

EDITED BY OLIVIA CASAGRANDE,
CLAUDIO ALVARADO LINCOPI AND
ROBERTO CAYUQUEO MARTÍNEZ

PERFORMING THE JUMBLED CITY

SUBVERSIVE AESTHETICS AND
ANTICOLONIAL INDIGENEITY IN
SANTIAGO DE CHILE

Performing the jumbled city

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In association with the Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology



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Subversive aesthetics and anticolonial
indigeneity in Santiago de Chile

EDITED BY OLIVIA CASAGRANDE, CLAUDIO
ALVARADO LINCOPI AND ROBERTO CAYUQUEO
MARTÍNEZ

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Para Antü, Alen, Liwen, Kinturay Giona, Achille
... les niñes, les hijes de MapsUrbe ... les que siguen.

To Antü, Alen, Liwen, Kinturay Giona, Achille
... the children of MapsUrbe ... the ones who follow.

Mapurbe

David Aniñir Guiltraro

Somos mapuche de hormigón
debajo del asfalto duerme nuestra madre
explotada por un cabrón

Nacimos en la mierdopolis por culpa del buitrecantor
nacimos en panaderías para que nos coma la maldición

Somos hijos de lavanderas panaderos feriantes y ambulantes
somos de los que quedamos en pocas partes

El mercado de la mano de obra
obra nuestras vidas
y nos cobra

Madre vieja mapuche exiliada de la historia
hija de mi pueblo amable
desde el sur llegaste a parirnos
un circuito eléctrico rajó tu vientre
y así nacimos gritándoles a los miserables
marri chi weu
en lenguaje lactante

Padre, escondiendo tu pena de tierra tras el licor
Caminaste las mañanas heladas enfriándote el sudor

Somos hijos de los hijos de los hijos
somos los nietos de Lautaro tomando la micro
para servirle a los ricos
somos parientes del sol y del trueno
lloviendo sobre la tierra apuñalada

La lágrima negra del río Mapocho
nos acompañó por siempre
en este santiagónico wekufe maloliente.

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Colectivo MapsUrbe

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With contributions from

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Prologue

Enrique Antileo Baeza

MapsUrbe captivated me the first time I had the opportunity to look at their work. A heterogeneous Collective mounting an exhibition in the Quinta Normal to address Mapuche trajectories in the city of Santiago through sound, visual materials and montages, their work moved the spectator, connecting with their own experience, or those of their mothers, fathers and elders. To me, MapsUrbe's work defied definition but in a good way. It was art with archival work. It was an aesthetic proposal coupled or perhaps entangled with political dialogue, with the clear intention of shaking (us) up.

This work makes up a mosaic that goes beyond the book you have in your hands. It is a journey through the individual experiences of what we could call *mapuchidad santiaguina* and is interwoven with a critical dialogue on the history and the future of Mapuche migrants to the metropolitan capital, once a colonial city and then a capitalist and segregated one. In this dialogical impulse, the geographical disintegration of the Mapuche people in the most populated region of the country is reviewed. It is cartography, not only of the position of landmarks or places on a map, but also an emotional geography and a spatio-temporal connection with lived experiences.

In that mapping, places and territories were discovered that were flooded with meanings from the Mapuche perspective. Some of these spaces probably mean nothing to the Chilean people, though some other may have a shared significance. All are points on the *Mapuche Urban Map* that acquired importance over the course of their lives. Most of this invisible geography is constituted from the Mapuche post-reservation diasporic process; that is, after the exodus produced by the Chilean military colonisation and the subsequent usurpation of land by large settler-landowners. The rest comes from long ago and is interwoven with resignifications of the present.

Among the sites which still resonate in my memory after viewing MapsUrbe's work is the Welen Hill. As the peak from which the Spanish colonisers symbolised the image of the territory they were to conquer, several centuries later it became a central point of Mapuche resistance in Santiago during their mobilisations. Hundreds of Mapuche climbed that hill on foot to repudiate centuries of massacres. Another example is the Quinta Normal Park, a construction for urban leisure that was silently occupied by Mapuche for almost the entire twentieth century as a place for meeting fellow countrymen and countrywomen. A large part of the migrant Mapuche community was articulated there. As a watercourse that organised the ancient *lof* of this *mapu* and that today reminds us of segregation and racism, the Mapocho River was also an icon of this work, as was Cerro Navia, a municipality where hundreds of Mapuche families have been living since the time of the land seizures; families who have cast aside the veil of invisibility and made their presence felt between *ruka* and *ngillatuwe*. Especially

noteworthy was the work MapsUrbe did in mapping the upper-class residences where so many Mapuche women worked as domestic servants. These were mainly areas of the elite: territories where, on 25 October 2020, the privileges conferred to them by the tyrant's constitution were defended tooth and nail. In those 'little houses in the upper quarter', as Víctor Jara sang, many Mapuche stories circulated, which MapsUrbe somehow tries to recall.

This book, born of an initial impulse coordinated by Olivia Casagrande, is also a powerful experimental methodological exercise. Colectivo MapsUrbe, whose names are listed throughout the book, succeeds in bringing a collaborative perspective to their work. This time, the *extractivismo* typical of the insensitive academicism is left behind, and critical energy is positioned and managed to transform an investigation into creation. What you will see in the book and hear in the audios is the result of a sort of reflexive ethnography, very engaged and mixed (*champpureada*) with photography, music, cartography, theatrical work, and acts of walking or traversing. It is a complex mosaic that leaves us speechless, wondering, and inevitably sensing. Feeling.

The performative power of this project and this book is undoubtedly a fundamental element that permeates all of its materials and representations. The Collective managed to develop interventions, reconstructions of images from the 1960s, theatrical experiments in the site-specific mode, and alterations in the geographical imaginary of the eastern metropolitan uptown that is Chile's own Upper East Side, as well as videos and remarkable pop creations. Once again, the stimuli generated by the creative power of all the people who make up the group set this particular ethnographic work on a different and counter-hegemonic path in terms of methodological practices.

It is difficult to locate the heart of the project, or rather, a single heart. MapsUrbe is a network of heartbeats that addresses the Mapuche migrant and diasporic question from different fronts. In this line, and to conclude, I would like to highlight the engagement with the history and emotional memory of Mapuche experiences that resonate in the present and connect us with our kinsfolk. All the works in the book are tinged with this memory. On the other hand, this initiative takes aim at the notion of a static and folklorised Mapuche identity. The Collective, by tensing the 'imaginary of the Mapuche' defended by a broad spectrum of subjects and institutions, disputes it without denying it, rather expanding it. It positions itself from an ontologically open possibility of being Mapuche, where otherness, shaped by being a diverse people, is not a face and a stamp. There, the *champurria* emerges as a vindication of our being more than a list of attributes or an expectation. There, it upholds the fact that life in the diaspora is also part of the history of our people.

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Where to begin?

Many people contributed to the writing of this book, to the research project from which it stems, and to our thinking, concerns and creativities elaborated during the last few years. We firmly believe that knowledge is constructed collectively, both from an intellectual and an affective point of view. This book would not have been written or dreamed of without the support, love, questions, critiques and conversations of many. We do our best to thank you all.

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Manchester/Santiago, 21 October 2021

The editors:

Olivia Casagrande

Claudio Alvarado Lincopi

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Introduction:
Ethnographic scenario,
emplaced imaginations and a
political aesthetic

Olivia Casagrande

In October 2019, Santiago was shaken by protests. After the first weeks of what has been called a ‘social uprising’ (*estallido social*), one image became iconic: in the middle of the main square in the city centre and against a background of a yellow-orange sky lit by fires and the sunset, someone standing on top of the statue of General Baquedano raises the *Wenufoye*, the Mapuche flag that had become highly symbolic during the protests. A few days later, in different cities across the south of the country (the historical indigenous territory before it was occupied by the Chilean army at the end of the 1800s), protestors began targeting colonial monuments. Symbols of Spanish rule and the Chilean republic were destroyed or replaced and some of them were significantly rearranged, such as the head of the statue of the military aviator Dagoberto Godoy hung in the hands of the Mapuche *cacique* Caupolicán. In this challenge to the established narratives and icons in the context of a broader struggle against inequality,¹ the colonial past returns to haunt the present. In the ‘durability’ of what Ann Stoler calls the ‘colonial presence’ (2016: 3), it is a history that ‘still matters today’ – pointing to both the continuum between coloniality and the neoliberal present, and to the endless reproduction of social and economic violence, as well as their consequential forms of suffering.

Almost one year after these events, similar actions of protest began targeting monuments and urban landmarks in many other cities across the world, especially in the USA and the UK. The socio-political landscapes of (post) colonial cities have been questioned and disrupted through interventions in the materiality of urban space, putting forward alternative iconographies and imaginations. Colonised bodies and subjects have entered the public debate in the contexts of the COVID-19 crisis and the protests following the murder of the African American George Floyd by the police in Minneapolis. During the months of these mobilisations, Mapuche activists joined the outcry against racialisation processes, not only in solidarity but also in claiming the struggle as their own. The parallel is certainly complex, and the specificity of these different contexts needs to be taken into account – especially considering the Chilean ‘neoliberal experiment’ pursued through the terror of the civil-military dictatorship, and how this shaped the country’s disparities (see Harvey 2005; Klein 2007; Han 2012). Nonetheless, this opens up a reflection on how socio-racial inequalities, as well as the links between the city’s materialities and the lived experiences of its inhabitants, are particularly meaningful today. As such, they need to be addressed both locally and in their broader links and relevance. Beyond their specificities in terms of geographical contexts and histories, contemporary political claims are made over bodies and lives that are considered and treated as

1 Pedro Cayuqueo interviewed in the *Guardian*: Conquistadors tumble as indigenous Chileans tear down statues, 5 November 2019.

‘peripheral’, something sadly occurring in urban realities both at the ‘centre’ and at the ‘periphery’ of the contemporary capitalist global world.²

The disruptions and re-imaginings of the material and social spaces of (post)colonial cities are the concerns of this book. Stemming from collaborative and practice-based research with young indigenous artists, intellectuals and activists, this volume addresses the Mapuche diaspora and its engagement with urban space in Santiago: it is a look into the city, its times and spaces, and the multiple ways of walking through it. In the words of AbdouMaliq Simone, it is a collective meditation on the particular ways in which ‘bodies, things and spaces – and the relations among them – *mutually compose themselves*’ (2016: 5, my emphasis). As complex entanglements of uncertainties and imaginations, urban settings provide opportunities as well as taking away abilities and desires; generating loss and opening up different possibilities for life at the same time (Simone 2016: 12–13). Only apparently contradictory, there is a sense of dis- and re-connection in this dynamic: a ‘holding together’ through the simultaneous undoing and remaking of life (Simone 2016: 6).

Resulting from a multimodal ethnography within the project ‘MapsUrbe – The Invisible City: Mapuche mapping of Santiago’, this edited collection is a construction of texts, images, sounds and performance built around the main outcomes of the research process: an artistic exhibition and a site-specific theatre play, *Santiago Waria: Pueblo Grande de Wigka* (The city of Santiago: The big town of the whites).³ Conceived as a collaborative project, MapsUrbe was first meant to address the Mapuche diaspora in Santiago through collective mapping methodologies, walking interviews, and digital storytelling. It aimed to focus on indigenous urban spatialities, exploring issues of displacement and the absent presence of the homeland in southern Chile. However, the ongoing dialogue with Claudio Alvarado Lincopi and Roberto Cayuqueo Martínez, co-coordinators of the project and co-editors of this book, and with the project participants, brought about a change in the direction of site-specific methods, art, and performance.⁴ The collaborative – and hence

2 See article by Ida Danewid on how the ‘making’ of global cities has typically gone hand in hand with racialised forms of displacement, dispossession, and police violence (2020).

3 The Mapuche word *Wigka* means non-Mapuche or white. It usually has a pejorative connotation and is used to refer to land usurpation and robbery. The play title is a quote from the 1987 documentary *Santiago: pueblo grande de Huincas* by the anthropologist Rony Goldschmied with the support of Sonia Montecino (available at: <https://vimeo.com/25837134>), some of whose materials are used in the performance. Both the art exhibition and the play took place in Santiago between December 2018 and January 2019.

4 Claudio and Roberto were appointed as ‘research assistants’ at the beginning of the project, and we collaborated closely on bringing it about, designing every step together up to the final outputs. While I was the project director and undoubtedly had the responsibility of overall management, we adopted a sort of ‘flexible leadership’ in relation to different phases of the project; Roberto directed the final performance and appointed me as director’s assistant, and Claudio was in charge of many of the workshops we organised.

open – nature of the research and the ability and wholehearted commitment of the participants to creatively intervene in it, as well as my own willingness to rethink methodologies and forms of representation, allowed the project to be transformed into a much more complex and richer collective space, as we will see in what follows. The sort of ‘open laboratory’ that MapsUrbe represented during the two years I spent in Chile (of which roughly eighteen months were more intensively dedicated to the project) became a shared space for exchanging thoughts, analysis, and experimental creation. Issues of migration, displacement, race, and colonial continuities were addressed through collaborative practices encompassing ethnography, art, and performance. On-site workshops and artistic production – but also walking and improvising – were the main ways in which the city’s materialities were engaged in order to defy the invisibility of the collective history and individual stories of indigenous migrants in the (post)colonial city.

Elaborating on this creative process, both the final art exhibition and play (as well as this volume) engage with the subversive imaginations of collective art practices disrupting dominant narratives embedded in the urban landscape. They thus challenge the silence around colonial continuities that shape the social and material spatialities of the Chilean capital. Instead, what this book is suggesting is a political aesthetic defined by the Mapuche concept of *champurria* (‘mixed up’); this concept, which originally referred to racial mixture in a pejorative way, has recently been appropriated by Mapuche living in urban contexts and constantly negotiating between different identities and senses of belonging, and, often coming from mixed families, claiming their own *mestizaje* or miscegenation as something creative, heterogeneous, yet still entirely indigenous, as will be discussed further in this introduction. What we refer to as a ‘*champurria* political aesthetic’ is understood as the gestures through which people construct themselves and their everyday landscapes, shaped by specific social and personal identities (related to issues of gender, age, and skin colour). They are, however, simultaneously capable of reaching beyond the social and material contexts in which they are grounded. At the same time, *Champurria* aesthetic and politics affected and configured our shared practices of knowledge production in their being collective, frictional and varied.

