His political outspokenness even led to legal trouble. In 1993, he was arrested during a police raid at his then-girlfriend's home, having been falsely associated with Abimael Guzmán, the leader of the left-wing terrorist group *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) — a clear case of being in the wrong place at the wrong time.⁴³¹

After this brief introduction, the question remains: what, in fact, makes Garrido-Lecca a *committed* composer? In his influential book, scholar Mark Carroll examined the dynamics of music and politics during the Cold War. In its ninth chapter, he discusses what constitutes political commitment in a composer, drawing on Maxwell Aldereth's definition: "interest in one's own time is a great source of inspiration for art, and the other is that the creative freedom for the [artist] is inseparable from a sense of social responsibility."⁴³² Carroll acknowledges that this definition aligns more closely with socialist realism than with the musical developments of the West, which largely rejected doctrinal prescriptions such as those imposed by Stalinism.

In contrast, Western thinkers such as Jean-Paul Sartre argued that an artist's political commitment should center on active freedom and responsibility; thus, artists should reject isolation and work toward an egalitarian society. Inspired by Sartre, René Leibowitz associated Schoenberg's music — and, by extension, that of the Second Viennese School and post-serial composers — with the

⁴²⁹ In this interview, Garrido-Lecca describes Orrego-Salas simply as a "conservative," though he never clarifies whether he refers to his musical style, his ambiguous politics, his decision to remain in the United States, or all of the above. This situation inevitably recalls the quarrel between Hans Werner Henze and his Darmstadt colleagues, from whom he distanced himself to write what he believed to be "true" revolutionary music.

⁴³⁰ Álvaro Gallegos M., "Celso Eduardo Garrido-Lecca Seminario (Piura, Perú, 9 De Marzo De 1926 – Lima, Perú, 11 De Agosto De 2025)". *Revista Musical Chilena* 79 (244), 245.

⁴³¹ Garrido-Lecca's then-girlfriend was also left-wing but had ties to more radical groups than the composer himself ever did. Niño, 21.

⁴³² Aldereth, Maxwell cited in Mark Carroll, *Music and Cold War*, 103.

politically committed artist's exercise of freedom, a freedom that should also address the lack of freedom in others. According to Leibowitz, this ethos was fully embodied in the development of twelve-tone and later post-serial techniques.⁴³³

Similarly, Adorno applied these ideas to his postwar reflections on music and artistic freedom, once again associating serial and post-serial composition with a just reaction against fascist and authoritarian barbarism.⁴³⁴ However, as discussed in Chapter I, even these notions of “freedom” were not immune to co-optation within a discourse financed and promoted by Washington as an artistic countermeasure to socialism — and to socialist realism in particular. Moreover, in the Latin American context, where bourgeois elites were (and still are) driven by internal colonialism and often venerated all things Western, Sartrean and Adornean ideas of artistic and musical freedom were inevitably flawed and disconnected from social realities.

It therefore seems unlikely that a composer such as Garrido-Lecca — whose early music was heavily influenced by post-serial techniques — could have employed these methods in a politically committed way when he joined the *Universidad de Chile* project under the *Unidad Popular* government in 1970. While he composed “experimental works” such as *Antaras* (1968), he simultaneously collaborated with the University's Theatre Department, writing incidental music. As *Nueva Canción* gained prominence during this period, the department increasingly incorporated popular musical styles into its productions. Consequently, Garrido-Lecca shifted from academic composition to songwriting; a skill that came naturally to him. This turn marked

⁴³³ Carroll, 104.

⁴³⁴ *Id.*, 109.

the beginning of his direct engagement with *Nueva Canción Chilena* artists, culminating in his collaboration with Víctor Jara on the song “Vamos por ancho camino,” which he set to music.⁴³⁵

Two key writings shed light on Garrido-Lecca’s political commitment to leftist causes. As with his contemporaries, most of his testimonies date from after the Cold War and the fall of Pinochet’s dictatorship. Both were published as editorials in *Revista Musical Chilena*: the first in 1997 and the second in 2001. What sets him apart from his colleagues is that Garrido-Lecca explicitly and unequivocally articulated his political commitment to left-wing causes.

The first, “El arte en la economía neoliberal” (*Art in the Neoliberal Economy*), is an explicit denunciation of the dismantling of Latin America’s “high culture” institutions following neoliberal reforms of the 1980s.⁴³⁶ These reforms favored for-profit over state-funded institutions and were accompanied by the mass media’s simplification of high culture. He warns that reducing cultural production to market laws entails serious risks: “With each passing day, it becomes clearer that the state tends to ensure that the future of art and music is exclusively subject to the laws of supply and demand. This implies that society itself is responsible for assuming the application of aesthetic values best suited to its needs and tastes.”⁴³⁷

By this, he argues the danger lies in perpetuating a cultural landscape dominated by commercially friendly repertoire, leaving little room for innovative artistic proposals. As a remedy, Garrido-

⁴³⁵ Garrido-Lecca specifies in his interview with Nelson Niño that the lyrics of this song were written by Jara, and only the music and subsequent arrangements are his, despite the publication credit listing only the composer. Garrido-Lecca in Nelson Niño, *Celso Garrido-Lecca*, 351.

⁴³⁶ As discussed in Chapter II, Pinochet’s economic policies opened spaces for for-profit cultural institutions and ensembles. This model was later imitated to varying degrees of success across other Latin American countries.

⁴³⁷ “Es cada vez más claro que el estado tiende a que las opciones futuras del arte y de la música estén sujetas exclusivamente a la ley de oferta y demanda. Es decir, se pretende dejar a la sociedad la responsabilidad de asumir, de acuerdo a sus necesidades y sobre todo a sus gustos, el uso de los valores estéticos que más le acomoden”. Celso Garrido-Lecca, “El arte en la economía neoliberal”, *Revista Musical Chilena*, no. 187, 51 (1997), 63-64.

Lecca calls for state intervention to counter the market's encroachment on high culture, despite the anti-interventionist climate prevailing in the region at the time (and now!).

The second essay, “Reflexiones sobre el compromiso social de los compositores” (*Thoughts on the Social Commitment of Composers*), briefly recounts his experiences of resisting or contesting authoritarian regimes in Chile and Peru. Despite the continuing crises across Latin America, Garrido-Lecca expresses optimism, noting that in countries such as Argentina and Chile, people have organized to rebuild society from ruins. He then asks what role a composer should play in societies where traditional values have been replaced by market-oriented ones, or in those emerging from dictatorships that have eroded social trust. He concludes:

“What should a composer do when his task is to create cultural values while living in societies enduring severe moral and economic crises, and whose governments sideline culture, turning it into a mere mirage? In my view, a composer should remain loyal to their daily toil, unconsciously aware that its social goal is to create future [values]. In this context, and for a long time, I have believed that an artist must contribute — through the best of their work — to restoring any sense of lost dignity.”⁴³⁸

Through these statements, it becomes evident that Garrido-Lecca's political orientation lay firmly on the left. First, he advocates for government intervention to prevent the hyper-commercialization of the arts — an argument typical of left-wing cultural thought, and one he admits provoked hostility from contemporary cultural authorities.⁴³⁹ Second, he calls on composers to embrace social responsibility and political commitment to restore dignity, rather than pursuing artistic “freedom” in isolation. Notably, he invokes Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in asserting that composers must work to restore social values against ruling classes who seek to dismantle them.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁸ “Qué puede hacer un compositor cuya función es crear valores culturales en sociedades con crisis morales y económicas tan agudas, donde los gobiernos soslayan lo cultural dentro de un espejismo fáctico? A mi modo de ver sólo le queda seguir en su tarea creativa cotidiana, olvidada en forma consciente que su función social es crear futuro. [...] Desde hace tiempo pienso que un artista debe contribuir, tratando de dar lo mejor de sí en sus creaciones, a la restitución de una dignidad perdida.”, *Revista Musical Chilena*, no. 196, 55 (2001), 88.

⁴³⁹ Garrido-Lecca, “El arte”, 65.

⁴⁴⁰ Garrido-Lecca, “Reflexiones”, 88.

It must be noted that Solzhenitsyn himself was a deeply reactionary figure, opposed to both socialism and capitalism, and an advocate of Christian traditionalist nationalisms grounded in idealized notions of communal life. This ideological orientation likely explains why, in texts such as his 1978 Harvard Commencement Address, he expressed sympathy for the struggles of the so-called Third World — a point that may clarify Garrido-Lecca's engagement with his ideas.⁴⁴¹ Given Solzhenitsyn's moral intransigence, Garrido-Lecca may have sought to reinterpret his stance within a community-focused, left-leaning Latin American framework when writing his 2001 article about the social commitment of composers. In any case, Garrido-Lecca's artistic and intellectual positions align with Carroll's notion of political commitment, albeit redefined through a distinct cultural and social lens. Therefore, his music should be regarded as politically committed, as will be demonstrated through the works discussed in the following section.

B. Works composed under Salvador Allende that reveal political commitment
Garrido-Lecca's musical work became firmly aligned with left-wing political movements from the late 1960s onward. As previously discussed, leftist movements in Latin America during the Cold War sought to erode structures of internal colonialism. This tendency became particularly evident during Allende's presidency, whose decolonial and socialist cultural program — most notably in the *canción* and *cantata popular* genres — had wide-ranging artistic ramifications, as will also be seen in the case of Luis Advis. In Garrido-Lecca's case, beyond songwriting, this engagement carried additional implications.

1) Los siete estados – a lost heritage piece

⁴⁴¹ Alexander Solzhenitsyn, "A World Split Apart." Transcript of *Harvard Commencement Address*, delivered at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 8, 1978.

Garrido-Lecca's participation in Allende's cultural program resulted in a commission for a ballet, *Los siete estados*. Scored for large symphony orchestra and Chilean/Andean folk ensemble, it is based on a Chilean folk legend surrounding the mineral-rich Atacama Desert and written in tonal and folk idioms.⁴⁴² The work, which lasts approximately ninety minutes, included two songs by Víctor Jara, though their placement within the score remains unspecified.⁴⁴³ As J. Patrice McSherry notes, Jara played a major role in the project, collaborating directly with Garrido-Lecca, Bunster, and members of the National Ballet and Symphony Orchestra of Chile.⁴⁴⁴ The ballet was never premiered, and its score and orchestral parts are now presumed lost or perhaps, destroyed.⁴⁴⁵

The mere existence of this work, even if unrealized, is of great importance given the political context of early 1970s Chile. Salvador Allende sought to implement a socialist and decolonial agenda, part of which was reflected in the prominence of NCC as the official state music. Yet, given Chile's complex sociocultural landscape, the broader artistic program could not entirely detach itself from Eurocentric traditions. Institutions such as the Universidad de Chile therefore continued to host exhibitions and collaborations across diverse artistic disciplines, including music.⁴⁴⁶ Within this context, *Los siete estados* fits neatly into Allende's artistic program. Garrido-Lecca's use of folk materials can be explained by two factors: the ballet's basis in a folk legend, and the inclusion of two of Jara's songs, which facilitated the integration of folk and tonal

⁴⁴² Garrido-Lecca in Nelson Niño, 409.

⁴⁴³ According to the composer in his interview with Nelson Niño, *Los Siete Estados* lasts an hour and a half. However, in the catalogue published in *Revista Musical Chilena* in 2001, its duration is listed as forty minutes. "Catálogo de las obras musicales de Celso Garrido-Lecca" (up to 2001). *Revista Musical Chilena*, no. 196, 55 (2001), 30.

⁴⁴⁴ McSherry, 105.

⁴⁴⁵ Celso Garrido-Lecca in Niño, 409.

⁴⁴⁶ See Caterina Preda, "Transnational Socialist Encounters in the Second Socialist World: The Case of the Chilean Museum of Solidarity." *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 49, no. 3 (2024): 428–48.

elements.⁴⁴⁷ Without these, the contrast with Garrido-Lecca's earlier avant-garde phase might have risked excessive aesthetic dissonance with NCC's musical language.

The subject of the ballet is far from apolitical. As Garrido-Lecca explained, it draws on a folk legend concerning the mineral wealth of northern Chile's Atacama Desert. The ballet's projected premiere in 1973 would have followed one of the most significant achievements of Allende's presidency: the 1972 nationalization of Chile's copper mines. Since the late nineteenth century, Chile's mineral resources — saltpeter and copper foremost among them — had been heavily exploited by foreign companies, primarily British and American, owing to Chile's lack of industrial infrastructure. While saltpeter was depleted around the time synthetic fertilizers came to exist, copper remained a vital export. By the early twentieth century, working conditions in Chilean copper mines were appalling, leading to repeated strikes and uprisings met with brutal repression.⁴⁴⁸ Moreover, the profits from mining rarely benefited Chileans, deepening popular discontent among educated and working classes alike.⁴⁴⁹ By the 1960s, amid a global boom in electrical industries and an unprecedented demand for copper, Allende's platform to nationalize mineral resources — especially copper — became a rallying cry. The Chilean Congress approved this measure in 1972, dealing a direct blow to foreign corporations and precipitating tensions that would ultimately contribute to Allende's overthrow.⁴⁵⁰

It is likely that Garrido-Lecca's commission for *Los siete estados* was conceived within this atmosphere of national celebration. In its scope and intent, the project may have been inspired by Soviet Socialist Realist models. In the USSR, composers were often tasked with producing works

⁴⁴⁷ "Catálogo Garrido-Lecca", 30.

⁴⁴⁸ As seen in Chapter III, these events triggered literary denunciations that later became musical settings by Luis Advis, but also by Swedish composer Allan Pettersson.

⁴⁴⁹ See Chapter II for more information about the 19th Century Niter & Mining Wars.

⁴⁵⁰ Rector, 183.

commemorating state milestones, such as the establishment of *kolkhoz* farms or wartime victories. Examples include Nikolai Myaskovsky's *Symphony No. 12 "The Collective Farm"* (1928) celebrating the establishments of the *kolkhoz* collective farming system and Dmitri Shostakovich's *Song of the Forests*, Op. 81 (1949), which celebrated Stalin's postwar reforestation campaigns.⁴⁵¹ In this sense, Garrido-Lecca's *Los siete estados* occupies a similar ideological space: it celebrates national control over natural resources, draws on themes related to the preservation of the natural world, and adopts a distinctly folk-oriented musical language.⁴⁵²

Unfortunately, Garrido-Lecca never saw his ballet fully staged. He attended several rehearsals of the music, reportedly including the integration of Jara's songs, but the growing political instability in Chile halted progress.⁴⁵³ After the coup, any chance of performance vanished. According to the composer, the score was kept in the vaults of the Universidad de Chile,⁴⁵⁴ though it was likely destroyed during Pinochet's purge of educational institutions and publishing houses.⁴⁵⁵ Fortunately, Garrido-Lecca preserved a homemade recording conducted by Patricio Bunster; an invaluable document should the work ever be reconstructed.⁴⁵⁶

2) *El movimiento y el sueño* – A cantata for an utopian dream

The cantata *El movimiento y el sueño* (1971; rev. 1984), written largely in an avant-garde idiom, sets texts by the Peruvian poet Alejandro Romualdo composed in response to the death of Ernesto "Che" Guevara (1928–1967). Guevara, an Argentine-Cuban revolutionary, has been extensively

⁴⁵¹ Frolova-Walker, 252-253.

⁴⁵² Garrido-Lecca in Niño, 409.

⁴⁵³ It is very likely the ballet would have been choreographed by Joan Turner, Victor Jara's wife and collaborator, who survived him by escaping Chile and kept his legacy. Her figure will be studied closely in the second part of this chapter.

⁴⁵⁴ Garrido-Lecca in Niño, 409.

⁴⁵⁵ Dorfman, *Ensayos*, 16.

⁴⁵⁶ Garrido-Lecca in Niño, 409.

mythologized and honored by left-wing artists since his brutal assassination in 1967.⁴⁵⁷ Although some of Guevara's ideas would today be regarded as controversial even within left-wing circles, his symbolic and historical significance for the Latin American left remains enduring. According to Garrido-Lecca, the cantata was conceived with a dual intention: first, to celebrate humankind's arrival on the moon; and second, to reflect upon humanity's return from that elevated realm to Earth, symbolizing an awakening to human suffering and sacrifice in the pursuit of social struggle, particularly in Latin America.⁴⁵⁸

When Nelson Niño conducted interviews with the composer in 2010, Garrido-Lecca noted that the cantata had remained unperformed due to its extensive technical and logistical demands. However, in the composer's obituary published in December of last year, journalist Álvaro Gallegos recalls attending the work's premiere in August 2016 at the Teatro Nacional de Lima, performed by the National Symphony Orchestra of Peru under Fernando Valcárcel. Gallegos further states that the cantata's significance is comparable to Ginastera's *Popol Vuh* or Heitor Villa-Lobos's *Symphony No. 10 "Amerindian"*, given the magnitude of the themes it addresses.⁴⁵⁹

El movimiento y el sueño was recorded in concert alongside Franz Liszt's *Dante Symphony*, hosted at the Teatro Nacional de Lima.⁴⁶⁰ There also exists an earlier recorded interview of Garrido-Lecca discussing extensively his cantata, predating Niño's thesis, conducted by Mariano Martínez

⁴⁵⁷ For instance, German composer Hans Werner Henze dedicated his oratorio *Der Floß der Medusa* to Che. Charles Wilson, "The Composer's Catalogue and the 'Right to Be Forgotten': Hans Werner Henze's Ein Werkverzeichnis, 1946–1996." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 147, no. 1 (2022): 265.

⁴⁵⁸ Garrido-Lecca in Nelson Niño, *Celso Garrido-Lecca: Synthesis*, 398.

⁴⁵⁹ Gallegos, 246.

⁴⁶⁰ The Peruvian ministry of culture claims Liszt's *Dante Symphony* received its national premiere during that same concert. It is, however, impossible to verify such claims. This concert's video, as well as a public-accessible recording of the cantata, are available on the site of the Peruvian Ministry of Culture. Celso Garrido-Lecca. "El movimiento y el sueño" and Franz Liszt "Dante Symphony", Coro y Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional de Perú, narr. Alberto Ísola and Luis Peirano, cond. Fernando Valcárcel, Lima, August 2016, 1h., 44min., 58sec. <https://cultura24.tv/videoteca/orquesta-sinfonica-nacional-el-movimiento-y-el-sueno>.

and Chalena Vázquez in 2000 and later uploaded to YouTube.⁴⁶¹ The cantata requires a large orchestra, including triple woodwinds, six horns, three trumpets and trombones, tuba, an expanded percussion section for at least three players, piano, harp, guitar, and charango, as well as a large string section in which the violins are divided into three groups rather than the customary two. In addition, the work calls for two narrators (in the premiere, Luis Peirano and Alberto Ísola) and a mixed choir (SSAATTBB).⁴⁶² These two materials – the recording and the interview – were the only ones I could access at the moment of writing this chapter of the thesis.⁴⁶³

The work opens with a massive E-minor chord projected by the full ensemble. Although the beginning is initially tonal, it soon erupts into dissonance and chromaticism, seemingly employed as expressive devices. The choral writing is redolent of Ligeti, beginning on a low A and gradually building a cluster of pitches from which the word “Tierra” (Earth) emerges as the most recognizable element in the recording. These clustered sonorities are accompanied by strings and staccato guitar arpeggios, thereby foregrounding the choir’s message. As the orchestral forces suddenly swell in a crescendo, a recording of a NASA launch countdown is projected on stage. As the rocket ignites and lifts off, bass drum rolls provide a vivid musical underpinning to this highly pictorial scene. At this point, the narrators begin to declaim: “Gagarin asciende al firmamento / Ernesto “Che” Guevara desciende a los infiernos.”⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶¹ Celso Garrido-Lecca. “Entrevista a Celso Garrido Lecca”, Mariano Martínez and Chalena Vázquez, interview, 2000, posted December 5, 2012, by Chalena Vázquez, YouTube, 20:49, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d0Ug1I7NQac&list=PLUgIg2qFcCZo46dVaqgmVvQYdnueqK0M5&index=1>

⁴⁶² Garrido-Lecca. “El movimiento y el sueño”.

⁴⁶³ There is a score, which is duly included in the bibliography. Yet, because of timing matters, the score is unable to be obtained at the moment where I was finalizing the research for this chapter.

⁴⁶⁴ “Gagarin ascends to heavens/Ernesto “Che” Guevara goes down to hell” Alejandro Romualdo in Garrido-Lecca. “El movimiento y el sueño”.

The narrators proceed to articulate a stark dichotomy: on the one hand, humanity's feats of exploration and discovery; on the other, the suffering inflicted directly or indirectly by those very exploits. This contrast is made explicit in passages such as: "El aura de la aventura, exploración y seriedad, con que Colón emprendió la empresa históricamente.../Siete muertos, catorce heridos..."⁴⁶⁵

When this glorious yet gruesome recitative concludes, a new instrumental and choral section begins. The choir abandons the elaborate clusters and engages instead in a call-and-response pattern between the SSAA and TTBB groups. Singing gives way to shouting, culminating in a forceful affirmation by the SSAA — "¡La luna nos esperaba desde hacía tiempo!" — while the TTBB respond with a war-like chant, "¡Nos espera la batalla del hombre!", thus reinforcing the deepening dichotomy that shapes the work's dramatic trajectory.⁴⁶⁶

The narrators further pursue this contrast by juxtaposing the astronauts' light yet abundant meals with the meager diet of Guevara and his guerrilla companions, consisting of hunted animals — often only small prey, such as three birds, or even the workhorse they carried with them. This opposition continues through the depiction of a guerrilla skirmish that leaves several fighters dead. The section ends with a sudden chromatic crescendo leading into a choir-only passage. Here, full-blown expressionist chromaticism is favored over more strictly avant-garde techniques, allowing melodic lines to surface within the SSAA and TTBB textures. Orchestral effects remain sparse, ensuring that the vocal writing remains in the foreground. The section reiterates many of the

⁴⁶⁵ "The aura of adventure, exploration and seriousness which helped Columbus to achieve his historical enterprise.../Seven dead, fourteen wounded..." Alejandro Romualdo in Garrido-Lecca. "El movimiento y el sueño".

⁴⁶⁶ "The Moon awaited us from long time ago! / The battle of men awaits us now!", *Id.*

narrators' earlier phrases and eventually concludes on an F-sharp minor chord under clustered sonorities.

An instrumental interlude follows, in which the guitars articulate a cueca rhythm as the basis for musical development, effectively introducing a folkloric element characteristic of Garrido-Lecca's later style. This passage may have been incorporated during the work's revision, given the prominence of folk materials in his music of the 1980s, as will be observed in subsequent sections.

As the guerrilla narrative continues, the choir divides into SSAA and SATTB. The SSAA sustain a wordless cluster chord, while the remaining voices shout: "¡Caminamos!/¡En las selvas podridas, por tierras desoladas, por la luna!", as the narrators insist, "Quien no se sienta capaz de sobrellevarlo, ¡debe decirlo!". This culminates in a climactic cluster chord.⁴⁶⁷

"All hell broke loose" – "Se desató el infierno"⁴⁶⁸ Once again, the guerrilla recitation alternates with the astronauts' contemplative vistas of Earth from space. Below, violent clashes erupt between guerrillas and the army, intensifying the work's central dichotomy. Briefly, the astronauts express their desire to return to Earth as they gaze upon the planet's blue oceans, while the guerrilla fighters are denied even the luxury of contemplating moonlight as they advance through hostile terrain.

The cantata concludes in a more philosophical register, offering a dissolution — though not a resolution — of the conflicts presented, and sharing affinities with the global consciousness

⁴⁶⁷ "We march on!/On rotten jungles, over desolate lands, on the Moon's surface!/"Those unable to move along, they must admit it!", Romualdo in Garrido-Lecca. "El movimiento y el sueño".

⁴⁶⁸ *Id.*

evident in the works of Becerra-Schmidt. Romualdo's poetry now evokes terrestrial places alongside transfigured lunar imagery:

"Tú estás vivo/en las palabras de los hombres/con palabras vivas de rebelión/Vas por los infiernos de Guatemala, de Nueva York, de México, de Lima, de Berlín... del Congo, de Laos, de Zambia, de Santiago.../Por la quebrada de Yuro, viene la muerte en el mar de la intranquilidad, en el mar de la miseria, en el mar de la explotación, en el mar de la iniquidad/Nos falta el aire, pero no en el espacio universal/Has plantado tus huellas sobre la selva virgen, sobre la luna virgen"⁴⁶⁹

The names of Soviet and American astronauts are then set against those of Guevara's guerrilla companions: "Gagarin, Tereshkova, Armstrong, Aldrin..." / "Alejandro, Rolando, Moro, Eustaquio..."⁴⁷⁰. The narration closes with an emphatic recitation encapsulating the work's central tension — humanity's ascent into space amid unresolved earthly struggles for freedom: "La tierra otra vez terriblemente azul y roja./Elevándonos, saltando del reino de la necesidad al reino de la libertad;/Sobre los hombros de los hombres de aquí abajo!"⁴⁷¹ This is followed by a final E-major chord for orchestra and choir. Tonality thus reemerges triumphantly after a prolonged dialectical struggle between human aspiration and lived suffering.

In his 2000 interview, the composer confirms many of the interpretive points articulated in the cantata. He asserts that the dichotomy is both intentional and central to the work's message. The antiphonal onstage placement of the narrators' forms part of the scenic conception, visually reinforcing the poem's core opposition between space conquest and the harsh realities faced by

⁴⁶⁹ "You are alive/in the words of men, with living words of rebellion/You move through the hellscapes of Guatemala, of New York, of Mexico, of Lima, of Berlin... of the Congo, of Laos, of Zambia, of Santiago.../Through the ravine of Yuro, death comes in the sea of in-tranquility, in the sea of misery, in the sea of exploitation, in the sea of iniquity./We are short of breath, but not in universal space./You have planted your footprints upon the virgin jungle, upon the virgin moon." Romualdo in Garrido-Lecca. "El movimiento y el sueño".

⁴⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁴⁷¹ "The earth once again, terribly blue and red/Rising up, leaping from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom/Upon the shoulders of the men down below!" *Id.*

those on Earth. Garrido-Lecca further explains that the poem engages deeply with questions of modernity and modern colonialism:

“It is a dialectical confrontation between two situations occurring in the contemporary world: the conquest of space and social struggle [...]. Not only in America, but also in Africa. These two situations are opposed insofar as they involve the superpowers — the United States of America [sic] and the Soviet Union — which devoted themselves to the conquest of space, while all so-called "underdeveloped" peoples were confronting problems of survival.”⁴⁷²

He also suggests that this opposition may be read at an individual level, noting that “El Che’s attitude toward social problems is evidently heroic, which is characteristic of the Romantic hero, who stands in opposition to the scientific hero who possesses all the means of survival in space, whereas here [on Earth Che confronts] misery [...] or situations of struggle”.⁴⁷³

These dichotomies, then, are far from uninformed. By the time of the cantata’s revision in the 1980s, much of the Latin American left had become disillusioned with the Soviet Union, which writers such as Fausto Reinaga and Fernando Benítez increasingly perceived as merely the latest in a succession of colonial powers.⁴⁷⁴ Against this backdrop, Garrido-Lecca’s cantata can be understood as articulating a divide between the aspirations of industrialized nations and the violence endured in the developing world. This divide is partially reconciled by equating the urban hellscapes of the First World with the war-torn landscapes of the Global South, thereby unifying human suffering across these spheres. Although Garrido-Lecca does not explicitly articulate this final reconciliatory impulse in his interviews with Niño or Martínez and Vázquez, the cantata’s

⁴⁷² “Es un enfrentamiento dialéctico entre dos situaciones que suceden en el mundo contemporáneo: la conquista del espacio y la lucha social [...]. No solamente en América, sino también en África. Estas dos situaciones, opuestas en cuanto a que son las superpotencias: Estados Unidos de América y [sic] la Unión Soviética que se dedicaban a la conquista del espacio, mientras, todos los pueblos "subdesarrollados" se enfrentaban a problemas de vida.” Celso Garrido-Lecca. “Entrevista a Celso Garrido Lecca”

⁴⁷³ “[sic] La actitud del Che frente a los problemas sociales es evidentemente heroica, que es tradicional del héroe romántico, que se opone al héroe científico que tiene todas las posibilidades de supervivencia en el espacio, mientras que aquí [el Che se enfrenta] con la miseria [...] o con situaciones de lucha. *Id.*”

⁴⁷⁴ Tobias Rupprecht, “Latin American Tercermundistas in the Soviet Union: Paradise Lost and Found”, in Field Jr., 232.

emphatic conclusion — and the cyclical framing established by an opening E-minor chord and a closing E-major chord — strongly suggests such an interpretation.

To further analyse the cantata and situate it stylistically in relation to other movements, I will draw on the music of two European composers near-contemporary to Garrido-Lecca: Krzysztof Penderecki and Alfred Schnittke (1934-1998). Although, unfortunately, I could not provide Garrido-Lecca's score for analysis, the recordings allow us to aurally identify processes similar to those employed by these composers. First, we can detect that the choirs employ timbral and textural expressiveness, as well as antiphonal calls, similar to the processes used in sonorism — a technique systematically employed by Penderecki in works of the 1960s such as *Threnody to the Victims of Hiroshima*.⁴⁷⁵ These techniques are further developed, however, in choral works such as *Dies Irae* — dubbed the “Auschwitz Oratorio”, given that it was written in 1967 for the unveiling of a monument commemorating the victims of the concentration camp.⁴⁷⁶ In this piece, he effectively juxtaposes his choral and orchestral elements vertically, creating an atmosphere that musicologist Daniel J. Delisi describes as seeking to evoke the “horrors of war [...], pathos, terror, hope and in the end, subdued contemplation of the evil created by men.”⁴⁷⁷ Indeed, the shouts, antiphonal calls, and rhythmical singing of the choirs, later echoed by the instruments, resemble the procedures developed by Garrido-Lecca.⁴⁷⁸ This makes sense, given that *El movimiento y el*

⁴⁷⁵ Vest, 175.

⁴⁷⁶ Now, as for current events/preoccupations while writing the thesis, I want the analysis of these pieces to remain in their time and place. The Holocaust was a crime against humanity and an act of tremendous barbarity. However, I must implore that any future analysis directly related to the Holocaust, and any related work of art, should be nuanced and be re-examined concurrently with the actions the State of Israel inflicted — and continues to inflict — upon the Palestinians and any other populations of Islamic faith.

⁴⁷⁷ Daniel Joseph Delisi, “Compositional Techniques and Use of The Chorus in Five Selected Choral Works of Krzysztof Penderecki (Avant-garde, Twentieth-Century Notation).” ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 1985, 26.

⁴⁷⁸ Id., 33.

sueño seeks to evoke both the awe and sublimity of space exploration while simultaneously conveying the toil and hardship endured through guerrilla warfare.

