



MÚSICA DE CHILOÉ

FOLKLORE, SYNCRETISM, AND CULTURAL
DEVELOPMENT IN A CHILEAN AQUAPELAGO

WALDO GARRIDO, DAN BENDRUPS,
AND PHILIP HAYWARD

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Acknowledgments

This book reflects our various engagements with Chiloé and Chilote culture. While the project arose from initial fieldwork conducted by Garrido and Hayward in early 2010 and sustained research undertaken by Garrido in the period 2011–2017, it also reflects an affective engagement with Chilote culture that goes back many years. For Bendrups, this derives from time spent undertaking research in Chile, and especially from interactions with folklorist Margot Loyola Palacios in Chile in the early 2000s. For Garrido, it goes back to childhood experiences and the songs and dances he learned in primary school in the 1970s. These experiences and engagements do not provide the basis for a comprehensive account of all facets of music in Chiloé—merely a representation of those aspects available to us in the circumstances described above. Our perspectives complement the rich and varied life experiences of local musicians and an illustrative picture of these can be glimpsed through the career of Chilote musician Claudio Pérez Llaiquel, who Garrido met in the first few days of his fieldwork in 2010.

Pérez Llaiquel was born in Queilén, Chiloé, and was taught to play the guitar by his father. At age 10, he and his family moved to Chonchi where he received a scholarship to study piano with Gabriel Coddou for four years between the ages of thirteen to seventeen. During this period, he took part in numerous tours throughout the country, as a solo pianist and accompanying the children's choir from the indigenous community of Molulco. In 2002, he began to study composition and arranging at the Escuela Moderna de Música in Santiago where he remained until 2006. Some of his mentors and educators included composition teacher Javier Fariás, the pianist Gonzalo Palma, maestro Toly Ramírez, Waldo Parra, and Guillermo Rifo. What is particularly interesting about Pérez Llaiquel is that he exists in different musical worlds. He conducts classical music ensembles, works with contemporary

groups in Chiloé and regularly teaches piano and music theory—weaving between global, national, and local contexts. Another important aspect about Pérez Llaiquel is that he can trace his ancestry back to the Huilliche, the indigenous people of the province. In one of his meetings with Garrido in 2010 he articulated that he believes that he has an “ancestral emotiveness” that is “awakened” when he creates music. It was with musicians like Pérez Llaiquel in mind that we embarked upon this book: creative artists for whom no single musical genre or category suffices to capture the impact and extent of their work. Of course, we are also indebted to Pérez Llaiquel and others for their wisdom, instruction, collaboration, and feedback over the course of multiple exchanges, all of which have enabled us to write our reflective text.

The research for this volume and for its related musical and audio-visual materials would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of a variety of cultural activists from Chiloé. We would particularly like to acknowledge Trifulka, Mario Garcia, Claudio Pérez, Jaime Barria Casanova, Mauro Anselmo Olivos Castillo, Claudio Alvarado, Vilú (Annie Bay González), Freddy Villarroe, Manuel Mauricio Zuñiga Reyes, Marcos Uribe, Renato Cardenas, Pancho Molina, Nelson Antonio Torres Muñoz, and Viga Maestra. Many thanks also to Manuel Danneman who met with us early in our research and provided valuable orientation points and encouragement and to Emily Pinkerton for sharing her research with us.

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Various sections of chapters 2, 3, and 5 draw on and update material that appeared in the following publications:

- Garrido, Waldo, and Dan Bendrups. 2013. “Transcultural Latino: Negotiating Music Industry Expectations of Latin American Migrant Musicians in Australasia.” *Musicology Australia* 35 (1): 1–15.
- Hayward, Philip. 2011. “Salmon Aquaculture and Cultural Disruption in Chiloé.” *Locale: The Australasia–Pacific Journal of Regional Food Studies* 1: 87–110.
- Hayward, Philip and Waldo Garrido. 2011. “Chiloé: An Offshore Song Culture.” In *Island Songs*, edited by G. Baldacchino, 157–170. Plymouth, UK: Scarecrow Press.

Location and Terminology

Throughout this volume, a number of terms are used to refer to an island, an archipelago, a province, a composite of islands, associated marine areas, and a population of mixed racial descent who inhabit the areas in question. A precise definition of the terms used to refer to these is necessary before proceeding.

The toponym Chiloé refers to an individual island but is also commonly used to refer to that island and a group of smaller islands, principally located off its east coast. While the place name Chiloé is unambiguous with reference to the single large island concerned, its use to refer to the group of islands that it forms the main component of is less precise, particularly with regard to the eastern boundary of the group. Modern provincial boundaries have sketched a borderline through the channel between Chiloé and the continental mainland that delineates those islands to the west as part of Chiloé Province and those to the east (the Desertores Islands) as part of Palena Province. This borderline is however largely a notional one, threading in an essentially arbitrary manner through an area that is homogenous in almost all other respects. To complicate matters further, while Guafo Island, located forty kilometers southwest of the southern tip of Chiloé Island, is administered as part of Chiloé Province, it is generally not considered to be one of the Chiloé islands in the same way that eastern fringing islands are.

As a result of the above, we use the term *Chiloé* to refer to the province of Chiloé. When we refer specifically to the province's main island, we use the term *Isla Grande* (main/large island).

As discussed in subsequent chapters, *Isla Grande* and a number of the islands to its east have been inhabited at various times by the indigenous Chono and Huilliche peoples and, more latterly, by Spanish settlers who have substantially intermingled with the Huilliche to form a *mestizo* (i.e.,

mixed racial) population known by the masculine demonym Chilote (the feminine form being Chilota). The masculine term predominates in almost all Spanish (and English) language references to the mixed gender *mestizo* population of the province and is used in this sense throughout the volume. The term *Chilota* is used when referring to female perceptions of located identity and experience, such as in the discussion of the work and perceptions of Vilú (Annie Bay González) in Chapter 3. Throughout the volume we use the term *Chilote* exclusively to refer to this group and also, as per local usage, as an adjective to describe various aspects related to that population, i.e., Chilote culture, Chilote heritage, etc. When discussing the overall population of the province, which includes migrants of Chilean or other origins, and/or aspects of the province's society and culture, we used the term "Chiloean." Although this term is not present in provincial or national Chilean discourse, it is one we have adopted for purposes of analytical precision.

Much of our discussion concerns a socio-spatial concept developed within island studies, which is more fully explicated in the introduction, that of the *aquapelago*—an integrated terrestrial and marine space generated by human livelihood activities. In this regard, our volume primarily addresses what might be termed the Chiloean *aquapelago* and also makes reference to *aquapelagic* aspects of Chono, Huilliche, and Chilote livelihood activities and/or senses of territory.

The volume addresses aspects of the subtle but significant differences between particular spaces, between social constructions of space, and between concepts of space shared by the province's inhabitants (to varying degrees) and often contested by *afuerinos* (a Spanish term meaning outsiders). The definitions given above are therefore key conceptual orientation points for the chapters that follow.

The map provided on the following page gives some sense of the boundaries between land and sea in and around Chiloé and identifies key terrestrial settlements, islands, and waterways. But, as our discussions indicate, these should be regarded as points within an *aquapelagic* space generated by historic and contemporary livelihood activities rather than as separate spaces with rigidly distinct attributes and characteristics.



Figure 0.1. Map of Chiloé and the adjacent South American coast (Christian Fleury, 2016). Image courtesy of Christian Fleury.