As such, this book engages with ‘corporeal epistemologies’ as forms of experiential and imaginative knowledge arising from putting the body in place and on stage, encompassing both performance and ethnography (Kondo 2018). Moving from emplaced and embodied creative practices, it interrogates the relationship between race, aesthetics, and politics, encompassing issues of indigeneity, urban migration, and the materiality of the (post)colonial city. Central to the book are the forms and meanings developed in the art exhibition and especially in the play *Santiago Waria*. These constitute shared ethnographic representations that aim to give space to the ‘plural ethnography’

experienced during fieldwork as shaped by the multiplicity and intersection of gazes and voices. Taking collaborative methods a step further and engaging in (without claiming to resolve) the decolonisation of methodology (Smith 2012), this plurality meant working towards openness within the project leading to it being re-appropriated by the research participants. For me, as an anthropologist, it also meant putting into question my own disciplinary assumptions and personal and professional self or, paraphrasing the ethnographer and philosopher Ernesto de Martino, deliberately exposing myself to the outrage of my own most cherished memories (Martino 2002). By doing so, this volume addresses the ways in which anthropological knowledge is built and shared, and the epistemological possibilities arising from collaborative methodologies where ethnography, performance, and the urban space intersect.

ANTROPOFÁGIAS: SETTING THE SCENARIO

Diana Taylor defines scenarios as ‘sets of possibilities, ways of conceiving conflict, crisis or resolution, structures of understanding’. Scenarios are multifaceted systems; their formulaic structure predisposes certain outcomes while allowing for reversal and change. They are not reducible to narrative because they demand embodiment: the body is inserted into a specific frame, in which it nevertheless has a space to manoeuvre because is not entirely scripted. The social actor and her role are thus both simultaneously in view, alongside their uneasy fits and areas of tension (2003: 28–63). In outlining the particular scenario in which the project took place, I want to address the artwork *Antropofágias* (Anthropophagies), created by Claudio Alvarado Lincopi, Roberto Cayuqueo Martínez and myself that was part of the MapsUrbe final exhibition. The coloured picture is a playful and ironic reproduction of a black and white photograph taken in the 1880s and entitled ‘Marriage of an Italian to two Mapuche’. The photographer is unknown and the man depicted is probably Pedro Totta, an Argentinean adventurer of Italian origin who ended up living in an indigenous community near Temuco in the south of Chile.

This photograph, contained in the book *El Pueblo Mapuche en la pluma de los Araucanistas* (Mora, Samaniego 2018), immediately caught my attention due to the similarities between Pedro Totta’s and my own positionality: his Italian origins; his ‘whiteness’; and his long-standing relationship with Mapuche society as a foreigner. By coincidence, when the photograph was taken, he had been living in the Mapuche community for as long as I had been working in Chile at that time: thirteen years (following my first trip at 22, in January 2006). Besides these similarities, there were some obvious differences, such as in our gender and in our permanence within Mapuche

society (mine on and off, his rather more permanent). Also, I was not married to Claudio and Roberto – even if our trio did form a striking parallelism. Yet, more than analysing similarities and differences, what first struck me and then my colleagues, and led to the installation of *Antropofágias*, was the implicit yet intense entanglement of proximity and distance, intimacy and difference, and ultimately love and violence, contained in the black and white image. That was the *punctum* that constrained my gaze to return to it over and over again, as the man, his suit, his whiteness, his suitcase, and even his body posture and facial expression are part of a well-known colonial history: at the end of the 1800s the Mapuche lost their independent territory, entering an era of displacement, illness, poverty, and socio-cultural upheaval at the margins of the dominant state in both Chile and Argentina (see Antileo Baeza et al. 2015; Marimán, Caniuqueo, Millalén, Levil 2006). The distinction between the man and the people around him is, in that sense, telling. The brightness of his suit is in sharp contrast with the background of the surrounding vegetation, of which the depicted indigenous people seem to be a part, due to both their poses and the similarity of colours in the black and white image. This also contributes to making the man stand out as the only ‘individual’, clearly distinguishable and named, while everyone else belongs to the same and unidentified ‘whole’ (the Mapuche). The parallel between indigeneity, rurality, and community is palpable and in line with a national ideology equating indigenous territories south of the Biobio River with rural backwardness. In contrast with Santiago, the locus of ‘civilisation’, they are perceived as needing to be ‘pacified’ and incorporated into the project of modernity of the Chilean nation. In this picture, indigeneity is pushed to the background, a ‘natural’ and past condition constituting a sort of ‘oblivion’ within Chilean history (Waldman 2004; see also Montecino 1996; Pinto 2000).

This was the first element that the artwork wanted to challenge, by staging the photographic reconstruction in an urban setting and reducing the group only to its central characters, exaggerating their personification. While Mapuche migration to the cities and especially the capital began in the 1930s as a consequence of territorial dispossession and the enclosure of the indigenous population within the reservation system, their presence within urban contexts has been invisibilised until recently.⁵ Claiming an urban emplacement constituted a denial of any straightforward identification of indigenous people with a romantic idea of nature, community, and

5 Besides the work of Carlos Munizaga at the end of the 1950s, studies concerning urban indigenous Mapuche have emerged since the 1990s, and especially since the turn of the century. For example, see: Gissi (2002); Aravena (2007); Antileo Baeza (2008, 2010); Lavanchy (2009); Imilán (2010, 2017); Sepulveda, Zúñiga (2015); Antileo Baeza, Alvarado Lincopi (2017 and 2018); Warren (2017); Campos, Espinoza, de la Maza (2018). For the growing literature on the ‘urban indigenous’ in Latin America, see, for example: McSweeney, Jokish (2007); Alexiades, Peluso (2015); Horn (2019).



Casamiento de un Italiana con mapuche

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rurality. This claim is central to the Mapuche diaspora, especially for the younger generations, who actually reject the rural–urban dichotomy; first, they engage in concrete connections between the capital and the territories in the south, travelling there for political activism, ceremonial events, and support for seasonal work – and second, they contend that urban space is part of Mapuche contemporary experience, through recent literary and artistic productions as well as through political activism. That is also why the term ‘Mapuche diaspora’ has been used by indigenous intellectuals since the early 1990s, highlighting the violence, displacement and scarcity of land forcing the abandonment of rural communities, and their subordinate position within socio-racial hierarchies (Antileo Baeza 2008; Ugarte, Fontana, Caulkins 2019; Alvarado Lincopi 2021; see also Alvarado Lincopi; Llancaman and Huenchún Pardo essays, this volume).

At the same time, the notion of diaspora is linked to underlying tensions related to the complex relationships between the territories in the south and the city. In the capital, there is strong political activism in support of indigenous communities’ collective rights, territorial control and autonomy.⁶ On the other hand, there is also an ongoing internal discussion of issues such as gender inequalities, sexual identities and the problematic links between indigeneity and a given ‘tradition’. Returning to the photographs, these frictions are represented not only in the change of setting but also in our bodies and the reversed relationship between our genders and power positions, turning a polygynous marriage (supposedly part of Mapuche tradition) into a polyandric one. As elaborated in Chapter 3, this shift is part of a recently emerging discussion around the possibility and the meaning of ‘indigenous feminism’, further impelled by broader feminist mobilisations in Chile in 2018. Far from straightforward, this debate rather highlights disputes between different forms of agency (and ways of thinking about them), interrogating the modalities of thinking liberatory projects through cultural and historical specificities (Mahmood 2005).

Yet the whiteness of the dress, the centrality of the figure of the foreigner and the gazes toward something else rather than each other all speak of another kind of power relation – that between the anthropologist and ‘her research participants’. This raises multiple issues: can ‘we’ – an anthropologist and a group of indigenous activists – be part of the same effort at decolonisation, in the same frame? Can ‘we’ intervene in, with our racialised performing bodies, an ongoing colonial history? Can ‘we’ heal its wounds? How much

6 The Mapuche context, both in rural and urban areas, is characterised by what contemporary indigenous scholars refer to as ‘colonial continuities’, pointing to marginality, discrimination, and more subtle or open forms of political violence: the occupation of their land by transnational companies; the militarisation of their territory; and the application of anti-terrorist laws to indigenous protests and the killing of activists by police and paramilitary forces (see Antileo Baeza et al. 2015).

love is in these gestures, how much violence, and how much do the two things differ from one another?

Being painfully aware of what Elin Diamond calls the ‘violence of the we’ (1992), probably the first point that needs to be made is who ‘we’ are in this context. Many positionalities and intersections were at play during the research process: the European/indigenous divide was not the only one – even if it was probably the more notable and the hardest to overcome – of the many reversals we engaged in. There were the distinct positions of the project’s participants and their personal, social and familial histories, their multiple trajectories of migration, and their collective and personal ways of thinking of themselves as Mapuche in the city, having both indigenous and *mestizo* origins. In this regard, the ‘we’ that characterises the project and that is employed throughout the book does not stand for ‘the urban Mapuche’. Furthermore, when it is employed to identify ‘the Mapuche’, it usually does so from a political rather than an essentialising perspective. This political positioning is expressed through the notion of the *Mapurbe* (addressed in the following paragraphs), a concept that has a political and poetical content at the same time, resisting power by mobilising invention and by playing with belongings and identities, thus departing from any ethnic identification and defying at the same time both colonialism and essentialism. The somehow partial and changing ‘we’ employed in the book is thus situated and specific to a particular group of young women and men collaborating on the aim of addressing their own and the broader indigenous history of migration, displacement, and their relationship with otherness. At the time, it included the silent presence of the broader Mapuche migrants to the city and my own ambiguous figure as an anthropologist. I unpack this further here.

The central interest of the project was to open up a shared space in which personal trajectories and fractures could find a place, moving from particular positionalities. Building on this, the book seeks to open a broader dialogue about the (post)colonial city and the possibility for colonised subjects to subvert its landscape through political and creative gestures. The visions and voices collected in the volume should be thought of as ways of engaging with a certain reality of (dis)placement, intervening at the same time in the very ethnographic representation of these same processes. In this context, there were the memories and paths of the previous generations to deal with, as well as the constant – if sometimes opaque – references to the territories and communities in the south, and their simultaneous closeness and distance from the stories that we wanted to tell. Finally, but no less importantly, there was the meaningful absence of a large majority of Mapuche who, after settling in the city, cast aside their indigenous roots, ‘disappearing’ into the broader underclass of Chilean workers and *pobladores* with whom they shared the same residential spaces on the outskirts of Santiago (see

Course 2013; Antileo Baeza 2008 and 2010).⁷ This ‘we’ thus needs to be thought of as something non-homogeneous, fractured and complex, as much characterised by tensions as it is by affect, and as much by shared aims and concerns as it is by friction and silence.

Another key issue is how and to what extent this sort of multi-layered ‘we’ became so during the MapsUrbe project, including the ethnographic gaze. The challenge for a possible redefinition of the epistemological horizons of ethnographic knowledge and its contexts of production and reproduction characterised our collaboration from the beginning. We aimed not only to co-create the research process (Kazubowski-Houston 2017) but also to engage in co-theorisation (Rappaport 2008). This was particularly important in a socio-political context in which anthropology and other disciplines have long been characterised by practices that fall under the label of *extractivismo*, marked by social, racial, and political hierarchies forged by colonialism (Nahuelpán 2013; see also Quidel 2016). As the research participants themselves stressed from our first meeting, there is a clear need for different methodologies and engagement; the MapsUrbe project constituted a step in this direction, one that wants to begin answering Kazubowski-Houston’s question of ‘how might we re-envision a collaborative, deeply reflexive and engaged interventionist anthropology?’ (2017: 210). Considering ethnographic knowledge as a situated and relational construction, methodological possibilities were thus explored in line with recent experimental practice-based methods that consider the imaginative, sensorial, and performative dimensions of lived experience (e.g. Pink, 2009; Irving, 2011 and 2013). This process contributed to the construction of an ethnographic practice characterised by a constant shifting: not only between the familiar ‘observation’ and ‘participation’, but also between the individual gaze of the ethnographer and the plurality of gazes, both parallel and intersecting, of the research participants. Especially during the later stages of the project, they became colleagues and fellow ethnographers engaged in the same research process. While this adds complexity and richness, it proves challenging at the writing stage, for it requires the rethinking of issues of authorship and writing authority. To what extent am I author-ised – allowed, expected, or compelled, for writing also constitutes a form of responsibility towards the people we work with – to write as ‘the ethnographer’ here?

7 In her insightful and beautiful ethnography on care and violence in neoliberal Chile, focusing on the poor urban neighbourhood of La Pincoya, Clara Han translates *pobladores* simply with ‘the poor of the city’, referring to peripheral urban masses (2012: 13–14). While one cannot disagree with this translation, I want to underline how *poblador* in Chile also refers to a strong political identity, and not only an economic condition (see Garcés 2002; Rodríguez 2020). This was also the family origin of most of the research participants. Some of them have then experienced upward mobility, having been able to study thanks to the efforts of their families. The silent majority of indigenous migrants dwelling in the city was the audience the project participants had in mind when staging both the exhibition and the play.