However, the use of several styles by moments — including a section that clearly evokes folk dances, as well as the partial quotation of J.S. Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion* in the opening of the cantata — makes the work suitable also for analysis according to Schnittke’s polystylism. According to Peter Schmelz, Schnittke sought polystylism as a way to dissent against abstract serialism, and it was through the film music he composed that he may have first found this way out.⁴⁷⁹ Yet, in his 1971 manifesto “Polystylistic Tendencies in Modern Music”, Schnittke laid out his conception of what he considered polystylism to be. He described it as an overtly pluralist system — a polyphony or rather, a conscious collage of styles (themselves potentially polyphonic) — based upon three principal elements: the principle of quotation, the principle of allusion, and a distinct technique of adaptation.⁴⁸⁰

In this system, then, the faint Bach quotation made by Garrido-Lecca — which never actually develops into Baroque models but merely evokes them — is sufficient to place it within the principles of quotation and allusion, since the music evolves toward a more polytonal/atonal paradigm. Similarly, the sonorist elements drawn from Penderecki only allude to his style and never fully develop into something distinctly characteristic of the Polish avant-garde. Likewise, the Andean dance in the middle section is not a quotation of any known dance, but an evocation of Garrido-Lecca’s recent *Danzas Populares Andinas*, composed concurrently with the cantata’s revision. As such, the work is further permeated by this polystylistic vein, which brings Garrido-

⁴⁷⁹ Peter J. Schmelz, *Sonic Overload: Alfred Schnittke, Valentin Silvestrov, and Polystylism in the Late USSR*. Oxford University Press, 2021, 48.

⁴⁸⁰ *Id.*, 53.

Lecca closer still to Béla Bartók, who is likewise considered a polystylist by Schnittke, given that: “Neither peasant melodies nor imitations of peasant melodies can be found in [Bartók’s] music, but it is pervaded by the atmosphere of peasant music.”⁴⁸¹ As such, the cantata encapsulates most of the theories advanced by Schnittke, bringing it closer to the polystylist aesthetic — one that is deeply postmodernist, yet, being shaped by the coherent vision of a single working artist, is far better organised and possesses a clearer aesthetic definition than the postmodern movement as a whole.⁴⁸²

In this sense, the cantata articulates many of the composer’s politically committed ideals, encompassing left-wing perspectives on social justice while remaining attuned to humanity’s aspirational impulse to rise above suffering and contemplate it from a higher vantage point. In later years, however, Garrido-Lecca would gradually distance himself from these utopian visions, turning instead toward more grounded musical homages to popular traditions, as embodied in his works associated with the Chilean *Nueva Canción* movement.

C. Works composed in Peru until 1990 that bear political commitment towards Chile. Immediately after the coup, Garrido-Lecca went into hiding due to his close association with the Allende government, his affiliation with the Universidad de Chile, and, most importantly, his artistic collaboration with Víctor Jara, who was martyred in the first days following the coup.⁴⁸³ He spent two months in an undisclosed refuge before reaching the Peruvian embassy, where he

⁴⁸¹ Alfred Schnittke in Schmelz, *Sonic Overload*, 56.

⁴⁸² In this respect, there is something I must note, even if only as a footnote to this thesis. Schnittke eventually published the manifesto for a UNESCO conference in 1973. At this conference, he referred solely to European musics and ultimately apologised for considering only those originating from that continent, given his knowledge of non-European musical styles and traditions was limited. *Id.*, 52.

⁴⁸³ Víctor Jara was arrested immediately on September 11, 1973, and taken to the Estadio Nacional alongside other “political subversives.” According to multiple accounts, he was singled out by soldiers, severely beaten, had his hands crushed with rifle butts, and was forced to play guitar while being mocked. He was ultimately shot to death. McSherry, 168.

secured safe repatriation. Once back in Peru, Garrido-Lecca ceased composing for several years — partly because of his new responsibilities as head of the Department of Music at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, and partly because he mourned the loss of his projects, relationships, and collaborators during the coup.⁴⁸⁴ Nonetheless, during this compositional hiatus, he initiated and completed several other projects. The most significant was the establishment of a *taller de canción popular* (popular song workshop) at the university, marking the first academic initiative in Peru devoted to the study and practice of popular music.⁴⁸⁵

It was within this context that Garrido-Lecca composed the *cantata popular Kuntur Wachana* or *Dónde nacen los cóndores* (“Where Condors Are Born”). The work emerged from the aforementioned *taller de canción popular* at the National Conservatory in Lima, one of the institutions where he remained active until his retirement two decades ago. Like *Santa María de Iquique*, this *cantata* received a commercial recording and achieved considerable international success as part of the *Canción Nueva* movement that was discussed in Chapter III.

The music was originally composed in 1977 as the soundtrack for a film of the same name, which portrays the life and work of the Indigenous Quechua land reform leader Saturnino Huilca. The film depicts his efforts to transform the *hacienda* system, his friendship with the shepherd Mariano Quisca — who was imprisoned and murdered for speaking out against agrarian injustices — and Huilca’s eventual triumph as a political leader. In 1979, Garrido-Lecca adapted the soundtrack into a separate *cantata popular*. Rather than the original hour-long score, he condensed it into a 35-minute *cantata* featuring choruses, arias, and spoken recitatives.⁴⁸⁶ The work was performed

⁴⁸⁴ Niño, 103.

⁴⁸⁵ Garrido-Lecca in Niño, 371.

⁴⁸⁶ It must be noted that this was not the first time a film score was adapted into a concert-oriented format. Sergei Prokofiev reworked his score for Sergei Eisenstein’s groundbreaking film *Alexander Nevsky* into a symphonic cantata lasting under forty minutes. The difference lies in the type of left-wing media being produced: the Garrido-

by one of the university workshop ensembles, *Vientos del Pueblo* (“Winds of the People”). The storyline of the film was retained, as its director and screenwriter, Federico García Hurtado, provided the text that Garrido-Lecca subsequently adapted from the movie’s soundtrack for this cantata.⁴⁸⁷

Although this work is not directly related to the Chilean cause — and will therefore not be analyzed in detail — its significance lies in Garrido-Lecca’s extension of the work he had undertaken with Víctor Jara in Chile. Through *Kuntur Wachana*, he continued composing music for socially committed causes in Peru, maintaining his unwavering political engagement with the left. His works from the mid to late 1980s, moreover, reveal a distinctive interweaving of Chilean and Peruvian influences.

1) Trío para un nuevo tiempo and early Nueva Canción Chilena.

Celso Garrido-Lecca composed his chamber work *Trío para un nuevo tiempo* — for the standard ensemble of violin, violoncello, and piano — based on songs by Violeta Parra, whom we introduced in the last chapter, while also incorporating Andean folk elements and what musicologist Nelson Niño identifies as the use of a tetratonic pitch set that would stylistically define his fourth creative period.⁴⁸⁸ Garrido-Lecca explained in correspondence with Chilean musicologist Luis Merino — a close colleague and correspondent of his rival Juan Orrego-Salas — that the title of this trio referred not only to the work itself but also to a new stage in his compositional trajectory. This stage sought to reconcile contemporary musical languages with

Lecca/García-Hurtado collaboration was a politically committed film created at a moment when a leftist government in Peru was on precarious footing, whereas Prokofiev/Eisenstein’s work was a state-sponsored historical propaganda film that became widely celebrated for its narrative and cinematography and is now a staple in film studies. For more information see Roberts, 151-166.

⁴⁸⁷ Niño, 105-106.

⁴⁸⁸ *Id.*, 125

popular and folk idioms, symbolizing, as he noted, “a new time of reconciliation between musical languages and also peoples.”⁴⁸⁹

Garrido-Lecca’s choice to base the work on the music of Violeta Parra reflects his deep engagement with the roots of the *Nueva Canción* movement. He decided to base the second movement for the *Trio de un tiempo nuevo*, upon Parra’s hit song “Gracias a la vida”. Unlike much of her politically charged repertoire, “Gracias a la vida” stems from personal heartbreak. While living in Paris in the early 1960s to record folk and original compositions, Parra fell deeply in love with the Franco-Swiss anthropologist Gilbert Favré, who became a *quena* player. The two returned to Chile in 1965 but soon separated, after which Favré relocated to Bolivia. Parra fell into a deep depression from which she never fully recovered, composing her “últimas canciones” (“last songs”) as a sort of swan song before taking her life — an act partly triggered by the news that Favré had married a Bolivian woman.⁴⁹⁰ Despite the tragic origins of the song, “Gracias a la vida” achieved posthumous success and became an anthem of love and resilience within the *Nueva Canción Chilena* movement, even as its tone retains a subtle irony.⁴⁹¹

The conciliatory spirit of *Trío para un nuevo tiempo* made Garrido-Lecca to choose Parra’s song as the primary thematic material for its second movement. According to Niño’s analysis, this movement constitutes a direct homage to Parra. First, the composer employs imitation: the pianist plucks the piano strings to evoke the sound of the *charango* in the opening chords, while the cello plays the melody in a high register, echoing “raspy voice of Parra”.⁴⁹² Second, Garrido-Lecca

⁴⁸⁹ Garrido-Lecca, Celso in Merino, Luis. “30 años: 1973-2003”. *Revista Musical Chilena*, Vol. 57, nos. 199, (2003), 48.

⁴⁹⁰ Niño, 132

⁴⁹¹ Marta Nandorfy and several other scholars have observed that Parra’s song is a sorrowful farewell to life. She makes clear how many struggles she has endured, how many roads she has walked, and how deeply her heart has been broken. The irony is that, despite all the sorrow, she remains grateful for life and for the lessons it has given her. 199.

⁴⁹² Niño, 152-153.

integrates recurring harmonic materials such as tritone intervals, characteristic of Parra's songs — derived from the medieval modal structures of old Spanish tunes she collected and also present in Mapuche melodies.⁴⁹³ Finally, he introduces a symbolic gesture by setting the initial tempo marking at 66 BPM, referencing the year Parra composed the song (1966).⁴⁹⁴

While the first section of the movement quotes “Gracias a la vida” directly, the second develops it through tritones and pentatonic transformations based on the song's opening four notes. According to Niño, this represents Garrido-Lecca's personal synthesis and homage to Parra's legacy, realized through his own compositional techniques. The movement concludes with the so-called “Garrido-Lecca series,” defined as 0–4–6–7 from any given pitch⁴⁹⁵ (in this case, Eb as 0, yielding Eb–A–B–Bb), which appears in the final measures both arpeggiated and harmonically as two chords ordered 7–6–4–0.

The recurrence and structure of this series are particularly significant. The 0–6 interval corresponds to a tritone, yet Garrido-Lecca resolves it into the sonority of a major triad (0–4–7). This construction suggests that the series may derive from the Lydian mode (0–2–4–6–7–9–11, with 0 as the reference pitch). The modal link is noteworthy: as previously mentioned, Parra's songs evoke both medieval and Andean modal practices, among which the Lydian mode is common. Thus, by employing a series derived from this mode, Garrido-Lecca pays homage not only to Parra but also to the broader modal and folk traditions she embodied.

⁴⁹³ González, Juan Pablo. “Música Popular Chilena de Raíz Folclórica.” In *Clásicos de la música popular chilena. Vol 2: 1960-1973*, edited by Luis Advis, Eduardo Cáceres, Fernando García, and Juan Pablo González. 2nd ed. Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2000, 18.

⁴⁹⁴ Niño, 152.

⁴⁹⁵ Niño explains that Garrido-Lecca drew inspiration for his series from Alexander Scriabin's mystic chord, which the Russian composer employed throughout all his mature works. *Id.*, 144.

In the subsequent movement, Quechua folk songs emerge prominently. The movement opens in an “exotic” 5/8 meter — a feature Garrido-Lecca associated with the folk music he heard during his twenties in the Puno region.⁴⁹⁶ Two songs appear at different points in the score: the first, played by the violin in double stops with harmonic support, both in the violin and partially echoed by the cello. (Fig. 59)

Figure 59 *Trío para un nuevo tiempo* by Celso Garrido-Lecca, score, 1985. Third Movement (MM. 41-45)

The musical score for Figure 59 is for the Third Movement of *Trío para un nuevo tiempo* by Celso Garrido-Lecca. It is in 5/8 time and starts with a tempo marking of **Sostenido ♩ = 100**. The score is for Violín, Violonchelo, and Piano. The Violín part features a melody in double stops, starting with a forte (**f**) dynamic. The Violonchelo part provides harmonic support, also starting with a forte (**f**) dynamic. The Piano part features a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand, starting with a forte (**f**) dynamic. The score includes markings for **Poco rit.** and **Tempo**, and dynamics such as **p sub.** (piano) and **f** (forte).

The second song is, nonetheless, presented in unison, while the cello evokes a varied form of “Gracias a la vida” in its upper registers. (Fig. 60 in next page)

⁴⁹⁶ Niño, 162.

Figure 60 *Trío para un nuevo tiempo* by Celso Garrido-Lecca, score, 1985. Third Movement (Violin and cello parts - MM. 99-107)⁴⁹⁷



The final two movements synthesize these materials: the second transforms Parra's song, while the third and last incorporate two Andean folk melodies into the developmental texture. Both conclude with variations of the Garrido-Lecca series in distinct harmonic settings. This trio marks the first instance in which Garrido-Lecca juxtaposes *Nueva Canción Chilena* and Andean folk materials — a synthesis that his later works would explore in more dissonant and deeply personal ways.

2) *String Quartet No. 2*, Victor Jara and Andean Music

In 1987, Celso Garrido-Lecca began composing what would become his *String Quartet No. 2*, the second major work of his mature period, in which he sought to synthesize the musical languages of the *Nueva Canción Chilena* (NCC), Andean folk traditions, and his own contemporary idiom. Unlike his *Trío para un nuevo tiempo*, this quartet is considerably more dissonant — a reflection, perhaps, of Garrido-Lecca's emotional experiences during and after the Chilean coup of 1973. Having narrowly escaped arrest during the early months of the dictatorship, the composer later referred to this period as one marked by trauma and loss. Central to the quartet's expressive content is his homage to his friend and colleague, Víctor Jara.

⁴⁹⁷ Violin accompaniment has been suppressed from M. 99 to show "Gracias a la Vida" more transparently in the cello.

Víctor Jara, born in 1932 in Santiago, shared similarly humble origins to Violeta Parra. His artistic trajectory led him from the Seminary of San Bernardo, where he sang in the choir, to the University of Chile, where he studied theatre and music, graduating in 1962.⁴⁹⁸ During these years, he became acquainted with major figures of Chile's cultural scene, including Pablo Neruda and Violeta Parra. Jara and Parra maintained a deep mutual admiration: he admired her as a voice of the rural poor, while she saw in him a successor capable of furthering her vision. Like Parra, Jara collected Chilean folk songs and composed his own, earning his place as the spiritual heir of the *Nueva Canción* movement.⁴⁹⁹ If Parra can be considered the “mother” of *Nueva Canción*, then Jara was undoubtedly its prodigious son.

After Parra's death, Jara became the movement's leading figure. Taking a bold resolve centered on social compromise, Jara led the musical movement to its height. His artistic and political development was also shaped by his relationship with the British dancer Joan Turner: his future wife, collaborator, and a prominent figure in NCC's dance movement.⁵⁰⁰ Between 1966 and 1969, Jara's career flourished: with the support of Parra's children, Isabel and Ángel, he gained national recognition through their *Peña de los Parra* in Santiago.⁵⁰¹ At the same time, he also mentored *Quilapayún* and *Inti-Illimani*; his dual role as performer and musical director expanded the reach of NCC across Chile and abroad.⁵⁰²

Following Salvador Allende's election in 1970, Jara became an instructor at the Santiago Technical University, while also collaborating with the University of Chile's arts department. It was in this environment that he met Garrido-Lecca, with whom he developed a close friendship

⁴⁹⁸ Niño, 176.

⁴⁹⁹ McSherry, 144.

⁵⁰⁰ Nandorfy, 176.

⁵⁰¹ Niño, 177.

⁵⁰² McSherry, 71.

and creative partnership, abruptly interrupted by the 1973 coup. Garrido-Lecca composed the music for two of Jara's songs — "Vamos por ancho camino" and "Brigada Ramona Parra" — while Jara contributed to the artistic conception of Garrido-Lecca's unperformed ballet *Los siete estados*. After the coup, their fates diverged: Jara was arrested, tortured, and killed at the Estadio Nacional, while Garrido-Lecca went into hiding before obtaining asylum through the Peruvian embassy in November 1973.⁵⁰³

In interviews with musicologist Nelson Niño, Garrido-Lecca revealed that these experiences deeply influenced the composition of *String Quartet No. 2*, a work of poignant dissonances in which NCC materials and Andean folk melodies are once again woven into the fabric of modernist writing. The quartet consists of five movements, each contributing to what Niño identifies as a unified narrative of memory — specifically, remembrance of the coup and the death of Víctor Jara.⁵⁰⁴ I argue, then, that the presence of an Andean folk song in the middle movement is significant not only because of Garrido-Lecca's sustained interest in the genre, but also because of the central role that Andean folk music played in Jara's work and in the *Nueva Canción Chilena* movement more broadly.

The first movement, according to Niño, represents the violent shock of the 1973 coup, an interpretation confirmed by the composer himself.⁵⁰⁵ Despite its dissonant harmonic language, the movement is restrained dynamically, with many passages marked by string harmonics and a generally homogeneous rhythmic texture. (Fig. 61 in next page)

Figure 61 *String Quartet No. 2* by Celso Garrido-Lecca, score, 1987. I. Introducción (MM. 24-27)

⁵⁰³ Garrido-Lecca in Niño, 371.

⁵⁰⁴ Niño, 197.

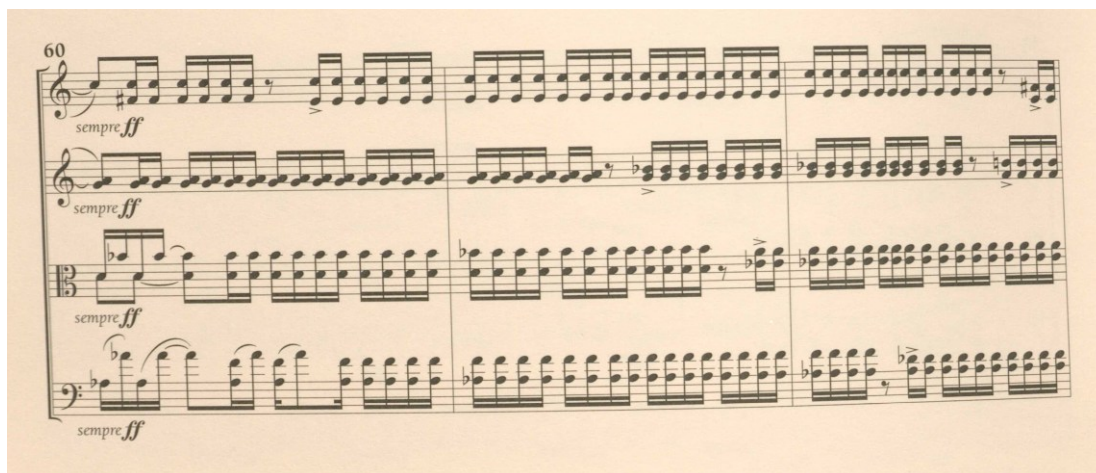
⁵⁰⁵ Garrido-Lecca in Niño, 411.



Two loud, homophonic outbursts of sixteenth notes interrupt this texture: Niño interprets the first as the sound of repression and the second as an evocation of Jara's murder.⁵⁰⁶ (Fig. 62 a) in this page, b) in the next one)

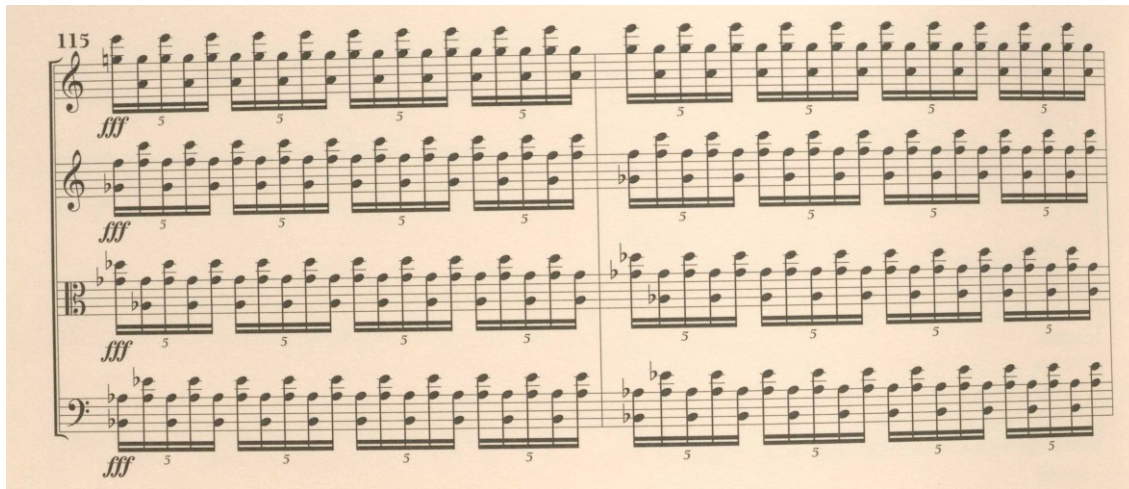
Figure 62 *String Quartet No. 2* by Celso Garrido-Lecca, score, 1987. I. Introducción

a) First instance of the sixteenth notes (MM. 60-62).



⁵⁰⁶ Niño, 194.

b) Second instance of the sixteenth notes. (MM. 115-116)



It should be noted that during this second instance, the intervals between the played notes widen and reach higher pitches and dynamics, possibly as a dramatic instance to signal Jara's death. The ostinato introduced in this movement becomes a recurring motif, reappearing in the second, fourth, and fifth movements, possibly serving as an unspoken *leitmotif* of Jara's death. Moreover, while in Niño's interpretation nothing suggests this could be a leitmotif of Jara's violent passing, given the context of its inclusion in between Jara's songs in the quartet, this leitmotif's insertion is significant enough not to notice it as an integral element of the work's construction and homage to the singer.

The second, fourth, and fifth movements together form a triptych of elegies to Jara. Garrido-Lecca incorporates two of Jara's own songs: "Paloma, quiero contarte" in the second and fourth movements, and "Plegaria a un labrador" in the fifth. The contrast between these songs is crucial. "Paloma, quiero contarte," Jara's first composition, is an intimate love song addressed to Joan Turner, while "Plegaria a un labrador" is a protest song urging solidarity with oppressed farmers. The order of their appearance mirrors an emotional progression: from personal affection to

collective struggle. The splitting of “Paloma” between the second and fourth movements creates a framing elegy, while “Plegaria” closes the work as a public act of remembrance and resistance.

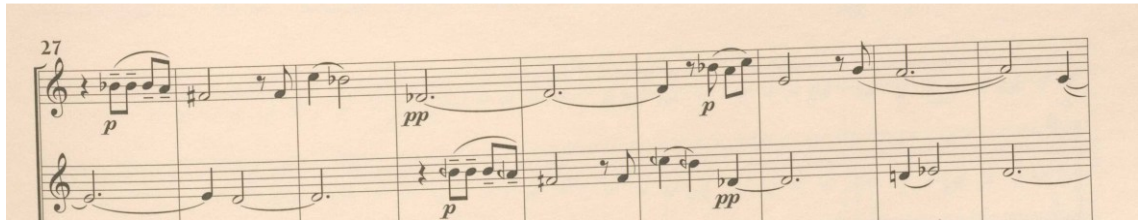
“Paloma, quiero contarte” first appears in the second movement, marked *librementemente* (freely) and without meter, at approximately 60 BPM. The melody is introduced by the violins and later taken by the violas, each entrance marked *cant.* (cántico). The texture remains primarily homophonic, preserving the clarity of the melodic line. (Fig. 63)

Figure 63 *String Quartet No. 2* by Celso Garrido-Lecca, score, 1987. II. Cántico (Elegía primera) (Non-mesurated opening)

When the melody returns in the fourth movement, it emerges in the violas, surrounded by harmonics that create a lullaby-like atmosphere. (Fig. 64 in next page)

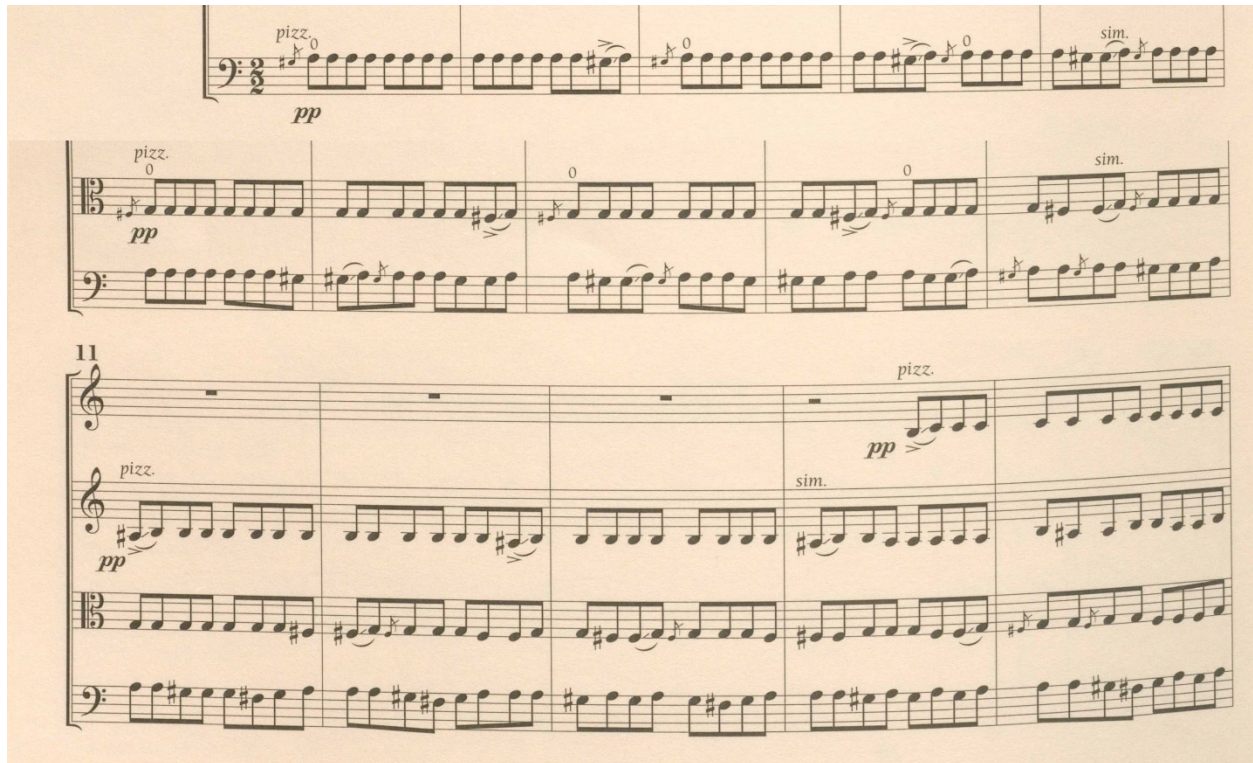
[illegible]

Figure 65 *String Quartet No. 2* by Celso Garrido-Lecca, score, 1987. IV. Cántico (Elegía segunda)
(MM. 27-35)



The third movement, written almost entirely in pizzicato harmonics for the strings, stands out for its enigmatic character. (Fig. 66)

Figure 66 *String Quartet No. 2* by Celso Garrido-Lecca, score, 1987. III. Interludio (MM. 1-15)
– All pizzicatos



Here Garrido-Lecca introduces an Aymara folk melody collected from a peasant musician named Dino Wata (or Huata), a *siku* player (pan flute Andean aerophone) from Taquile Island, whom the composer met in Lima in the late 1940s during his folklore research.⁵⁰⁷ The melody here is stated in the first violin with full harmonic support by the rest of the quartet. (Fig. 67 in next page)

⁵⁰⁷ Niño, 210.

Figure 67 *String Quartet No. 2* by Celso Garrido-Lecca, score, 1987. III. Interludio (MM. 101-104)



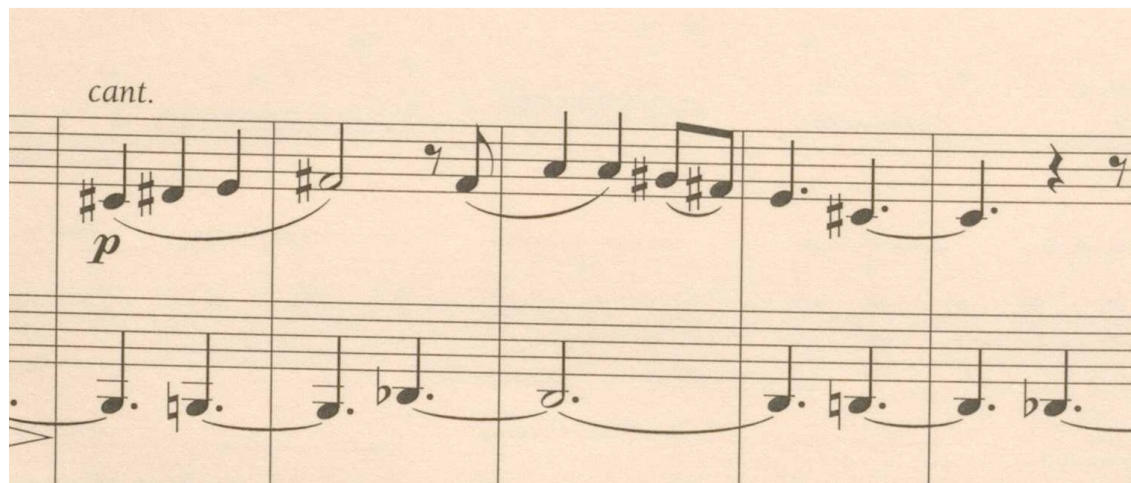
Although Niño does not record any explicit political motivation behind its inclusion, the placement of this indigenous melody at the quartet's center — within a work dedicated to Jara and the ideals of NCC — inevitably carries political weight. The juxtaposition of Andean indigeneity and NCC's socialist ethos symbolizes a convergence between two traditions of resistance.⁵⁰⁸ This connection is reaffirmed in the fifth movement, where, as we will see, traces of these “folk” pizzicatos reappear alongside “Plegaria a un labrador” on measure 64 of the fifth movement (second violins play the melody, violoncellos play the melody, see example above).

The fifth movement centers on “Plegaria a un labrador,” whose melody is successively taken up by each instrument of the quartet, each entrance marked again *cant.* (Fig. 68 in pages 251-252)

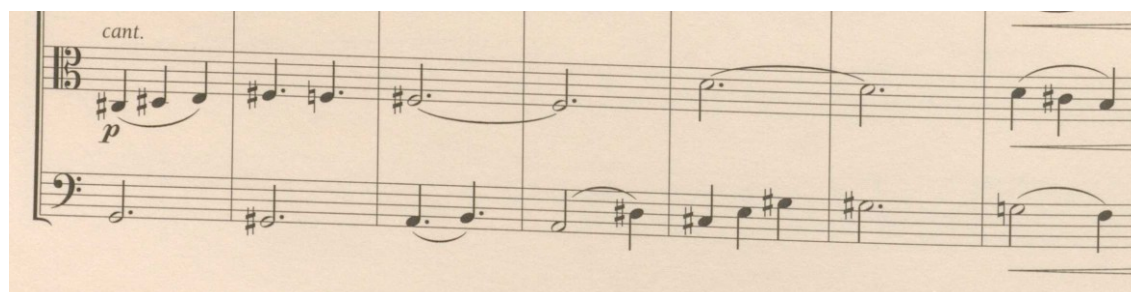
⁵⁰⁸ Niño, 211.

Figure 68 *String Quartet No. 2* by Celso Garrido-Lecca, score, 1987. V. Epílogo

a) Plegaria on violin I (MM. 26-30) –



b) Plegaria on viola (MM. 33-39)



c) Plegaria on violin II (MM. 64-66)



d) Plegaria on violoncello (MM. 128-132)



Niño identifies this movement as a culmination of all previous materials: the ostinato from the first movement, pizzicato textures recalling the third, and the harmonic sonorities of the fourth all converge around Jara's hymn of resistance.⁵⁰⁹ (Fig 69 a) in this page, b) & c) in next page)

Figure 69 *String Quartet No. 2* by Celso Garrido-Lecca, score, 1987. V. Epílogo

a) Sixteenth-notes motif – Memorial of Jara's murder (MM. 87-89)

38

Cuarteto para cuerdas N°2 - V

Menos rápido (♩ = 100)

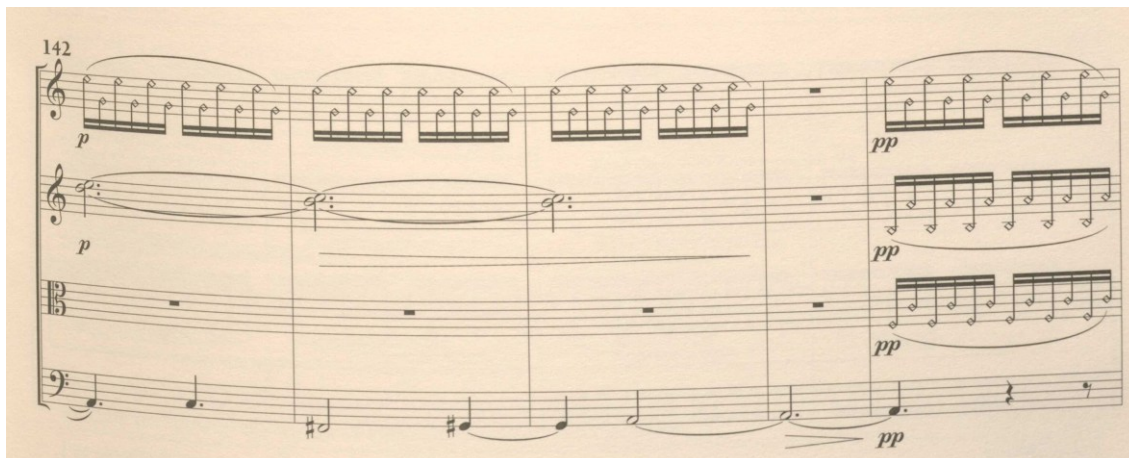
87

⁵⁰⁹ Niño, 207-208.

b) Pizzicatos – Link to folk traditions (MM. 2-3)



c) Harmonics – Elegy and reminder of Jara’s love life (MM. 142-146)



As such, I consider the fifth movement as a strong statement of Garrido-Lecca’s fusion of arts: Through this interweaving of materials, the composer forges a profound link between Andean folk music and Jara’s protest songs. Both function as sonic vehicles of memory and resistance, united within the quartet’s broader political and emotional architecture. In this way, Garrido-Lecca creates a tangential relationship between the Andean folk music and Jara’s “Plegaria”, both the

collected indigenous tradition and Jara's resistance anthem are connected by the weavings the quartet. This integration also qualifies as a full-fledged application of Schnittke's ideas regarding polystylism, owing to the partial quotation of an Andean folk song alongside two Jara songs, whose dissolution into the quartet's semi-abstract material is impossible to ignore. While Niño may have overlooked this particular analytical avenue — focusing instead on theoretical elements such as the development of a series, as demonstrated in the *Trio para un nuevo tiempo* — it is evident to me that this juxtaposition of musical styles aligns closely with Schnittke's polystylism. The inclusion of melodies, and the way they are quoted and alluded to throughout the quartet's second through fifth movements, constitutes a deliberate polystylistic gesture: rather than persisting in their original style, these melodies become fused into abstract elements that likewise resist any single defined style, creating instead a synthetic, original work that draws on the composer's personal experience working across several styles.

This is a moment when we must step back from the score analysis and evoke back some ideas advanced on the first chapter in this thesis, because it is important to remember this piece – and the Chilean-Peruvian context it was written – did not reach as far as regarding the decolonization of knowledge and/or practices as it is now.

At this point, it is useful to recall earlier theoretical considerations about decolonization and musical knowledge. While Garrido-Lecca was not an avowed indigenist like his compatriot Theodoro Valcárcel discussed in the beginning, his practice of collecting and recontextualizing folk melodies — much like Béla Bartók's ethnomusicological work — reveals a complex relationship to indigenous sound worlds. Following Dylan Robinson's critique of colonial extraction in musical ethnography, we might recognize that Garrido-Lecca's adaptation of these melodies into art music reflects a colonial epistemology that detaches sound from its social (and/or

ritual) origins. Nonetheless, Garrido-Lecca emphasized that these melodies were voluntarily shared by Wata, and that their inclusion in his later works represented a gesture of respect and remembrance.⁵¹⁰ The meeting between the young composer and the Aymara musician in Lima thus resonates decades later in *String Quartet No. 2* as a recollection embedded in a broader effort to reconcile the languages of art music, folk song, and political memory.

Having examined the work in exile of Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt and Celso Garrido-Lecca, I find that both composers shared comparable trajectories after leaving Chile, albeit in different ways. On one hand, their commitment to popular music remained a defining feature of their careers throughout the late 1970s and 1980s. However, it is interesting to note that after this period, they rarely received commissions from NCC ensembles or other similar folk groups — possibly due to creative differences or the inherent challenges of producing large-scale *cantatas populares*. This might have been the case with *Cantata Popular Allende* — which was not premiered until 2018 — and, as shown in the previous chapter, with Luis Advis's *Sinfonía Los tres tiempos de América*, which is seldom performed. Nonetheless, both Becerra-Schmidt and Garrido-Lecca appear to have thrived within academic modes of composition that were, in varying degrees, shaped by their experiences with NCC musicians — whether this influence was direct, as in Garrido-Lecca's case, or more indirect, as with Becerra-Schmidt.

The developments made by these two composers are remarkable. Their efforts to bring communal music into larger ensembles of musicians invite comparison, yet they contrast with contemporary developments taking place in the United States. For instance, their collaborative works — such as the cantatas — can be meaningfully contrasted with Terry Riley's *In C*, a minimalist piece

⁵¹⁰ Further in his testimony, Garrido-Lecca affirms that this Indigenous folk melody has appeared in several of his other works, such as *Preludio y toccata* for piano. Garrido-Lecca in Niño, 412.

emerging from the countercultural developments of that country: essentially a score consisting of a single staff and 53 motives, with no specified instrumentation or form, and open to any performer.⁵¹¹ According to celebrated composer and performer Pauline Oliveros, the piece should be regarded as a landmark example of communitarian music-making, in which performers gather in an atmosphere of democracy and acceptance that was unparalleled at the time.⁵¹² Something comparable could be said of the pieces composers such as Advis and Becerra-Schmidt wrote for Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani, where, as we have seen, composers and performers engaged in a process of mutual feedback during the construction of the works — an approach consistent with the ideas that proliferated slightly before, and especially during, the Allende presidency. These ideas are, in turn, validated by Richard Middleton’s articulation theory, which, as we have seen, highlights the processes of genre crossover occurring in the cantatas populares (and symphony) by Becerra-Schmidt and Garrido-Lecca.

At this point, we must also ask ourselves whether this does (or does not) present an idea of authenticity in music. In the eighth chapter of his book *Categorizing Sound: Genre and Twentieth-Century Popular Music*, musicologist David Brackett addresses the issues surrounding genre hybridity and crossover. He begins by discussing the emergence of the term “crossover” and its utility, particularly how the crossing of barriers between genres raises dilemmas of authenticity tied to its very definition — especially concerning questions of identity, which are highly relevant given how ubiquitously that notion is embedded in every aspect of the US-American society, where he did his analysis.⁵¹³ The examples he presents concern how certain musics were

⁵¹¹ Robert Carl, *Terry Riley’s In C*, Oxford University Press, 2009. 3

⁵¹² Pauline Oliveros in Carl, 99.

⁵¹³ David Brackett, *Categorizing Sound: Genre and Twentieth-Century Popular Music*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2016, 281.

representative of particular identities — usually belonging to what were then considered racial minorities (Black, Latino, etc.) — and how the surge of crossover between musical genres such as rock-n'-roll, soul, Latin, jazz, and classical music in the 1970s risked diluting these identities into the mainstream.⁵¹⁴

In this sense, these reflections can undoubtedly help us understand how and why musicians such as Becerra-Schmidt or Advis might have felt called to compose and collaborate with members of the NCC movements. As we saw in our analysis of their music, what the identity of these upper-class, formally educated composers seems to have shared with that of the working-class musicians of the NCC was the belief that music could and should serve class struggle — even if this was never explicitly stated by any of these musicians in their writings, except perhaps for certain inferences made by Garrido-Lecca, who, incidentally, did not collaborate at all with NCC exiles, unlike his two colleagues.⁵¹⁵ This could also be extended to the fact that they perceived some economic gain, as Brackett explains, since seeping into the mainstream evidently provided more significant income to performers as their visibility increased whenever they crossed over between genres;⁵¹⁶ an argument supported by the figures presented above by Campos Paz in her study of NCC commercial recordings, which may indeed have made their contribution to the Chilean struggle for democracy considerably more noticeable.

Nonetheless, this does not prevent these musical collaborations from being top-down initiatives in many cases, which could have made question Quilapayún bands about the release of some pieces

⁵¹⁴ According to Brackett, these dilemmas are ultimately exemplified in the movie *Crossover Dreams*, in which musician Rubén Blades plays a character torn between staying true to his salsa roots and his loyal fans, or “diluting” himself into mainstream consciousness to gain more followers; situation that would bring him a consequential economic gain. Brackett, 279.

⁵¹⁵ These writings are, of course, those mentioned in the subsection above “Garrido-Lecca, a committed composer?” in this thesis.

⁵¹⁶ Brackett, 283.

or their maintenance in their repertoire, given they could have been too complex to be authentic. This is considerably more evident in the compositions of Garrido-Lecca, which largely demonstrate the incorporation of musical ideas drawn from folk performers — most notably his *String Quartet No. 2*. In the case of Becerra-Schmidt, the same could be said of his *Ossietzky-Oratorium*, a work conceived primarily for student performers, for whom it would represent their first encounter with avant-garde idioms alongside more popular elements integrated into an art music framework.⁵¹⁷ This might, however, evoke socialist realist models — a parallel that was already noted in the discussion of *Los Siete Estados* — since, in one way or another, these works could also be placed within that classification given their integration of folk and popular elements into larger musical forms.

What does not apply to them, however, is a submission to state commissions. With the exception of *Los Siete Estados* and the first version of *El movimiento y el sueño*, all remaining compositions were created outside any state influence — a particular circumstance worth analyzing even from a continental perspective. As demonstrated in the first chapter through the case of Blas Galindo, composers in Mexico — and equally in Brazil⁵¹⁸ — were subject to state commissions, typically cast in nationalistic tones that approached socialist realist ideas, often drawing on nativist or indigenous subjects as emblems of national pride. The works under discussion here, by contrast, were composed mostly from exile. As such, themes of yearning, mourning of injustices, and the longing for the reestablishment of a lost order figure prominently in them. Moreover, their

⁵¹⁷ To a degree, we could think of *Ossietzky-Oratorium* as an educational piece, drawing parallels with Dmitry Kabalevsky (1904-1987), a composer known to have worked as an influential educator in the Soviet period who composed music relatively accessible for performers ranging from elementary to University levels.

⁵¹⁸ Carol Hess, in her discussion of Latin American musicians, devotes an entire chapter to the music of Heitor Villa-Lobos and shows how his nationalist efforts were promoted as the paramount example of Brazilian music not just in his own country, but equally in the developed world in places such as New York World Fair of 1939. See chapter 4 in Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor*.

independence from state influence reflects a far more authentic commitment on the part of these composers who, as has been shown, were devoted either to left-wing causes or to the reestablishment of democratic order in Chile. As a result, this led them to foster their crossover compositions with Quilapayún, which in turn positioned them alongside working class musicians as defenders of a democratic ideals; a recognition that, to my knowledge, has not previously been articulated in the scholarship, and one that this thesis puts forward for the first time.

Briefly considering polystylism, it is tempting to qualify Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt as a polystylist as well, rather than merely broadly postmodern, with regard to his *Ossietsky-Oratorium*. This is especially true given its similarities with Luciano Berio's *Sinfonia* — a work that Schnittke himself considered clearly polystylist. Berio's musical development in this work quotes, alludes to, and adapts several past musical styles into a new, collated, and monumentally impressive symphony bearing a political subtext that denounces the problems of his day and age such as the murder of Martin Luther King or the student revolts happening across the world in 1968.⁵¹⁹ Nonetheless, unlike Berio, and contrary to Schnittke's principles, Becerra-Schmidt uses protest song and jazz as the sole thematic material in some movements (all within a politically oriented context, as Berio's *Sinfonia* likewise addresses), then seams them together discontinuously — as vignettes of styles rather than a conscious collage of styles. As such, it is more appropriate to consider him as leaning further into postmodernism than into polystylism — a distinction that applies more accurately to Garrido-Lecca, even in political terms. As Berio did in his own polystylistic vein, Garrido-Lecca applied his own political subtext to *El movimiento y el sueño* and *String Quartet No. 2*.

⁵¹⁹ Schmelz, *Sonic Overload*, 62.

Finally, it should be considered that — born from a collaborative spirit, yet shaped by top-down initiatives, and largely free from state-born commissions — these works were able to incorporate, arguably for the first time, musical idioms that had previously been relegated to the folk and popular music spheres in Chile. As demonstrated in Chapter II, the absence of a folk or indigenist art music movement was one of the factors that enabled this; the second being the political effervescence of the NCC movement before and during the Allende presidency. Accordingly, these pieces incorporated folk idioms as a form of political commitment, effectively making them one of the first sustained attempts to decolonize the art music scene in the Americas. Given the scope of the present research, it is not possible to assess whether a comparable development occurred in Cuba at this level of collaboration; yet the existing literature does not point to discernible efforts of a similar scale.⁵²⁰

To my knowledge, a comparable effort was undertaken in Brazil by singer-songwriter Milton Nascimento towards the end of the two decades dictatorship (1964-1985), when he premiered his *Missa dos Quilombos* in 1982: a vocal work inspired by the Catholic mass but departing entirely from its classical conventions, yet incorporating techniques such as *musique concrète* and featuring instruments from the Western orchestral tradition — such as timpani and tam-tam — within an ensemble otherwise dominated by Afro-Caribbean and Afro-Brazilian instruments, including congas, cuícas, pandeiros, and reco-recos. Musicologists John Baldwin and Paul Chidester have characterized the work as an effective confrontation with the dominant musical establishment in Brazil and as a means of addressing longstanding historical grievances against the Catholic Church and the Brazilian state, both of which have historically resisted the full integration of Afro-

⁵²⁰ To a degree, this could be blamed in the US embargo that has been imposed on the island since the 1960s. See Quevedo, *Cuban Music Counterpoints* for more details on the Cuban case.

Brazilians into an Eurocentric society.⁵²¹ Nascimento's effort, however, remains detached from a broader movement in which art music composers are heavily involved in the creation of politically committed works developed in close collaboration with folk musicians.

When considering the work of composers such as Advis, Becerra-Schmidt, and Garrido-Lecca, it can be argued that their output constituted a clear reflection of the time and circumstances in which they lived. Neither as collaboratively democratic as the works of Terry Riley, nor the product of state initiatives in most cases, nor as grassroots in origin as the music of Milton Nascimento — yet deeply nourished by folk music traditions and informed by decolonial concerns — these composers in exile produced a body of work that occupies a space between all of these tendencies; unable, in one way or another, to escape the Latin American impulse toward conciliation for the greater good, yet always politically committed to the Chilean cause of democracy and social justice. In this sense, these considerations will inform the next chapter, which turns to the music of a somewhat older composer, Juan Orrego-Salas. His musical trajectory differed markedly from those of Becerra-Schmidt and Garrido-Lecca, as he composed from what many — including Orrego-Salas himself — have described as an “ivory tower,” shaped by his voluntary and semi-apatrid exile in the United States of America.

⁵²¹ Baldwin, John R, and Phil Chidester. “An Analysis of Milton's Voice in Missa Dos Quilombos: ‘Raça’ in The Music of Milton Nascimento.” In *Creating Culture Through Media and Communication*, edited by Katia Moles, Laura Robinson, Sonia Virginia Moreira, and Jeremy Schulz, vol. 24. Emerald Publishing Limited, 2024, 34-35.

Chapter V: Compliance and protest under the “safe haven” of the US-American democracy: The case of Juan Orrego-Salas (1919-2019)

Chilean composer Juan Orrego-Salas permanently emigrated to the United States in 1961 to assume a position as professor of composition at the newly established Latin American Music Center at Indiana University Bloomington. He composed in a rather eclectic style, but his political views remained largely opaque until the publication of his autobiography, *Encuentros, visiones y repasos: Capítulos de mi música y mi vida*, in 2005. This document serves as the primary source for my study, as it provides insight into what I consider his most significant works of the period: *Missa in tempore discordiae*, the *Oboe Concerto*, the songs for Quilapayún “Un Canto a Bolívar” and “Yo lo que no digo, lo canto”, the recitative *Biografía mínima de Salvador Allende* and the opera *Viudas*. Additional analyses of works such as his failed oratorio *The Days of God* or the cantata *Bolívar* will help contextualize his most important (political) compositions and shed light on the complexity of Orrego-Salas’s socio-political outlook.

In *Encuentros*, Orrego-Salas offers a compelling perspective on mid-century Chilean aristocracy. Unlike the other composers discussed in this study, he hailed from a prominent Santiago family,⁵²² although he recounts that his father struggled financially while working as a journalist for *El Mercurio*, a conservative newspaper. In his autobiography, Orrego-Salas claims to have embraced leftist sympathies since adolescence. He frequently portrays himself as empathetic toward the poor and marginalized, and as deeply concerned with violence, war, and environmental issues. However, the composer never reveals any concrete involvement in either emancipatory or

⁵²² The Orrego Tupper and Salas Edwards families, as their surnames suggest, were of Spanish and English descent. The composer himself came from what it would be called today a “fully European settler” background — an important factor in understanding both his position of privilege and his, at times, discontented view of the world. Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 15.

ecological movements. Instead, he consistently underscores his pacifist stance and his artistic commitment to peace.

Nonetheless, Orrego-Salas did engage in political roles. Like his younger colleague Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt, he held a diplomatic position, serving as honorary consul at the Chilean Embassy in the United States. His tenure began under Eduardo Frei's moderate administration and continued through the presidency of Salvador Allende. He resigned after the 1973 coup, expressing dismay at the anti-democratic actions taken by both Chilean and U.S. authorities to safeguard American interests in Chile.⁵²³

This position is somewhat contradictory, given that many of his compositions were intended primarily for American audiences and often imbued with religious mysticism. Orrego-Salas consistently identified as a devout Catholic, a conviction reflected both in his memoir and in numerous compositions from the period under examination. For example, his *Missa in tempore discordiae*, Op. 76 (Mass for Times of Discord), was conceived as a personal response to Britten's *War Requiem* and as a protest against the Vietnam War.⁵²⁴ Similarly, his oratorio *The Days of God* — commissioned by the Kennedy Center in 1976 to commemorate the bicentennial of the United States Declaration of Independence — exemplifies a religious sensibility, this time aimed at Protestant audiences.⁵²⁵ It remains one of the few works of his to receive an immediate premiere.⁵²⁶

⁵²³ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 15.

⁵²⁴ On this matter, the composer states that his *Missa* shares thematic and musical affinities with Britten's *War Requiem* and Bernstein's *Mass* — works I previously analyzed in my master's thesis. This connection will be explored in greater depth in the comprehensive analysis of the *Missa* later in this chapter. Orrego-Salas, *id.*, 314.

⁵²⁵ The text is based on the King James Bible, one of the main versions of the Christian scriptures used within English-speaking Protestant traditions. Efrén Capdevila, "'Los Días de Dios', Oratorio de Juan Orrego-Salas' (Diseños musicales de Efrén Capdevila)." *Revista musical chilena* 30, no. 135 (1976): 100.

⁵²⁶ This observation also applies to Orrego-Salas' *Missa*, which waited nearly 13 years for its premiere. Unlike *The Days of God*, which received broader attention, the *Missa* was first performed far from the spotlight, in Bloomington, Indiana.

Furthermore, Orrego-Salas's correspondence — archived online by the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile — demonstrates his open support for Chilean exiles in Europe and his earnest desire for the restoration of Chilean democracy, sentiments echoed throughout his autobiography. Like Becerra-Schmidt, he composed music for the group Quilapayún, whose performances continued into the 1980s. His 1990 opera *Viudas*, based on a novel by Chilean exile Ariel Dorfman, constitutes a veiled denunciation of political disappearances in Chile.

In this sense, Orrego-Salas exemplifies the figure of a “musical diplomat” — a composer who navigated multiple allegiances. On one hand, he produced inoffensive works that satisfied American patrons; on the other, he expressed solidarity with Chilean democratic resistance and maintained his artistic and political integrity despite his vulnerable position. Following his resignation from the diplomatic corps, Orrego-Salas became a voluntary exile, a condition that further deepened his dual role as both artist and political actor.

1. Juan Orrego-Salas, the aristocrat

- A. Academic considerations on autobiographies

Encuentros is an autobiographical work. As such, it requires engagement with theories of autobiography, particularly those concerned with the veracity of narrated events and the structural characteristics of life writing. To this end, I will draw upon insights from scholars such as Philippe Lejeune, Georges Gusdorf, Karl J. Weintraub, and Timothy Dow Adams, among others.

Throughout the pages of his autobiography, Orrego-Salas does not hesitate to disclose details about his bourgeois origins — first by outlining his family lineage, which traces back entirely to old Spanish aristocracy and, later, to British settlers who arrived in post-independence Chile. This form of life writing aligns with the dilemmas associated with the confessional autobiography, as

outlined in Lejeune's classifications. I argue that this is particularly evident in the "epilogue" that Orrego-Salas presents as a prologue to his autobiography, where he writes the following:

In these writings, reminiscence alternates with ideas, the interpretation of the past with the experience of the present, reality with dream. It is an exploration of what I carry in my depths. I hope it is not *interpreted as ingratitude in forgetting*, but rather as the wearing down of memory in the calendar of a long life [...]⁵²⁷

This introductory passage is crucial to understanding why Philippe Lejeune classifies certain autobiographies as "confessional" — particularly those in which the author begins with a self-justifying explanation.⁵²⁸ This justification typically appears in the opening chapters or in preliminary sections, as is the case here. Of particular interest is how Orrego-Salas articulates his expectations toward his readers, especially in the segment I have marked in italics. He insists that his account should never be interpreted as "sometimes ungrateful towards memory," considering both the many years he had already lived and those that were still ahead; indeed, Orrego-Salas would live to be a centenarian.

In this light, the opening of the autobiography functions as a statement of intent — an appeal for understanding and authenticity, even a confession of sorts. Mexican scholar Luz Aurora Pimentel argues that such prologues often serve as a confession addressed to a "supreme judge," whether divine or human, and thus to any potential reader of the text. This idea is particularly striking within a Catholic context, where confession, repentance, and atonement are central to both social and spiritual life.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁷ "En estos escritos, la reminiscencia alterna con las ideas, la interpretación del pasado con la experiencia del presente, la realidad con el ensueño. Es una exploración de lo que acarreo en mis honduras. *Espero que no se interprete como una ingratitud en el olvido*, sino como un desgaste de la memoria en el calendario de una vida larga [...]" Orrego Salas, *Encuentros*, 15.

⁵²⁸ Philippe Lejeune, « Le Pacte Autobiographique » in Carole Allamand *Le « pacte » de Philippe Lejeune ou l'autobiographie en Théorie*. Paris: Éditions Champion, 2018, 39.

⁵²⁹ Luz Aurora Pimentel, "Memoria, olvido y ficción en la escritura autobiográfica" in Blanca Estela Treviño García (ed.) *Aproximaciones a la escritura autobiográfica*. Mexico City: Bonilla Artigas Editores, 2016, 48.

Throughout this prologue — as well as in various other sections of the autobiography — Orrego-Salas identifies himself as a devout Catholic. In this sense, the confessional dimension of the book becomes even more pronounced, especially when the composer explicitly frames his autobiography as an offering to the moral judgment of his readers: “In essence, [these memoirs] are the result of having lived and constitute [...] an invitation to read them [...] for those who are curious to explore certain corners of my thoughts or those who are interested in learning about some stages of my life”.⁵³⁰ This self-positioning reinforces the notion that the text is not only a narrative of a life, but also an act of introspective moral reckoning.

As such, the two quoted statements from Orrego-Salas’s autobiography function as acts of faith and are essential for understanding his life. When Lejeune’s and Pimentel’s theories are applied to the quoted passages, it becomes evident that the composer expects to be “judged” in one way or another for his actions. At the same time, as noted in the previous paragraph, he hopes not to be judged too harshly for his omissions — an expectation that aligns closely with Catholic teachings.⁵³¹

This is where it becomes necessary to introduce several theoretical perspectives on truth and falsehood in autobiographical writing. While omission may constitute a spiritual sin within the Christian tradition, it also presents significant challenges for historians attempting to reconstruct a person’s life and career. Timothy Dow Adams reminds us, through an extensive list of verbs, that the English language contains numerous synonyms for the act of lying. His point is that truth can be distorted in many ways, including exaggeration, misrepresentation, and concealment, among

⁵³⁰ “En esencia [estas memorias] son el resultado de haber vivido y constituyen [...] una invitación a leerlas [...] a quienes sientan curiosidad por explorar algunos rincones de mis pensamientos o se interesen por conocer algunas etapas de mi vida.” Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 16.

⁵³¹ In Catholic doctrine, sins may also be committed through omission — by failing to act or disclose the truth — as expressed in the *Confiteor*, the traditional prayer of confession.

others.⁵³² This notion of an “intentionally distorted memory” is further supported by Georges Gusdorf, who underscores the inherent limitations of personal recollection:

“Autobiography is not the simple repetition of the past as it was, for recollection brings us not the past itself but a spirit of a world forever gone. Recapitulation of a life lived [...] reveals no more than a ghostly image of that life, already far distant, and doubtless incomplete, distorted furthermore by the fact that the man who remembers his past has not been for a long time the same being, the child or the adolescent, who lived that past.”⁵³³

In this regard, Orrego-Salas appears fully aware of the imperfections of his memory, as suggested by his choice of words and the expectations he expresses toward his readers in the two opening statements previously cited. He acknowledges that his recollections offer only a general impression of his life and work over the span of 80 years (the autobiography was published after his eighty-fifth birthday).

Nonetheless, Georges Gusdorf reminds us of the importance of contextualizing autobiographical narratives with historical fact, since autobiography is — in many respects — shaped by the subjective perception of the individual writing it:

“We must [...] introduce a kind of reversal of perspective and give up thinking autobiography in the same way as we do an objective biography, regulated only by the requirements of the genre of history. Every autobiography is a work of art and at the same time a work of enlightenment; it does not show us the individual seen from outside in his visible actions, but the person in his inner privacy, not as he was, not as he is, but as he believes to be and to have been.”⁵³⁴

As such, any exploration of autobiography should involve comparison with external materials: these may include other primary sources related to the subject’s estate, public records, correspondence, artistic output, and even third-party biographies. Such sources are essential for

⁵³² Timothy Dow Adams, “Beyond Truth Versus Fiction: Design and Lie in Modern American Autobiography” in Trev Lynn Broughton (ed.) *Autobiography, Vol. I*. New York: Routledge, 2007, 339.

⁵³³ Georges Gusdorf, “Founding Statements: Conditions and Limits in Autobiography” in Broughton (ed.) *Autobiography, Vol. I*, 85.

⁵³⁴ Gusdorf, 91.

helping the historian fill in or reconstruct any omissions, exaggerations, or distortions present in autobiographical narratives.

This practice is not only feasible but also desirable. Autobiographies can evolve into what Karl J. Weintraub describes as “literary self-portraits”: works in which authors reflect on and contextualize the scope of their own oeuvre. This notion is especially relevant for artists who have authored autobiographies or memoirs, as is the case here.⁵³⁵ While the first part of Orrego-Salas’s book is devoted to recounting his life, the second part focuses on a selection of his major compositions, discussing their artistic significance over time and the sources of their inspiration. In this respect, much of his self-analysis will be critically compared with my own. Through this approach, I may reach conclusions that diverge from his: an outcome that is not only expected but fundamental to scholarly inquiry.

B. Orrego-Salas early years

Having considered all of this, it is important to understand how Orrego-Salas’s perspective may have been shaped, or even blurred, by his social privilege. His aristocratic background granted him access to elite institutions, including the Liceo Alemán of Santiago and the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (PUCC), a private university directly affiliated with the Vatican.⁵³⁶ There, he studied music under the guidance of Domingo Santa Cruz, the most prominent Chilean composer and educator of the twentieth century.⁵³⁷ Orrego-Salas formed a close relationship with Santa Cruz, which was later cemented through familial ties when his mother married into the professor’s

⁵³⁵ Weintraub, Karl J., “Beyond Truth Versus Fiction: Autobiography and Its Historical Consciousness” in Broughton (ed.) *Autobiography*, Vol. I., 243-244.

⁵³⁶ See Chapter II for more information about Chilean universities during the twentieth century.

⁵³⁷ Béhague, “Latin-American Music”, 329.

family. However, this relationship eventually deteriorated when Santa Cruz, as an elder, expressed support for Pinochet and his regime.⁵³⁸

In 1944, Orrego-Salas traveled to the United States for the first time, as World War II was nearing its end. As part of the Fulbright Program, he received both Rockefeller and Guggenheim fellowships. These opportunities allowed him to study for three years at Tanglewood, a pivotal training ground where he worked under Aaron Copland and Randall Thompson. There, he also met Leonard Bernstein, Benjamin Britten, and fellow Latin American composers such as Alberto Ginastera, Roque Cordero, and Antonio Estévez.⁵³⁹ Equally formative was his encounter with Béla Bartók during the final months of the Hungarian composer's life. Although it is unlikely that the admiration was mutual, Orrego-Salas developed a lasting reverence for Bartók's work.⁵⁴⁰

Between 1947 and 1961, Orrego-Salas led a transnational life, frequently moving between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres. When not teaching at the Universidad de Chile (UC) or the PUCC or serving as editor-in-chief of the *Revista Musical Chilena* (RMC), he was organizing or attending music festivals. One such example is the 1955 Caracas Music Festival, where he acted as a musical diplomat within the framework of the United States' Good Neighbor cultural

⁵³⁸ Orrego Salas, *Encuentros*, 50.