These issues, while acquiring particular significance in the current socio-political context, are nothing new within the anthropological debate. Especially in the context of the Americas, more recent shifts towards collaboration intersect with issues related to the politics of knowledge and decolonisation, as well as to the question of social inequality as previously addressed in works such as those of Vine Deloria, Diane Lewis, and William Willis, among others (see Kennemore, Postero 2020). Decolonial theorists have called for the ‘decentering’ of the academic project and ‘border thinking’ (Gloria Anzaldúa 1987; Mignolo 2002). It has been noted how the colonial construction of the relationship knower/known has restrained any shared production of knowledge between Western and non-Western people (Quijano 2007; see also Alonso Bejarano, Lopez Jarez, Mijangos García, Goldstein 2019). Critically, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui has underlined how decolonial theory must be accompanied by ‘anti-colonial practice’ (2012: 100); and native anthropologists have long been calling for the decolonisation of knowledge production and methodologies (Harrison 1991; Smith 2012), addressing the tensions inherent to insider anthropology by proposing strategies such as ‘ethnographic refusal’ (Simpson 2014) or ‘calculus ethnography’ (Tallbear 2013). Others, especially within the Latin American context, have been engaging in activist action research – famously, Paulo Freire and Orlando Fals Borda (Freire 1970; Fals Borda 1987, 2015) – or, more recently, have highlighted the ‘partial connections’ at play in the possibilities of understanding and the need to negotiate between ontologically different ways of knowing (de la Cadena 2015). Significant in this regard is the *Otros Saberes* initiative, conceived in 2004 as a project of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), promoting collaborative research in indigenous and Afro-descendant cultural politics. Through collaboration between civil society and academic based intellectuals, these works have been engaging in critiques and reformulations moving from ‘hybrid forms of knowing’ (see Hale, Stephen 2013).⁸ In the important article by Kennemore and Postero, these more recent waves of collaborative and activist research are analysed as ‘blur[ring] conventional lines between activist and academic knowledge, ‘traditional’ and western scientific epistemologies and the research process and products that may result’ (2020: 9). If these research practices ‘challenge the anthropologist as an expert’ on the one hand; on the other hand, they also state the need to address the paradox that privilege emerges within the collaborative relationship itself, the most critical aspect of collaboration (Kennemore, Postero 2020: 12; see also Rappaport 2017).

Sharing the research process does not simply mean being involved together in its corporeal aspects in terms of looking for a specific site, story or archive

8 For further insights on the *Otros Saberes* initiative: <https://sections.lasaweb.org/sections/otrossaberes/>.

material, or doing an interview, or exploring urban areas. As Johannes Fabian once said, there is nothing particularly ‘participative’ in this: ethnography has always been collaborative if *this* is what we mean by collaboration.⁹ ‘Collaboration’ or ‘participation’ are not conclusively, smoothly and clearly defined: they represent contested and often ambiguous concepts, and an open-ended reflection with research participants involving issues of representation, power, and knowledge production (see Kennemore, Postero 2020; Briones 2017). Fabian’s own proposal of the ethnographer as a theatre producer, while certainly important for collaborative work, fails to engage with a key aspect of this approach: how, as anthropologists, we are caught between the positions of theatre producers – ‘providers of occasions’ (Fabian 1990:7) for the performance to happen – and that of performers *ourselves*. Being simultaneously on stage and backstage, we dwell in the imbalance between questioning, yet at the same time wearing, the whiteness of our dress. This often means engaging in what Johannes Sjöberg referred to as the ‘ongoing negotiation’ of collaborative research (2018), a shared space for dialogue and friction. Yet what is this a negotiation of? What it is that is negotiated, and until which stage of the project is this negotiation held, is of key importance.

Our ‘what’ constantly under discussion – both among the coordination team of myself, Claudio, and Roberto, as well as with the project’s participants – concerned research topics and methodologies, as well as final representations, lasting well into the writing and editing of this book. While during fieldwork, open and ongoing discussions allow for the ‘struggle, intervention, breaking and re-making’ as proposed by Norman Denzin (2003), a fundamental aspect of this process is also to keep this negotiation open *after fieldwork*, including during the writing stage.¹⁰ This is why we decided to alternate forms of authorship in the different sections of the book, signing some essays individually and others collectively, and shifting between the two dimensions. This choice allowed us to maintain the singularity of voices, avoiding any pretence of a homogenous shared authorship and also recognising responsibilities, roles, and power relationships. Yet fissures became apparent in the process of writing, thinking, and producing knowledge. This is true especially for the central section (Chapters 1–4),

9 Fabian’s challenging and thought-provoking stance was part of a discussion in a seminar held at the University of Verona in 2011. It is nevertheless worth reiterating that, besides the obvious fact that this was not always the case, even when it was, ethnography’s collaborative nature remained unrecognised and implicit in the final results and writings. On similar issues, see also Holmes, Marcus (2008).

10 Notable recent examples of collaborative writing in anthropology are the work of Jennifer Deger (Deger et al. 2019); Paloma Gay y Blasco with Lira Hernández (2020) and the recent ethnography engaging with collaborative work and writing with undocumented migrants in the United States, which also includes a theatre script (Alonso Bejarano, Lopez Jarez, Mijangos García and Goldstein 2019). See also Briones et al. (2007); Levya and Speed (2008); Hale, Millamán (2018).

authored as a collective ('Colectivo MapsUrbe') with singular voices in shorter texts parallel to the central narrative. For the central narrative of those chapters, the actual processes of 'inscription', constantly shared and discussed with the members of the collective, were concretely performed by me and by Claudio, except for the Proscenium that was written by Roberto. A similar method was adopted for the play script, stemming from collaborative work but concretely assembled by Roberto already during the research process. The shorter texts in Chapters 1–4, extracts of the reflections emerging in collective spaces during the research, guided our elaborations and the process of academic writing. The choice of keeping these levels separated, while still in the frame of collective authorship, instead of incorporating materials as 'quotes' into a 'discussion', might seem an odd one. There is also a risk of falling back into an oversimplified division between 'theoretical elaboration' and 'empirical data'. Yet our choice, after much debate, was for a narrative style that both claims the friction, uneasiness and, to a certain extent, incommensurability between these layers while endowing epistemic meaning to their symmetry. It is an attempt, unresolved and openly problematic, of 'dislocating' and 'displacing' authority and authoriality, engaging 'in analysis as a mode of conversation, rather than a mastery' (Mahmood 2005: 199).¹¹

While this may have led to a more complex organisation of the book, with different layers of authorship and a constant and sometimes confusing shift in the use of pronouns (we/I), we felt that no matter how much we were able to share the research process and the final representations produced through it, we also needed to recognise our different positionalities. Mine was and is that of the foreign anthropologist proposing the project and upholding its management. The dialogue and shared creative work with the research participants never allowed me to simply veil myself in solidarity, engaged research or anything of the sort. Especially in the many conversations with Claudio, I was continually reminded of the whiteness of my dress. He also denied the possibility that our friendship and affective relationship acted as a sort of filter for the frictions between our different positionalities. Rather, I believe he offered me the opportunity to build that relationship precisely by inhabiting its ambiguities and tensions. As recently suggested by Tsitsi Jaji this allowed me 'to make room for that antagonism, and to find a solidarity that does not demand [...] a loosening of our structurally antagonising positions' (2018).

This book has been developed moving from these aspirations and questions, in an ongoing and intense process of negotiation. At a deeper level,

11 For this elaboration, I am clearly indebted to Marylyn Strathern's argument for a 'strategy of displacement' of Western analytical categories by staging inversions of familiar ways of thinking and conceptualising (in Mahmood 2005; see also Strathern 1992).

this negotiation is and was precisely about the ‘we’: the kind of relationship that was built during the process, its affective and political implications. As noted by Claudia Briones, relationships need ‘to illuminate reciprocal blindness through a complex play of inter-fences, inter-references, and translations’ (2017: 38). The artwork *Antropofágias* plays with these frictions and partial connections. Returning to Diana Taylor (2003), in theatrical and performative staging, bodies correspond to opposed histories of discovery, subjugation and conflict. Through the ‘fiction’ of performative representation, our subject positions were thus absolutely present, shaped by the unavoidable gap between ourselves and the characters we were enacting. Our bodies were racialised ones, for power-laden histories continue to haunt the bodies on stage, even those that seem to have freed themselves (Kondo 2018). This recursivity, which makes colonial history still relevant today (Stoler 2016), was central to the ethnographic scenario in which the MapsUrbe project took place, and constituted the backdrop against which we acted and enacted. Our different positioning needs to be in full sight: not only to be simply acknowledged but to constitute the very material from which any collaborative engagement can begin to develop. Artistic but also ethnographic performances work with the possibilities arising from, not transcending, the givenness of historical and power relationships (Kondo 2018). The ambiguities of these relationships – their intimacies and yet also their complicities with systems of oppression – probably need to be worn to be challenged.

THE (POST)COLONIAL CITY: SITES AND PATHS

The history of Mapuche migration, and the broader history of the (post) colonial relationships between the Chilean state and indigenous people from the Spanish *Conquista* to contemporary multicultural policies, is embedded in Santiago’s material features and socio-spatial organisation as a highly segregated and neoliberal city.¹² Following the military coup in 1973, what was named the Chilean ‘experiment’ represented the first attempt to build a ‘neoliberal state’. With state violence and terror removing opposition, the labour market was freed from any restraints, nationalisation was reversed, public assets were privatised and natural resources were open to private and unregulated exploitation, affecting mostly indigenous territory in the south of the country. Social security, health, and education were privatised, while foreign direct investment and free trade were facilitated (Harvey 2005: 7–8; Klein 2007). Parallel to the development of these policies, urbanisation

12 For the analysis of Santiago’s spatial segregation, see Sabatini, Cáceres, and Cerda (2001); Link, Valenzuela and Fuentes (2015); Agostini, Hojman, Román and Valenzuela (2016).

processes and the related production of space became one of the key features of capitalist accumulation (Harvey 1985, 2012). With Santiago's urban space converted into a financial asset, practices of 'neoliberal urbanism' were developed (Vergara Perucich 2019; see also Janoschka, Hidalgo 2014; Rodríguez, Rodríguez 2009; Daher 1991).¹³ According to the analysis recently proposed by Francisco Vergara Perucich (2019), the main strategies of this model were disproportionated and unregulated urban sprawl and the reorganisation of the city's spaces according to the needs of real estate investments and the free market. During the military regime, these policies perpetuated the segregation and fragmentation of the city, resulting in an urban development capable of generating, but not distributing, growth. Furthermore, the measures that have been introduced since the end of the dictatorship in 1990, related to increasing needs of mobility and in continuity with the previous market-oriented choices, have deepened these processes (Vergara Perucich 2019: 23). The result, at odds with the celebration of Chile for successfully implementing a 'third way' in managing the contradictions between the institutional context of the restored democracy and the continuities with neoliberal policies, is a profoundly unequal country, in which life is regulated by pervasive economic indebtedness and the moral debt of the aftermaths of state violence (Han 2012). This was apparent in the strong mobilisations shaking the country in October 2019 and the current process of rewriting the Constitution to which these led (see Afterword, this volume).

The Mapocho River, traversing the city from the west to the east, is a silent witness of the scars which this history has left in the urban space. Rising in the *cordillera*, the Mapocho flows through areas of racial and socio-economic segregation in its journey through Santiago, from the richest neighbourhoods at the start of its course to the lower part of the city, through the Cerro Navia municipality and on to the airport. As the writer Pedro Lemebel wrote some time ago: 'although the mayors of these posh municipalities decorate it with stone walls and vines and little parks with statues and pots of jasmine, the broken Mapocho still looks dark, buried and very Indian in his stubborn endeavours' (Lemebel 2017: 154). Historically a space for life at the margins, the river testifies to both the opposition to the dominant order and the violent response from the state: in the first days after the military coup and occasionally during the dictatorship, with the relentless restitution of corpses surfacing from its

13 In 1979, the dictatorship promulgated its first neoliberal urban policy, inspired by the ideas of Arnold Harberger, who proposed the elimination of assigned urban boundaries. This facilitated the unregulated sprawl of the city. This policy ended up increasing the price of land and accelerating the formation of informal urban settlements. This, in turn, forced the military government to develop a new National Policy for Urban development in 1985, later named 'adjusted policy' (*política ajustada*) (Vergara Perucich 2019: 25).

waters, but also recently, as a stage for marches, political manifestations, and police violence.¹⁴

The Mapocho also reconnects with a deeper history, a more distant past. When the Spanish arrived in the sixteenth century, they settled on its river banks in the Maipo Valley. For centuries, the watercourse represented the border between the colonial city, later the city of the *criolla* oligarchy, and indigenous, popular, informal settlements. From this very first moment, this colonial division of the city was reproduced endlessly in the organisation of the urban space into the dictatorship and its aftermath, representing, with many other cities throughout the world, ‘a node of colonial extraction’ embedded in historical power relations (Danewid 2020: 300). With urbanisation processes closely connected to the control of the land by the *criolla* elite that generated value through extractive activities, the foundation, construction and later development of Santiago was the result of the conquest and domination of indigenous territories (Ugarte, Fontana, Caulkins 2019). Neoliberalism, as first applied by the civil–military dictatorship, was in continuity with a ‘class project’ carried out by the old agrarian oligarchy, briefly sidestepped by the Allende government (Harvey 2005).

These spatial tensions and temporal layers, somehow interrogated by the Mapocho silently flowing through the city, are especially strong in its central sectors and in the boundaries between those areas and the periphery. While this is elaborated on throughout the book, and especially in Chapters 1–4, here I want to briefly address one of the key sites of our work: the Santa Lucía/Welen Hill, which represented the place from where to think coloniality, neoliberalism and multiculturalism. A touristic attraction at the heart of downtown Santiago and the symbolic place for the founding of the Spanish city, the hill was supposed to be the scenario for our first workshop within the project, but it never was. It was only with the performance of *Santiago Waria* that we were finally able to come to terms with the hill, finding a path through the many of its spatiality (see Chapter 4). Before that, it represented a real challenge: we tried on different occasions to work there, but never succeeded. The first time, we had to suspend the activities because it coincided with a gastronomic fair held there the same weekend. It was an upmarket fair for which the hill, a monumental site and a park normally open to the public, was closed and restricted to paid admission. As we realised that we were not going to be able to access the hill, the group was annoyed but not surprised. The experience of ‘no go’ places was quite familiar to them, often related to issues of both race and class, and to the very aesthetics and composition of certain places, designed

14 In October 2020, the scene of a young protestor thrown into the Mapocho from the Pío Nono bridge by the police caused indignation worldwide.

for specific uses and bodies.¹⁵ At the same time, this event gave us the chance to discuss in depth the activity organised for the Santa Lucía/Welen Hill. What emerged was that what was initially proposed by Claudio, Roberto and myself – re-founding Santiago through performance and photographic re-staging – was of no interest to the group: no one was actually keen on the very idea of ‘founding’. They were rather concerned with imagining different ways of engaging with the space where colonial Chile saw itself as starting, as well as with the very ideas of nation, power, and foundation. The workshop was rescheduled, and its central activity rethought. Yet once again, we were unable to carry it out; this time owing to the outbreak of political protests in the area following the killing of the young Mapuche activist Camillo Catrillanca by the police in November 2018.¹⁶

The hill was constantly slipping away. And every time it escaped us, it was for reasons pointing to the bones of the relationship between the Chilean state and the Mapuche: one riddled with violence and exclusion, but also ambiguity, negotiation, and endurance. As the place of the colonial foundation, located right *over* an ancient Mapuche sacred place, the hill is full of conflicting representations contained in its landmarks: from the foundational stone inscribed with a letter from Pedro de Valdivia to the King of Spain; to the monument to Nicolás Palacios, credited with first defining the ‘Chilean race’ in his essay of the same name; a ‘fake’ Caupolicán statue; a *chemammul* still showing signs of burning.¹⁷ Marked with antagonistic tensions and contradictions, the hill embeds both colonial history and the possibility of resisting its dominance, as well as aptly representing the slippery arena of the state’s multicultural policies.