⁵³⁹ In this context, the composer often tended to downplay his own career in comparison to that of Alberto Ginastera, who was only three years his senior. Orrego-Salas perceived that Ginastera had achieved a more prominent trajectory, largely due to the overwhelming success of his early "folk" period. Also significant during this period is Orrego-Salas' enduring friendship with Leonard Bernstein, who was married to Felicia Montealegre — a close friend of both Orrego-Salas and his wife, Carmen Benavente. This personal relationship will be explored further in the discussion of Orrego-Salas' *Missa*. Orrego Salas, *Encuentros*, 98.

⁵⁴⁰ Béla Bartók was a pioneering advocate of folk music, and one of the most active ethnomusicologists in Eastern Europe. As will become evident in subsequent chapters, Orrego-Salas showed minimal interest in folk music until the 1980s. Until then, he considered folk idioms an unsuitable basis for developing a "synthetic modern" musical language, which remained his primary artistic aim. Had Bartók lived longer, it is unlikely he would have admired Orrego-Salas' work; on the contrary, he may well have admonished him for neglecting Chilean folk traditions — a path his Peruvian contemporary Garrido-Lecca, whose career was discussed in the last chapter and who deeply admired Bartók, pursued consistently throughout his career. See Vera Lampert and Lazlo Vikarius (eds.), *Folk Music in Bartok's Compositions: A Source Catalog*. Budapest, Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2008.

policies.⁵⁴¹ Under similar auspices, he toured the U.S. and Western Europe, supported by grants from the Rockefeller and Guggenheim Foundations, European governments, and Chilean institutions. These activities required him to fulfill numerous commissions and appearances. As noted in the introductory chapters of this thesis, Orrego-Salas was part of the so-called “Tanglewood boys” — a generation of Latin American composers viewed as the vanguard of modern and avant-garde art music in the region, often positioned in contrast to folklorist tendencies.

In his numerous contributions to the *Revista Musical Chilena* (RMC), Orrego-Salas consistently advocated for a musical style he described as eclectic. For instance, in a 1945 article, he divided musical composition in the United States into three principal schools: the former students of Nadia Boulanger, the Schoenbergians, and the Stravinskians. Although he acknowledged that each group offered either a renewal of tradition or formal innovation, he ultimately regarded them as excessively fragmented. In contrast, he championed the music of Paul Hindemith, whom he valued for the following reason:

“[Hindemith] could be defined as an apostle of atonality and linear counterpoint, but in my view, this is the least valuable aspect of his personality. He is a technician who has been able to approach the problems of our time without confining himself to the realm of a single emotional concept. From his thinking, perhaps, a truly contemporary language is the only one that can emerge today”⁵⁴²

In essence, Orrego-Salas believed that a musician must first be a master technician and architect.

Although he agreed with Stravinsky on this point, he criticized Stravinsky and his followers for being seduced by a multitude of styles and manners that, in his view, distracted from the

⁵⁴¹ Hess, 161.

⁵⁴² “[A Hindemith] podría definírsele como un apóstol de la atonalidad y del contrapunto lineal, pero esto es a mi parecer, lo de menor valía en su personalidad. Es un técnico que ha sabido enfocar el problema de nuestros días sin encerrarse en el dominio de un concepto emocional determinado. De su pensamiento es, tal vez, del único que en la actualidad puede surgir un lenguaje verdaderamente contemporáneo.” Orrego-Salas, “La creación musical contemporánea en los Estados Unidos: Algunas consideraciones sobre sus principales tendencias.”, *Revista Musical Chilena*, 1, no.1 (1945), 18.

development of a solid technical foundation.⁵⁴³ However, as we will see, maturing in age made Orrego-Salas open his mind towards these multitude of styles and manners that we discussed in the previous chapter as part of postmodern music.

This view reappears in his later defense of what he called “musical geometry.” Orrego-Salas initially studied architecture before earning a second degree in music composition. In one article, however, he criticized avant-garde composers for their uses and abuses of architectural and geometric terminology such as *verticality*, *horizontality*, *weight*, and *density* in describing compositional technique. He saw this trend as superficial and even detrimental, especially when such terms and musical practices became increasingly politicized. Aware of the emerging discourse of “freedom” surrounding post-serial techniques, Orrego-Salas feared that composers who rejected the movement’s mathematical logic were being unjustly marginalized.⁵⁴⁴

In one of the precursor articles to his autobiography, Orrego-Salas once again affirms his independent stance by highlighting his sustained commitment to vocal music, at a time when instrumental music was at its peak. His vocal catalogue is extensive, including several song cycles, cantatas, oratorios, a mass, a choral symphony, and an opera. In this repertoire, he claims to have achieved a balance between creative impulse and compositional technique, arguing that instinctual drives help transform metaphors and images into music. According to the composer, his techniques synthesize neoclassical, neoromantic, serial, and modal languages — without allegiance to a single tradition. As critic Peter Jacobi noted, he was “an independent-minded composer, without closing his mind or ears to the changes that surrounded him.”⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴³ Orrego-Salas, “La creación musical”, 17.

⁵⁴⁴ Orrego-Salas, “Música y vida: Geometría musical.”, *Revista Musical Chilena*, 4, no. 28 (1948), 40-41.

⁵⁴⁵ Peter Jacobi in Orrego-Salas, “Mi camino de la vocación al hallazgo”, *Revista Musical Chilena*, 58, no. 202, (2004), 68.

However, a closer look reveals that Orrego-Salas's cosmopolitanism was shaped by a strong — if not dominant — Iberian bias. In his memoir, he acknowledges that many of his early compositions were influenced by Iberian Renaissance and Baroque forms. This is particularly evident in vocal works such as *Canciones Castellanas*, Op. 7 (*Songs of Castile*); the *Villancico* for choir (a traditional Spanish Christmas carol), which later inspired his *Cantata de Navidad*, Op. 20 (*Christmas Cantata*); and *El Retablo del Rey Pobre*, based on the early Spanish genre of the *ensalada*. Traces of this Iberianism can even be found in more abstract works like *Obertura Festiva*, Op. 21 and *Symphony No. 1*, Op. 26.⁵⁴⁶

This Iberian influence might seem marginal were it not for the cultural and historical contexts in which Orrego-Salas operated. On one hand, the postwar musical landscape increasingly favored cosmopolitanism and avant-garde experimentation. Yet even by the mid-1950s — after he had ostensibly moved beyond his Iberian “romance” — works such as the *Serenata Concertante*, Op. 40 and *Symphony No. 3*, Op. 50, both commissioned in the United States, still contained elements that he attributed to Iberian Baroque influence.⁵⁴⁷ As stated earlier, while it is clear that Orrego-Salas developed a cosmopolitan language over the course of his career, his affinity for Spanish musical traditions endured — subtly embedded, or *coded*, within his later and more mature compositions. This will be of important consideration when analyzing his 1990 opera *Viudas*.

Furthermore, Orrego-Salas's preference for Iberian aesthetics over local folk traditions reflects his social identity. Notably, his Iberianism derived from elite art music traditions, not folk ones. As discussed in Chapter II, Carol Hess described Orrego-Salas as a bourgeois composer who tended

⁵⁴⁶ Orrego Salas, *Encuentros*, 177-178.

⁵⁴⁷ *Id.*, 187.

to overlook or minimize folk influences.⁵⁴⁸ Similarly, his younger colleague Celso Garrido-Lecca criticized him as “conservative,” citing his persistent adherence to Iberian neoclassicism.⁵⁴⁹ These points of view align with Jedrek Mularski’s socio-musical analysis of the Chilean bourgeoisie, who favored Iberian-influenced folk music from the central valleys over Andean traditions. In this light, Orrego-Salas’s musical style appears closely tied to the social class into which he was born.⁵⁵⁰

With these considerations in mind, we now turn to an analysis of selected works by Orrego-Salas that, in my view, contain significant political subtexts reflecting twentieth-century Chilean and global events. Such an impression was left by the tumultuous times the composer experienced, including the Cold War in which his adopted country — the United States of America — became directly involved in proxy conflicts such as the Vietnam War, as well as its indirectly while staging coups, such as the one that overthrew Allende and imposed Pinochet as a US-friendly dictator.

2. Juan Orrego-Salas, the religious pacifist

A. *Missa in Tempore Discordiae* – A “bourgeois” affirmation against violence

1) The Mass

The *Missa in Tempore Discordiae*, Op. 64, was composed in 1969, just one year before Salvador Allende’s electoral victory. According to Orrego-Salas, it is a religious work composed in response to the anxieties of the twentieth century, including those specific to Chile. However, it did not receive an immediate premiere. As it was not a commissioned piece but rather a personal statement, the *Missa* served as the composer’s expression of anguish in a century marked by war and conflict. Like his admired colleague Benjamin Britten, Orrego-Salas identified as a staunch

⁵⁴⁸ Hess, 145.

⁵⁴⁹ Garrido-Lecca in Niño, 395.

⁵⁵⁰ Mularski, 11.

pacifist, writing: “More often than not I’ve been accused of naïve — rather than finding support — when expressing my ideas about a worldwide disarmament in favor of a true peace extending over borders, cultures, languages and religions.”⁵⁵¹ Following this statement, the composer elaborates on his vision for peace, which is partially grounded in practical considerations — particularly his emphasis on addressing the root causes of global conflicts rather than offering superficial or temporary solutions. Nonetheless, his overall outlook on how such peace might be achieved remains, to a degree, idealistic or even utopian.

As discussed in Chapter III, Orrego-Salas similarly admired Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt’s *Percussion Concerto*, viewing it as an equally pacifist statement. This is particularly relevant considering that, unlike Becerra-Schmidt — who was forced into exile for supporting Allende — Orrego-Salas chose exile voluntarily.⁵⁵²

Compared to contemporaneous works by Britten and Bernstein, Orrego-Salas’s *Missa* is economical in its means. There is no division into multiple orchestral ensembles, as Orrego-Salas did not share the Wagnerian or Mahlerian fascination with music as a “world unto itself” — a view embraced by both Britten and Bernstein.⁵⁵³ Instead, the orchestration calls for a standard symphony orchestra with three wind quartets (flutes, clarinets, and trombones), an expanded percussion section, and strings. The vocal forces include a mixed choir and a solo baritone. Structurally, the work follows the traditional *Ordinarium Missae* — Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei — with the addition of the “*Ite, missa est*” (“Go, the Mass is ended,” according to the Roman Rite).

⁵⁵¹ “More often than not I’ve been accused of naïve – rather than finding support – when expressing my ideas about a worldwide disarmament in favor of a true peace extending over borders, cultures, languages and religions”. Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 235.

⁵⁵² Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 246.

⁵⁵³ Peter Franklin, *Reclaiming Late-Romantic Music: Singing Devils and Distant Sounds*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014, 15.

There is a striking formal parallel with Britten's War Requiem in the differentiation of languages: the choir sings in Latin, while the soloist sings in Spanish.

Orrego-Salas's use of text, however, diverges markedly from his contemporaries. Unlike Britten and Bernstein, Orrego-Salas held devout Catholic beliefs, even as he distanced himself from what he called "the incongruent doctrines of the Church."⁵⁵⁴ His spirituality took on a mystical dimension, which is reflected in many of his compositions, including the Missa. Here, he incorporated selections from Vicente Huidobro's 1931 poem "Altazor" as interpolations into the liturgical text. Orrego-Salas was drawn to the poem's eschatological and mystical themes, which articulate both modern skepticism and the poet's vision of a "cosmic afterlife" where sins and faults might find eternal redemption.⁵⁵⁵ Notably, Orrego-Salas claimed in his writings that he consciously employed the trope technique — an addition or modification of liturgical text common in medieval Masses from the tenth century onward. This historical reference situates his approach in continuity with Catholic musical tradition, unlike Britten and Bernstein, who aimed to innovate without explicit historical anchoring.⁵⁵⁶

"Altazor" is divided into seven cantos of varying length and content. Orrego-Salas primarily drew from the first canto, both for its rich imagery and thematic relevance.⁵⁵⁷ He did not follow the poem's order but selected verses to comment on the Mass text, occasionally modifying the wording

⁵⁵⁴ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 302.

⁵⁵⁵ Huidobro's mysticism is distinctly modern, characterized by a profound sense of cosmic awareness. Influenced by the era's astronomical discoveries, he envisions himself as a future astronaut journeying from planet to planet, aligning at times with both God and Lucifer, and contemplating human suffering with a sense of cosmic compassion. Vicente Huidobro, *Altazor*. Madrid: Publicaciones Iberoamericanas, 1931.

⁵⁵⁶ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 302.

⁵⁵⁷ The composer omitted certain sections of the poem either because some cantos — such as Canto II — are deeply personal and introspective, or because others are marked by self-referential, poetic excess. As a member of the avant-garde literary movement, Huidobro often embraced linguistic experimentation; consequently, portions of this epic — particularly Cantos VI and VII — are characterized by verbosity and exuberance rather than narrative progression. See, Huidobro, *Altazor*.

— an editorial liberty he discusses in his autobiography.⁵⁵⁸ For the purposes of this analysis, I will focus on selected passages that resonate with both the composer's and the poet's ideals of peace, as well as those that convey a state of existential conflict between human and celestial orders. I will also consider passages marked by unusual musical choices.

Orrego-Salas published two analyses of the *Missa*. The first appeared in the *Revista Musical Chilena* (RMC) in 1994, a journal with which he had maintained close ties since his tenure as editor-in-chief in the 1950s. The second appeared a decade later in his autobiography.⁵⁵⁹ These two sources are important for two reasons. First, they allow for a comparative reading of the composer's evolving reflections on the work, even within the span of a decade. Second, it is unusual for a composer to offer such in-depth, musicological self-analysis. In this case, Orrego-Salas provides a rare instance of interpretive self-reflection, offering unique insight into his compositional intent. Rather than duplicating a complete analysis of the piece, I will highlight the composer's key interpretive elements and examine how his understanding of the *Missa* was maintained, nuanced, or transformed over time — especially in ways relevant to the aims of this thesis.

One of the key differences between the two analyses lies in their contextual framing. The RMC article begins with a four-page overview of Orrego-Salas's vocal music, setting the stage for the *Missa*.⁵⁶⁰ In contrast, the autobiography situates the work within the broader historical context of its composition: the tense years of the Cold War, the violence of the Vietnam War and the protests

⁵⁵⁸ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 306.

⁵⁵⁹ Equally important to note is that, unlike the book — intended for a general readership — the RMC analysis includes musical examples, as it is published in a musicology-oriented journal where reference to the score is essential for understanding the music. Consequently, the musical analysis presented there is more extensive.

⁵⁶⁰ This context marks the evolution of Orrego-Salas's early tonal-modal, Iberian-influenced style into a more refined, modern, and harmonically ambiguous musical language. Orrego-Salas, "Altazor y la *Missa* in tempore discordiae: reciprocidad de palabra y música", *Revista Musical Chilena*, 47, no. 182 (1994), 18.

it sparked in the United States, the memory of two World Wars, and the growing political instability in Chile toward the end of the Frei presidency.⁵⁶¹ While both analyses share a similar overall perspective, the RMC version — accompanied by musical examples — delves deeper into the technical aspects of the work. The autobiographical account, by contrast, leans more toward philosophical reflection and contextual commentary.

Let us now turn to the “Kyrie,” which opens the *Missa*, where we find a key musical element included in the opening orchestral flourish. This is a recurring intervallic motive: an ascending major seventh, inverted as a descending minor second. These intervals consistently resolve either to the tonic or to a perfect octave, which the composer interprets as a symbol of discord and resolution. This motive will serve as a key analytical guide in tracing how its iterations correspond to the choice of text. (Fig. 70)

Figure 70 *Missa in tempore discordiae*, Op. 64 by Juan Orrego Salas. I. Kyrie. (Piano part, doubled by strings and woodwind MM. 1-3)



In the RMC analysis, the function and musical purpose of this seventh major interval is explained with detail:

“The ascending seventh G–F♯, introduced in an aggressive and piercing unison by flutes, clarinets, piano, violins, and violas, gives way to the three established repetitions of the *Kyrie eleison*, set in severe and

⁵⁶¹ The elements that, according to the composer, provoked discord in Chile will be further examined as we interrogate the nuances of his “left-wing” political stance. Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 301-302.

dissonant choral harmonies. This intervallic seed appears in both its original and inverted forms throughout the choral invocations, reinforcing its presence and firmly establishing it in the listener's ear — preparing us to either recognize it easily or, at a subconscious level, perceive it as the generative impulse behind the surges and releases that will become central to the work's subsequent development.”⁵⁶²

In the autobiography, a similar analytical approach is maintained. However, the absence of musical examples renders the description more cryptic and alienating for non-musicians, as there are no concrete reference points. Instead of technical illustration, the composer appeals to psychological states, emphasizing the role of “subconscious memories” triggered by the repeated major seventh interval.⁵⁶³

The first entrance of the tenor soloist occurs amid a thinning of the orchestral texture, particularly flutes and violas, as the poet contemplates his solitude.⁵⁶⁴ (Fig. 71)

Figure 71 *Missa in tempore discordiae*, Op. 64 by Juan Orrego Salas. I. Kyrie. (MM. 73-81)

The musical score for Figure 71 consists of four staves. The top two staves are for Flautas 1, 2 and Flauta 3, 4 (en Sol), both in 3/4 time. The Tenor staff is in 3/4 time and includes the lyrics "So - lo, so - lo, so - lo." The Violas staff is in 3/4 time and includes the instruction "sordina div." The score shows a thinning of the orchestral texture, with the Tenor soloist entering amid a thinning of the orchestral texture, particularly flutes and violas.

⁵⁶² “La séptima ascendente Sol-Fa#, en un agresivo y penetrante unísono de flautas, clarinetes, piano, violines y violas, abre paso a las tres repeticiones establecidas del *Kyrie eleison*, en severas y disonantes armonías del coro. El referido germen intervalístico aparece en su forma original y descendente, como también en su inversión, en las exhortaciones del coro, contribuyendo con ello a reiterar su presencia y así establecerlo firmemente en el oído, preparándonos para identificarlo con facilidad, o bien, apreciar al nivel de nuestras subconsciencias, el impulso generador de los embates y distensiones que serán cruciales en el ulterior desarrollo de la obra.” Orrego-Salas, “Altázor”, 23.

⁵⁶³ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 304.

⁵⁶⁴ “Lonely, lonely, I am standing at the summit of an agonising year/Lonely, lonely, at the center of the Universe”. Adapted and translated by Orrego-Salas from Huidobro, 1.

Orrego-Salas then expresses, through the poet, his existential doubt by setting the baritone soloist against the choral invocations of *Christe Eleison* / *Kyrie Eleison*. He explains: “*Altazor*, who, in the solitude of time — of the ‘dying year’ — and of space, where ‘the planets spin’ above his head, cannot find the ‘answer that fills the voids.’ Skepticism and doubt are foregrounded here.”⁵⁶⁵

This movement establishes the poetic tone of the *Missa* as a work marked by uncertainty and unresolved tension, exemplified by the recurring interval that functions as a leitmotif. It is a Mass that mirrors the composer’s anguish in the face of a century defined by industrial warfare and persistent social unrest.⁵⁶⁶

This tone is further developed in two subsequent sections: the *Credo* and the *Sanctus*. In the *Credo*, the G–F♯ major seventh interval, according to Orrego-Salas, plays a seminal role in reflecting his internal conflict — his personal faith set against the doctrinal authority of the Catholic Church and the broader Christian tradition.⁵⁶⁷ The interval appears prominently in the choral writing, which sets the *Ordinary* of the Mass in a style reminiscent of plainchant, though treated with eclecticism. This juxtaposition highlights Orrego-Salas’s complex relationship with tradition and belief. (Fig. 72 in next page)

⁵⁶⁵ “*Altazor* que, en la soledad del tiempo, del “año que agoniza”, y del espacio, donde “los planetas giran” sobre su cabeza, no encuentra la “respuesta que llene los abismos. El escepticismo, la duda, se establecen aquí en un primer plano” Orrego-Salas, “*Altázor*”, 23

⁵⁶⁶ A section of Huidobro’s poem references World War I as well as the forged papal prophecy attributed to St. Malachy. In the first canto, Huidobro writes: “Christ wants to die with many million other souls,” and later cites the year 1919 as the inception of the poem, linking it to the *Religio depopulata* papacy associated with that period. This passage exemplifies the poem’s obscure and esoteric mysticism. Huidobro, 21

⁵⁶⁷ Orrego-Salas, “*Altázor*”, 28.

Figure 72 *Missa in tempore discordiae*, Op. 64 by Juan Orrego Salas. III. Credo. (M. 416)

The musical score for Figure 72 is a page from a manuscript for Juan Orrego Salas's *Missa in tempore discordiae*, Op. 64, specifically the Credo section at measure 416. The score is written for a large ensemble and includes the following parts:

- Timbales:** Features a tremolo (tr) and a dynamic marking of *pp* (pianissimo).
- Caja clara:** Features a dynamic marking of *pp* (pianissimo).
- Soprano:** Features a dynamic marking of *p* (piano) and the lyrics "Fi-lium Dei u-ni-ge-ni-tum et ex".
- Alto:** Features a dynamic marking of *p* (piano) and the lyrics "Fi-lium Dei u-ni-ge-ni-tum et ex".
- Piano:** Features a dynamic marking of *ff* (fortissimo).
- Violines 1:** Features a dynamic marking of *pp* (pianissimo).
- Violines 2:** Features a dynamic marking of *pp* (pianissimo).
- Violas:** Features a dynamic marking of *pp* (pianissimo).

The alternation between plainchant and soloist reaches a climax at “*et homo factus est*”, where Altazor becomes, musically, poignantly ecstatic in his expression of doubt. This passage, drawn from *Canto I*, reflects some of the most modern perspectives on religion:

Que Dios sea Dios,
Que Satán sea Dios
O que ambos sean miedo
¡Lo mismo da!
Que me hunda o me eleve
¡Lo mismo da!

¡Me es igual!
[...]
Porqué si Tú existes, Señor,
Dios, es a mí a quien lo debes.⁵⁶⁸

Whether God is God

⁵⁶⁸ Adapted and translated by Orrego-Salas from Huidobro, 33-34.

Or Satan is God
 Or both are fear
 I couldn't care less!
 Whether I sink or I upheave

I couldn't care less!
 It means the same! [...]
 Since it is no one else but me, Oh Lord!
 That you owe your true existence.”

These lyrics function essentially as a *counter-credo*: an affirmation of the Christian God's existence, yet a simultaneous negation of His divine nature. When followed by the *Crucifixus*, this interpretation aligns closely with the composer's intention. In this context, Orrego-Salas draws on the views of his friend Oscar Hahn, who interpreted *Altazor* as an embodiment of Nietzsche's concept of the “death of God” and the rise of the *Übermensch*. However, as Orrego-Salas notes, *Altazor* ultimately clings to faith as the only possible resolution to his spiritual crisis, despite his awareness of the constructed nature of that belief.⁵⁶⁹

The composer describes the orchestration in this passage as sparse, employing only violins and violas, yet highly contrasting and dissonant. (Fig. 73)

Figure 73 *Missa in tempore discordiae*, Op. 64 by Juan Orrego Salas. III. Credo. (MM. 436-440)

The musical score for Figure 73 shows the Credo section (MM. 436-440) from Juan Orrego Salas's *Missa in tempore discordiae*, Op. 64. The score is for Tenor, Violins 1, Violins 2, Violas, Violonchelos, and Contrabajos. The Tenor part is in 4/4 time, marked 'f' (forte), and the lyrics are 'Que Dios se - a Dios, O Sa - tán se - a Dios'. The instrumental parts for Violins 1, Violins 2, and Violas are marked 'mp' (mezzo-piano) and 'p' (piano), with some notes marked 'p sub.' (piano subito). The Violonchelos and Contrabajos parts are marked 'mp'.

⁵⁶⁹ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 304.

A second moment in which these doubts resurface occurs in the *Sanctus*. At one point, the orchestra falls silent during the *Hosanna* acclamations, and the baritone adopts a recitative style, delivering a verse of dread that ultimately transforms into hope: (Fig. 74)

Después de muchos siglos el mar se abrirá
Saldrán los náufragos que cumplieron su
castigo
Andarán por la tierra con miradas de vidrio
y se convertirán en constelaciones.⁵⁷⁰

After many centuries the waters of the sea
will hollow
To let all the dead by then having served their
damnations egress
They will wander through the Earth with
glassy looks
And after, [they will] sprinkle into shiny
constellations.

Figure 74 *Missa in tempore discordiae*, Op. 64 by Juan Orrego Salas. IV. Sanctus. (MM. 689)

The musical score for Figure 74 consists of five staves. The top staff is for the *Caja clara* (snare drum), marked *Calmo* and *pp*. The second staff is for the *Tenor* (baritone), marked *Parlato, calmo*, with lyrics in Spanish: "Después de muchos siglos el mar se abrirá. Saldrán los náufragos que cumplieron su castigo". The third staff is for *Violines 1*, marked *pp*. The fourth staff is for *Violas*, marked *pp*. The fifth staff is for *Contrabajos* (bass), marked *pp*. All string parts (Violines 1, Violas, and Contrabajos) feature a tremolo effect.

⁵⁷⁰ Adapted and translated by Orrego-Salas from Huidobro, 97.

And so, the baritone proclaims the supreme triumph of the resurrection and thus that of Christ/God the King: (Fig. 75)

Entonces saldrá un volcán en medio de las
olas;
Y dirá;
¡Yo soy el rey!⁵⁷¹

Then, a glowing volcano will break through
the midst of stormy waves
And say
I am the Lord!

Figure 75 *Missa in tempore discordiae*, Op. 64 by Juan Orrego Salas. IV. Sanctus. (MM. 703-705)

The musical score for Figure 75 is arranged in eight staves. The top staff is for Flauta (Flute) in 6/4 time, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It features a melodic line with a *mp* (mezzo-piano) dynamic. The second staff is for Trombón 1, 2 (Trumpets 1 and 2) in 6/4 time, with a *mf* (mezzo-forte) dynamic. The third staff is for Trombón 3, 4 (Trumpets 3 and 4) in 6/4 time. The fourth staff is for Caja clara (Clarinets) in 6/4 time, with a *mp* dynamic. The fifth staff is for Tenor in 6/4 time, with lyrics in Spanish: "y di - rá" and "Yo soy el rey". It includes dynamic markings *p* (piano), *mf*, and *marc.* (marcato). The sixth staff is for Violines 1 (Violins 1) in 6/4 time, with a *p* dynamic. The seventh staff is for Violas in 6/4 time, with a *mp* dynamic. The eighth staff is for Violonchelos (Violoncellos) in 6/4 time, with a *mp* dynamic. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

⁵⁷¹ Adapted and translated by Orrego-Salas from Huidobro, 97.

This affirmation unfolds amid a full orchestral tutti, as the acclamations to God ascend. However, the deity evoked here is no longer the Christian God in a traditional sense; it is a God who has incarnated within Altazor himself. In this moment of mystical communion, the self — and, by extension, all individuals — gain access to the divine, affirming God as a tangible presence rather than an ethereal, inaccessible force.⁵⁷² As such, this “embodied” God becomes a transformative force, a catalyst for good, as will be further suggested in the *Ite missa est*.

However, and before proceeding to the end, it is necessary to address the overt pacifist message embedded in the *Agnus Dei*. This movement is divided into two parts. The first is the *Agnus Dei* proper — a poignant, though secular, prayer delivered by the tenor soloist, accompanied by an ostinato motif built around the repeated G–F♯ major seventh in clarinets and strings. (Fig. 76)

Figure 76 *Missa in tempore discordiae*, Op. 64 by Juan Orrego Salas. V. *Agnus Dei*. (MM. 794–795)

The musical score for Figure 76 consists of five staves. The top two staves are for Clarinete en Sib 2 and Clarinete en Sib 3, both in 6/4 time. The Clarinete en Sib 2 part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#), while the Clarinete en Sib 3 part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). Both parts feature a melodic line with a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, marked with a *p* (piano) dynamic. The third staff is for Timbales, in bass clef, with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, marked with a *p* dynamic. The fourth staff is for Tenor, in treble clef, with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features a melodic line with a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, marked with a *p* dynamic. The lyrics are: De - vol - ve - ré las ar-mas al e-ne-mi-go Con-ta-ré. The bottom staff is for Violonchelos, in bass clef, with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It features a melodic line with a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, marked with a *p* dynamic.

⁵⁷² Orrego-Salas, “Altázor”, 35.

In response, the choir intones its plea for mercy, while the soloist expresses a now “confident” faith in redemption. Yet it is in the *Dona nobis pacem* section where the soloist most fully articulates his pacifist convictions:

Devolveré las armas al enemigo
Contaré las pisadas de Dios en el espacio
y reiré con El antes de quedarme dormido.⁵⁷³

I will return the weapons to the enemy
And then I'll count all of God's footsteps in
the vast and distant space
And I will laugh with Him just before closing
my eyes to sleep.

Here, war is unequivocally renounced, and the “embodied” God emerges as a peaceful sovereign. The movement concludes in a gentle *diminuendo*, carried by the flutes.

The second part, the *Ite missa est*, serves as the true conclusion of the *Missa*. It is here that the concept of an “embodied” God becomes most evident. Reflecting retrospectively, Orrego-Salas described the text he wrote — heavily inspired on Huidobro's poem — for this section as “prophetic” of Chile in 1970: (Fig. 77 in next page)

Pero yo seguiré montado en Tu palabra,
Girando por el universo,
Escribiendo en las paredes de los astros,
Arañando el infinito con mis garras,

Descorriendo cortinas en las nubes,
Protestando,
Riendo,
Cantando.⁵⁷⁴

But I will remain forever riding in [Thy] word
Hurdling around the Universe
Writing on the walls of all the stars
Scrabbling the infinite with my claws.

Pulling wide open all curtains in the clouds
Protesting,
laughing,
singing.

⁵⁷³ Adapted and translated by Orrego-Salas from Huidobro, 98.

⁵⁷⁴ Orrego-Salas, *Missa in Tempore Discordiae*, 163-164.

Figure 77 *Missa in tempore discordiae*, Op. 64 by Juan Orrego Salas. VI. Ite missa est. (MM. 820-822)

The musical score for Figure 77 consists of seven staves. The top staff is for the *Caja clara* (clapper), marked *pp* and *colla voce*. The vocal staves are for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bajo (Bass), each marked *pp* and *colla voce solista*. The Soprano staff has a *colla parte solista* marking. The Tenor Solista staff has lyrics in Spanish. The bottom staff is for Contrabajos (div.) (Double Basses), marked *pp (quasi senza vib.)* and *colla voce*.

Lyrics for Tenor Solista:

escribiendo en las paredes de los astros,	arañando el infinito con mis garras,	descorriendo cortinas entre las nubes,	protestando, ... riendo, ... cantando,,

According to the composer, this prophetic association was reinforced by witnessing how *Nueva Canción* became emblematic of the Chilean state, with singer-songwriters like Víctor Jara elevating folk protest to a national platform for voicing collective concerns, fears, and hopes. Orrego-Salas also credits his inspiration to the mass protests of American youth against the

Vietnam War.⁵⁷⁵ In sum, his “embodied” God is one who gazes into the cosmic vastness and returns not with a message of violence or submission, but with one of peace — yet with protest — expressed through joy and music.

2) Critiques and commentaries about the Missa

The Missa in Tempore Discordiae was subsequently reviewed by two commentators: Luis Merino Moreno, a colleague of Orrego-Salas at Indiana University, and Henry Buckwalter, who conducted the work with the Louisville Orchestra in 1980.⁵⁷⁶ Orrego-Salas refers to both of their commentaries in his autobiography. In fact, Buckwalter premiered the work in Louisville in 1980 and later analyzed it as part of his doctoral dissertation. From this extensive document, several sections are of particular interest, as they offer compelling insights into the stylistic and ideological choices embedded in the Missa.

One of Buckwalter’s key observations concerns the tension between expectation and expression in the Gloria, where the dialogue between the soloist and the chorus reveals Orrego-Salas’s anguish.

Perhaps nowhere else in the *Missa* is the contrast between the viewpoints of the believers and Altazor as pronounced as it is in [measures] 209-259 (Gloria movement). While the chorus sings brightly of praise, blessing, worship, and thanks, the soloist speaks of death, chaos, and weeping. He challenges the chorus to die to the concerns of the flesh so that the soul may know peace.⁵⁷⁷

This dissonance between religious belief and the violent realities of the 20th century is a theme the Missa shares with two equally politically charged sacred works of the period: Benjamin Britten’s

⁵⁷⁵ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 313.

⁵⁷⁶ It was with the Louisville Orchestra that Orrego-Salas premiered his *Serenata Concertante* and later recorded his *Symphony No. 2*. His ongoing relationship with the ensemble led to further commissions and performances of his works. Notably, the *Missa* was performed in Louisville just a few months after its premiere in Bloomington, Indiana. Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 314.

⁵⁷⁷ Henry R. II Buckwalter, “A Conductor’s Study of Juan Orrego-Salas’ ‘Missa in Tempore Discordiae.’” ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 1984, 42.

War Requiem and Leonard Bernstein's *Mass*. However, it is crucial to understand Orrego-Salas's motivations for writing this piece — not merely as a spiritual work, but as a lament for what Buckwalter describes as religious hypocrisy toward the suffering.

Buckwalter sees the conclusion of the work as central to this critique. He interprets the ending as Orrego-Salas's affirmation of faith in the face of widespread suffering, coupled with a rejection of those who invoke religion superficially without genuine moral engagement.

"The final movement presents Altazor's promise to persist in the faith. [...] He vows to continue to "protest" hypocrisy when he finds it, and he is certain of continuing joy. He accomplished his purpose by chiding and challenging those who were merely uttering familiar words to examine, understand, and live their religion."⁵⁷⁸

This is particularly evident in the Credo, where the dialogue between the soloist, God, and the chorus becomes essential. According to Buckwalter, Orrego-Salas invites listeners to seek the divine within themselves and to act against injustice and hypocrisy — especially that which emanates from those who, like the chorus, preach but do not act.

"His intention is to tell God that he has the upper hand in their relationship, but in uttering those words he discovers the solution to the spiritual riddle with which he has been struggling: God exists for the soul which believes in and accepts Him and does His work. The answer is as simple and yet as profound as that. With Altazor's acceptance of God comes an end to the contrast and confrontation between the chorus and tenor which had marked the first three movements. [...] He suggests that if God's kingdom is to continue, it is the believers' responsibility to further it on earth. As in the "Gloria," Altazor challenges the faithful to act on their words."⁵⁷⁹

This interpretation supports Orrego-Salas's own later acknowledgment of the *Missa* as a work imbued with political undertones. These ideas gained particular resonance in light of the role played by figures such as Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez — Archbishop of Santiago during the

⁵⁷⁸ Buckwalter, 47.

⁵⁷⁹ *Id.*, 44-45.

Pinochet dictatorship — who led the Comité Pro Paz and later the Vicaría de la Solidaridad, institutions discussed in Chapter II for their defense of human rights.⁵⁸⁰

Luis Merino Moreno also analyzed the *Missa* prior to its premiere. In an article published in the *Revista Musical Chilena* in 1978, he presented the work as one of Orrego-Salas's most stylistically innovative compositions from the 1960s. In contrast to Buckwalter, Merino openly links the theme of discord to social injustice. "Although the precise scope of the term "discord" is not specified here, it may be assumed that it refers to wars, poverty, social injustice, and the many other forms of inequality that have plagued our planet throughout the twentieth century".⁵⁸¹ It is worth emphasizing that this article was written in Chile during the height of the Pinochet regime, when publishing references to inequality or human suffering in academic or journalistic contexts was risky. Merino's decision to do so, even subtly and in a single paragraph, constitutes a bold and meaningful gesture.

Merino's analysis centers on human pain and sorrow as thematic axes of the work. He identifies the Kyrie eleison as a particularly expressive moment, where Huidobro's poetry evokes the solitude of the self before the divine, culminating in a form of rebellion in which the believer asserts their entitlement to a relationship with God. He further argues that organized religion bears partial responsibility for human suffering. "It is Christianity, when poorly understood, that has brought about the pain, misery, loneliness, enmity, and injustice that culminate in human discord."⁵⁸² This reading aligns with Orrego-Salas's own critique, in his autobiography, of the

⁵⁸⁰ Stern, 57

⁵⁸¹ "Si bien no se precisa aquí el alcance exacto del vocablo "discordia", es posible suponer que se refiere a las guerras, la pobreza, la injusticia social y tantas otras desigualdades que han plagado nuestro planeta durante este siglo XX" Luis Merino Moreno, "Visión del compositor Juan Orrego-Salas". *Revista Musical Chilena*, 32, no. 142, (1972). 61.

⁵⁸² "Es el cristianismo mal observado el que ha provocado el dolor, la miseria, la soledad, la enemistad y la injusticia que redunda en la discordia humana". *Id.*, 65.

pious yet oppressive behavior of his relatives toward domestic workers.⁵⁸³ It also resonates with Buckwalter's conclusions regarding the work's ethical and theological implications. Finally, Merino notes how Orrego-Salas musically underscores these tensions. In the Gloria, he contrasts the choir's static, homophonic texture with the tenor's sinuous, quasi-melismatic line, which incorporates elements of atonality and serialism. In the Credo, this contrast intensifies, highlighting the opposition between institutional faith and the soloist's existential doubt.⁵⁸⁴

In sum, both analyses affirm the *Missa* as a deeply ideological work; one that denounces human suffering through its textual choices and musical language.

3) The *Missa*'s relevance to the Chilean context

I will now explain why this work, although composed before 1970, remains relevant to the period under study. In the analysis Orrego-Salas provides in his 2005 autobiography, he identifies three key elements for understanding the piece's significance. First, he acknowledges that the work was directly influenced by the political situation in Chile:

In 1969, Chile was affected by a growing political and social division, which troubled relationships and affections [even] within families. The president in turn, Eduardo Frei Montalva, began an agrarian reform that even if it was moderate, was detrimental to the interests of traditional landlords in the country. From the distance I saw and lived the experience, I considered this reform not only necessary, but long awaited. These thoughts caused friction between myself and my in-laws. [...] When doctor Salvador Allende, a socialist with more progressive and radical ideas on this and other subjects, was elected to presidency [a year later], discord and fracture worsened among Chileans. [...] There was a constant confrontation ambience that I could notice on my visits to the country [...] These times of discord which incited me to express my feeling in my own language – music – in the *Missa* “in tempore discordiae”; work whose intention gained more validity after the coup and the brutal dictatorship of General Pinochet.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸³ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 38.

⁵⁸⁴ Merino, 67.

⁵⁸⁵ “En 1969, Chile era víctima de una gran división política y social, que afectaba a las relaciones y cariños dentro de una misma familia. El presidente en ejercicio, Eduardo Frei Montalva, había impulsado una reforma agraria que, aunque cautelosa, perjudicaba los intereses de los terratenientes tradicionales del país. Desde la distancia en la que yo vivía la consideraba no sólo necesaria, sino que por mucho tiempo postergada, y el pensar así me colocaba en oposición a mi suegro y cuñados. [...] La elección a la presidencia del doctor Salvador Allende, socialista con ideas más tajantes y progresistas sobre éste y otros asuntos, empeoró esta situación de fraccionamiento y discordia entre los chilenos.

This statement alone justifies the inclusion of this work in my study, as Orrego-Salas explicitly acknowledges that it was shaped by his perception of Chile's escalating social tensions, which would only intensify in the years following its composition.

However, there are two additional motives, identified retrospectively by the composer, that further support the work's relevance as a "context piece." The first appears in the fifth movement, where Orrego-Salas interprets the "protesting, singing, and chanting" in Huidobro's poem as prophetically anticipating the rise of Nueva Canción figures such as Víctor Jara.⁵⁸⁶ This a posteriori association is valid when considered alongside the historical context discussed in Chapters I and II. As previously analyzed, NCC emerged from the liberalizing cultural climate of 1960s Chile and reached its peak during Allende's presidency, when it was elevated to the status of "official state music." As argued in Chapter II, this elevation was unprecedented, given that NCC's lyrics often denounced oppression and promoted solidarity among the working and agrarian classes.

The second motive relates to Orrego-Salas's later engagement with the NCC movement during the 1980s, when he composed music for exiled members of the movement. Notably, during NCC's height in Chile (1960 to 1973), he was the only major "art music" composer who did not collaborate — formally or informally — with its members. As will be examined in the following section, it was only after Orrego-Salas found himself in a state of voluntary exile and, in some sense, political liminality, that he expressed solidarity with the movement. In this context, his later musical engagement can be seen as a symbolic act of support, aligning his voice with those of the

[...] Imperaba un ambiente confrontacional que había podido observar en mis breves visitas al país [...] Fueron estos tiempos de discordia los que me incitaron a expresar mis sentimientos en mi propio lenguaje — la música —, en la *Missa "in tempore discordiae"*, la que adquirió aún más validez después del golpe militar y la brutal dictadura del General Pinochet." Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 301.

⁵⁸⁶ *Id.*, 313.

exiled NCC artists. In this light, the *Missa* functions as a compelling precedent to that solidarity, echoing the themes of protest embedded in Huidobro's poetry.

4) Relationship to Britten's *War Requiem* (as an influence to the *Missa*) and to Bernstein's *Mass* (as a convergent work)

During the analysis of *Missa in tempore discordiae*, I identified several associations made by the composer that link the work spiritually to Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem*, Op. 66 and Leonard Bernstein's *Mass, A Theatre Piece For Dancers, Singers And Players*. These parallels were initially noted by Henry Buckwalter, yet Bernstein himself also acknowledged a kinship between his *Mass* and Orrego-Salas's *Missa* when he visited Indiana University to conduct a performance of his own work in Bloomington during the 1980s.⁵⁸⁷

This connection is partly due to Bernstein's familiarity with Orrego-Salas's *Missa*, as noted in Buckwalter's dissertation — though this fact is only subtly mentioned in Orrego-Salas's autobiography.⁵⁸⁸ Orrego-Salas completed the *Missa* in 1969, but it was not premiered until 1980. By contrast, Bernstein's *Mass* was completed in 1971, two years after Orrego-Salas had finished his work. To reconcile this chronology, Buckwalter notes that Orrego-Salas sent a copy of the score to Bernstein in hopes that his friend and colleague might conduct its premiere. Yet neither composer appears to have emphasized this connection publicly.⁵⁸⁹ While Buckwalter insightfully compares *Missa* to both the *War Requiem* and *Mass*, he stops short of exploring the broader Cold War context in which all three works were conceived.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁷ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 107.

⁵⁸⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁸⁹ Buckwater, 34.

⁵⁹⁰ Buckwater analysed other works such as Vaughan Williams' *Mass in G*, Zoltán Kodály's *Missa Brevis* or Heitor Villa-Lobos *Missa São Sebastião* as possible influences, since Buckwater's scope leaned on artistic rather than political considerations. *Id.*, 31.

Britten's *War Requiem* predates Orrego-Salas's work and was an evident source of inspiration. Commissioned for the consecration of the new Coventry Cathedral — rebuilt after being destroyed in the Blitz — Britten composed it in 1962, with the premiere taking place the following year. Analysts such as Mervyn Cooke and James Herbert frame the *War Requiem* as an emphatic anti-war piece, deeply critical of the political and ideological systems that fuel modern warfare. This critique is reflected in Britten's use of texts by Wilfred Owen, the British soldier-poet who was killed in World War I and whose poetry conveys the visceral trauma of war. My own past analysis of the *War Requiem* links it to earlier anti-war musical works by Britten, showing how the composer recycled and deepened his thematic engagement with war.⁵⁹¹

Structurally, both Britten and Orrego-Salas adapt the Latin Mass by juxtaposing it with secular texts in a living, modern language. Yet their approaches to musical troping differ. Britten assigns his English war poetry to two male soloists (tenor and baritone), accompanied by a (whole) chamber orchestra, while Orrego-Salas assigns his Spanish-language tropes to a single tenor soloist, supported by a reduced orchestration. Britten also adds a soprano soloist, a children's choir, and an organ, elements absent from Orrego-Salas's setting. Still, both works use full orchestral forces to support the chorus. Musically, they each employ a recurring interval to symbolize conflict: Britten uses a tritone (C–F♯), while Orrego-Salas uses a major seventh (G–F♯), both emphasizing the note F♯ as a locus of harmonic tension.⁵⁹²

The content of their trope texts, however, diverges significantly. Orrego-Salas constructs a philosophical and mystical dialogue between the idealized perfection of celestial faith and the

⁵⁹¹ In this dissertation, I essentially compared how some musical motives in the *War Requiem* had been present in earlier works by Britten such as *Our Hunting Fathers*, *King Arthur*, *Ballad of the Heroes* and *Sinfonia da Requiem*. See Chapter I in Sebastian Rodriguez Mayen, "Le pacifisme en musique : autour du *War Requiem* de Benjamin Britten". (Master's diss., Université de Montréal, 2018).

⁵⁹² See Mervyn Cooke, *War Requiem* for a complete analysis of this work.

existential anguish of modern humanity, voiced through Huidobro's *Altazor*. The work proposes a path toward peace that begins with inner contemplation, suggesting that personal spiritual reconciliation must precede broader political action.⁵⁹³ In contrast, Britten's tropes depict a collective subject: a generation of soldiers disillusioned by the betrayal of ideals. Owen's poetry portrays war as a product of systemic manipulation — by state, economy, and religion — ultimately casting institutional forces as the real culprits. Britten's stark musical language underscores this critique, offering little room for spiritual solace or ambiguity. As James Herbert argues, Britten's *War Requiem* resists cooptation by any claim of moral superiority from civil or ecclesiastical authorities through its use of Wilfred Owen's unflinching war poems, which expose the hypocrisy of institutions such as organized religion and the military.⁵⁹⁴

Orrego-Salas's tropes, while also resistant to cooptation, differ in tone and function. Their high mysticism and Nietzschean overtones challenge orthodoxy in more philosophical than political terms. Where Britten rejects the institutions that perpetuate war, Orrego-Salas proposes an internal spiritual awakening as a means of resisting social disorder.

Moving forward, comparison with Bernstein's *Mass* reveals further parallels and contrasts. Despite their collegial relationship and mutual awareness of each other's work, Bernstein's celebrity status meant his *Mass* received significantly more attention than Orrego-Salas's *Missa*.⁵⁹⁵ Both works use the Latin Mass Ordinary as the basis for troping, but Bernstein embraces a grand, Mahlerian-Wagnerian conception. His *Mass* includes operatic soloists, a theater troupe, a rock band, and the

⁵⁹³ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 313-314.

⁵⁹⁴ James D. Herbert, "Bad Faith at Coventry: Spence's Cathedral and Britten's *War Requiem*", *Critical Enquiry*, 25, no. 3, 1999, 555.

⁵⁹⁵ Bernstein's mythologization as the foremost US-American art music celebrity became more evident following the release of his 2023 biopic, *Maestro*. See Botstein, Leon. "Beyond Maestro: Leonard Bernstein in Film and History." *The Musical Quarterly* 106, no. 3-4 (2024): 201-202.

innovation of pre-recorded tapes, all contributing to an eclectic, multimedia experience.⁵⁹⁶ Despite these differences, a critical point of convergence lies in the central figure of The Celebrant, who — like Orrego-Salas's *Altazor* — functions as a philosophical vessel whose faith is questioned, shattered, and ultimately rebuilt.

Bernstein's use of dramatic characters externalizes this spiritual crisis: the Celebrant is confronted by a chorus of voices articulating political and personal grievances. This sharply contrasts with *Altazor*'s introspective monologue. The trope texts differ accordingly: while Orrego-Salas draws on Huidobro's poetry, Bernstein collaborated with Stephen Sondheim and incorporated contributions from singer-songwriter Paul Simon.⁵⁹⁷

Musically, both composers use dissonance and mechanical repetition to critique religious dogma. In Orrego-Salas's *Credo*, soprano-alto and tenor-bass voices sing mirrored rhythms in dissonant harmony, evoking a neo-Gregorian rigidity. Bernstein's *Credo* follows a similar strategy, employing angular melodies and rhythmic repetition to emphasize the rote nature of religious belief. Jack Gottlieb, a longtime collaborator of Bernstein, notes that these devices were meant to mock and criticize the mechanical recitation of doctrine (Figs. 78 & 79 in the next page).⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁶ In this regard, Becerra-Schmidt's *Ossietzky-Oratorium* draws influence not only from NCC but also from Bernstein's legacy.

⁵⁹⁷ *MASS: A Theatre Piece for Singers, Players and Dancers* (1971). *Leonard Bernstein Office*. <https://leonardbernstein.com/works/view/12/mass-a-theatre-piece-for-singers-players-and-dancers>. Accessed on 22nd Sept. 2026.

⁵⁹⁸ Jack Gottlieb. *Working with Bernstein: A Memoir*. Amadeus Press, 2010, 137.

Figure 78 *Missa in tempore discordiae*, Op. 64 by Juan Orrego Salas. III. Credo. (Choir parts, MM. 400-403)

S
A

mf

Cre-do in u - num De-um, Pa - ter om - ni - po-ten-tem, fac - to-rem coe - li et ter-ra vi

T
B

mf *p* *mf* *p*

Cre - do Cre - do in

Figure 79 *Mass: A Theatre Piece for Dancers, Singers and Players* by Leonard Bernstein. X. Credo. 1. Credo in unum deum (MM. 1-4)

S
A

Cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem o-mni-po-ten-tem, Fa - cto-rem cae-li et te-rrae,

T
B

However, the ideological scope of Bernstein's work is broader and as such, reaches a wider audience. Where Orrego-Salas's mysticism emanates from a somewhat "ivory tower" perspective — shaped by his upper-class upbringing — Bernstein's use of theatrical elements grounds his critique in lived, social realities. As explored earlier in this chapter, Orrego-Salas's detachment from working-class struggles is reflected in his philosophical tone and aesthetic choices.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁹ On Orrego Salas' case, this was discussed in the prior subsection of this topic.

Bernstein's *Mass*, by contrast, stages public outrage against religious and political authority. In the Gloria, he depicts persecution within democratic systems;⁶⁰⁰ in the Gospel-Sermon, he critiques the Church as a tool of violence;⁶⁰¹ and in the Agnus Dei/Dona Nobis Pacem, the people revolt, demanding justice. The climactic image of the Celebrant spilling the Holy Chalice — revealing blood instead of wine — dramatizes his awakening to human suffering. His final rebellion targets both oppressive systems and the blind rage of the mob, calling for a genuine transformation grounded in compassion and peace. For Bernstein, spiritual and political reform are inseparable.⁶⁰²

In conclusion, Orrego-Salas's *Missa in tempore discordiae* offers a profound reflection on 20th-century violence and spiritual crisis, viewed through the lens of an elite Latin American intellectual during the Cold War. Its philosophical posture contrasts with the activist urgency of Britten and Bernstein, but all three works remain deeply engaged with the ethical responsibilities of sacred music in a world marked by conflict.

B. The Days of God: A chronicle of an unfortunate and ill-timed premiere

1) The Oratorio

Orrego-Salas's oratorio *The Days of God* emerged, like many other compositions in the United States in 1976, as a commission for the Bicentennial celebrations in Washington, D.C. Most of these works were performed at the newly built John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts

⁶⁰⁰ "Half of the people are stoned, and the other half is waiting for the next election" this one of the quatrains provided by Paul Simon to Leonard Bernstein. *Mass*.

⁶⁰¹ "God gave us the laws/God gave us the Cross/We turned it into a sword/To spread the Word of the Lord". *Id*.

⁶⁰² Barry Seldes, *Leonard Bernstein: The Political Life of an American Musician*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009, 124.

and given the scale and ambition of *The Days of God*, its premiere at that venue was no exception.⁶⁰³

As will be explored in the second subsection, *The Days of God* did not receive the critical acclaim the composer had anticipated, especially when compared to earlier premieres. Unlike the *Missa*, which sets the Latin (Roman Catholic) Mass, Orrego-Salas turned to the Protestant King James Bible, drawing primarily from Genesis with interpolations from the Book of Psalms. To this scriptural base, he added modern poetic texts, including selections from Pablo Neruda's "Cantos Ceremoniales" and Dylan Thomas's "In the Beginning". The work was commissioned by Orrego-Salas's close friend, the esteemed conductor Antal Dorati, who at the time served as artistic director of the National Symphony Orchestra in Washington.⁶⁰⁴

The oratorio is structured in seven parts, each corresponding to a day of Creation. It is scored for SATB choir and soloists. Among these, the baritone serves as a narrative voice, guiding the Biblical storyline; the tenor represents the inquisitive human spirit confronting the mysteries of creation; while the soprano and alto function as proclaiming voices of divine revelation.⁶⁰⁵ Although Orrego-Salas offers an insightful overview of the piece in his memoir *Encuentros*, the most detailed analysis remains that of Efrén Capdevila in RMC.

Musically, the work is built on two key motivic elements: a melodic cell (E–G–D $\sharp$) that symbolizes God, and a descending octave-plus-fourth interval representing the narrator. This duality forms a

⁶⁰³ The US Bicentennial celebration commission were not limited to US-American composers like Frederick Rzewski, John Cage, or William Schuman, who each contributed works for various thematic commissions; international composers, such as Joaquín Rodrigo, also submitted pieces to commemorate the anniversary. See Richard Jackson, *U.S. Bicentennial Music*. Brooklyn: Institute for Studies in American Music, Dept. of Music, School of Performing Arts, Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, 1977

⁶⁰⁴ Capdevila, 100.

⁶⁰⁵ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros* 318.

recurring dialogue that frames each section of the oratorio. Indeed, the concept of dialogue, both musical and thematic, serves as the principal guiding structure of the work. Beyond this melodic interplay, Capdevila identifies a crucial distinction between contemplative-mystical moments and descriptive passages. Examples of the former include the baritone aria “Still the Atmosphere Trembles,” which sets Neruda’s poem, and the alto solo “Love Was Light Before Light Was Light,” adapted from the Psalms. In both cases, the music expresses awe at divine majesty and reaffirms the simplicity of divine love.⁶⁰⁶

Descriptive elements, by contrast, are most vividly realized in the Sixth Day, where word painting animates the orchestral texture to depict the “roars, howls, cracks and creaks, huffing and barking” of newly created animals. For the emergence of humankind — occurring in the latter part of this section — Orrego-Salas assigns Dylan Thomas’s text to the higher voices (SA) for flying creatures and the lower voices (TB) for sea life, later inverting these roles as “dolphins jump in the air and seagulls hunt down in the sea.” The section culminates in a unison phrase — “one single breath” — symbolizing the arrival of humanity.⁶⁰⁷

Although I will not examine the full oratorio in depth, given that its thematic scope falls outside the core focus of this thesis, it is important to understand these key elements in order to assess the context of its premiere and to grasp why the composer ultimately regarded this work as a “failure” within his otherwise prolific catalogue.

2) The premiere and critiques

⁶⁰⁶ Capdevila, 101.

⁶⁰⁷ *Id.*, 102-103.

According to Orrego-Salas, the unfortunate circumstances surrounding the premiere of *The Days of God* were due, in part, to its timing: November 2, 1976 — the date of the U.S. presidential election, which resulted in the victory of Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter.⁶⁰⁸ Not only did the political climate overshadow the event, but what was intended to be a politically “neutral” work — particularly regarding the situation in Chile under Pinochet — became unexpectedly politicized. Among the sparse and gradually diminishing audience — many of whom left as election results were announced — there was, according to the composer, a group of Pinochet sympathizers who were aware of Orrego-Salas’s opposition to the regime. These agitators did no other thing than booing and slandering the work during the last minutes of performance. By the end, the hall was nearly empty, and despite the applause, the echo of the booing clique cast an ominous shadow over the reception of the piece.⁶⁰⁹

The reviews published the next day were also largely unsympathetic. Although a few critics acknowledged that they could “find moments of great beauty,” the overall reception dealt a significant blow to the composer’s confidence. Paul Hume, writing in *The Washington Post*, dismissed the piece as “a work that is dull. It moves most of the time in square, monotonous rhythms, it fails to rise to the most inspired pages of the Creation story. It plods when it needs to soar.”⁶¹⁰ Similarly, Irving Lowens in *The Washington Star* offered a pointed critique of the composer’s technique, writing, “Orrego-Salas is no Haydn; and despite his high-mindness, *The*

⁶⁰⁸ The analysis provided by Capdevila gives a precise date and time (November 2nd and 3rd, 1976), which the composer gets wrong in his memoirs (He states December 2nd and 3rd, 1976). *Id.*, 100.

⁶⁰⁹ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 319-320.

⁶¹⁰ Hume, Paul. “An Orchestral World Premiere: 130 People Walk Out”. *Washington Post* (1974-); Nov 4, 1976; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post, B6.

Days of God has its languours.” Nevertheless, Lowens was somewhat more generous in tone, encouraging audiences to give the piece a second hearing later that same night.⁶¹¹

In contrast, Capdevila offered a more favorable assessment, particularly praising the work’s sonic imagery and orchestration. He observed that the orchestra had “fulfilled its goal of transmitting the pictorial and dramatic elements contained in the Genesis tale.” For Capdevila, the work not only sustained the continuous musical flow essential to its understanding but also demonstrated a nuanced command of texture and color — ranging from “the dullest beats of percussion,” to “ethereal drone notes in the brass,” and culminating in “dramatic tutti describing the sublimity of creation.”⁶¹²

3) The fate of history: A comparison with Rzewski’s *The People United* variations.

Frederick Rzewski’s *The People United Will Never Be Defeated* was also commissioned as part of the United States Bicentennial celebrations.⁶¹³ Commissioned by pianist Ursula Oppens and premiered in Washington D.C. ten months prior to Orrego-Salas’ *The Days of God*, Rzewski’s variations on Sergio Ortega’s revolutionary NCC tune “El pueblo unido jamás será vencido” immediately drew attention for both its subject and its composer — an unusual combination for the time. Carol Hess notes that Rzewski’s political commitments, such as making art for the

⁶¹¹ Lowens, Irving. “Days of God Draws Mixed KenCen Reaction”. *Evening Star (as Washington Star)* (1974-); Nov 3, 1976; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Evening Star, C3.

⁶¹² Capdevila, 107.

⁶¹³ Although Rzewski’s piece and the original song belong to the art and popular repertoires respectively, unlike most of the other works presented here, and although I do not analyse them directly, I have decided to include recordings of both in the bibliography. For “¡El pueblo unido jamás será vencido!”, I have included Quilapayún’s original recording. For Rzewski’s *Variations*, I have included a recent version by the Belarusian pianist Hanna Shybayeva, recorded in the aftermath of the 2020 election, in which the Belarusian president Aleksandr Lukashenko saw his authority contested for the first time after nearly three decades in power. This context shows how the ideals of the NCC artists, encapsulated by Rzewski, remain relevant in political contexts that call out for civil rights to be respected.

working class and supporting those affected by U.S. interventions in Latin America, led to his being widely regarded as a political composer within art music circles.⁶¹⁴

As some critics have shown, Rzewski viewed the piece as both a contrast to and in dialogue with the Bicentennial celebrations, which he framed as “the celebration of our own ongoing revolutionary ideals in the United States.”⁶¹⁵ Hess situates this within the historical context of the mid-1970s, when the CIA’s involvement in Pinochet’s coup had become public knowledge, arguing that Rzewski’s work captured the political climate and the politics of historical memory:

“In some circles, there was deep and sustained soul-searching, along with cynicism and shame, over the true nature of U.S.-style democracy in the post-Vietnam, post-Watergate era. If the fireworks and omnipresent red-white-and-blue bunting of the Bicentennial were staged to awaken one version of historical memory, *The People United* rudely challenged it.”⁶¹⁶

As a result, critical responses to the work quickly engaged — either affirmatively or dismissively — with its overt political dimensions. As Hess observes, some analyses have attempted to disavow the political virtuosity of the piece. Among these is Robert W. Wason’s thoughtful analysis, which focuses on its tonal and atonal elements. Wason expresses skepticism about the political resonance of the work, stating that “its lasting appeal is musical, not political.”⁶¹⁷ Yet, despite his analytical detachment, Wason still acknowledges Rzewski’s use of two other revolutionary songs — “*Bandiera Rossa*” from Italy and “*Das Solidaritätslied*” from Germany, the latter composed by Hanns Eisler with lyrics by Bertolt Brecht.⁶¹⁸ Notably, Wason also highlights the role of jazz in

⁶¹⁴ Hess, 177.

⁶¹⁵ Frederick Rzewski in *id.*

⁶¹⁶ *Id.*, 178.

⁶¹⁷ Robert W. Wason, “Tonality And Atonality in Frederic Rzewski’s *Variations on ‘The People United Will Never Be Defeated!’*”, *Perspectives of New Music*, 26 (1), 109.

⁶¹⁸ See Chapter III for Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt’s usage of Brecht’s poetry for his own *Ossietzky-Lied*, and Chapter IV Luis Advis’ *Sinfonía Los Tres Tiempos de América* compared to Eisler/Brecht’s *Deutsche Sinfonie*. Once Orrego-Salas’s vocal works from the 1980s are examined, the overall impact of these compositions will be evaluated in the conclusion.

variation set 3 (featuring Bandiera Rossa), and the harmonic juxtaposition between Solidaritätslied (in A minor) and The People United (in D minor) in variation sets 5 and 6.⁶¹⁹

Critiques that embrace the work's political message have generally been more impactful. In a 1979 review of Oppens' recording, Paul Driver described the piece as "a clenched fist of protest," claiming that it "had a significant consciousness-raising effect at the time of their first performance," and asserting that Rzewski "[had] been remarkably able to express the musical and the political connotations of his thinking ... at the same time."⁶²⁰ John Rockwell's evaluation is more reserved: while acknowledging Rzewski's commitment to political art, he critiques the composer's use of "neo-romantic" musical language in *The People United* as potentially condescending toward the bourgeois audiences he sought to engage, especially given the politically charged nature of the source material:

"Neither Rzewski, nor Christian Wolff, has, to my knowledge, made much of an impact on the working classes, or on the third-world masses, or whoever it is they are ostensibly celebrating in their music. Nor have they made much headway with intellectuals, since their experimental, neo-romantic or neo-popular idioms are not really as interesting as real experimentation, romanticism or pop. And despite an occasional flurry of press attention, they haven't even done much to sway the petty bourgeoisie in any perceivable direction."⁶²¹

Having explored the contrasting receptions of Rzewski's and Orrego-Salas' bicentennial works, we now turn to a deeper examination of the factors that contributed to *The Days of God's* failure to resonate with its historical moment, and perhaps even with its intended audiences. While debates surrounding *The People United Will Never Be Defeated* generated a lively discourse on the political potential of art music, Orrego-Salas's oratorio occupies a more ambiguous space. As such, I want to consider how *The Days of God*, despite its composer's known opposition to the Pinochet

⁶¹⁹ We should not overlook the significance of jazz as politicized music both within and beyond the Cold War context: an aspect that Wason neglects in his analysis. Wason, "Tonality and Atonality", 135.