In Latin America, multiculturalism has been a strategy to generate consent for neoliberal reforms, leading to important negotiations concerning the recognition of cultural rights, and, even if far less so, some collective rights. Nevertheless, as pointed out by many scholars, these changes have not been truly transformative of the relationship between the state and indigenous people: demands for radical redistribution, autonomous territory, and self-determination – in short, all that challenges states’ positions in the global

15 This has primarily to do with economic aspects of access to certain places, de facto eliminating the possibility of access for certain groups. But this is also linked to the way spaces are designed and organised, as welcoming or intimidating for certain people and not others, as processes of racialisation intersect design and architecture (see Cheng, Davis and Wilson 2020).

16 The murder of Camilo Catrillanca – shot in the back by a Chilean *Carabineros* officer – sparked a wave of demonstrations across the country, of which the centre of Santiago was the epicentre in November 2018.

17 I refer to the sculpture by Nicanor Plaza, supposedly representing Caupolicán but actually depicting a figure from *The Last of the Mohicans* by J. F. Cooper (see Chapter 4). The *Chemammul* (traditional wooden sculptures) were burned down in the context of a protest against the Chilean state, an act that remains controversial within the Mapuche movement.

market – have been often neglected. Diversity has been recognised without truly addressing power inequalities (Richards 2013: 10–13; see also Hale 2002, 2006; Postero 2007). One of the critics of multicultural neoliberalism, Charles Hale notes how these policies have resulted in the creation of the juxtaposed subject positions of the *indo permitido* and the *indio insurrecto*. The first (in a term coined by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui) embraces state-sponsored multiculturalism and interculturality; the second instead calls for the redistribution of power and resources (Hale 2004). In Chile, this last figure has been well represented by the *indio terrorista* through the application of anti-terrorist laws (such as the National Security Law) to indigenous activists and the consequent incarceration of many of them (Richards 2010). The *indio terrorista* falls within the historical peculiarity of a context marked by the institution of the *reducciones* and beliefs that the indigenous were simply irrelevant, or even non-existent. Somehow paradoxically, being the country where neoliberalism was first applied in Latin America, multicultural policies were applied at a later stage in Chile and even in a more limited way, with indigenous demands mainly addressed as a ‘problem of poverty’ (Richards 2013: 108–109). Rather than actors in their own rights, with specific knowledge and ways of being, Mapuche were considered ‘a problem to be solved’, and neoliberal multiculturalism was configured ‘as a racial project [in] continuation of the history of colonial dispossession’ (Richards 2013: 132; see also Antileo Baeza 2013).

Shaped by national identities, problematic representations, socio-spatial segregation and coloniality, the city materiality constituted the most important reference for the shared research process. Through a creative and performative engagement, as shown in more detail in the next paragraph, we focused on specific neighbourhoods or areas of the city but also on objects and landmarks such as the statue of Pedro de Valdivia in the Plaza de Armas, the *pewen* (Araucaria tree) in the Quinta Normal Park, or the Caupolicán statue on the Santa Lucía/Welen Hill. These material objects stood as nodal points, representing multi-linear connections between different times and spaces. The urban trajectories we designed were collectively defined through non-obvious links and practices of collage and *bricolage*. The exercise of moving, traversing the urban space, was developed by putting the body in place and through places – hand in hand with the construction of narratives shaping the final exhibition and especially the play *Santiago Waria*. As such the research process was developed at the intersection of the lived experiences of the participants, their families’ trajectories of migration, the broader context of the relationship between the Mapuche people and the Chilean state, and the materiality of specific spatialities within the city. Place and the constructed environment were given weight in establishing an understanding of people’s everyday lives and concerns. Drawing on a range of site-specific methodologies, what was at stake was not conceptual and abstract but something practical

that needed to be engaged *with persons in place*. For place, disrupting the linear unfolding of stories enables not only different representations but also different modes of knowledge production, which are less likely to emerge with another kind of methodology. It was precisely by focusing on particular sites within the city that the possibility of playing with connections, multiple belongings, routings, and imaginations was opened up. This creative process resulted in the active re-drawing of Santiago from the Mapuche point of view, what the research participant referred to as an act of *mapuchización* or 'making/becoming Mapuche'. Ephemeral but powerful, it resembled the processes of re-territorialisation observed in the south of the country (see Hirt 2012). This gesture of imaginative and corporeal appropriation was crafted by an exchange between the city and the indigenous bodies inhabiting it who were both embodying and enacting these stories, which brings us to the meaningful 'as ifs' (Schechner 1994) of performance addressed in the following sections.

BETWEEN ETHNOGRAPHY AND PERFORMANCE: EMPLACED IMAGINATIONS

To engage with and work through the city's materiality, the research was organised as a sort of performative cartographic exploration of Santiago. The project's participants, contacted through both personal networks and social media, numbered between fifteen and twenty young Mapuche living in Santiago following their or their families' migration, and who were often of mixed origin (*mestizo*, indigenous and non-indigenous). In 2018, they included university students, visual, theatre and musical artists, and artisans, all of them politically engaged in different ways in indigenous activism. For one year, we worked together exploring several concerns that the group found compelling. Historical documents and maps were analysed, and issues such as displacement, migration and urban segregation, racialisation processes, internal colonialism, and the contradictions of neoliberal multiculturalism were addressed in their relationship with the city's materialities. Calling into question hegemonic representations of the metropolis, alternative mapping practices including walking, drawing and on-site brainstorming were performed, conceiving this process as political and aesthetic at the same time and involving issues of representation, knowledge production and power relations (see Crampton 2010; Wood 2010). Mapping – tracing paths and narratives by moving through the city – was understood as contingent and relational, 'an inherently imaginative practice' and a deeply embodied way to explore urban space that allowed different stories and trajectories to emerge (Dodge, Kitchin, Perkins 2009; see also Massey 2005).

Moving from this research practice ‘on foot’ (Ingold, Vergunst 2008; see also Irving 2007 and Pink 2008), previously individuated places, sectors, or landmarks, meaningful to the participants and the broader history of the Mapuche diaspora became the locations for on-site workshops, in addition to almost weekly meetings. The workshops were intended to generate meaning, collective thinking, and knowledge through a range of practice-based and creative methodologies that engaged with these spatialities such as collage, collective cartography, photographic and performative sessions, writing, or the simple sharing of reflections and memories. Parallel to these collective moments, the participants worked on personal artistic projects, either individually or in small groups.

Throughout the year and a half in which the MapsUrbe project took place, ethnography, art, theatre, and politics were intertwined. The city space and its relationship with the bodies inhabiting it were central elements of the research undertaken. Space became a co-interpreter: Santiago, in its materiality, was part of this creative process. Particular spatialities were addressed in their significance for both the project participants’ personal and family history and their relationship with the broader Mapuche history of migration.¹⁸ The sites were investigated in depth: historical and audio-visual documentation about the Mapuche presence (or absence, or absent-presence) in the capital and specific sectors of it were consulted, as were the participants’ own knowledge and memories during collective sessions and debates. Through this process, specific places within the city turned into the starting points for the construction of narratives, later elaborated with the creative facilitation of Roberto, who, as a theatre director and writer, is also an expert in site-specific methodologies. In the final construction of the play, not every place that we engaged with during the workshop phase was included. Some sites gradually acquired more importance than others, some were discarded due to logistical reasons, and over the months of rehearsal, four places were finally selected as key points for the theatre piece: the Quinta Normal Park; the Plaza de Armas; one neighbourhood in Providencia; the Santa Lucía/Welen Hill. Equally significant were the connection and routes between them. A more detailed discussion of the construction of the performance is provided by Roberto in ‘Proscenium’. Here, I want to discuss two particularly meaningful aspects of this process.

To begin with, the relationship between the project’s final outputs probably requires further explanation. When we started to organise the exhibition, we engaged in long debates about where to locate it. During the workshops,

18 The rethinking of traditional concepts such as the *tuwün* (place of origin) is also significant for debates on indigenous spatialities and the space/place debate more generally (see, for example: Feld, Basso 1996; Casey 1999, 2009; Ingold 2000; Morales 2002; Low, Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003; Massey 2005; Calbucura and Le Bonniec 2009; De Gimniani 2018; Roberts 2018; Casagrande 2020). See also Chapter 1, this volume.

interrogating different spatialities throughout the city had proven a meaningful way of addressing memory and history. Turning to a motionless exposition of ‘art objects’ felt static and enclosing, unfaithful to how the previous research had been characterised by dynamic ways of designing trajectories, retracing paths and manipulating the city’s spatialities. To be faithful to this sense of traversing, it was decided that the exhibition could not stand alone, but needed to be part of something much more performative. Thus, while choosing to set it in the Centro de Extensión Balmaceda Arte Joven within the Quinta Normal Park, a site-specific theatre play was assembled under Roberto’s guidance. This resulted in a ‘city tour’ that had a dual function: returning to the main sites we had been exploring during our year of collective research, connecting them through a non-linear narrative; and turning the static pieces of the art exhibition into actions and performances. The staging of *Santiago Waria* thus took place both in specific locations and on the route between them, and was made of live scenes as well as recorded audio-guides and materials. This moving through the city – what I have called elsewhere ‘acts of traversing’, referring to the concept of ‘transversality’ in highlighting their creative and generative potential (Guattari 1995; see Casagrande, Cayuqueo Martínez 2019; Casagrande 2021) – needed to remain central. The trajectories designed by moving across the urban landscape during the research process were translated into performance, asking the audience to redraw a similar path (see ‘Proscenium’).

This allowed us not only to make the Mapuche urban presence and history visible but also to highlight its complexities and tensions as well as the multiple trajectories of the current generation, engaging with the memories of migration but at the same time keeping the focus on young Mapuche living in Santiago today. The second important aspect I wanted to address lies here. As shown in more detail in Chapter 4, although most of the participants lived or grew up on the city’s outskirts, a decision was made that the tour should focus on the central sectors of the city: the same spaces we had been interrogating the most during the research phase. While the choice of not engaging directly with the spatialities of the periphery was not easily made, what prevailed was the political claim of intervening – through bodies, narrative, and artistic creations – a space usually denied or only partially available to the indigenous experience of the metropolis. The aim was to ‘stain’ the colonial city through the (in)visible presence of the *indio* and the *champurria*. That was what the performance was about: ‘bringing’ the periphery to the city centre.

Imaginative aspects were particularly significant in the construction of the theatre play *Santiago Waria*, central to this book. Alongside historical records and personal and collective memories, imagination played a key role in how the performance was conceived, becoming essential to its staging. As the

script was put together, it soon became clear how it would become an open and collective process: besides explorative walking, on-site writing sessions, and the use of materials that had emerged during previous workshops, scenes were constructed by mixing individual texts, experiences, and narratives with historical data, archive and ethnographic materials. In this assemblage, imagination in the guise of fiction played an important part. Fiction was employed to elaborate on the connections between places, times, and stories; to adapt biographical experiences to the overall narrative, and to respect the decision by some of the research participants to give anonymous contributions. Explicit testimonies were blended with fictionalised parts, 'epitomising' in one character or scene different and interconnected stories and reworking the biographical connections with the family histories of some of the participants, such as in the Quinta Normal and Providencia scenes (Chapters 1 and 3). These reworked stories thus provide 'insights into lived experience and embodied understandings of the world' (Sjöberg, 2018: 178). The fact that the majority of project participants were not professional actors (apart from three of them) was key to this: they were reworking their own story, that of their family or another participant, engaging in an 'empowering process of creative action' (Bright 2014: 99). What materialised was an intersubjective and affective engagement with a deeply felt reality, or paraphrasing Kazubowski-Houston, experience converted into artistic and performative expression (2017: 221), in which enactment was as important as embodiment and emplacement in addressing indigenous experiences of the city and the often-contradictory feelings of (dis)placement.

In this simultaneous staging of biography and fiction, the frontier between reality and the 'unreal' – or 'irreality' – was blurred, the two dimensions reciprocally constitutive (Crapanzano 2004: 15). Yet, this was not only a way to gain a better understanding of indigenous experiences of the city or to give them a public place. It was also a way of intervening reality, concretely building a different possible – or impossible – world. According to Johannes Sjöberg, 'fiction refers to the human necessity to speculate, to fill the blank canvas of uncertainty with imagined utopias and dystopias' (2017: 174). The play and its fictions constituted a way not only of envisioning possible futures but also of re-imagining the past. A clear example of this is the metro journey between the Quinta Normal and Plaza de Armas at the beginning of the piece. There, facilitated by the underground route, we scripted an overlap between Pedro de Valdivia, conqueror of Chile, and Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, the military dictator. Shifting from one 11 September to another – in 1541 and 1973, both dates deeply marking Chilean and Mapuche history – we mixed the audio of Pinochet's first proclamation and a semi-historical, semi-fictional letter from Pedro de Valdivia to the Spanish king (see Interlude 1, this volume). This surreal and provocative linking has a deep connection with the present-day Mapuche

reality in Chile, where neoliberal policies affecting indigenous territories were implemented through the terror of the dictatorship, thus following the path first laid out by colonial rule and further reproduced through more recent practices of neoliberal multiculturalism. Another significant example is the final scene on the Santa Lucía/Welen Hill, where the audience is welcomed to the future, the ‘Chilean race’ has long since disappeared and a Mapuche president is ruling the country. This is something that felt surreal at the time, but, after October 2019, much less so.