⁶²⁰ Paul Driver in Hess, 178.

⁶²¹ Rockwell, 91-92.

regime, ultimately fell short of engaging the urgent political sensibilities of its time, and what this suggests about Orrego-Salas' evolving relationship to political expression in music.

In his earlier *Missa in tempore discordiae* (from the late 1960s), Orrego-Salas reflected on his anguish over the growing political unrest in Chile and the wars occurring elsewhere in the world. Nonetheless, by 1974 — when *The Days of God* was begun — Orrego-Salas had already taken a stance against Pinochet's regime, indicating that he could have produced a far more overtly political work than *The Days of God* for the bicentennial. This should be of interest for two reasons. First, like Rzewski and many other politically conscious Americans, Orrego-Salas was fully aware of — and completely against — U.S. involvement in Pinochet's coup; a more overtly political work at that juncture would have made his stance unmistakable, a fact he confesses in his autobiography: "If I had lived in Chile during the days of the military coup, I wouldn't be writing these lines. I am not someone who keeps my thoughts to myself".⁶²²

Second, between 1979 and 1990 he composed several politically charged pieces in collaboration with Quilapayún — an exiled Chilean ensemble committed to political activism — while also creating personal works lamenting the loss of Chilean democracy. This suggests that, between 1974 and 1976, he might have produced a more explicitly engaged work than *The Days of God*. The reasons for his restraint remain unknown, but he may have believed that passive resistance offered the best protection for his U.S. permanent-resident status: As stated earlier in this chapter, he had surrendered his Chilean passport immediately after the coup and never sought American citizenship, leaving him essentially stateless.

⁶²² "Si hubiese vivido en Chile durante los días del golpe militar, no estaría escribiendo estas líneas. No soy de los que callo mis pensamientos." Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 246.

This contrast is indeed striking when we compare these two American bicentennial works. On one hand, there is *The Days of God*, an oratorio by an anti-Pinochetist Chilean composer; on the other, *The People United Variations*, a theme-and-variations piece composed by a “political” US-American composer, based on a song arising from the NCC movement. Based on all the evidence collected, *The People United* garnered immediate attention, produced a commercial recording (subsequently followed by several others)⁶²³, and even sparked conversations about politically oriented art, as noted above. While John Rockwell’s statements may hold some weight — given that political art music often fails to resonate with audiences beyond politically conscious circles — it appears that posterity ultimately granted the variations a legendary “political music” status, largely due to Rzewski’s reputation as a socially engaged composer.⁶²⁴

Conversely, *The Days of God* was heavily criticized in the press and booed by Pinochet supporters — a group that, ironically, backed “apolitical” art, as scholars such as Caterina Preda and Karen Donoso have noted in their analyses of culture during the Pinochet dictatorship. However, as we saw in Chapter II, these two authors argue that such art is inherently political because it reinforces the aesthetic values of the wealthy and powerful. *The Days of God* was recorded privately, and the score was edited; however, the recording was never published and remains housed in the archives of the University of Indiana, where Orrego-Salas worked for nearly 30 years. The piece has languished in obscurity ever since.⁶²⁵

⁶²³ Hess, 177.

⁶²⁴ As a final consideration, Orrego-Salas had his own views on Rzewski’s work. He regarded it as a metaphor for the events in Chile, and even as a political statement, given its intrinsic association with Sergio Ortega’s original melody; yet, for him at least, it remained first and foremost pure musical expression. Juan Orrego salas interviewed by Jessica Lynne Madsen, *Music as Metaphor: The Political Inspiration Behind Frederic Rzewski ’s 36 Variations on “El pueblo unido jamas será vencido!” (The People United Will Never Be Defeated!)*, a Chilean Nueva Cancion by Sergio Ortega and Quilapayún. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2003, 211.

⁶²⁵ Compared to the *Missa*, *The Days of God* seems to have been completely forgotten from public memory.

3. Juan Orrego-Salas: a bourgeois liberal under voluntary exile

At this point, it is more than evident that — at least at the time of composing *Missa in tempore discordiae* and *The Days of God* — Orrego-Salas demonstrated a significant degree of political naivety in his opposition to Pinochet. This can likely be attributed to his apparent non-confrontational pacifism, a stance repeatedly reflected in the *Missa*. As seen earlier in this chapter, he sought to reconcile his political convictions with his social background and elite relationships in Chile.

Indeed, various parts of his autobiography reflect these political leanings. Since his years at the Catholic University, Orrego-Salas had shown support for progressive and leftist politicians, a stance that frequently placed him at odds with his relatives and in-laws, many of whom were part of the Chilean aristocracy.⁶²⁶ The autobiography includes numerous examples of his self-positioning as a dissident voice: criticizing his grandmother's mistreatment of domestic workers, rejecting friends who expressed sympathies for fascist regimes, and supporting — at least on the surface — progressive societal changes. One prominent example is his fallout in the 1960s with his mentor and stepfather, Domingo Santa Cruz, who had grown increasingly hostile to efforts aimed at improving the conditions of the working classes. This rupture deepened when Santa Cruz later became a supporter of the Pinochet regime.⁶²⁷

However, as noting earlier in the chapter, Orrego-Salas also admitted feeling anxious about Allende's overtly socialist policies while composing the *Missa* —particularly as they affected the economic interests of his in-laws and friends. This ambivalence suggests his leftist commitment may have been superficial, despite his refusal to accept a diplomatic appointment and his decision

⁶²⁶ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 301.

⁶²⁷ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 246.

to return his passport following the 1973 coup. According to an interview with Jessica Lynne Madsen, Orrego-Salas became stateless in the sense that he held only U.S. permanent residency; yet he could still enter Chile. However, he and his wife deliberately chose not to acquire American citizenship, so as to retain their Chilean nationality.⁶²⁸

For these reasons, I consider Orrego-Salas' political stance to align with that of a bourgeois liberal: a term describing a privileged individual who advocates for social equality while continuing to benefit from existing hierarchies.⁶²⁹ A comparable figure is the (West) German composer Hans Werner Henze, who famously embraced leftist causes and composed overtly political works, yet admitted in a *Time* magazine interview with Michael Walsh that he remained a bon-vivant aristocrat.⁶³⁰ A more localized, South American comparison would be Juan Carlos Paz (1897-1972). A generation older than Orrego-Salas, Paz considered himself a thoroughly cosmopolitan composer, one who fully embraced serialism and, later, post-serialism as compositional methods. In terms of personality, however, he was a well-off composer who nonetheless sided with outsider positions and championed freedom of expression — so much so that his liberal, outsider persona was immortalised in the 1969 independent film *Invasión*, in which Paz took a featured role as the leader of a civil resistance movement confronting the invaders evoked in the film's title.⁶³¹

Following this autobiographical logic, it becomes plausible that Orrego-Salas' memoir may have overstated his commitment to left-wing causes and his empathy for the working class. As Timothy D. Adams has warned, autobiographies often include embellishments — or even minor

⁶²⁸ Orrego-Salas in Madsen, 205.

⁶²⁹ Champagne socialist. *Cambridge Dictionary Online*.

⁶³⁰ This interview is renowned for Henze's statement, "But I say better a Communist in a Rolls-Royce, than a Fascist in a tank," which he made while explaining the contradictions in his personality and politics. Hans Werner Henze, "Music: Marxist Art, Capitalist Style" By Michael Walsh. *Time Magazine*, December 1981. Accessed January 28th, 2025. <https://time.com/archive/6698938/music-marxist-art-capitalist-style/>

⁶³¹ Buch, "L'avantgarde musicale", 30-31.

fabrications — intended to polish the author’s public image. Unless corroborated by external evidence, such narratives can be misleading or distorted, making their use as historical sources precarious.⁶³² In this light, the online curated exhibition hosted by the Latin American Music Center (LAMC) at Indiana University Bloomington for Orrego-Salas’ centennial offers an important counterpoint to his autobiography. Heavily based on photographic material, the collection reveals that Orrego-Salas’ closest professional and personal relationships were largely confined to fellow composers of similar elite standing: figures such as Leonard Bernstein and Alberto Ginastera.⁶³³

The two recorded interviews available in this collection align with the composer’s autobiography but focus almost exclusively on his artistic and pedagogical achievements. Likewise, video recordings of his lectures at the Instituto de Música of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso (PUCV), available on YouTube, concentrate on these same areas. In one 1990s interview with Bob Willard in Bloomington marking his 80th birthday, Orrego-Salas was briefly asked about Pinochet and the dictator’s trial in Spain. He replied sternly: “the worst that could have happened to Chile were the 16 years of Pinochet’s rule,” adding that the former dictator’s indictment “would be good for the world and for Chile.”⁶³⁴ Interestingly, the only photograph in the LAMC archive showing Orrego-Salas in a political context depicts him congratulating Patricio

⁶³² Adams, 340.

⁶³³ “The [Orrego-Salas Centennial] Collection,” *Cook Music Library Digital Exhibitions*, accessed January 21, 2025, <https://collections.libraries.indiana.edu/cookmusiclibrary/exhibits/show/orrego-salas-100th-birthday/collection>.

⁶³⁴ In this interview, Orrego-Salas’ aristocratic disposition was candidly revealed when the radio host described him as a “bon-vivant,” a characterization the composer affirmed with a slight laugh. *Profiles*. “Professor Emeritus Juan Orrego-Salas”, presented by Bob Willard, aired on January 7, 1999 on *Indiana Public Media*.

Aylwin, the center-right president democratically elected after the dictatorship,⁶³⁵ during a ceremony in 1992 when Orrego-Salas returned to Chile to receive the National Prize in Music.⁶³⁶

This public record allows us to nuance, if not refute, some of the more political self-depictions found in his memoir. Publicly, Orrego-Salas appears to have refrained from strong political statements, aside from his support for democratic continuity in Chile. In his final lecture at PUCV, the composer discussed the *Missa* but defined it only as a work concerned with “a conflict between the proclamations made centuries ago for peace, love, and understanding in religious ideals, and the worldly reality of discord that never fulfills them”, making no mention of the political dimension later emphasized in his autobiography.⁶³⁷

This contrast raises the possibility of a retrospective reframing. On the one hand, Orrego-Salas may have posthumously imbued the *Missa* with political meaning in his autobiography in order to present himself as a socially conscious artist: a view unsupported by his 1994 article, which also avoids political interpretation. On the other hand, it is plausible that Orrego-Salas initially conceived of the work as politically informed but chose to suppress its subtext in the context of his PUCV lecture — a right-wing leaning institution — just nine years after the dictatorship’s end (1990). Given his aversion to confrontation, this latter interpretation seems equally plausible.

However, a third piece of evidence that further nuances his political stance can be found in his private correspondence with Eduardo Carrasco, leader of the Nueva Canción group Quilapayún.

⁶³⁵ Aylwin’s politics focused on reestablishing democracy in Chile, yet he remained unapologetic about the social inequality perpetuated by neoliberal policies. Sagredo Baeza, 265.

⁶³⁶ “Photo: Orrego-Salas and President of Chile Patricio Aylwin,” *Cook Music Library Digital Exhibitions*, accessed November 28, 2024, <https://collections.libraries.indiana.edu/cookmusiclibrary/items/show/15>.

⁶³⁷ “Un conflicto entre las proclamas hechas hace siglos por la paz el amor y el entendimiento en los ideales religiosos y la realidad mundana de la discordia que nunca las satisface”. Orrego-Salas, “Encuentro con el compositor Juan Orrego Salas No. 5 - Ustedes y yo; Mi camino en la creación” *Fondo Digital IMUS PUCV*. YouTube Video, 1:54:00, September 3, 1999.

In fact, these letters reveal a different tone. In a missive dated November 14, 1979, held at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (PUCC) archives, Orrego-Salas not only expresses an interest in familiarizing himself with Nueva Canción before embarking on a collaboration, but also voices strong anti-Pinochet sentiments:

“The [musical nationalism that comes from Chile], from the real Chile [...], from the generous, open, smiling, optimistic, and free Chile we knew until September 11, 1973, [you] continue to sing it [...], at times with nostalgia, at others with hope, but always with the conviction of the need to keep the flame burning, even so that those who are surrounded [...] by the authoritarian fascist darkness of the moment can see it from afar.”⁶³⁸

These political declarations recur in his correspondence with *Quilapayún*, including a 1983 New Year’s greeting where he writes: “hopefully we can all share in the joy of Chile’s return to democracy, freedom, and social justice.”⁶³⁹ This suggests that Orrego-Salas felt a need to affirm his democratic ideals and solidarity with the Chilean people, perhaps to compensate for the privileges of his social background—a background traditionally associated with rigid hierarchies.

Ultimately, this positioning aligns him more closely with the ideals of nationalist social democracy than with any form of revolutionary socialism; as the interview with Madsen cited above confirms he retained his nationality with great pride, which may have influenced his efforts to help fellow Chilean exiles. This point is further substantiated by a set of lesser-known works composed

⁶³⁸ “El [nacionalismo musical que viene de Chile], del Chile verdadero [...], del Chile generoso, abierto, sonriente, optimista y libre que conocimos hasta el 11 de septiembre de 1973, [ustedes] lo siguen cantando [...], a veces con nostalgia, otras con esperanza, pero siempre con la convicción de la necesidad que existe de mantener la llama encendida, incluso para que la vean a la distancia los que están rodeados [...] por la oscuridad autoritaria fascista el momento.” *Quilapayún* (11-14-1979). Juan Orrego Salas sobre mesa redonda de la NCCH. [Typeset document]. Fondo documental Quilapayún, Campus Oriente, Archivos de la Facultad de Artes, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. <https://archivospatrimoniales.uc.cl/handle/123456789/24072>

⁶³⁹ “Ojalá todos podamos compartir la felicidad del retorno de Chile a la democracia, libertad y justicia social.” *Quilapayún*. (01-02-1982). [Mismarked as January 1982 in the source] Juan Orrego Salas deseando Feliz año nuevo. [Handwritten]. Fondo documental Quilapayún, Campus Oriente, Archivos de la Facultad de Artes, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. <https://archivospatrimoniales.uc.cl/handle/123456789/24087>

throughout his career that celebrate Latin American self-determination and democracy — pieces that receive some attention in his writings but offer additional insight into his political worldview.

4. Juan Orrego-Salas, a composer committed to the democratic cause in Chile

A. *América, no en vano invocamos tu nombre* – An academic precursor in the vocal genre

The cantata *América, no en vano invocamos tu nombre*, op. 57, is one of the few works by Orrego-Salas that could be described as “nationalist.” While it does not employ folkloric materials in the conventional sense, its subject matter draws from poems foundational to Latin American post-colonial discourse — particularly the work of Chilean poet Pablo Neruda. As Henry Buckwalter notes, this cantata serves as a stylistic precursor to the *Missa*, with certain melodic lines and choral-orchestral densities bearing significant resemblance. However, Buckwalter does not explore any political subtext either between or within the works.⁶⁴⁰

As discussed in Chapter III, Neruda’s *Canto General* is deeply influenced by socialist realism, making its inclusion in this cantata a surprising choice for a composer based in the United States; especially one whose musical language, as outlined earlier in this chapter, was removed from folkloric revivalism and socialist aesthetic principles. Orrego-Salas selected the sixth canto of *Canto General*, “*América, no en vano invoco tu nombre*,” as the main textual source for the cantata. He described the work as “a work [of extensive virtuosity for the soprano and tenor soloists], somewhat within the dramatic tradition of Wagner and Strauss, [in which] the epic and vehement tone, the imaginative and exalted language of Neruda in the texts could demand nothing

⁶⁴⁰ Buckwalter does analyse the poems in the cantata that depict the Spanish conquest and the fall of the Indigenous empires of the Americas. However, his commentary on their musical treatment remains focused on the composer’s aesthetic and dramatic choices in word painting, without addressing any potential political subtext. Buckwalter, 20-21.

less than these dimensions.”⁶⁴¹ Additional texts are drawn from “Alturas de Macchu Picchu” and “Amor América.”

Scored for soprano and baritone soli, TTBB chorus, and orchestra with an extensive percussion section, the cantata is structured in three movements. Each movement draws selectively from these larger cantos: the final verses of “América, no en vano invocamos tu nombre,” stanzas 7 to 11 of “Alturas de Macchu Picchu,” and the opening of “Amor América.” This selective setting of text — composed in 1965 — suggests that Orrego-Salas had not yet developed the stronger social convictions he would later express in the 1980s. In contrast, Mikis Theodorakis’s *Canto General* setting (discussed in Chapter III) used most of the poems in their entirety as an explicit gesture of solidarity with the Chilean people under dictatorship.⁶⁴² Orrego-Salas’s cantata, by comparison, appears more reserved in its political commitment.

The third movement, based on Amor América, is particularly relevant for understanding Orrego-Salas’s interpretation of Neruda’s poetry. This section evokes themes of unity and collective struggle toward a common goal. It opens solemnly, with clarinets, bass clarinets, cellos, and contrabasses introducing a subdued texture that gradually swells toward the first choral entrance on the line “sube, Hermano, a nacer con nosotros Hermano,” echoed soon thereafter by the soloists.⁶⁴³ (Fig. 80 a & b)

Figure 80 *América, no en vano invocamos tu nombre*, Op. 55 by Juan Orrego Salas. III. Amor América.

⁶⁴¹ “Una obra [de extenso virtuosismo para la soprano y el tenor solista], un tanto dentro de la tradición dramática de Wagner y Strauss, [en la que] el acento épico y vehemente, el lenguaje imaginativo y exaltante del Neruda de los textos no podría imponer menos que estas dimensiones”. Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 282.

⁶⁴² Palieraki, *Canto General*, 111.

⁶⁴³ “Rise with us brother, ascend with us to be born”. Neruda, Pablo in Orrego-Salas, *América, no en vano invocamos tu nombre*, Op. 55. *Cantata for Soprano, Baritone, Men’s Chorus and Orchestra*. Self-published, Indiana University Archives, 1965.

a. Choral parts (MM. 13-20)

Tenores
 Bajos
 Tens.
 Bajs.

Su - be her - ma - no a na - cer
 Su - be her - ma - no a na - cer
 con - no - so - tros her - ma - no,
 con - no - so - tros her - ma - no

b. Soli parts (MM. 24-28)

Soprano solista
 Barítono solista

Su-be, su-be a na - cer con - mi-go, her - ma - no, da-me tu ma-no
 Su-be, su-be a na - cer con - mi-go, her - ma - no, da-me

The movement continues with a superimposition of poetic lines: the soprano and baritone articulate stanzas imbued with Christian imagery of pain and martyrdom, while the tenor and bass choristers invoke the spirit of the working classes. This juxtaposition is notable for a work composed so early in Orrego-Salas's engagement with overtly political themes. While it would be anachronistic to

claim he was already aligned with NCC aesthetics, his use of these texts — perhaps unintentionally — resonates with the socially conscious lyrics common in NCC.⁶⁴⁴ (Fig. 81)

Figure 81 *América, no en vano invocamos tu nombre*, Op. 55 by Juan Orrego Salas. III. Amor América. (Soli and chorus parts, MM. 32-36)

The musical score is for three vocal parts: Soprano, Baritone, and Tenor/Bass. The time signature is 3/4. The Soprano part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Baritone part begins with a bass clef and the same key signature. The Tenor/Bass part begins with a bass clef and the same key signature. The lyrics are in Spanish and are written below the notes. The Soprano and Baritone parts are marked *mf* (mezzo-forte) and the Tenor/Bass part is marked *mp* (mezzo-piano). The score includes a large number '4' in the Soprano part, likely indicating a measure or a section. The lyrics for the Soprano and Baritone parts are: "Mos-trad-me vues-tra san-gre y vues-tro sur-co, de-cid-me". The lyrics for the Tenor/Bass part are: "Mí-ra-nos des-de, el fon-do de la tie-rra".

Though NCC artists seldom adapted texts from academically recognized poets, Orrego-Salas's setting of Neruda places him in an unusual, perhaps accidental, proximity to the movement's lyrical ethos. This expressive potential is amplified by the orchestration: winds, brass, and strings provide harmonic support with notable restraint, avoiding dense textures or full ensemble tuttis as we can see in the following example where both instrumental groups never raise above a piano even when divided. (Fig. 82 in next page)

⁶⁴⁴ Palieraki, *Canto General*, 105.

Figure 82 *América, no en vano invocamos tu nombre*, Op. 55 by Juan Orrego Salas. III. Amor América. (MM. 37-40) – Winds and strings sample

The musical score for measures 37-40 of "Amor América" by Juan Orrego Salas, Op. 55, is presented for winds and strings. The score is in 3/4 time and includes the following parts:

- Flauta 1, 2:** Starts with a *mf* dynamic, followed by a *p sub.* dynamic.
- Fagot 1, 2:** Starts with a *mf* dynamic, followed by a *p sub.* dynamic, then *p* and *p* dynamics.
- Trompa en Fa 1, 2:** Starts with a *mf* dynamic, followed by a *p sub.* dynamic.
- Trompa en Fa 3, 4:** Starts with a *mf* dynamic, followed by a *p sub.* dynamic.
- Trompeta en Sib 1, 2:** Starts with a *sfp* dynamic, followed by a *sfp* dynamic, then *p* and *p* dynamics.
- Timbales:** Starts with a *mf* dynamic, followed by a *p sub.* dynamic, then *p* dynamic.
- Percusión:** Starts with a *p* dynamic, followed by *mf marc.* and *sim* dynamics.
- Violines 1 (div.):** Starts with a *pp* dynamic.
- Violines 2 (div.):** Starts with a *pp* dynamic.
- Violas (div.):** Starts with a *pp* dynamic.
- Violonchelos:** Starts with a *p* dynamic, followed by *p* and *p* dynamics.
- Contrabajos:** Starts with a *mf* dynamic, followed by a *p sub.* dynamic, then *p* and *p* dynamics.

The score includes various articulations and dynamics, such as *mf*, *p*, *p sub.*, *sfp*, *pp*, *arco (non.div)*, *mf marc.*, and *sim*.

Unlike many of Orrego-Salas's later works, this cantata concludes with a powerful tutti flourish: an emphatic ending that stands out within his oeuvre and underscores the cantata's epic and idealistic tone.

B. Un Canto para Bolívar & Lo que no digo, lo canto – songs for Quilapayún.

After this cantata, Orrego-Salas would not return to Latin American topics until the 1980's, which he later described as his "approach to the vernacular languages of the Americas." In 1980, he initiated an unlikely yet fruitful collaboration with the folk group Quilapayún and its leader, Eduardo Carrasco. Through this partnership, Orrego-Salas explored what he referred to as the "rich soundworld" of Andean folk instruments. The first work to emerge from this collaboration was the song *Un canto para Bolívar*, Op. 78, based once again on a poem by Pablo Neruda. Although the composer was dissatisfied with the recording issued in 1981, he later composed a second piece on lyrics by Carrasco, *Lo que no digo, lo canto*, Op. 83.

While Orrego-Salas's autobiography offers only a brief mention of this collaboration, letters held by the PUCC provide a more detailed picture of his motivations. In the previously cited letter from November 1979, Orrego-Salas expresses his admiration for Quilapayún's artistry — though in a somewhat condescending tone — and, in a rare concession, praises the group's inherent nationalism:

"You have managed to strike a chord in which the popular transcends the barriers of a petty nationalism, while also becoming universal — and it is there that it meets the expressions of art music, the most elevated ones, which also emerge from traditions rooted in the vernacular. It is music grounded in the earth. [...] The national element is strong in it because it avoids the anecdotal, and the universal is powerful because it operates on the very [...] essence of the popular."⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴⁵ "Han logrado [ustedes] tocar una fibra en la que lo popular salta las barreras de un mezquino nacionalismo, pero también se universaliza y es allí donde se encuentra con las expresiones de la música culta, las más elevadas, aquellas que también surgen de tradiciones de raíces vernáculas. Es música que tiene tierra. [...] Lo nacional es fuerte en ella porque evade lo anecdótico y lo universal es grande porque opera en base a las esencias [...] mismas de lo popular." Juan Orrego Salas sobre mesa redonda de la NCCH.

However, the composer's expectations for the ensemble may have exceeded their practical capabilities. In a 1981 letter, he mentions that Quilapayún chose not to use his three-part version of *Un canto para Bolívar*, opting instead for a simpler two-part setting at the premiere. Although Orrego-Salas accepted this decision, he celebrated their choice to include the three-voice original version in their album recording. However, his tone remained condescending, echoing that of the 1979 letter cited above.

“Providing you with a simpler two-voice version was not necessarily a response to your comments regarding the difficulties the original three-voice version might have presented. Rather, it was a result of my own doubts about having ventured into a complexity that took the work out of its stylistic framework. The fact that you favored the original version [for the album] is a verdict that dispels my doubts. [...] Don't worry about the work it took me to prepare the second version. Perhaps it will be useful for a school ensemble or for programming with a large public choir.” [...] ⁶⁴⁶

Un canto para Bolívar is scored for a folk ensemble featuring two quena flutes, varied percussion (including both Western instruments such as snare drum, cowbells, and tambourine, and Andean instruments such as tumbas and rototón), two charangos, a tiple, a cuatro (four stringed guitar), two standard guitars, and a bass guitar (which may be electric). This ensemble accompanies a soloist and a three-part male choir (T–Bar–Bs), although the premiere version used only two parts (T–B), while the recording later restored the third voice. The text is drawn from a poem by Pablo Neruda.

The song is somewhat atypical for Quilapayún. As discussed in Chapters III and IV, their style — like that of Inti-Illimani — was generally focused on contemporary social concerns, rather than

⁶⁴⁶ “El proveerlos con una versión más simple a dos voces no fue necesariamente una reacción a sus observaciones respecto a los problemas que la original a tres voces les habría presentado, sino que más bien fue consecuencia de las dudas que me despertó el haber incurrido en una complejidad que sacaba a la obra de su marco estilístico. El hecho de que uds. hayan favorecido la versión original [en el álbum] es un veredicto que disipa mis dudas. [...] No se preocupe del trabajo que me significó el trabajar la segunda versión referida. A lo mejor le va a ser útil a algún conjunto escolar o la programación con un coro masivo de público”. [...]” Quilapayún (07-16-1981). Juan Orrego Salas sobre el estreno de *Un Canto a Bolívar*. [Typeset document]. Fondo documental Quilapayún, Campus Oriente, Archivos de la Facultad de Artes, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. <https://archivospatrimoniales.uc.cl/handle/123456789/24069>

historical subjects. Though this piece does not glorify Bolívar's military campaigns, it evokes his political legacy through Andean musical colors. For example, the introduction features a cueca rhythm in 5/8: (Fig. 83)

Figure 83 *Un canto a Bolívar*, Op. 78 by Juan Orrego Salas. (MM. 3-8)⁶⁴⁷

The musical score for Figure 83 is arranged in four staves. The top staff is for Quenas 1, 2, in treble clef, 5/8 time, starting with a melodic phrase marked *mp*. The second staff is for Percusión, in common time, with a cueca rhythm marked *mf* and *p*, including markings for 'Tum.', 'Cen.', and 'Bom.'. The third staff is for Charango, 1, 2, in treble clef, 5/8 time, with a rhythmic accompaniment marked *f*. The bottom staff is for Bajo eléctrico, in bass clef, 5/8 time, with a bass line marked *f* and *p*.

This dance continues as the choir begins with a prayer-like phrase: “Our Father, who art in the earth, in the water, in the air / All bears your name, our Father, in our dwelling place.”⁶⁴⁸ (Fig. 84 in next page)

⁶⁴⁷ As it was the case with Becerra-Schmidt's work, the piece is played a semi-tone lower than written.

⁶⁴⁸ “Padre nuestro que estás en la tierra, en el agua, en el aire / Todo lleva tu nombre, padre nuestro, en nuestra morada.” Neruda, Pablo in Orrego-Salas, *Un Canto a Bolívar*, Op. 79. Self-published, Indiana University Archives, 1980, 2.

Figure 84 *Un canto a Bolívar*, Op. 78 by Juan Orrego Salas. (MM. 47-50)

Figure 84 shows a musical score for the piece *Un canto a Bolívar*, Op. 78 by Juan Orrego Salas, measures 47-50. The score is written for five parts: Tenor, Hombres (Men), Cuatro, Guitarra eléctrica (Electric Guitar), and Bajo eléctrico (Electric Bass). The Tenor part has lyrics: (tro) que es - tás en la tie - rra, Pa - dre nues - tro. The Hombres part has lyrics: Pa - dre nues - tro. The Cuatro, Guitarra eléctrica, and Bajo eléctrico parts are instrumental accompaniment.

This religious tone is further emphasized when the chorus is instructed to chant a passage in the style of Gregorian plainchant. (Fig. 85)

Figure 85 *Un canto a Bolívar*, Op. 78 by Juan Orrego Salas. (Choir part, MM. 91-95)

Figure 85 shows a musical score for the piece *Un canto a Bolívar*, Op. 78 by Juan Orrego Salas, measures 91-95. The score is written for a single part: Choir. The instruction "(como un recitado gregoriano)" is written above the staff. The lyrics are: la pa - taelsa-li-tre las som-brases - pe-cia-les, las co-rrien-tes, las ve-tasde fos - fô-ri-ca pie dra.

Later, the music adopts the form of a round dance, sung by the choral ensemble. (Fig. 86 in next page)

Figure 86 *Un canto a Bolívar*, Op. 78 by Juan Orrego Salas. (MM. 129-136)

The musical score for Figure 86 consists of four staves. The top staff, labeled 'Hombres', is in bass clef and contains the lyrics: 'Por e-so hay u - na ron-da de ma-nos jun-to, a ti jun-to, a mi ma - no hay o-tra, y o-tra jun-to, a e - lla, y o-tra más'. The second staff, 'Percusión', is in common time and includes dynamic markings *mf*, *mp*, *p*, and *mf*, along with performance instructions 'pl.', 'bm.', 'cj. cl.', and 'pl.'. The third staff, '2 Guitarras', is in treble clef and features complex polytonal chords with dynamic markings *mf* and *f*. The bottom staff, 'Bajo eléctrico', is in bass clef and begins with a *(mf)* marking.

As such, here the articulation theory proposed by Richard Middleton is manifest once again. Orrego-Salas, while not making excessive demands, is certainly someone who intended to approach to the folk writing with more diversity than his peers. Instead of inserting folk musics into a cantata popular format, he rather composed a long rhapsodic form for *Canto a Bolívar* given the diversity of materials: cueca dance, monophony, round dance in 4/4. Instead of making contrapuntal weavings or a cappella settings, he rather pushes the folk singers into harmonic densities (see Figures 85 and 86) which are polytonal – and likely more challenging – for the choir, demanding a three-part harmony in an already clustered melodic environment (see Figure 86 above). It seems however, that initially, this was simply too much for the band since – as I have stated – the composer had to make a two-part version for the premiere. Nonetheless, the existing recording presents effectively a three-part version, meaning that, in between the premiere and the recording, the members of Quilapayún were able to master the intricate harmonies.

Concerning the textual articulation, Bolívar is portrayed not only as a sacred figure — through the Padre Nuestro invocation — but also as a tangible, universal presence, extending his hands to the world and, notably, to the African continent. As established in Chapter I, Allende's government fostered ties with Algeria, and the inclusion of a Neruda poem referencing Africa is symbolically potent: it suggests a global solidarity among the oppressed. The Gregorian chant's enumeration of natural elements — symbolizing the resources of the Americas — further reinforces their sacred status, both for Indigenous peoples, as stewards of nature, and for mixed-race populations, whose labor is systematically exploited in the extraction of natural and agricultural wealth. As such, here the folk band is given a more spiritual and less earthly approach to their song, yet one that falls entirely within their worldview, ensuring coherence with their artistic goals.

Despite these difficulties, it seems that the genre articulation was initially successful, because Orrego-Salas received a second commission from Carrasco and Quilapayún: *Lo que no digo, lo canto*, Op. 83, also for folk ensemble and male choir. This time, the ensemble is more modest than in *Un canto para Bolívar*, with no tiple, only one standard guitar, and a reduced percussion section, which features a pair of tumbas as the sole Andean instrument among a considerable number of (Western) standard percussions. The choir is limited to two parts (T–B) and participates only in the chorus sections.

This piece features two sets of lyrics: one, apparently by Orrego-Salas himself, and a revised version by Eduardo Carrasco.⁶⁴⁹ While the music remained entirely Orrego-Salas's, the first version of the lyrics was the one set in the score. The main distinction between the two lies in their tone: Orrego-Salas's version is more direct, while Carrasco's revision is more poetic and

⁶⁴⁹ Carrasco, Eduardo in Orrego-Salas, *Lo que no digo lo canto*, Op. 83 Self-published, Indiana University Archives, 1983, ii-iii.

allegorical. Nevertheless, the thematic focus remains consistent: preserving hope, resisting violence, ending exile, and achieving true peace.

The music is based on a cueca rhythm in 6/8, first introduced in the instrumental ensemble and maintained throughout the piece. Like previous works, the harmony is polytonal. (Fig. 87)

Figure 87 *Lo que no digo, lo canto*, Op. 83 by Juan Orrego Salas. (MM. 1-4)

Movido ♩. = 63

2 quenas *f*

2 charangos *f*

Bajo eléctrico *f*

Percusión *mf* *tumbas*

The musical score for measures 1-4 of 'Lo que no digo, lo canto' features four staves. The top staff is for 2 quenas, marked with a forte (f) dynamic. The second staff is for 2 charangos, also marked with a forte (f) dynamic. The third staff is for the Bajo eléctrico, marked with a forte (f) dynamic. The bottom staff is for Percusión, specifically tumbas, marked with a mezzo-forte (mf) dynamic. The tempo is indicated as Movido ♩. = 63. The music is in 6/8 time and polytonal.

However, unlike *Un canto para Bolívar*, this piece more closely resembles the typical NCC style, with multiple stanzas and a recurring chorus, although the harmonic language is as complex as in that previous piece. (Fig. 88)

Figure 88 *Lo que no digo, lo canto*, Op. 83 by Juan Orrego Salas. (MM. 20-24)

Hombres *f*

da le, da le, da-le, di lo, di lo, di - lo, que yo lo es - cu-cho y re-pi-to y lo ca-llo si lo, hede ca - llar. _____

Guitarra acústica *f* *sfz*

Pandereta *f*

The musical score for measures 20-24 of 'Lo que no digo, lo canto' features three staves. The top staff is for Hombres (Men), marked with a forte (f) dynamic, and includes the lyrics: 'da le, da le, da-le, di lo, di lo, di - lo, que yo lo es - cu-cho y re-pi-to y lo ca-llo si lo, hede ca - llar. _____'. The middle staff is for Guitarra acústica (Acoustic guitar), marked with a forte (f) dynamic and a sforzando (sfz) dynamic. The bottom staff is for Pandereta (Castanets), marked with a forte (f) dynamic. The music is in 6/8 time and polytonal.

Percussion use is sparse, with greater emphasis on the string instruments and quenás. Each stanza is musically distinct. One particularly effective example of word painting appears in the following verse (Fig. 89):

Si la esperanza se pierde
Minucia es sin valor.
En cambio, si se conserva,
Reparo es del corazón.⁶⁵⁰

If hope is lost
A trifle holds no worth
But if hope is preserved
It mends the heart with mirth.

Figure 89 *Lo que no digo, lo canto*, Op. 83 by Juan Orrego Salas. (MM. 41-49)

The musical score for Figure 89 consists of six staves. The top staff is for Tenor (T.), with lyrics: "Si laes - pe-ran-za se pier-de, mi - nu - cia es sin va -". The second staff is for 2 Quenas, with a piano (p) dynamic marking. The third staff is for Guitarra acústica, also with a piano (p) dynamic marking. The fourth staff is for T. (Tenor), with lyrics: "-lor, en cam - bio si se con ser va, re - pa - ro es del co - razón". The fifth staff is for 2 Qn. (2 Quenas), and the sixth staff is for Guit. (Guitar). The score is in 8/8 time and features various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

⁶⁵⁰ Orrego-Salas and Eduardo Carrasco, *Lo que no digo lo canto*, Op. 83.

This section employs a simple yet expressive modulation. The warning about lost hope is set in D minor (harmonic), while the reassurance that follows modulates to the dominant major key of A major. Similar techniques are used throughout the song, effectively supporting its message.

The most significant question is why the piece was never performed or recorded by its intended ensemble. Unlike *Un canto para Bolívar*, *Lo que no digo, lo canto* was never featured in any of Quilapayún's studio or live albums.⁶⁵¹ There is no evidence that Orrego-Salas ever received confirmation of a performance, nor do the extant letters between Carrasco and the composer mention one.⁶⁵² However, the work was performed by students in the Indiana University Folk Music Ensemble under Ricardo Lorenz during the 1980s; a version that left Orrego-Salas with mixed feelings. Although he appreciated hearing the piece, he found Lorenz's instrumental arrangement "utterly dissatisfied."⁶⁵³ However, if we were to consider articulation once more for this piece, I would argue that textual articulation failed on this occasion, and that this may be the reason the piece was never performed by Quilapayún.

While the harmonies and procedures were simplified in this piece, as I have shown, there are conflicting issues regarding the text. As I have stated before, there are two pairs of texts: one by Orrego-Salas, which tends to be straightforward in its message, and one by Eduardo Carrasco, which tends to be more poetic, contains more stanzas, and seemingly fits better with the intentions and literary style of the band. I may now recall the example Middleton gave regarding Ned Corvan: one of the successes of the British singer-songwriter scored was adapting new lyrics to folk music

⁶⁵¹ To be fair, neither *Un Canto a Bolívar* by Orrego-Salas nor *Américas* by Becerra-Schmidt — both included in the album *La Revolución y las Estrellas* — ever became part of Quilapayún's regular repertoire. This is evident in the fact that these works have never appeared in the group's *Greatest Hits* compilations or live recordings. *Quilapayún*, Discography.

⁶⁵² Orrego-Salas, *Lo que no digo lo canto*, Op. 83.

⁶⁵³ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 285.

in order to remain relevant to his new audiences. In this case, the text proposed by Carrasco was better suited to that goal. Yet in the score, Orrego-Salas makes no changes or adaptations whatsoever to the text he had originally proposed. I speculate that Orrego-Salas might have made such changes in a manuscript version, though it seems that even this version would not have proven satisfactory to the band. As a consequence, the work never came to fruition with any of the NCC folk bands and was performed only in academic circles as mentioned above.

C. Concerto for oboe and strings: An Elegy for Victor Jara
Orrego-Salas' *Concerto for Oboe and Strings*, Op. 77, merges two compositional forms he had previously explored. Earlier in his career, he had written for woodwinds — such as the *Divertimento for woodwind trio*, Op. 43 — and tackled the concertante genre in his *Piano Concerto*, Op. 28. This new concerto marked a return to the concerto form while also representing a dual engagement: first, a deepening commitment to the genre itself,⁶⁵⁴ and second, a more explicit engagement with the political situation in Chile, as evidenced by the incorporation of Víctor Jara's song "Plegaria a un Labrador" in the third movement.

The *Oboe Concerto* is modest in scope and duration, scored for solo oboe and string orchestra, which may range in size from chamber to the full string section of a symphony orchestra.⁶⁵⁵ Structured in the traditional three-movement format, the work lasts approximately twenty minutes. Despite Orrego-Salas' frequent use of tone clusters and polytonality during this period, the concerto's transparent orchestration, intimate instrumentation, and predominant use of slow tempi (each movement begins with Lento or Adagio) give the piece an elegiac and meditative tone.

⁶⁵⁴ Orrego-Salas became increasingly interested in the concerto as a musical form in the following years, composing a *Violin Concerto*, a second *Piano Concerto*, a *Cello Concerto*, and several other concertante works. Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 356.

⁶⁵⁵ The only extant recording of the piece, a video from 1999, features a compact chamber orchestra accompanying the oboist.

This reflective mood is especially apparent in the first two movements. The opening begins *lento*, in an ambiguous C minor/major tonality, with the strings — particularly violins and double basses — playing in their lowest registers. (Fig. 90)

Figure 90 *Oboe Concerto*, Op. 83 by Juan Orrego Salas. I. *Lento* (MM. 1-4)

Lento ♩ = 56

The musical score for the first four measures of the *Oboe Concerto*, Op. 83 by Juan Orrego Salas, I. *Lento* (MM. 1-4) is shown. The tempo is *Lento* (♩ = 56). The key signature is C minor/major (no sharps or flats). The time signature is 4/4. The music is in the lowest registers of the strings.

The score is for Violins 1, Violins 2, Violas, Violoncellos, and Contrabasses. The music is in the lowest registers of the strings.

A faster section follows, introducing the oboe soloist and setting the dissonant harmonic landscape that defines the piece. In the second movement, Orrego-Salas foreshadows the *Plegaria* melody in the oboe's opening solo, echoed soon after in a homophonic chorale by the first violins. (Fig. 91 in next page)

Figure 91 *Oboe Concerto*, Op. 83 by Juan Orrego Salas. II. Adagio (MM. 1-11)

Adagio ♩ = 48

The musical score is written for four staves. The top staff is for Oboe, the second for Violins I, the third for Oboe (starting at measure 7), and the fourth for Violins (starting at measure 7). The tempo is marked 'Adagio' with a quarter note equal to 48 beats per minute. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The Oboe part begins with a melodic line in measures 1-6, while the Violins I part has whole rests. In measures 7-11, the Oboe (labeled 'Ob.') continues the melody, and the Violins (labeled 'Vlins.') provide harmonic support with a more active line.

It is in the third movement, however, that the Plegaria melody emerges fully. First stated by the first violin in a polytonal setting (E minor/major against G minor), the theme is then developed by the full string section (Fig. 92 in next page).

Figure 92 *Oboe Concerto*, Op. 83 by Juan Orrego Salas. III. Interludio-Più mosso-Allegro vivace (MM. 12-18)

Violins 1

Violins 2

Violas

Violoncellos

Contrabasses

("le - van - ta - te _____ y mi - ra la mon - ta - ña")

pp

Vlns. 1

Vlns. 2

Vlas.

Vcs.

Cbs.

Detailed description: This image shows two systems of musical notation for a string ensemble. The first system includes staves for Violins 1, Violins 2, Violas, Violoncellos, and Contrabasses. The second system includes staves for Violins 1, Violins 2, Violas, Violoncellos, and Contrabasses. The music is in 3/4 time and features a melodic line in the violins with a lyrical accompaniment in the lower strings. The lyrics are in Spanish and are written below the Violins 1 staff. The dynamic marking *pp* (pianissimo) is present in the Violins 2 staff.

The oboe subsequently transforms the melody around G minor, using polytonal juxtapositions such as C-sharp minor and B-flat minor. (Fig. 93)

Figure 93 *Oboe Concerto*, Op. 83 by Juan Orrego Salas. III. Interludio-Più mosso-Allegro vivace (MM. 19-26)

The musical score for Figure 93 is for the Oboe Concerto, Op. 83 by Juan Orrego Salas, III. Interludio-Più mosso-Allegro vivace (MM. 19-26). The score is for Oboe, Violins 1 and 2, Violas, Violoncellos, and Contrabasses. The Oboe part features a melodic line with polytonal juxtapositions, including C-sharp minor and B-flat minor. The Violins 1 and 2 parts play a rhythmic pattern. The Violas part plays a harmonic pattern. The Violoncellos and Contrabasses parts play a rhythmic pattern.

The theme is finally presented in a virtuosic oboe cadenza, which is mostly atonal — though not serialist — as pitches repeat and tonal centers briefly return, especially around G minor. (Fig. 94)

Figure 94 *Oboe Concerto*, Op. 83 by Juan Orrego Salas. III. Interludio-Più mosso-Allegro vivace (MM. 66-87)

The musical score for Figure 94 is for the Oboe Concerto, Op. 83 by Juan Orrego Salas, III. Interludio-Più mosso-Allegro vivace (MM. 66-87). The score is for Oboe. The Oboe part features a virtuosic cadenza with polytonal juxtapositions, including C-sharp minor and B-flat minor. The cadenza is marked "Cadenza (con alcuna libertà)" and "molto espressivo". The dynamics range from *mf* to *pp*.

The presence of this quotation in this concerto, composed around the same time as *Un Canto a Bolívar* for Quilapayún, invites deeper reflection. These works emerged during a period in which Orrego-Salas was actively studying NCC, likely in preparation for his collaborations with the ensemble. According to his biography, the incorporation of Jara's song was entirely intentional. Commissioned by the Chile Symphony Orchestra and Uruguayan oboist León Biriotti, the work premiered in 1980. Orrego-Salas explained that the melody was subtly embedded to be gradually recognized:

"In the continuum of the first two movements and part of the next, an emerging element can be perceived—one could say a melody from which two motifs have been introduced in advance, upon which the work develops, up to almost the second half of the third; [in which] a development of this motif leads to the resolution of the mystery that has remained in formation until then: The violin presents the melody of the first two verses of "Plegaria a un labrador" by the great Chilean troubadour Víctor Jara."⁶⁵⁶

As demonstrated in the analysis above, this build-up is gradual and nuanced. Motifs from the *Plegaria* are subtly hinted at throughout the first two movements and then emerge explicitly in the third, where the theme is finally revealed and elaborated.

The elegiac tone of the piece is therefore deliberate. Orrego-Salas refers to Víctor Jara as a martyr of Pinochet's coup in the quotation above, and the Oboe Concerto stands as a testament to Chilean cultural resilience — premiered in Chile itself. This may be his most overt political statement in music. In his own words, the inclusion of Jara's theme resulted from a deeply personal and imaginative process:

"I listened, in the depths of my subconscious experience, the fragmentary connection between my motifs and the "Plegaria del Labrador"; I discovered that I had been on a pilgrimage in the company of Jara, which

⁶⁵⁶ "En el continuum de los dos primeros movimientos y parte del siguiente, se percibe un elemento en formación, diría una melodía de la que se han adelantado dos motivos sobre los cuales la obra se desarrolla, hasta casi la segunda mitad del tercero; [en el que] un desarrollo de este motivo conduce a la resolución del misterio que ha permanecido en formación hasta entonces: El violín presenta la melodía de los dos primeros versos de 'Plegaria a un Labrador' del gran trovador chileno Víctor Jara." Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 355.

I decided to confess by presenting his own melody in the place where it appears in my work. This experience seemed to me an alchemy of thoughts between two people who never met.”⁶⁵⁷

Although they never met, the composer’s sustained engagement with NCC, the *cantata popular*, and Chilean folk traditions in the late 1970s and early 1980s points to a deliberate artistic and political convergence. The fact that the *Concerto* premiered in Chile — under Pinochet’s dictatorship — at the University of Chile, home of the Chile Symphony Orchestra, is particularly significant. This event directly challenges the notion of an *apagón cultural*, as argued by scholars Donoso and Preda in Chapter II, and undermines the broader assumption that Chilean institutions were entirely devoid of intellectual resistance during the dictatorship. While Orrego-Salas claimed that the incorporation of “Plegaria a un Labrador” emerged from subconscious inspiration, the context of its premiere suggests otherwise. Might this, then, be understood as an intentional act of subtle resistance? ⁶⁵⁸

Chilean musicologist, and longtime colleague of Orrego-Salas, Luis Merino considers this a strong possibility. He includes the *Oboe Concerto* among a group of works commemorating Chilean exile, particularly citing its quotation of Jara’s “Plegaria”. This group also includes the Quilapayún collaborations by Becerra-Schmidt and Garrido-Lecca’s *String Quartet No. 2*, which also references Jara’s song (discussed earlier in the thesis).⁶⁵⁹ In this light, Orrego-Salas’ *Concerto for Oboe and Strings* may be understood as a deliberately veiled act of resistance — despite the composer’s claims to the contrary — crafted at a time when commemorating the victims of the

⁶⁵⁷ “Escuché en las honduras de mi experiencia subconsciente la relación fragmentaria de mis motivos con la Plegaria del Labrador; descubrí que había estado en una peregrinación en compañía de Jara, lo que decidí confesar presentando su propia melodía en el lugar donde se encuentra en mi obra. Esta experiencia me pareció una alquimia de pensamientos entre dos personas que nunca se conocieron”. Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 356.

⁶⁵⁸ If we were to take Madsen’s interview at face value, we might even conclude that the composer travelled to Santiago in 1980 solely for the premiere of this work, which would make the piece a strong political statement on freedom and democracy in Chile at the time.

⁶⁵⁹ Merino, “1973-2003”, 47.

coup was both necessary and risky, and designed to maintain critical distance from the regime while honoring the memory of those it silenced.

D. Biografía mínima de Salvador Allende: An Elegy for a fallen president

The *Biografía mínima de Salvador Allende para ser ~~leída~~ cantada en voz alta el 11 de septiembre*, Op. 85 (*Minimal Biography of Salvador Allende To Be Read Sung Outloud on September 11th*) is scored for voice (any type, though particularly soprano, mezzo-soprano, or tenor), a C trumpet — played from a distance — acoustic guitar, and a single percussionist (who plays a covered snare drum and woodblocks). According to the liner notes in the score, the tone of the piece is elegiac, with a deliberate use of folk music as a means of expression:

“The mood that prevails in this miniature in memoriam is that of the Chilean tonada, a folksong of lyrical quality in a slow 6/8 or 3/4 meter. The guitar plays an important role underlining the traditional character of this traditional form, while a distant trumpet provides an elegiac background by means of evoking the well-known bugle call that usually accompanies the last farewell rites to a dead person.”⁶⁶⁰

As such, the work retains some of the folk elements characteristic of Orrego-Salas’ compositional style during this period. The text is by David Valjalo (1925–2017), another Chilean exile who, like Orrego-Salas, lived in voluntary exile in the United States after the coup. The work is a setting of a poem that designates itself as a biography to be read on September 11th, presumably as a means of spiritually commemorating the fallen president Allende. However, Orrego-Salas crossed out the verb “to be read” and replaced it with “to be sung,” given that the poem had by then become a musical setting.

However, when compared to the works he composed for Quilapayún, *Biografía mínima* features a more modern musical language that eschews common-practice tonality in favor of polytonality.

⁶⁶⁰ Orrego-Salas, *Biografía mínima de Salvador Allende para ser ~~leída~~ cantada en voz alta el 11 de septiembre*, Op. 85. Los Angeles: Ediciones de la Frontera, 1983, 8.

This is evident, for instance, in the opening vocal line, where the melody centers around G major, while the guitar accompaniment employs free chromaticism. (Fig. 95)

Figure 95 *Biografía mínima de Salvador Allende para ser leída cantada en voz alta el 11 de septiembre, Op. 85* by Juan Orrego-Salas (MM. 6-11)

The musical score for Figure 95 consists of two staves. The top staff is for the voice (Voz) and the bottom staff is for the acoustic guitar (Guitarra acústica). Both staves are in 8/8 time. The vocal line begins with a mezzo-piano (mp) dynamic and features a melody that centers around G major. The guitar accompaniment also begins with a mezzo-piano (mp) dynamic and employs free chromaticism. The lyrics are: A-l-len-de Gos - sens, Sal-va-dor, na - ti - vo de la fér-til pro - vin - cia.

Orrego-Salas' use of polytonal harmony supports the soloist, whose line transitions fluidly between A major, C major, and back to G, occasionally passing through E minor. The song concludes with the soloist declaiming the words “[Allende muere], como muere un hombre,” followed by a brief instrumental coda.⁶⁶¹ (Fig. 96 in next page)

⁶⁶¹ The author of the text, David Valjalo, translated this as “Allende dies, like a real man” – implying he died in office honourably. Valjalo, David in Orrego-Salas, *Biografía mínima*, 2.

Figure 96 *Biografía mínima de Salvador Allende para ser leída cantada en voz alta el 11 de septiembre*, Op. 85 by Juan Orrego-Salas (MM. 85-94)

The musical score for Figure 96 consists of four staves. The first staff is for the Voice (Voz), with lyrics in Spanish. The second staff is for the Trompete lejano (en Sib). The third staff is for the Guitarra acústica. The fourth staff is for the Caja clara. The score includes dynamic markings such as *p* (piano), *mf* (mezzo-forte), and *mp* (mezzo-piano). The lyrics are: "A - llen-demue-re" and "muere, como muere un hombre".

Biografía mínima stands as one of Juan Orrego-Salas’ most intimate works, and arguably his most overt political statement. Valjalo’s poetic portrait of Allende is allegorical, seeking to craft a spiritual biography of the president and his most significant achievement, encapsulated in the stanza: “The people awaiting their dawn gave you the presidency, a hot coal.”⁶⁶² Yet this section could have carried even greater political resonance had it incorporated a well-known Chilean folk song or a melody from the NCC repertoire. Instead, Orrego-Salas opted to follow it with a funeral bugle call — an evocative gesture, though arguably less politically charged. (Fig. 97 in next page)

⁶⁶² “El pueblo que esperó su madrugada, te dio la presidencia al rojo vivo.” Valjalo, David in Orrego-Salas, *Biografía mínima*, 2.

Figure 97 *Biografía mínima de Salvador Allende para ser leída cantada en voz alta el 11 de septiembre*, Op. 85 by Juan Orrego-Salas (MM. 36-42)

The musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is for the voice (Voz) in treble clef, 8/8 time, with lyrics 'al ro - jo vi - vo' and a 'sub. f' dynamic. The second staff is for the Trompeta en Sib in treble clef, 8/8 time, with dynamics 'f', 'mf', and 'p'. The third staff is for the Guitarra acústica in treble clef, 8/8 time, with dynamics 'f' and 'p'. The bottom staff is for the Caja clara in bass clef, 8/8 time, with dynamics 'sfp', 'f', and 'mp'.

This compositional decision recalls the critique directed at Orrego-Salas’ music in *The Days of God*, where the score was said to plod where it should soar. In this case as well, the musical rhetoric might have been more compelling had it quoted a familiar folk or NCC tune the same way the composer did in his *Oboe Concerto*. Nonetheless, the funeral call proves more effective in the section preceding the final declamation analyzed in the second example.

While *Biografía mínima* is a brief and intimate work, its style resonates as an “art music” iteration of the *Nueva Canción* aesthetic, particularly given the circumstances of its creation — even though it does not quote any source material directly. By the end of the decade, Orrego-Salas began work on a far more ambitious project: the opera *Viudas* (*The Widows*).

E. *Viudas*: A memorial for the Chilean disappearances under Pinochet’s dictatorship
The opera *Viudas*, Op. 101 is based on the eponymous novel by Argentine-Chilean Jewish writer Ariel Dorfman (b. 1942). Like composer Becerra-Schmidt, Dorfman served as a cultural advisor to President Salvador Allende and even today, he holds strong views against cultural colonialism,

publishing numerous essays through the state publishing house Quimantú.⁶⁶³ Following the 1973 coup, he was forced into exile, and much of his work was banned or destroyed under both Chilean and Argentine dictatorships. As a Jewish intellectual, Dorfman was acutely aware of the historical persecution of his people, from the pogroms in Tsarist Russia (his parents emigrated from the Pale of Settlement to Argentina) to the Holocaust. His and his parents' experience of exile deeply informed *Viudas*, which is set in Nazi-occupied Greece during World War II and offers an unequivocal denunciation of repressive regimes that enforce silence, violence, and exile.⁶⁶⁴

While composing the opera based on this novel, Orrego-Salas exercised certain creative liberties in adapting it, though the work retains the anti-dictatorial subtext. He relocated the setting from Greece to an unnamed Latin American village by a river, changed several character names, and introduced a new character: Valentín, a teenager who is absent from the original novel who takes on the role of a troubadour. The plot centers on a community of women who discover the bodies belonging to their disappeared male relatives — husbands and sons — floating down the river. The occupying soldiers offer empty promises while attempting to suppress the growing outrage. Ultimately, in a climactic final act, the spirit of Valentín returns to haunt the military as they prepare to quell the women's protest with violence.⁶⁶⁵ Concerning its musical style, the opera

⁶⁶³ Ariel Dorfman was born in Argentina in 1942, though he has spent most of his life abroad — in the United States, Chile, and France — often due to political circumstances. After settling in Chile with his family in the mid-1950s, he was granted Chilean citizenship a decade later. Owing to his experiences with oppressive and neocolonial regimes, Dorfman has consistently maintained a critical stance toward U.S. influence in Latin America and beyond. One of his most significant works on the subject is *How to Read Donald Duck*, a scathing satire of American mass culture that was consequently banned in several pro-U.S. dictatorships across the continent. Despite his anti-colonial views, he serves as a tenured professor at Duke University in North Carolina, an institution noted for its critical research on Latin American issues. Dorfman, Ariel & Armand Mattelart. *Para leer al Pato Donald*. Thirty-eight edition. Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 2005.

⁶⁶⁴ *Viudas* was originally published as a novel in 1981 and was successfully adapted for the stage (theatre) several years later. The novel draws deliberate parallels between the Argentine and Chilean dictatorships and Nazi Germany. Dorfman, Ariel. *Viudas*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 1981.

⁶⁶⁵ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 364-365.

employs polytonality and free atonality as in *Biografía mínima* and the *Oboe Concerto*. However, in *Viudas*, these techniques are more contextually appropriate, especially compared to *Biografía mínima*'s politically-coded chamber music style.

Valentín's role as a troubadour deserves particular attention. As signalled in the first section of this chapter, Orrego-Salas had a longstanding interest in early Iberian music, as demonstrated by works like *Retablo del Rey Pobre*, Op. 27 and *Palabras de Don Quijote*, Op. 66, which are remarkable for the use of neo-medieval and neo-baroque musical aesthetics through modern musical expression.⁶⁶⁶ Orrego-Salas' inclusion of a troubadour figure, an archetype from medieval Southern France and Northern Spain, signals an adaptation of archaic musical forms for modern political expression in this opera.⁶⁶⁷

This choice is significant not only in historical but also in political terms. As I have shown, Orrego-Salas was well-versed in the aesthetics of NCC. He even presented a paper on the genre at a California conference during the period he was preparing his collaborations with Quilapayún; a paper later cited by scholars like Juliana Guerrero (see Chapter III), and as seen in his *Oboe Concerto*, he paid homage to Victor Jara, who Orrego-Salas considered a great troubadour as shown in his description of the concerto. In *Viudas*, Valentín's function as a narrator evokes the role of storytellers in NCC's cantatas populares, particularly in works like *Santa María de Iquique*, which Orrego-Salas referenced directly in his paper.⁶⁶⁸ Moreover, Valentín's fate in the plot appears to serve as a metaphor for the NCC movement. At the height of the action, he is captured by the military and sent to the capital to stand trial — implicitly executed — and later returns as a

⁶⁶⁶ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 284.

⁶⁶⁷ Stevens, John, Ardis Butterfield, and Theodore Karp. "Troubadours, trouvères." *Grove Music Online*. 2001.

⁶⁶⁸ Orrego-Salas in Guerrero, "La cantata", 103.

ghost to haunt the soldiers as they prepare to suppress the villagers apparent revolt.⁶⁶⁹ Valentín's symbolic arc — from disappearance to spectral return — parallels the trajectory of NCC musicians such as Quilapayún who were exiled or Victor Jara, who was executed, yet both continued to haunt the dictatorship through their international advocacy and enduring songs.

Valentín's song, sung by a mezzo-soprano or countertenor (emphasizing his youthful character), is deceptively simple yet allegorical: "Sun always rises, swivels with time. Spring follows winter, day follow night. We must keep trying, never give up."⁶⁷⁰ The composer's English translation ("we must keep trying") misses the urgency and political resonance of the final line. While the allegories of sun and spring — corresponding to renewal — keep their sense, the last translation ("we must keep trying") does not correspond the real meaning in the text. "*Quien calla pierde, quien busca encuentra*" would be better translated as "those who remain quiet lose everything; those who keep looking for answers, find them". This is something more suitable for the context in which the piece was written, where many Chileans — and other Latin Americans — were still looking for disappeared loved ones under the dictatorships. (Fig. 98 in next page)

⁶⁶⁹ Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 365.

⁶⁷⁰ "Sigue al invierno, la primavera. El sol levanta, de las tinieblas. Quien calla pierde, quien busca encuentra.". Orrego-Salas, *Viudas*, *Op. 101*. St. Louis, Missouri: MMB Music, 1990, 1-2.

Figure 98 *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. Acto I, Escena I (Rehearsal Mark 2 MM. 2-7 / Rehearsal Mark 3, MM. 6-9)

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system features the vocal part for Valentín and the piano accompaniment. Valentín's melody is in 3/4 time, starting with a rising line of notes: Bb, A, G, F, E, D, C, Bb. The piano accompaniment provides a harmonic foundation with chords and moving lines in both hands. The second system features the vocal part for V. (Viuda) and the piano accompaniment. V.'s melody is also in 3/4 time, starting with a rising line of notes: Bb, A, G, F, E, D, C, Bb. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and moving lines. A 'rall.' marking is placed above the V. vocal line in the second system.

Valentín

El sol le - van-ta de las ti - nie - blas. La la la la

Piano

rall.

V.

Quién ca - lla pier - de, quien bus-ca en - cuen - tra.

Pno.

Set to a rising melody that contends with tritones, the music mirrors the struggle between truth and oppression. Equally important is the recurrence of this melody as a narrative device, recurring whenever the *viudas* (widows) face hardship or confront the military.