The analysis proposed in this book addresses this performative process as a shared ethnographic representation constructed with the research participants and moving through fiction, lived experience, collective memories, and creative ethnographic practices. As in Boal’s idea of theatre as ‘telescopic’, performance constitutes an extraordinarily useful tool for social scientists to explore and represent people’s own experiences, reflections, interpretations, narratives, and counter-narratives (D’Onofrio 2018: 6).¹⁹ Creating meaningful contexts for anthropologists to better understand how people come to grips with the world, engaging with their own realities by producing theatre ‘politically’, this approach sheds light on the revealing ways in which politics and aesthetics relate to each other (Flynn, Tinius 2015; Ranciére 2004). Along these lines, Dorinne Kondo points out how theatre is an especially rich site for a deeper understanding of the relationships between race, power, aesthetics, and affect (2018). As previously mentioned, in her view, performance’s multiple possibilities arise from, rather than transcend, power: the theatrical making of the world evokes at the same time transformation and the impossibility of escaping power, history, and culture, for ‘worlds, like language, are pre-given, and remaking must always work with this givenness’ (2018: 29). The givenness of historical and power relationships is something one inevitably has to work through, being caught in a creative, and at the same time constraining, tension. This givenness is part of the ‘scenario’ in which processes of (artistic or everyday) making and remaking of the world take place, and in which anthropologists engage with others, as outlined in the first section of this Introduction. For Kondo, it is from these performative (im)possibilities and the centrality of the body – what the author calls ‘corporeal epistemologies’ – that the close relationship between theatre and ethnography derives: their shared attention to the senses, embodiment, and

19 The connections between performative practices and anthropology can be traced back to an already long tradition highlighting the close relationship between theatre and ethnography. For a recent and detailed review, see D’Onofrio (2018). For elaborations on how recent uses of performance and theatre as ethnographic practice-based methods also encourages a critical reflection on the process and the relationship with the research participants see Tamisari (2014, 2018); Gatt (2015), Flynn and Tinius (2015) and Sjöberg (2018). Moreover, recent works have been importantly engaging with different artistic expressions involving collaboration and participation in art and anthropology. See, for example: Sansi (2015); Schneider, Wright (2010 and 2013); Strohm (2019).

affect and an emphasis on ‘collaborative meaning-making and the world beyond the text’ (2018: 25).

In the context pertinent to this book, the making of meaning went through the staging of the performance *Santiago Waria*, constructed at the crossroads of biographies and fiction, ethnography and collaborative practices, and artistic creation. Embedded in the (post)colonial city, the givenness of historical and power relations was interrogated and challenged through embodied and emplaced aesthetics enabling the questioning of assumed habitus, and the claiming for the force of ‘natality’ (Arendt 1958) by designing new and imaginative paths through the city. The central character of the performance *Santiago Waria*, the Comandante Boliviano, perfectly represents this compositional ‘holding together’: mixing styles and crafting her own self through the performative act of traversing the city, the Comandante engaged in the ‘setting into motion’ of alternative and dissenting imaginations (Escobar 2004), which we have previously described as an active gesture of *poiesis* through displacement (Casagrande, Cayuqueo Martínez 2019). In this process, the ‘as if’ of performance, putting specific bodies on stage and thus generating relationships and/or tensions to create something ‘anew’ (Ricoeur 1984) was inevitably linked to politics. Engaging with the socio-historical thickness of bodies in place, fictional gestures of world-making played with the entanglement of reality and the aesthetics of political imaginations.

THE POLITICAL AESTHETIC OF THE *CHAMPURRIA*

During the research process, and especially in the play *Santiago Waria*, performing bodies and the city stood in a dialectical creative relationship. Dwelling in the contradictions of inhabiting the diaspora, the body represents the only possible ‘political territory’ (Alvarado Lincopi 2021), traversed by issues of race, socio-economic status, and the country’s broader political history. Classified as ‘indigenous’ or ‘white’ (in my case as a European anthropologist and in the case of a couple of other participants with less evident indigenous origins), our bodies were constrained into given categories and assigned to specific areas within the city, according to specific urban imaginaries (Márquez 2003, 2007). Upper-class neighbourhoods in the eastern part of Santiago are sectors where the presence of indigenous people is relegated to the kitchen or the maid’s room, and jobs such as breadmaking, gardening, or construction work. The city centre is more ‘mixed’ (and therefore often perceived by the upper classes as less secure) with the presence not only of indigenous and *mestizo* lower classes but also, increasingly, of migrants from Peru, Venezuela, and Haiti. In downtown Santiago, indigeneity is framed as past national history by monumental landmarks, referring

to the *Conquista*, colonial rule, and the early years of the republic. Occasionally, indigeneity appears in cultural activities disciplined by neoliberal multiculturalism (Hale's *indio permitido*) or suddenly surfaces in all its unruliness in the context of political manifestations and marches (Hale's *indio insurrecto*). Even at the periphery, on the outskirts of Santiago, mostly unfamiliar to the middle and upper classes and still representing the 'place' where most people of indigenous origin live, indigeneity almost disappears among the mass of urban poor, working-class, and rural migrants.

The city reiterates the Chilean nation's logic of 'white *mestizaje*', based on a founding ideology celebrating a racial mixture tending towards 'whitening', and negating yet at the same time discriminating against indigenous bodies, seen as belonging to other times (the past) and other places (the rural south).²⁰

While there have been signs of change in recent years,²¹ and especially after the political process beginning in October 2019, closely following the conclusion of the project, spatial segregation still marks the indigenous experience of the city, as well as related processes of racialisation. A clear example of this dynamic is analysed by Claudio Alvarado Lincopi in an episode in which the singer Ana Tijoux was insulted by someone shouting *cara de nana* ('nanny face'). The insult was immediately labelled and condemned as 'racist', being based on several underlying issues that for the Chilean public simply stand as obvious: that those working as a housemaid or nanny come from specific 'races' (indigenous and/or migrant); that race is expressed in physical traits and particular bodies; and that those bodies and that job represent a pejorative condition, and can therefore be employed as an insult (see Alvarado Lincopi 2021). Moreover, according to this racialised but implicit logic, 'racial mixture' is understood as an old process that has already taken place, leading to most Chileans 'becoming white'. This simultaneously

20 Unlike other Latin American countries, *mestizaje* has never constituted a feature of national identity throughout Chilean history. Chilean society was consolidated during the republic as racially homogenous, in an ideology built on Nicolás Palacios' book *Raza chilena* (1904) and the related idea of 'white *mestizaje*' (Walsh 2015, 2019). The blurring of the line between 'whiteness' and *mestizaje* is evident in current self-identification as 'white' by large sectors of Chileans who, in other parts of South America, would think of themselves as *mestizos* (Telles, Flores 2013: 442). Palacios asserted the uniformity of the Chilean population as resulting from the historical mixture between Araucanian Indians and Northern Europeans and being biologically superior to that of other Latin American countries (Walsh 2015: 613–615). For processes of 'becoming white' related to Mapuche migration, see Course (2013).

21 Mapuche visibility within the capital of Chile has been increasing significantly, with the building of ceremonial centres and traditional *ruka* (houses) in many sites across the city (for example, see Carmona Yost 2017). It is worth mentioning the building of a *ruka* in the yard of the Memory Museum, first connected to the theatre representation 'Nuke' and then used during 2018 for other cultural and artistic activities. Nevertheless, these kinds of initiatives are often associated with criticism about the dynamic of Chilean multiculturalism and the related lack of engagement in any truly political dialogue concerning collective rights, ancestral territory, and autonomy.

negates the existing dynamics of racialisation and thus excludes race from public debates (Barandiarán 2012; see also Richards 2013).

In recent years, and in opposition to the outlined national ideology that is embedded in the capital city, the notion of *mestizaje* has undergone a process of appropriation and subversion among young urban indigenous people. This is especially so in contemporary artistic productions, characterised by underlying tensions concerning issues of identity, belonging, and conflicting representations of otherness. These efforts are reinventing the concept of *champurria*, which originally referred to blood mixture. It was, and to a certain extent still is, a pejorative concept within indigenous society, especially in the rural south (see Course 2013). The recent multiplication of creative uses of this concept is related to the poetic of the *Mapurbe*, a key reference point for the work developed during the research process. Coined by the Mapuche poet David Aniñir Guiltraro at the beginning of the 2000s, the word *Mapurbe* plays with *mapu* (land in Mapuzugun) and the Latin *urbe*. This neologism notably erased the ‘-che’ suffix (person/people) of Mapu-che, substituting it with urban space in a provocation made to draw attention to the lives and experiences of the many Mapuche migrating to cities from the south of the country, and especially to the second and third generation. The term rapidly increased in use among youths in both Chile and Argentina, constituting a sort of ‘authorisation’ of their experiences and mixed sense of belonging (see Briones 2007; Collins 2014). While the vast majority of indigenous migrants, owing to the violence and pain of displacement, went on to abandon their indigenous identity, traditions, and language, many of this younger generation, who were adolescents when David Aniñir’s work started to circulate and are now in their twenties and thirties, engaged in a process of reworking (often discovering) their indigenous origins. David Aniñir’s work – firmly positioning them as *Mapuche within the city* – calls for mixture and contradiction, contributing to the opening up of a space for artistic and intellectual productions. These artistic fields – part of a long tradition in terms of literary and visual production, and a more recent one for theatre and the performative arts – are contributing to the creation of transformative spaces for the negotiation of meanings and the articulation of emerging subjectivities. Deeply embedded in political activism, the resulting artworks construct their aesthetics and poetics by engaging with the friction of the *Mapurbe* and the mixture of *champurria*.²²

The group taking part in the MapsUrbe project comes from this background. For them, the concept of *Mapurbe* refers to ways of engaging with reality. They use it at the same time as a noun, an adjective, a verb, and a claim. They do not simply define themselves as *Mapurbe*, but as complex

22 Besides the artists participating in this volume, I am thinking of the work of Daniela Catrileo, Sebastian Calfuqueo, and Rodrigo Castro Hueche, for example.

and multiple subjects engaging with and speaking from and to the *Mapurbe*. Seen from this perspective, the term can be thought of as a site of enunciation allowing particular practices of place-making and forms of emplacement (see Casagrande 2021). Similarly, the word *champurria* was used more as a verb (*champurriar*) than uniquely as a noun representing some kind of fixed personal identity. As stated by Claudio in other writings, this concept is appropriated for ‘think[ing] those stories that do not fit into official narratives of ‘being Mapuche’, defying at the same time the denial of racial mixture and any essentialist culturalism’ (Alvarado Lincopi 2021).

Champurria is then doing something similar to the Aymara term *ch’ixi* as elaborated by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui. Originally meaning ‘marbled grey’, the concept claims mixture without blending or overlapping, for black and white points are perceived as grey only from a distance, but as one gets closer, they reveal as separated, while still part of the same whole (Rivera Cusicanqui 2018). As a form of perception, thinking, and knowledge-making in which multiplicities and contradictions share a coeval space, the concepts of *ch’ixi* and *champurria* stand in dialectical tension with ideologies of *mestizaje* most common in Latin American countries.²³ A myth and rhetoric for the construction of national identities and cultures, such as in Mexico and parts of Central America (see Lomnitz 1992, 2012; Bonfil Batalla 1987; Vasconcelos 1997), or a claim ‘from below’ (Hale 2005: 25; see also Anzaldúa 1987; De La Cadena 2000), *mestizaje* has multiple, rather than one all-encompassing, meanings. Its shifts in time and space entail sameness and difference, inclusion and exclusion, homogeneity and diversity, domination and resistance (Wade 2005: 240). Yet the concepts of *ch’ixi* and *champurria* further defy these constructions, slipping away from binarisms and coming closer to recent critical approaches addressing *mestizaje* as practice, situated acts, claims, and interventions, able to both enforce and change social realities, actively producing arenas of mixed identifications by ‘joining things that seem incommensurate’ (Eiss 2016: 5–7; see also Wade 2005; Poole 2016). Yet these ‘impure genealogies’ do not translate into forms of ‘hybridity’ (García Canclini 1990; see Chapter 4), refusing any synthesis of juxtapositions or any depoliticised erasure of conflict easily coopted by multicultural and neoliberal policies. *Ch’ixi*, in Rivera Cusicanqui’s theorisation, and *champurria*, in contemporary works of Mapuche artists and in their political positioning, is rather something uncomfortable that retains its antagonism. As discussed many times with Claudio, and as Rivera Cusicanqui states, it is dialectic without synthesis.

23 It is not possible to address this broad debate in its entirety and complexity. For a comparative discussion of the literature addressing ideologies of *mestizaje*, see Hale (1996); Mallon (1996); de Castro (2002); Rahier (2003); Miller (2004); Mangan (2014).

In the artworks reproduced throughout this book as well as in the performance *Santiago Waria*, this represented a call for mixture as *Mapuche*, not as *mestizos*, a form of belonging that dwells in tensions that are not resolved, but rather inhabited (Alvarado Lincopi 2021).²⁴ From the reaffirmed standpoint of the urban context, indigeneity is a political and affective identity linked to migration, displacement, the memories of previous generations, and the political struggle for the ancestral territory. But also and at the same time, it is the possibility of playing with otherness and with a mixing of genres, self-identifications, and expressions. Dwelling in an unruly overlapping of pieces and scratches of memories, histories and different territories, the resulting political aesthetic – what could be called a ‘*chamपुरria* aesthetic’ – is constituted by multiple and intertwined aesthetics that bring together the political, the artistic, and the experiential for young indigenous people living through processes of (dis)placement. ‘*Chamपुरria* aesthetics’ are built through forms of knowledge and representations emplaced as much as embodied, in a corporeal dialogue with the city. This is how Puelpan’s music mixes the sounds of indigenous traditions with contemporary pop under the critical and abstract gaze of both Chilean and Mapuche nationalities; or how Cynthia Salgado redesigned traditional jewellery in the urban context, through a collaboration with many different young Mapuche voices (see Puelpan and Salgado, this volume). *Chamपुरria* aesthetics represent entangled layers of belongings, encompassing race, class, and gender, and involving memory and place-making as well as imaginative reconfigurations.²⁵ Lingering on the feeling of being double, they nevertheless refuses the hyphen, as one still thinks of oneself as Mapuche, not as Chilean-Mapuche. This possibility is at the same time lived and called for, and stands central in terms of acting and creating, as evident in the intersectional participation

24 This is linked to the fact that Mapuche identity is mostly conceived, especially by younger indigenous people and *mestizos*, as having a political – rather than an ‘ethnic’ – identity. Besides being in line with the current political project of the Mapuche movement, who are pushing for an autonomous territory as the ‘Mapuche Nation’, this also reflects conceptions of Mapuche identities in more ‘traditional’ contexts that are far from being essentialist (see González Gálvez 2016). Yet, it is worth mentioning that essentialised images of indigeneity in official narratives and representations within the Chilean social context (e.g. those related to the criteria for recognition within the state’s policies) are sometimes adopted by Mapuche themselves in the context of strategic essentialism or in controversial stances such as what has been ironically defined as *Mapuchometro*: the practice of judging ‘how Mapuche’ one is according to fixed categories and standards such as surname, bodily aspect, or daily practices.

25 In the metropolitan area of Santiago, Mapuche tend to live on the peripheries of the city, suffering the consequences of spatial segregation described. As evident for example in the poetry of David Aniñir Guiltraro, their multiple forms of belonging are often connected to those residential spaces and the identity of the *pobladores*, which in Chile is connected to a strong political trajectory. The gender element is also present in the current re-elaboration of the concept of *chamपुरria*, in the contestation of the celebration of masculinity even within the Mapuche culture. See the work of the artist Sebastian Calfuqueo, for example the performance *You will never be a Wéye and Alka Domo*.

of many of the authors of this book in multiple political stances (indigenous/feminist/queer/constitutional reform movements) or the creative engagement with different media and methods, such as in Roberto Cayuqueo Martínez's own theatre production.

Representing what Faye Ginsburg calls 'embedded aesthetics' in the context of aboriginal Australia (1994) in that they 'embody, sustain and even revive or create certain social relations', these productions make an active intervention in public debates, both locally and internationally. If, on one hand, this is a way of reaffirming the links with indigenous identities, traditions, and territories, then, on the other hand, it represents a strong engagement with broader processes of racialisation, politics of identity and representation and, especially recently, decolonial and anticolonial stances. In an ongoing dialogue with other realities throughout and beyond Latin America, the artistic questioning of the (post)colonial city puts the aesthetic and the political in a deep and complex relationship, mutually shaping and at the same time exceeding each other (Startwell 2010: 11).²⁶ Constituting sites of expression for new political subjectivities, the elaboration of these aesthetics is a way not only of addressing but also transforming reality (see Flynn, Tinius 2015; see also Turner 1987), speaking to the very concept of indigeneity, questioning the 'place' of indigenous people within (post)colonial societies, and subverting processes of identification and belonging.

In this reading, while still articulating a political language of resistance, the *champurria* does not simply represent opposition to dominant cultural structures, allowing one to account for the 'points of suture' between phenomena of subjection and subjectivation (Hall 2010); rather, it opposes cultural domination by encompassing and embracing the very thing it is meant to oppose. It is resistance as anthropophagy: the capacity to dwell in borders without losing anticolonial critique. Reaching beyond the duality domination/resistance by surpassing the restrictiveness of languages based on such discursive frames, it is a move of cannibalisation, which implies acknowledging and literally incorporating that very domination it seeks to oppose. In this shift, there is reconfiguration and refusal. The claim for the *champurria* invents and enables subject positions capable of dwelling in the paradox, escaping the multicultural understanding of indigenous identities as either 'internal' or 'external' to the neoliberal model. Along the lines traced by the analysis of Jacques Rancière, this broadens the very understandings of 'indigenous politics', encompassing political *and* aesthetic projects transgressing and reconfiguring the relationship between the visible, the sayable, and the thinkable (2004: 63). *Champurria* political aesthetics thus represent a refusal of 'the fixing, the chaining of elements to a particular

26 While this is not addressed in depth here, it should be noted that art, and more specifically performance art, has become an important tool for contemporary protests in different contexts worldwide (Werbner, Webb, Spellman-Poots, 2014; see also Mouffe 2007; Serafini 2018).

compositional structure, the refusal of the imperative to relate', for the elements of its compositions retain their own relative autonomy (Simone 2019: 22; see Chapter 4).²⁷

This ultimately shapes how decolonisation should be pursued, enacted, and thought of. Drawing on Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui's proposal of liberating 'half-Indian ancestries' to develop dialogical forms for the construction of knowledge in which differences 'do not extinguish but instead antagonize and complement each other' (2012: 105), the reflections in this volume stand for the potentialities and unruliness of 'motley' (*abigarrada*) creations.²⁸ The concept of *champurria* calls for practices of *poiesis* and invention, rather than recuperation and endurance – a sort of 'coming back' or 'survival' of practices, traditions, and subjectivities of colonised subjects. This recalls Franz Fanon's writings of the 'native poet' and the 'fluctuating movement' that should be searched for: there is no going back to a lost/regained origin, but rather the need to embrace 'that occult instability' (1963: 227).

This is probably the main point that this book aims to make: to refuse any dialectical opposition – between modernity and tradition, indigenous and non-indigenous, coloniality and postcoloniality – and instead embrace a 'Baroque modernity' encompassing paradoxes and dissolving the borders between alterities (Echeverría 2000). Shedding light on the long duration of colonial continuities, their violence and disruption, it focuses on the possibilities of creation, the imagination of the future and even reinventions of the past: words and images are constructed by mixing codes and grammars, and the resulting neologisms and aesthetics make sense of *this* world, even when their links with indigeneity are no longer straightforward. Embracing the oscillating imbalance proposed by Fanon, the *champurria* aesthetic at the centre of this book and its visual and performative forms are shaped by memories, traces, silences, tensions, and the entanglement of multiple identities and belongings.

At the same time, the *champurria* represents particular ways of knowing and engaging with reality (see the chapter *Nütxam*, this volume). Thinking of the indigenous selves, bodies, and histories beyond the places usually assigned to colonised subjects, these creative representations question, and in some ways also disrupt, the social and material landscape of the (post) colonial city, claiming mixture and non-whiteness under the skin of the nation. Elaborating on the epistemological possibilities arising from a shared

27 This is similar to what has been defined 'outside politics' (Stephenson, Papadopoulos 2006) and 'politics of indistinction' (Yurchak 2008), albeit in different contexts and with different contents.

28 In her reflections on practices and narratives of decolonisation, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui engages in a strong critique of the work of scholars of the Latin American decolonial tradition (for examples, see Escobar 2008; Mignolo 1999, 2011; Escobar, Mignolo 2010; Mignolo, Walsh 2018). This critique was shared by many among the research participants and was debated many times. See the *Nütxam*.

space of collaboration, friction, affectivity, and distances, they are asking what stance every one of us is going to take, how we are going to look at our own cities, their monuments, and their toponymies and, if we feel the need to tear down those violent and problematic symbols, what we are going to put in their place.

ABOUT THIS BOOK ... AND THE WRITING OF IT

The book is organised into three main sections of varying lengths and complexity. The first section includes this Introduction and the Preface by Enrique Antileo Baeza, a Mapuche scholar and anthropologist. Part I, the core of the book, is divided into four chapters, each linked to a specific site: Quinta Normal, Plaza de Armas, Providencia, and Santa Lucía/Welen Hill. Every chapter/place connects to different themes, which are addressed through the analysis of the process leading to the construction of the performance – from the on-site workshops held in each place to the development of the creative exercises and related collective artworks – in a visual exchange with selected images, maps and graphics, and excerpts from the debates and reflections held in each scenario. The script of the play related to each scene is at the end of every chapter, holding together dialogical elaborations of the meanings attached to each site, biographical experiences, and the broader Mapuche historical memory of migration and diaspora. This text thus needs to be read as an ethnographic text written in collaboration with the research participants, emerging from the shared space of the performative representation of *Santiago Waria*, its rehearsals and its staging. The script also links the four chapters, providing a connection between them through three ‘Interludes’, moments during the performance in which the audience was moving between the four sites and listening to audio-guides, put together using different ethnographical and historical materials. The collective artwork on the Mapocho River (*Mapocho: kūrū lleufu*) visually accompanies this travel through the city and the book.

Part II of the volume is dedicated to the writings of some of the participants addressing different subjects, moving from the work we did within the project and their own personal path and artistic practice, research, and activism. There are six texts in this section, discussing issues of migration and memory (Rodrigo Huenchún Pardo, Martín Llanccaman); the city space, public monuments and representations of indigeneity (Antil); racialisation, silence, and resistance (Claudio Alvarado Lincopi); and imagination, creation, and urban trajectories (Cynthia Niko Salgado Silva; Puelpan). The fourth and final part of the book contains a concluding text by myself, Claudio Alvarado Lincopi and Roberto Cayuqueo Martínez, a conversation on the project and the main issues connected to it in the form of the

Mapuche *nüttxam* (an oral genre of Mapuche storytelling), as well as an Afterword by Claudio Alvarado Lincopi. A glossary is provided at the end of the book, containing the main Mapuche terms and neologisms mentioned. Instead of translating each term every time it is used, the reader is referred to the glossary to keep at least something of the rhythm of the use of Mapuzugun in spoken Spanish among urban Mapuche. The different sections and materials reproduced in the book are also linked to a dedicated website (www.mapsurbe.com) in which maps, images, songs, videoclip, and audios are stored. Throughout the volume, the reader will find links and QR codes bringing them directly to the specific section/material on the website.

As a final note concerning the writing of this book, it must be said that the whole process was far from straightforward. We experienced many delays, downtimes, and changes in structure. This is surely part of the lengthiness and complexity of every edited volume, especially when it concerns collaborative writing in a context where different backgrounds, agendas, and languages are at play. It is also related to the specific power relationship shaping the academic environment: the need to write in English if we wanted to engage with the widest possible academic community, and the fact that I, as an anthropologist in charge of a Marie Curie-funded research project, was paid for the work I was doing in writing and editing the book, whereas the participants and the other editors were not. They obviously had other commitments and duties that came first. To this was added the broader (and extraordinary) socio-political processes arising during the last few months of the project, a relatively short time between the end of fieldwork and the writing of the book. The world simply changed, both locally with the political turmoil and unrest in Chile (and especially in Santiago) since October 2019, and globally with the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020, still ongoing as I write this Introduction. These two events render any criticism about academic reflections being ‘behind times’ redundant, for circumstances have changed so much between when the research took place and now that one might ask how – and possibly *if* – it is still relevant. Yet, current processes are an exacerbation of the political and social context addressed with MapsUrbe. Notably, much of what was discussed and analysed is linked to fundamental features of current contexts, as beautifully elaborated by Claudio in the Afterword. Socio-racial inequalities, political aesthetics and performances, as well as the key issue of urban spatialities and segregation and the links between the city’s materialities and the lived experiences of its inhabitants, are particularly meaningful today and seem even more urgently in need of being addressed in light of what is happening both locally and globally. This book is an exercise in this direction, even if both we and the world have been transformed since the project took place.

In this regard, this book also represents – as probably every book does to a certain extent – an ending. As Claudio recently – half-jokingly and half-seriously – said in one of our frequent, if irregular, Jitsy calls (one of the many video-call services that suddenly became popular during the COVID-19 pandemic), writing and editing this book felt just like talking with someone else about a past love, long gone. One feels tenderness and melancholy, the shadow of the passion experienced back then, yet its essence is irremediably lost: it can only be remembered. Feeling that melancholic tenderness myself, I have been thinking about Claudio’s metaphor. When in a relationship, lovers are (mostly) the only witnesses to what is happening to each other. As soon as love ends, there is an interruption also in terms of communication: the interlocutor, the recipient of our intimate thoughts, memories, and shared words, changes. When that experience is narrated to someone else, the ‘audience’ is inevitably different from what it was when we were sharing it with our beloved one. During the whole project, including the final artistic exhibition and the site-specific play, the research participants clearly had a Mapuche audience in mind. They aimed to craft a space for sharing and rethinking a common history and experience of migration, loss, and displacement. However, with this book, the engagement is with a different audience and shared space: one that feels much more distant. What is at stake here is the construction of a new kind of dialogue, mediated by specific canons, aesthetics, and media. In this task, other issues play an important part, such as language, translation, and intercultural communication, which are open to misunderstandings and equivocations (Viveiros de Castro 2004). In bringing the ethical, aesthetical, and poetico-political experiences and concerns of young urban Mapuche into the form of an academic book, there is, as with every translation, a risk of something being irremediably lost. Yet, what can be gained is precious. Besides important insights into indigenous urban life and its creative and generative potential, there is the possibility of questioning and retracing the boundaries of anthropology and ethnography through collaborative and multimedia methodologies and representations, and, paraphrasing the words of Saba Mahmood (2005), if in the process of culturally translating other lifeworlds, my own certainties did not remain stable, I hope that the reader will share the tenderness of our remembrances, even when it feels *as if* we are telling the story of a past love, long gone.