The opera's gendered symbolism is central. The women, or the widows, represent civil society — the grieving, silenced victims of state violence. The protagonist, Constanica, an elderly woman, emerges as their moral leader. She offers both comfort and resistance to all the other women. In contrast, the men are predominantly cast as military figures, with the exception of Tobías (Constancia's eldest son) and Valentín (Constancia's only grandson). The leader of the military is Captain Bravo, who is sung by a baritone, and is the personification of the Pinochet regime.

Constancia's first appearance occurs among a group of grieving women who have discovered a body floating down the river early in the morning. Amid the anguish and confusion provoked by the military presence, she steps forward with resolve, guiding the others. Her leadership is immediately recognized, as reflected in the chorus of voices: "She will tell us now who's the dead." (Fig. 99 a) in this page & b) in the next page)

Figure 99 *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. Acto I, Escena I

a) (Rehearsal Mark 10 MM. 7-9)

The musical score consists of two staves. The top staff is for the vocal part, labeled 'Women' on the left. It contains the lyrics 'Constancia; e - lla di - rá'. The bottom staff is for the piano accompaniment, labeled 'Piano' on the left. The piano part features a complex, rhythmic accompaniment with many beamed sixteenth notes, creating a sense of urgency and grief. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is common time (C).

b) Constanica and Women only (Rehearsal Mark 11, MM. 1-6)

Women *mf* San-tos el vie - jo,

Constancia *p* San - tos Mo - re - no, mi pa - dre mi pa - dre

As stated before, Constanica's age turns her the de facto leader of the village's women. She searches for her missing male relatives and becomes the principal voice demanding answers about the origins of the recovered bodies and the military's role in the ongoing disappearances and killings.

The nurturing dimension of Constanica's character becomes evident in a lullaby scene, where she leads the women in her household in singing to soothe a restless baby — ultimately culminating in all five women joining in harmony. Notice how the names of the women highlight a human quality usually related to the women struggling to find the truth about their missing relatives during the dictatorships: Grace (Gracia), solitude (Soledad), wisdom (Sofia), clemency (Clemencia), constancy (Constancia). (Fig. 100 in next page)

Figure 100 *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. Acto II, Escena I (Rehearsal Mark 12, MM. 8-12)

The musical score is for a scene from *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. It is in 8/8 time and consists of five vocal parts and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in Spanish.

Vocal Parts:

- Gracia:** (do)lor
- Soledad:** No-chetras no-che Dí-a tras no - che, no - chetrasdí - a
- Sofía:** Dí-a tras dí-a
- Clemencia:** Dí-a tras no - che, no - chetrasdí - a
- Constanza:** (no lyrics shown)

Piano: The piano accompaniment features a complex, rhythmic melody in the right hand and a more harmonic, chordal texture in the left hand, supporting the vocal lines.

Coming to the men's roles, we must explain how Captain Bravo incarnates the dictatorship. For instance, during a town hall meeting scene, he recites the regime's propaganda slogan, "Podemos castigar, pero sabemos perdonar" ("We know how to punish, but we also know how to forgive"): (Fig. 101 in next page)

Figure 101 *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. Acto II, Escena II (Rehearsal Mark 39, MM. 8-11 / Rehearsal Mark 40, MM. 1-3)

Capitán Bravo

Loqueverán a - ho-ra se-rá u-na de-mos-tra-ción que cas-ti-gar po-dre-

Piano

Cap.

- mos pe - ro tam-bién sa - be - mos per - do - nar —

Pno.

This is equally significant while introducing Monterosso during that same, a local landowner who advocates violent repression by saying: “you can’t have a soft hand with these people”. (Fig. 102)

Figure 102 *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. Acto II, Escena II (Rehearsal Mark 29, MM. 9-11)

Montegrosso

(parlato)

Me alegran sus palabras, capitán.
Con esta gente hay que ser muy duros

Piano

There are two pivotal confrontations featuring Captain Bravo in parlato (spoken) mode. In the first, he faces Father Gabriel, who demands answers about the dead bodies. Instead of complying with Bravo’s demands to refrain from questioning the nature of the disappearances and to simply bury the dead, Father Gabriel pleads with him — on behalf of the village women — to provide answers

as to why bodies continue to appear floating down the river. Gabriel's lines evoke the conciliatory branch of the Catholic Church that sought justice for dictatorship-era victims: "Esta gente votó por cambios que ustedes les destruyeron, y luego apuntaron sus armas contra ellos y les detuvieron sin cargo previo. Si a estas mujeres no pueden darles noticias de sus seres queridos..."⁶⁷¹ (Fig. 103)

Figure 103 *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. Acto I, Escena III (Rehearsal Mark 87, MM 8-11, Rehearsal Mark 88, MM. 1-3)

The image shows a musical score for a scene from the opera *Viudas*. The top staff is for Padre Gabriel, and the bottom staff is for the Piano. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The lyrics for Padre Gabriel are: "Pien-se que es-ta gen-te vo-tó por cam-bios que us-te-des les des-tru-ye ron". The piano accompaniment features a complex, rhythmic pattern with many beamed sixteenth and thirty-second notes, creating a sense of agitation.

Bravo's growing agitation is underscored by instructions such as *gridando* ("shouting") and *con ardore* ("with ardor"), while Gabriel maintains a sung line until the dialogue devolves into a spoken argument. (Fig. 104)

Figure 104 *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. Acto I, Escena III (Rehearsal Mark 92, MM. 10)

The image shows a musical score for a scene from the opera *Viudas*. The top staff is for Padre Gabriel (Fa. Gab.) and the bottom staff is for the Captain (Cptn). The lyrics for Padre Gabriel are: "It is a puzzling situation, Captain. Es inquietante la situación, capitán. Those are strong words, Captain. Esas son palabras muy fuertes, capitán. Question yourself as to who could have killed those men... Preguntese a Ud. mismo quienes pueden haber muerto a esos". The lyrics for the Captain are: "A fraud! A trick! A mockery of. Es fraude, engano, una burla de. God! Dios! A fraud, a trick! Un fraude, engano!". The score is written in a simple, handwritten style.

⁶⁷¹ This was translated by Orrego-Salas as "this people voted for brought hopes of change and you destroyed them, and as they protested you turned their guns against them and those who were held suspicious or rebelled were right away detained. / if you can't give these women information on their loved ones that your soldiers detained". Orrego-Salas, *Viudas*, 56-57.

Bravo's second confrontation using *parlato* occurs after Valentín's arrest. Constanica sings defiantly while Bravo speaks, showing a reversal of power dynamics. (Fig. 105)

Figure 105 *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. Acto III, Escena I (Rehearsal Mark 51, MM. 2-6)

The musical score is for Figure 105, Acto III, Escena I, Rehearsal Mark 51, MM. 2-6. It features three staves: Constanica (soprano), Capitán Bravo (baritone), and Piano (piano). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. Constanica's melody is in the treble clef, and the Piano accompaniment is in the bass clef. Capitán Bravo's part is in the middle staff, marked with a double bar line and a 4/4 time signature, indicating a *parlato* section. The lyrics for Constanica are: "Tran-qui-li-dad Ca-pi-tán u-nas ho-ras a-trás me tra-jo del rí-o". The lyrics for Capitán Bravo are: "Necesito algo más sustancioso, señora; ayude a poner fin al embrollo que ud. ha armado en el río".

Orrego-Salas acknowledged that his use of *parlato* was a homage to musical theatre, especially works by Kurt Weill and Marc Blitzstein, composers who incidentally tackled social issues through satire and irony.⁶⁷² Though Orrego-Salas did not elaborate on why antagonistic characters speak while protagonists sing, it is likely a conscious strategy to dramatize authoritarian instability and emotional volatility which becomes evident through the instructions given to their characters such as shouting or talking “at the edge of fury”.

The opera's climax unfolds at the very end. As in the original novel, a group of soldiers prepares to open fire on the women, who have gathered once more by the river in search of additional bodies drifting downstream. However, in the opera, this scene transforms into a more layered

⁶⁷² Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 367-368.

confrontation. As Orrego-Salas specifies in the performance notes, the singer portraying Valentín must be positioned offstage at this moment. (Fig. 106)

Figure 106 *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. Acto III, Escena II (Rehearsal Mark 65, MM. 7-8/Rehearsal Mark 66, MM. 1-5)

(From above stage and hall)

Voz de Valentín

La, la, la - ra, la-la. La, la, la - ra

As they hear Valentin's song, women split into two groups, facing the soldiers, leaving a space by the riverside where the body lies. Soldiers freeze)

Piano

Believing that Valentín has already been taken away to face punishment, the soldiers begin to experience terror and despair. (Fig. 107)

Figure 107 *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. Acto III, Escena II (Rehearsal Mark 69, MM. 4-7)

Teniente

¡In - tri-ga! ¡Trai-ción!

Capitán Bravo

¡Su voz! ¡Su voz! ¡Mal - di-to can - to!

Soldados (T)

¡Su voz! ¿Dón-de.es-tá?... ¡Mal-di - ción! ¡Su voz!

Soldados (B)

Captain Bravo once again attempts to order the women to disperse and moves to rejoin his men. However, the women begin singing Valentín's song as their own. The soldiers and their superiors are paralyzed, unable to act, and can only resort to shouting curses. (Fig. 108)

Figure 108 *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. Acto III, Escena II (Rehearsal Mark 85, MM. 4-9)

The musical score is for a scene from *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. It features five vocal parts: Mujeres, Soldados (T), Soldados (B), Teniente, and Capitán Bravo. The music is in 2/4 time. The lyrics are in Spanish and describe a scene where the women sing a song as their own, while the soldiers and their superiors are paralyzed and shout curses.

Mujeres
Si - gue al in - vier - no la

Soldados (T)
¡Ter-ror! ¡Na - da más! Es - te es el fin

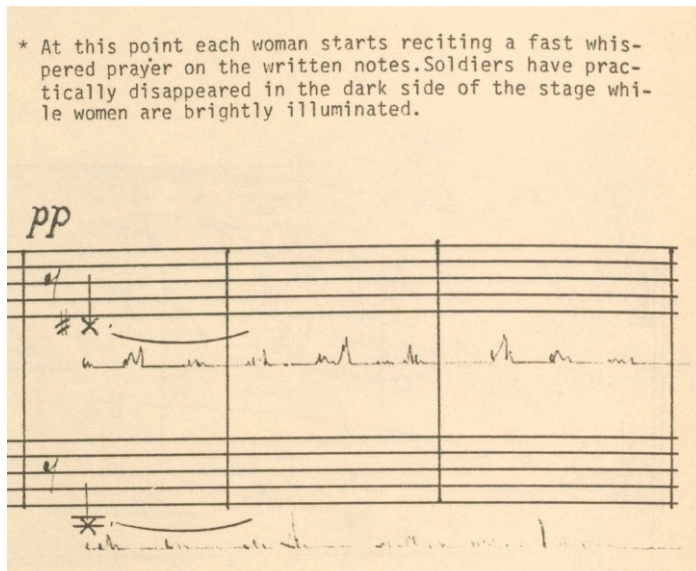
Soldados (B)

Teniente
¡Re-be - lión! ¡Muer-te_a to-das! ¡Muer-te!

Capitán Bravo
¡Mal-di - ción! ¡Mal-di - ción!

The soldiers freeze, powerless, while the women encircle a new corpse they just found coming down the river, whispering a final prayer. Bravo and his men fade into darkness, while the women are showered in light coming from up the stage. (Fig. 109 in next page)

Figure 109 *Viudas*, Op. 101 by Juan Orrego-Salas. Acto III, Escena II (Rehearsal Mark 89, MM. 7-9)



This finale is, at least in part, evocative of Francis Poulenc’s *Dialogues des Carmélites*, in which a group of nuns are executed one by one while singing the *Salve Regina*.⁶⁷³ However, in *Viudas*, there is no explicit execution, nor is it clear whether such an outcome is even implied. Instead, the opera presents a confrontation in which the women ultimately overpower the military through a collective song of hope and justice. The final stage direction, indicating their “elevation,” signals a forthcoming moral victory.⁶⁷⁴

In retrospect, this may be read as an insightful foreshadowing of the events that followed the fall of Pinochet’s regime. As discussed in Chapter II, the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad* — alongside other civil society organizations — exerted significant pressure on the incoming Aylwin administration

⁶⁷³ Steven Huebner’s interpretation of Poulenc’s work — where the nuns’ suffering and moral triumph are framed as deeply political — could equally apply to the fate of the widows in Orrego-Salas’ opera. Both Poulenc and Orrego-Salas appear to have been devout Catholics, yet their works reflect a vision of the Church that is socially engaged rather than narrowly dogmatic. See Huebner, Steven. “Francis Poulenc’s ‘Dialogues des Carmélites’: Faith, Ideology, Love.” *Music & Letters* 97, no. 2 (2016): 277–315.

⁶⁷⁴ The instructions – in English – state the following: “At this point each woman starts reciting a fast whispered prayer on the [last] written notes. Soldiers have practically disappeared in the dark side of the stage while women are brightly illuminated”. Orrego-Salas, *Viudas*, 174.

to pursue justice for the human rights violations committed during the dictatorship. In response, Aylwin agreed in 1990 to establish one of the first post–World War II truth and reconciliation commissions (TRCs). The resulting Rettig Report and the Reparation and Justice Report documented thousands of cases of forced detention, disappearance, torture, and mass execution, raising the official number of confirmed deaths under Pinochet to approximately 3,000. Later commissions uncovered even more victims and broader patterns of abuse.⁶⁷⁵ In this context, the real-life widows were finally able to learn the fate of their loved ones and witness some measure of justice, as judicial proceedings were initiated against several perpetrators.⁶⁷⁶

In conclusion, the evidence suggests that Orrego-Salas was not a militant leftist but rather a staunch pro-democracy composer, perhaps with moderate left-leaning sympathies. Above all, he remained deeply committed to the preservation of democratic values in Chile. Notably, he demonstrated a greater sensitivity to issues of social justice than many in his social class, as reflected in his personal relationships and artistic collaborations. While some of his compositional choices may not have always reached the expressive force they aspired to, the broader trajectory of his work reveals a deepening political consciousness during his years of voluntary exile in the United States. Having finally explored the work of all these composers, I will proceed now to develop a synthesis of their exploits as a conclusion of this dissertation.

⁶⁷⁵ The TRC process in Chile is still ongoing. For instance, in 2003, the National Commission on Political Prisoners and Torture revealed that, while it is widely accepted there were approximately 3,000 deaths during the dictatorship, the number of individuals unjustly detained and tortured was nearly ten times greater, reaching around 30,000. Sagredo Baeza, 266-267.

⁶⁷⁶ Although Pinochet died before he could stand trial, several members of the military, including Manuel Contreras — head of the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA) — were prosecuted in the 1990s for crimes such as the assassination of Orlando Letelier in 1976. Contreras was sentenced to seven years in prison. Since then, numerous military personnel, from rank-and-file soldiers to high-ranking officers, have been tried and convicted for human rights violations committed during the dictatorship. See Cath Collins, “Human Rights Trials in Chile during and after the ‘Pinochet Years.’” *The International Journal of Transitional Justice* 4, no. 1 (2010): 67–86.

Conclusion

After a detailed examination of these works and composers, I can now proceed to a final cross-examination that also serves as a conclusion. While these composers indeed used exile as a space from which to produce works of strong defiance against Pinochet and the oppression endured under his regime, most of these compositions remain firmly grounded in academic art-music idioms. With the exception of the songs and cantatas composed for Quilapayún by Gustavo Becerra-Schmidt and Juan Orrego-Salas, these works remain anchored in late-twentieth-century postmodern languages. Many of these composers sought to move beyond their earlier avant-garde phases and adopt more “accessible” musical languages in order to render their struggle against authoritarianism more intelligible and appealing, which evidently meant to adopt their musical styles into broad postmodern developments, from which polystylism was one of them.

The nature of these collaborations with Quilapayún is nonetheless particularly significant, as they function as symbols of a collective artistic effort toward the restoration of democracy in Chile. Their joint work is important for two primary reasons. First, it demonstrates the willingness of academic composers to collaborate with folk ensembles of the Nueva Canción movement, thereby breaking established genre boundaries. Whereas earlier composers often incorporated indigenous or folk materials within frameworks that were essentially colonial — subordinating indigenous melodies to European compositional systems — both Becerra-Schmidt and Orrego-Salas instead composed notated music directly in Andean folk styles, representing a partial inversion of this trend.

This “decolonizing” approach, however, is not without limitations. It often presupposes familiarity with large-scale musical forms, particularly in extended works such as the projected (and ultimately performed) *Cantata popular Allende* by Becerra-Schmidt or demands the mastery of

complex compositional procedures, as in his rhythmic fugue *Revolución* for three voices or the modernist dissonant harmonies of *Un canto a Bolívar* by Orrego-Salas. Nonetheless, the very existence of these works reveals a remarkable dialogue between indigenous folk practices and Eurocentric compositional forms, one that does not necessarily relegate the former to a subordinate position. Rather, these collaborations highlight the importance of indigenous folk music groups in Latin America, while respectfully challenging their performers to engage with more complex musical forms and techniques. In a way, articulation between the folk and art music genre has been applied consciously or unconsciously by all of these composers, mostly with a great degree of success.

Second, the historical context in which these compositions emerged is crucial. They arose from sustained collaborative efforts among Chileans in exile over more than a decade and across continents, at a time when global digital communication technologies were nonexistent. This circumstance underscores, for instance, the importance of the correspondence preserved at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile between Juan Orrego-Salas and Quilapayún. The works themselves rarely address the events of 1973 directly, with the notable exceptions of *Cantata popular Allende* and the more academic, still unperformed *Chile 1973* by Becerra-Schmidt. Nevertheless, they reflect broader Chilean and Latin American grievances that remain relevant today: political oppression and brutal repression, the exploitation of labor and natural resources, and the marginalization of indigenous peoples. These themes are articulated through poetry by well-known figures such as Pablo Neruda, while also incorporating texts by Eduardo Carrasco, Quilapayún's leader at the time. As such, these collaborations articulate a clear political stance while simultaneously operating within a broader context — namely, their inclusion in folk music albums that advanced the Chilean cause for the restoration of democracy, and as we saw in chapter

IV, their independence from state initiatives never drew them close enough to become a continuation of “socialist realist” works or ideals.

Following these collaborations, the composers’ returns to more explicitly academic styles nonetheless reveal their influence. In Becerra-Schmidt’s *Ossietzky-Oratorium*, for example, he incorporates an engaged rock song within a work that spans multiple twentieth-century genres, including *Sprechstimme* — used here as a more “artistic” form of spoken recitative — and stylistic references to jazz, which by the time of the work’s composition had become associated with political censorship and resistance; which was performed by students of the rock band at the faculty of music in Oldenburg he was a teacher of. Less overt, yet no less significant, is the biblical anti-war message of his percussion concerto, which may also be interpreted as implicitly anti-Pinochet. This work employs a clear postmodern language while retaining a strong ethical subtext.

The influence of these collaborations is even more evident in Orrego-Salas’s works from the 1980s. The *Oboe Concerto* is the most explicit example, as it initially alludes to and later directly quotes Víctor Jara’s “Plegaria a un Labrador” in a work that is unmistakably elegiac and somber: a lament for Jara’s martyrdom. His subsequent *Biografía mínima de Salvador Allende*, written in the style of the NCC and incorporating the charango, remains firmly rooted in a neo-tonal language and closer in form to academic traditions. Finally, *Viudas* subtly integrates references to NCC vocal styles through the evocation of medieval troubadours — a genre long admired by the composer — within a narrative that clearly denounces Pinochet’s dictatorship. Orrego-Salas’s close ties to academic institutions, combined with his residence in the United States until the election of Patricio Aylwin, may have intensified his need to articulate opposition to the dictatorship. However, I must recall his engagement with Chilean political themes predates this

period, as evidenced by his *Missa in tempore discordiae* (1969), which, as I have shown, he later described as prophetic of Chile's political crisis.

Celso Garrido-Lecca's contribution is likewise significant. His partially lost ballet *Los Siete Estados*, conceived as a collaboration with Víctor Jara, Chilean folk ensembles, and the Chile Symphony Orchestra, embodies an ambitious synthesis of folk music and academic ballet. The work holds strong potential for reconstruction and offers insight into what an Allende-era artistic and political program for academic music might have entailed had the government completed its term. Had it been premiered in its original context, *Los Siete Estados* might have surpassed other landmark Latin American ballets — such as Carlos Chávez's *H.P.* or Alberto Ginastera's *Panambí* — in its symbolic representation of mestizo and indigenized music. Unlike earlier works that subsumed indigenous materials within Eurocentric institutions, this ballet was conceived through direct collaboration with indigenous musicians. If reconstructed, it would stand as an early example of a genuinely “decolonized” approach to indigenous music within Western art-music frameworks.

Following the coup and his return to Peru, Garrido-Lecca ceased collaborating with NCC members. For a composer who once described himself as “more Chilean than Peruvian,” this shift appears striking. While the precise reasons remain uncertain following his recent passing, biographical evidence in the Niño's thesis suggests that during the late 1970s and early 1980s his efforts were redirected toward developing a similar movement in Peru, notably through the establishment of the *Taller de la Canción Popular* at the Lima Conservatory. These initiatives culminated in the creation of *Kuntur Wachana*, a Peruvian *cantata popular*. The administrative responsibilities and compositional demands of these projects likely limited his ability to collaborate with groups such as Quilapayún or Inti-Illimani.

Nevertheless, Garrido-Lecca's later cantata *El movimiento y el sueño* demonstrates the continuity of his commitment to left-wing causes. The work juxtaposes humanity's aspirations toward technological and cosmic exploration led by the superpowers of the time — the Soviet Union and the United States of America — with the harsh realities faced by Latin American guerrilla movements; these initially referenced Che Guevara and his companions, yet its later intention extended to Mapuche resistance under Pinochet⁶⁷⁷, the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, and against indigenous repression in Guatemala. In this sense, the cantata provides a powerful counterpoint to the more introspective spirituality of Orrego-Salas's *Missa in tempore discordiae*. Garrido-Lecca's choice of Alejandro Romualdo's direct and politically charged poetry contrasts sharply with the more abstract avant-garde text by Vicente Huidobro set by Orrego-Salas. Musically, Garrido-Lecca's expansive polystylistic language — employing dual narrators, sonic effects that evoke Penderécki within and without his large orchestra with augmented percussion, and double mixed choirs — produces a visceral rhetorical force absent from Orrego-Salas's more restrained choral writing.

As with Becerra-Schmidt and Orrego-Salas, Garrido-Lecca eventually returned to more traditional academic idioms. Unlike the others, however, he continued to incorporate indigenous materials during this period. In works such as *Trío para un tiempo nuevo* and *String Quartet No. 2*, these materials were collected following methods similar to those employed by Béla Bartók. While this approach re-anchors indigenous music within Eurocentric compositional models, Garrido-Lecca

⁶⁷⁷ Concerning a potential Chilean premiere of the piece around the year 2000, Garrido-Lecca admitted in his interview with Martínez and Vázquez that the reconstituted Chilean Communist Party strongly opposed the idea, as it believed such a display would undermine the party's efforts to conciliate with democratic forces. I agree with this assessment because, had the Chilean Communist Party endorsed the premiere, it would have implicitly legitimized the activities of Mapuche guerrilla groups, given the subject matter of the piece — groups that remain active to this day and have been designated as terror organizations by the Chilean state since the Pinochet era. Garrido-Lecca. "Entrevista a Celso Garrido Lecca"

explicitly acknowledged the sources of these materials, crediting Dino Wata — the Quechua farmer who provided him with songs in the 1940s — as well as quoting and developing themes by Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara; this latter being a gesture of homage toward the NCC movement. Although this practice does not constitute a fully decolonized approach given the time it was written (late 1980s), it nonetheless represents a meaningful step toward recognizing the importance of indigenous music within Latin American art-music traditions.

Luis Advis' output stands apart from that of his contemporaries. A student of Becerra-Schmidt, he largely rejected contemporary avant-garde forms and idioms in favor of traditional academic forms such as the cantata and the symphony, as well as tonality. His *cantatas populares Santa María de Iquique* and *Canto para una Semilla* draw heavily on Baroque models, particularly in the latter work, and call for complete artistic collaboration with Quilapayún. These works fully synthesize folk, academic, and even rock elements, achieving an immediate emotional impact among NCC audiences. A similar synthesis is evident in the *Sinfonía "Los Tres Tiempos de América"*, which blends folk and academic idioms into a powerful statement of resistance against oppression and arguably merits greater recognition within the twentieth-century canon.

Advis' distinctive position is closely tied to his experience of internal exile in Chile, reportedly due to illness.⁶⁷⁸ Unlike his peers abroad, his resistance was shaped by immediate political realities, even as he composed music for censorship-friendly films. Nonetheless, his works reveal an acute political awareness and a commitment to articulating the need for social change in Chile and Latin America. They exemplify a rare instance of sustained genre collaboration — rather than mere

⁶⁷⁸ In Eileen Bolton's thesis, there's no mention about Advis' ill health.

crossover — between academic composers and folk musicians, resulting in bold, large-scale works that confront longstanding social and political injustices across the region.

In assessing the broader significance of these composers, it is clear that they occupy an important place within both the Chilean context and the Latin American art-music canon. As Gérard Béhague and Esteban Buch observed, composers such as Orrego-Salas were engaged in a process of cosmopolitanization, aligning themselves with figures like Paul Hindemith rather than the Darmstadt or New York avant-gardes, or the neo-tonal school of Nadia Boulanger; or possessing a parallel with Juan Carlos Paz, who, albeit being an avantgarde outsider, also held a bourgeois life while defending the rights of others to express themselves or solely to exist. This trajectory eventually intersected with the avant-garde techniques adopted by Becerra-Schmidt and Garrido-Lecca in the 1960s, which were later enriched with postmodern musical perspectives. In Becerra-Schmidt's case, these techniques permeated still-unperformed political works such as *Los Sátrapas* and *Chile 1973*, which confront the trauma of the coup while reaffirming his democratic and pacifist commitments.

As a result, their work reveals three central points. First, politically committed art music was not confined to Soviet and/or Western capitalist musical spheres. By aligning themselves with the NCC movement during the 1970s and 1980s, Chilean composers demonstrated varying degrees and forms of political engagement. Initially, this commitment was directed primarily toward articulating the social and political grievances advanced by the NCC through its artistic output, a phase largely represented by the works of Advis and Garrido-Lecca, with more limited contributions by Becerra-Schmidt. Following the coup, this engagement was most visibly sustained by exiled composers such as Becerra-Schmidt and Orrego-Salas, with Advis contributing his *Sinfonía* at a later stage, while Garrido-Lecca continued related work independently.

Collectively, these composers articulated different dimensions of exile: mourning the loss of democratic order, resistance to dictatorship, and hope for the restoration of democracy, while at the same time, engaged in a diplomatic exercise that prioritized the voices of those who were affected by the struggles of the Cold War superpowers for ideological and economic supremacy.

Second, their work illuminates a distinctive aspect of Latin American music produced under conditions of widespread dictatorship, which demanded artistic conformity — a reality well known to Advis himself, though one he partially circumvented in the completion of his *Sinfonía*. This context demonstrates that resistance within art music can be understood as both characteristic and, to some extent, as an expected trait among composers in the region. As discussed in Chapter I, Latin American music during the first half of the twentieth century was largely confined to modernist folklorism or to reworkings of neobaroque and neoclassical models. Although the former drew more directly on indigenous musical materials, these were typically treated through a top-down dynamic that subordinated them to internal colonial aesthetic practices, thereby leaving little space for the expression of social grievances. By contrast, Chilean art-music composers, through collaboration with NCC folk and indigenous musicians, disrupted this paradigm by enabling the expression of social injustice within hybrid articulated musical forms. In doing so, they opened a space for indigenous voices in art music during the 1970s: an initiative that, at the time, constituted a daring step at the continental level. As such, their aforementioned struggle for democracy across all political camps represent a symbolic analogy of their struggle, even more so than composers in Argentina or Brazil.

Third, this level of collaboration reveals a less overtly political, yet intellectually significant, dimension. Prior to the 1960s, genre crossovers with art music were largely uncommon and underacknowledged in many parts of the world. Chilean composers were among the earliest to

write extensively for folk ensembles whose performers often had limited experience with academic compositional practices — a development paralleled in Cuba during the same period, though without comparable long-term social resonance.⁶⁷⁹ In Chile, the full scope of this impact only became evident through post-coup historical reassessment. Nevertheless, as proven through Middleton’s articulation theory, these collaborations demonstrate that it was both possible and desirable for art-music composers to operate beyond their conventional aesthetic boundaries, adapting their practices to broader social purposes. Among these cases, Orrego-Salas stands out as particularly daring, as he not only composed works for and in the style of the NCC, but also allowed these idioms to permeate his avowed modernist language throughout the 1980s and even beyond.⁶⁸⁰

This dissertation represents only an initial assessment of a repertoire that remains on the margins of international recognition. Future research should prioritize the performance of unperformed works — such as Becerra-Schmidt’s coup-era compositions, Orrego-Salas’s opera *Viudas*, and especially Garrido-Lecca’s *Los Siete Estados*, whose reconstruction remains a pressing task. With regard to the latter work, it is hoped that the composer’s recent passing may facilitate the ballet’s reconstruction, either on the basis of the remaining complete recording or, though highly unlikely, through the discovery of the score. Equally important is the study of Sergio Ortega, whose collaboration with Quilapayún was extensive. Notably, the ensemble led the posthumous realization of his originally conceived grand opera *Fulgor y muerte de Joaquín Murrieta*, which

⁶⁷⁹ As many of the monographs I have read on the Cuban situation inform, the nation’s prestige was constantly tainted by the machinations of the United States of America on depicting the island as a communist hellscape; a propaganda image that was far from truth during the Cold War era.

⁶⁸⁰ Orrego-Salas *Symphony No. 6 “Semper reditus”* (Always returning), Op. 112, was composed for Chile Symphony Orchestra in 1996 but was not premiered until 2009, at the concert celebrating his 90th birthday, under the baton of Francisco Rettig. In the composer’s own words, the work is largely evocative of the Chilean landscape; yet it does not shy away from including, for the first time in his career, allusions to Andean music, something the composer would never have allowed himself to do before the 1980s.

remains the only known example of *ópera popular*.⁶⁸¹ Ortega's omission from the present study reflects archival limitations rather than scholarly neglect and points to a significant gap in the literature. His work would nonetheless provide an important counterpoint to that of Luis Advis: although both were academically trained, Ortega went into exile alongside Quilapayún in Paris, where he became the ensemble's composer-in-residence and served as an educator and headmaster at the Conservatoire de Pantin, a working-class institution in eastern Paris.

In conclusion, this dissertation traces a distinctive path within Chilean and Latin American music during the Cold War, offering a coherent assessment of how these composers responded artistically to political upheaval. Despite inevitable limitations, it outlines a compelling narrative of collaboration, resistance, and innovation that enriches our understanding of twentieth-century Latin American art music.

⁶⁸¹ This is a plausible term applicable to this work's arrangement for folk group, whose premiere only happened in 2017, several years after Ortega's passing in 2003.

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