PART I

Santiago Waria
The (post)colonial city

Proscenium

Roberto Cayuqueo Martínez

Santiago Waria: Pueblo Grande de Wigka is a site-specific theatre play that was realised in the context of interdisciplinary research in which history, anthropology and urban cultural studies were articulated, eventually developing a montage about Mapuche life in the city of Santiago. The term 'site-specific' is used in the arts for works that are created *in, for* and *through* a specific place, most often the same in which they are then exhibited. During the creative process, both aesthetic and ethical decisions are taken around the materiality of the site and its history, transforming a particular territory or place into the protagonist and catalyst for creation. Places are conceived as narratives and events performed and reproduced in a new light, recontextualised through the layers of their previous occupations (Pearson, Shanks 2001). This way of working defies common patterns of scenic or theatrical representations. Just as site-specific art was born as a movement that challenges the museum, site-specific theatre challenges the theatre building and black or 'Italian' box, bringing to the forefront debates about the scenic space (see Lehmann 1999; Pearson, Shanks 2001; Pearson 2010). On this subject, Hans Ties Lehmann affirms that 'theatre [...] sets off in search of a spatial architecture or another location [...] it is not much more than the term 'site-specific' suggests: the space or 'site' corresponds to a text that is 'showed' and cast in a new light or optic through theatre' (Lehmann 1999: 86). It is this 'new optical light' that interests us in the exercise of site-specific theatre. Through the lens of the gazes of young Mapuche living in metropolitan Santiago, we seek to display the history of a native people, in creative tension with what was and continues to be the 'colonial ground zero' in these southern lands of South America. In this exercise, the play *Santiago Waria* constitutes a performance in the perspective proposed by Diana Taylor as 'vital acts of transference, transmitting social knowledge, memory and a sense of identity through repeated actions' (2016: 22). This definition crosses over into the field of the performative and brings our theatre play closer to actions such as gathering on commemorative dates in the Santa Lucía/Welen Hill, acts that contain elements of theatricality, even if these are not their main objective.¹ Along these lines, Ericka Fischer-Lichte points out that a characteristic of the performative is 'its capacity to destabilise dichotomous conceptual constructions' (2004: 50), so that the performative/performance relationship is not necessarily the same as that of subject/object, creator/spectator, blurring the boundaries of these pairs/opposites. Fischer-Lichte invites us to understand the 'performative' as a driving force that may or may not generate performance, for it does not seek to be the presentation of 'something' but rather works and operates to generate that

1 The definition of performance and performative also changes over time and depends on socio-historical contexts. For example, neither in Spanish nor in Portuguese there is a word that captures all the dimensions of the English 'performance' (see Taylor 2016).

'something'. In this sense, performative acts do not express a preconceived identity: they generate identity, for identities, as embodied and social realities, are always constituted through performative acts (Fischer-Lichte 2004: 55; see also Butler 1993). The performative, being constitutive of reality, is thus what nourishes, mobilises and drives a 'performance', as a social act occurring in a given space and time, with a beginning and an end.

MAKING SITE-SPECIFIC THEATRE, A BRIEF HISTORY

Site-specific approaches to theatre and performance have been taken forward in different contexts, making of each chosen site a particular version of history, culture and local identity. Each experimental creation is somehow ephemeral and unrepeatable. In Latin America, research is scarce concerning site-specific theatre, although the book *El archivo y el repertorio. La memoria cultural performática en las américas* by Diana Taylor probably allows us to delve deeply into our continental specificity and addresses the profound relations between performance art and Latin American political life. In the blurring of the line between performance and performativity, as outlined above, Taylor states that in this socio-political context, we need to understand practices such as civic disobedience, resistance, citizenship, gender, ethnicity and sexual identity, as *performance*, observing how they are 'rehearsed and carried out daily in the public sphere' (Taylor 2015: 35). To understand them as performance is to see and recognise how performance also acts as an epistemology. Occurrences in which subaltern political practices emerge in public life through rehearsed and repeated bodily tasks are innumerable in our continent, especially in urban settings. The demand for justice emerges thus as performative and ritualised, such as in the most renowned political practices of the Mothers of *Plaza de Mayo* in Argentina, the hoods of the *Zapatistas* or recently, *Las Tesis* of Chilean feminism.² The performativity of these practices needs to be understood as the embodiment and enactment of a political culture, strongly related to historical contingency and broader social meanings, and also operating as an epistemology: 'performative acts', or what Richard Schechner calls 'twice-behaved behaviour' (1985: 36).

Another key issue of site-specific theatre is, as mentioned in the Introduction, the relationship between body and place. In this regard, the elaboration

2 The collective *Las Tesis* is a feminist collective founded in Valparaíso in 2019 that created the performance *Un violador en tu camino* ('A rapist in your path'), an adaptation and choreographing of an extract of the *Carabineros* (police) anthem as a claim against femicide and sexual abuse, and the complicities of the patriarchal powers of the state, the police and the judiciary. After two presentations in Chile in the midst of feminist protests, the performance became viral on social networks. It was translated and adapted by various feminist collectives around the world.

around the notion of place by Natalia Sarli and Gustavo Radice provides some important insights:

In the analysis of theatre practice, a definition of the complex nature of the space/body link includes taking the following into account: 1. That theatrical space is constituted of a series of relations of proportion, route and distance codified by cultural experience. In short: theatrical space is, like any space, a perceptual-symbolic construction. 2. That in any analysis of space, the body is present: spatiality is constructed and organised from a mobile reference point. It is the subject who defines spatial relations from his or her own physical and symbolic frame. 3. That there is perceived space (related to the senses); experiential space (related to the affective); and symbolic space (associated with imaginaries and social practices); at the intersection of the three is the notion of place, understood as the series of spaces where action is meaningfully articulated. Ultimately, place is the intersection of space/time. (Radice and Sarli 2009: 2)

It is from this perspective that we need to think about performativity in public spaces, taking into account the entanglement of the body (in our case, the Mapuche body) and place, as well as how they are in turn related to layers of temporalities. Santiago, with its different sites, traverses the history of the Mapuche diaspora, turning the urban space into a stage shaped by the orally transmitted memories and family stories of the children and grandchildren of migration. We are gathered amid evocations that today constitute precious references in our walking through the city. In this relationship with orality, site-specific performance significantly intersects with the *epew*, the Mapuche ancestral story. These are place-bound narratives always embedded in specific sites, elaborating on the features of the environments and making sense of particular landscapes and natural events, whether seasonal or sudden and unexpected, such as earthquakes and tsunamis (see Cayuqueo Martínez 2017). These stories are modes of intergenerational communication, in the richness of the transference and sharing of knowledge crucial for Mapuche oral tradition. Orality, in turn, needs gestures and actions, transforming those whispers into, again, ‘performative acts’.

As such, the methodology through which *Santiago Waria* was constructed and staged arose from the dialogue and tensions between site-specific theatre, Mapuche storytelling, and ethnographic practices. These approaches were drawn together by their common endeavour of establishing a *sense of place* in a negotiation that reworked the links between ‘tradition’ and contemporary times, resulting in decolonial representations of indigeneity as a theatrical way of resisting imperial ideologies (Fawzia Afzal-Khan 1997). The entanglement between narrative, performativity, place and the construction and sharing of social meanings is thus key when we think of the Mapuche context. Ceremonial rituals (*gillatun*, *nütxam*, *txawün*); the history and tensions related to specific places (Santiago as the *capital del Reyno*) and

its sites (Plaza de Armas, Quinta Normal, Providencia and the Welen Santa Lucía Hill); and traditional practices of storytelling are all key elements for the creative process of construction of a performance. This makes emplaced social knowledge a protagonist for theatrical practices, where memory is sedimented in staged spaces to represent the Mapuche experiences of violence and dignity in the Chilean metropolis.

Before going into details about the process of constructing *Santiago Waria*, a mention of the few companies and theatre projects that engage with site-specific theatre and performance in the Latin American context and that have inspired our own work is called for. The Brazilian director Antonio Araujo has staged several productions focusing on cities, particular neighbourhoods, and rivers with his company *Teatro da Vertigem*, created in 1992. Araujo's work gained international recognition for its audacity and originality, based on in-depth historical and cultural analysis of the city, from which creative possibilities are articulated. This theatre company has recently adapted one of its works for the international festival *Santiago a Mil: Patronato 999 metros* was staged in an intercultural neighbourhood of Santiago, recasting *Bom Retiro*, originally realised in São Paulo.

Another adaptation recently brought to Chile is the Argentinian play *Un Hueco*, reproduced in 2012 for the dressing rooms of the Estadio Nacional, a place of detention, torture and death during Pinochet's civil-military dictatorship. A similar work was performed by the Swedish company *Poste Restante*, which toured part of Barrio Italia with the production *Closing Time* in 2013. Along the same line, even if with a very different theme and style, the German company *Rimini Protokoll* developed *Remote Santiago* in 2014. More recently, locally developed theatrical proposals linked to the notion of site-specific theatre have increased, with works such as *Correo* by Paula Aros in 2016, taking place in the Chilean Post Office building on the corner of the Plaza de Armas where Pedro de Valdivia's house was located at the beginning of the 17th century, and *Vitrina HD*, performed in commercial shop windows in the city of Valparaíso by the company *La Peste*.

All of these performative representations contributed to bringing the site-specific into the Chilean theatrical context, at the same time introducing the possibility of adaptations beyond the sites where the theatre works were originally created – especially concerning the work of *Teatro da Vertigem* and *Rimini Protokoll*. This opens up challenges and opportunities for the further development of this methodology, closely related to the play *Santiago Waria* and this book: is it possible to adapt the story of the migration of a racialised and colonised people to any metropolitan experience in the world? What material elements would convey the possibility of reproducing similar connections such as the monuments to colonisers, the precariousness of labour and the subterranean memories of the city?

While we do not have any definitive answer in this regard, we note that site-specific theatre is as much about place as it is about the links between different sites and stories; it is about ephemerality and repetition at the same time, similarly to any other oral narrative or enacted performance. In this regard, our own creative process needs to acknowledge a strong reference to the work of Samoan choreographer Lemi Ponifasio, staged with the company *Mau Mapuche*, of which he is the director and founder. Formed by a multidisciplinary group of Mapuche artists, this company presented the piece 'Ceremonia Performativa' on the Santa Lucía/Welen Hill in January 2015, on the Caupolicán terrace.³ As we will see in what follows, the terrace was named after the *toqui* Kalfu Licán, an important Mapuche leader fighting Spanish colonisation. A sculpture, supposedly depicting this warrior but actually inspired by the Muhhekunneuw or Mohican people, makes it the perfect place for interrogating imaginaries of indigenous otherness (see Chapter 4). *Ceremonia Performativa* was intended for this particular site in the city as a symbolic attempt at territorial and spiritual recovery, simultaneously addressing images and imaginations of Mapuche in the capital city.

In *Santiago Waria: Pueblo Grande de Wigka* we created a different and yet strongly related version of this same site. Digging deeper into how other Mapuche before us had engaged with it, we found the documentary that inspires the title of the theatre play, *Santiago, pueblo grande de Huincas*, in which a group of Mapuche people in Santiago climbed the same hill in 1986, in the midst of the dictatorship, to hold a traditional ceremony for the planting of a cinnamon tree. The choice of our own title as an almost literal quote sought to honour the historical significance of the hill, a site from where both the past and the present can be defied.

SANTIAGO WARIA: PUEBLO GRANDE DE WIGKA: THE PROCESS

Concluding the MapsUrbe project with a site-specific performance was not always part of the plan, and was rather elaborated during the course of the research. Nevertheless, when looking at it from today's perspective, we can trace the process as somehow inevitably leading to the construction of *Santiago Waria*. First of all, as in any site-specific project, the interdisciplinary team proved essential. Not only were actors and creators needed, but other professionals significantly permeated the creative process – from designers to linguists to anthropologists and historians – reading the site in its different layers. The MapsUrbe project provided all the necessary elements, not only for creating a site-specific experience but also for nurturing it during an

3 I was also part of the company as the assistant director to Lemi Ponifasio.

in-depth research process. It was thus fundamental that the group was made up of young Mapuche with a family and collective history of rural-urban migration, withholding memories of domination and endurance in the context of the Chilean state. In the relationship between the community and the site, Santiago is not just *any* kind of space, and this is the ‘optical lens’ through which we looked at the city and its spaces.

Moving from this crucial node, we might retrospectively say that the creative process was carried out in four parts: pre-production, production, creation and display. During pre-production, the broader research project was designed by myself, Claudio and Olivia, reading Santiago as a sort of map and trying to discover the script behind the urban and social fabric. Various sites in the capital were selected as belonging to the Mapuche trajectories of the city, from peripheral settlements to more affluent neighbourhoods. During our preliminary wandering throughout the city, we first followed the Mapocho River. In its journey, the ‘stream that thinks of itself as a river’, as Pedro Lemebel would put it, goes from the upper-class neighbourhood of Lo Barnachea to the peripheral municipality of Cerro Navia. In both areas, Mapuche names can be found: in the former, generally in luxurious gated communities named with Mapuche words in a folkloristic and appropriative gesture; in Cerro Navia, in *poblaciones* and neighbourhoods where many of the residents are Mapuche. Cerro Navia is also where the poet David Aníñir Guiltraro – whose verses inspired this project in the first place – was born, raised, and still lives.

After approaching the map of the city through the Mapocho, we selected key points of the Mapuche historiography in the city and involved a group of young Mapuche in the project. During a process lasting several months, we visited different sites within the city, locating the paths and traces of Mapuche in Santiago. Each site we visited challenged or welcomed us – sometimes both – in unveiling words, images, sounds and silences. In some places we wrote, in others, we improvised and played with different methods, and in yet others, we collected reactions of passers-by or the police (as we will see in Chapters 2 and 3) to be incorporated into the final script, shaping it significantly.⁴ This brings us back to the ‘power’ of place and how different sites within the city became part of the theatre script as if they were ‘texts’ themselves. As such, the structure of the narrative and the final route of the site-specific performance were deeply entangled. The path taking the audience through Mapuche history in the city of Santiago was composed of a selection of the places we had been engaging with during the prior research process, those that were most significant for the group, or those generating frictions

4 This is a strong example of how, with site-specific methodologies, the relationship with the spectator is one in which not only the final exhibition but also the very creative process leading up to it is shared and ‘showed’ by bringing the audience into the site in which and through which the theatre piece was first conceived and then scripted.

and affections. Even if not all the places addressed during the previous research stage ended up being part of the final performance, the creative work developed during each workshop was key for the construction of *Santiago Waria*. Here, I briefly outline the most meaningful aspects of this process.

The first workshop was held in the Plaza de Armas, the central square in downtown Santiago, a material expression of colonial history and its continuities. The monumentality of the space – surrounded by the Cathedral, the National History Museum and the former house of Pedro de Valdivia (the *conquistador* of Chile) – allowed for a reflection on the past and the recursivity of coloniality, as well as a broader focus on socio-political relationships between the Mapuche and the dominant state. On a different level, the first workshop also envisaged the sharing of the research participants' personal experiences and memories of their own relationship with the Chilean capital. The second workshop took place in Cerro Navia, one of the more densely populated municipalities on the outskirts of Santiago, that is home to indigenous Mapuche mixing with the Chilean working class and *pobladores*. The workshop was organised in a local Mapuche ceremonial centre, with the peculiarity of having its *nuka* (traditional house) burned down and never re-built due to a lack of funding. The Mapuche urban poet David Aniñir Guiltraro, who lives in Cerro Navia, discussed with us the 'archaeology of the *Mapurbe*' and further re-elaborations of the concept – key for young urban Mapuche since the early 2000s (see Introduction). Issues of urban indigeneity, gender and sexuality, and feminist and queer epistemologies emerged during the session. In the third workshop, we worked on the San Cristóbal Hill to observe the city from above and read the landscape of the valley along which the metropolitan region has expanded. The geographer Raúl Molina (expert in pre-colonial settlements in the area) accompanied us, illustrating ancient indigenous occupations and territories. These were then juxtaposed with the present-day experiences of the participants, beginning with pictures of places in the city that felt meaningful to them. From this session, two research participants, Marie-Juliette and Marcela, proposed and led another workshop focusing more closely on collective cartography, from which a map of everyday and biographical trajectories emerged, accompanied by a fundamental discussion about the meaning and possible re-elaboration of the *tuwün* ('place of origin' in the Mapuche tradition) within the city. Our fourth workshop was held in the upper-class sector of Providencia, where Mapuche women had been employed as live-in housemaids. Indeed, this was the case of many of our mothers and/or grandmothers: our own memories guided the design of the performative intervention in the area, entangling family stories with the broader Mapuche history of migration. Somehow complementary to this place is the Quinta Normal Park, where we contemplated indigenous urban life and its

representation in the 1961 ethnographic work of the anthropologist Carlos Munizaga. The Quinta Normal was – and still is – the place where many Mapuche living in the city used to meet, sharing moments of leisure, speaking their own language, and cultivating friendship and love.

Later, in the play, the Quinta also was the tour's first station, where the audience was summoned and given an Mp3 device containing the audios that would guide them during the tour. The 'rules of the game' were explained, as Olivia and I introduced ourselves as their guides on the tour. We invited the audience to take a journey through the times and spaces of Santiago, discovering and following Mapuche paths through it from before it became the city they know today, or 'before cement, there was earth', as the voiceover says. Guiding the audience to imagine, play and travel through time, from there we moved through the city, just like the Mapocho, until our final destination on the Santa Lucía/Welen Hill. As already accounted in the Introduction, the hill, no matter how much we tried, was never a place for one of our workshops. As the site where the play concludes, it was nonetheless a place of many rehearsals, finally turning previous distances into gestures of tenderness, playfulness, and subversion.

INCIPIT

Theatre hall,
Quinta Normal Park



*The room is dark. A screen is projecting images of Santiago. A voice begins to speak.*¹

Audio-guide Welcome to this journey through *Santiago Waria*. This is a site-specific performance, which means that this play was created for you to visit the specific sites where, for the past ten months, we have been addressing Mapuche urban displacement. To do this, we have been travelling through different places in the footsteps of those who preceded us, while also looking for their future trajectories: the past is pregnant with the future [*pause*]. This voice, coming from the past, is stored on an MP3 file and is reaching your ears through the amplification equipment of this room. In your hands, you have a device with headphones that you will put on in a moment; you will use it for the whole journey, so you need to pay attention to the track numbers. If you get lost, there will be a flag in front of you indicating the track which you should be listening to; yes, something akin to a tour in a museum. When you hear the *kullkull*, you should pause and take off the headphones. The *kullkull* sounds like this [*sound of the kullkull*].

Look in front of you now. That is Olivia standing there [*pause*]. Olivia is the lady raising her hand [*Olivia raises her hand*]. Do you see her? [*pause*]. If you see her, raise your hand. Come on, do not be shy [*pause*]. Excellent. By her side is Roberto [*Roberto raises his hand*]. Roberto is the gentleman raising his hand; do you see him now? [*pause*] If you see him, nod your head.

Olivia and Roberto will accompany you on this travel through time, so approach them if you need anything.²

1 The audience is in the theatre hall of the Centro de Extensión Balmaceda Arte Joven, in the Quinta Normal Park. On display when *Santiago Waria* was staged, the audience was invited to visit the exhibition before the start of the performance. They were then given an MP3 player along with the headphones and the map to use during the tour. When the play began, a video projected images of the city onto a screen in front of them, blending times and spaces: the periphery and the city centre; protests in the Alameda; everyday scenes. The original video (edited by Antil) and the performance audios are available on the project website at <https://www.mapsurbe.com/eng-santiago-waria>. For this section, follow Track 1. While listening to this first audio track, the audience was not yet wearing headphones; the track was played through the theatre sound system. Only from the next track onwards was the audience asked to wear headphones and were the tracks played through the MP3 equipment throughout the entire tour.

2 Olivia was the director's assistant during the construction and staging of the play. This choice, while not without frictions, was a way of experimenting with the possible

There are more people here than the ones you can see. They are the rest of the MapsUrbe group. Not seeing them does not mean they do not exist; they are present in the pieces of art you saw here, for example. Some of them are actually here in this building, while others are in the park, in the Plaza de Armas, in Providencia, and on the Welen Hill; they are all across Santiago.³ They are present here with us; they are in the non-being. Although I am not a person – I am a recorded voice that comes from someone in the past, yet who in a present moment of her life, recorded this audio – I am nonetheless present now because you are listening to me. We are full of presences that we do not see, and we are also full of absences. However, these absences and presences are something we will discover on this journey.

If you could travel through time, would you change something of your past to improve your present and your future? Time passes for everyone. Have you ever thought that the past continuously repeats itself? Now we will travel to the past.

We have selected key sites in Santiago, the capital, for this tour. This city, founded by Pedro de Valdivia in the summer of 1541, was a valley through which different people and cultures used to journey. However, before we travel back to the Spanish invasion, let's begin our journey in this very place: the Quinta Normal Park.

Put on your headphones. Press Track 1 when instructed.

inversion of the roles which Roberto and Olivia had assumed during the research prior to the creation and rehearsal of the performance. See 'Nüttxam', this volume.

- 3 The realisation of the performance involved a great deal of logistics for the management of the audio-tour. Cynthia Niko Salgado Silva was in charge of the set design and of the backstage management. Running parallel to the live scenes in public spaces, the backstage involved setting up and dismantling each scene before and after the audience arrived. The performers themselves were involved in the process, shifting between on and off stage, either sharing part of the route with the audience or travelling alongside in a smaller van. This was one of the ways in which the boundaries between social actor and performer kept shifting, engaging with the 'givenness of the scenario' and its demand for embodiment. As highlighted in the Introduction, the social actors and their roles were somehow simultaneously in view (see Taylor 2003; Kondo 2018).

ACT 1

**Beginnings: The Quinta
Normal Park**

Colectivo MapsUrbe



AGAINST THE ETHNOGRAPHIC LENSES:
EMPLACEMENT AND RE-PRESENTATIONS

Claudio: We are here at the Quinta Normal because this is a place – though not the only one – very much present in Mapuche memories here in Santiago, especially of the people who arrived in the city in the 50s and 60s.¹ It was an important space for socialising; our people came to get information about finding a job, a room to rent ...

Rodrigo: To make connections.

Claudio: Of course, and to fall in love; that, too ...

Martín: A lot of love here ...

Claudio: And also, to dance.

Martín: Over there was where people danced.

Claudio: A lot of people talk about El Frontón, which was the dancehall where people used to gather, a sort of ‘disco’ back then.

Martín: I imagine it as a gazebo, something like that ...

Claudio: Yes, a gazebo where they danced and drank ... they danced to rock ‘n’ roll and a lot of cumbia and that kind of music. [...] Mapuche organisations used to also come here to hand out their brochures in an attempt to mobilise the people who gathered here. Many people today say ‘just like Peruvians in the Plaza de Armas, we Mapuche used to get together in the Quinta Normal’, a very common phrase among the older people who used to come here. Back then, with the Mapuche presence, the Quinta Normal experienced a moment of ... a new imaginary, a new memory was installed. [...] This space was a rural estate in the nineteenth century, and then a place for scientific, agronomic research.

Martín: The Botanical Garden ...

Claudio: During the nineteenth century, other institutions began to use this place, and the National Society of Agriculture was established here in the twentieth century. [The Society] was a very conservative sector of Chile.

Rodrigo: One of the most conservative ...

Claudio: Only in the twentieth century did the Quinta become a park. When Mapuche people started coming here, not long ago, it had just turned into a park. [...] So, this became a park but was not born as a park, and this is probably why it has a sort of ‘scientific feel’.

1 This exchange took place during the workshop held in the Quinta Normal Park, in July 2018. Claudio was introducing the site and the creative exercise proposed by the organising team (himself, Roberto, and Olivia). The performative intervention that took place immediately after this dialogue was a mimetic reproduction of pictures taken in the context of the first anthropological study of Mapuche migrants in Santiago (Munizaga 1961). This exercise of embodiment and enactment was later translated into the installation *El Jardín*, which is addressed in the next paragraph. For more insights on the meaning of the Quinta Normal Park for the indigenous diaspora in Santiago, see Antileo Baeza, Alvarado Lincopi (2017 and 2018); Alvarado Lincopi (2021). This chapter builds on discussion also elaborated in Casagrande (2021).

Martín: The National Museum of Natural History is also here ... and, speaking of the 'French model', there is the Acclimatisation Garden, a site built for the Universal Exhibitions in 1883–84. People were enslaved and displayed there, in the so-called 'human zoos'. The idea behind the two is the same; they are exactly the same.²

During the nineteenth century, Santiago underwent a significant refounding process. The old colonial city was modernised, and what was later named the *camino de cintura* ('belt path') was built. This was meant to be a sanitary barrier made up of wide avenues so that the 'civilised city' would be separated from the 'barbarian city'. The highly segregating redesign was undertaken by Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna and was inspired by the aesthetics and urbanistic features of Paris: the 'French model', as a way to scientifically catalogue and mark out certain bodies.³ The *camino de cintura* was established through the building of large avenues that today correspond to Matucana, Exposición and Blanco Encalada Avenues (west); Matta Avenue (south); Mackenna Avenue (east); and the Mapocho River (north). It was meant to protect and isolate the city centre from the surrounding peripheral and poorer areas, which were considered the source of diseases, anti-social behaviours, and racial corruption. This urban and social planning, strongly promoted by the 'Chilean Haussman', aimed for progress; yet, as Benjamin noticed, progress always entails catastrophe (2002). Beyond the 'civilised city' lived hundreds of thousands of human beings; black people, indigenous people, and poorer *mestizos* who lived in a city of disease, misery and daily struggle. Still, the sanitary barrier could not last forever and proved unable to prevent the passing of 'barbarians' into the affluent city. The 'African customs', as Vicuña Mackenna used to say, were already beginning to penetrate the civilised city by the mid-twentieth century.

Among those areas that aimed to beautify the modernised city was the Quinta Normal Park, in eastern downtown Santiago. In 1841, an extensive plot of land was established alongside one of the axes of the 'belt path', Matucana Avenue. Originally, the land was intended for educational and scientific purposes, being the site of agricultural and botanical experimentation.

2 The reference to the human zoos in the context of the Universal Exhibitions is particularly meaningful for broader Mapuche history, as a group of them were subjected to this violent practice during the previous century (see Báez, Mason 2006). Martín's critique underlines how both the National Museum of Natural History and the Acclimatisation Garden were involved in practices of 'displaying' indigenous bodies, objects, and traditions, something that is also related to the anthropological work of Munizaga, as we will see in this chapter.

3 Vicuña Mackenna (1831–86), a law graduate, was a Chilean writer, journalist and politician. He served as mayor of Santiago between 1872 and 1875, during which he dedicated his efforts to transforming the city. Inspired by the work of Hausmann and indeed aiming to turn Santiago into the 'Paris of the Americas', one of his endeavours was to transform the Santa Lucía/Welen Hill into an urban garden, as we will see in Chapter 4 (see Vicuña Mackenna 1872).

Over time, it became a space for popular socialising. Perhaps it was because of the small artificial lake or the multiple museums in the area, or simply the historical proximity to the lower- and middle-class sectors, but within a century, the park in Quinta Normal went from being a space for scientific progress to becoming a park for the leisure of the urban masses. ‘Barbarism’ had invaded the Paris of America.

From the 1950s, Mapuche migrants arriving from the south of the country began to gather in the park, entering its spaces for love, friendship and festivities. Young Mapuche arriving in the city found there a safe place to meet and share information about jobs, accommodation and city life; in short, building networks for survival within the Chilean capital. Over time, the park came to represent a site where festivities took place and moments of celebration were shared. Many of the young ‘urban’ Mapuche families in Santiago began with couples meeting and forming in the park, the first setting for many romances. In the Quinta Normal, they fell in love and planned shared lives. Many, including among the authors of this book, have shared anecdotes, memories, and family stories of the Quinta.

It was this context that caught the attention of Carlos Munizaga, one of the founders of social anthropology in Chile. Dozens of indigenous migrants gathering amid modern architecture was an ideal setting for any twentieth-century anthropologist: Munizaga carried out his ethnography in the park between 1959 and 1961, visiting the place especially on Sundays when Mapuche youths had some free time to socialise among themselves. The anthropologist wrote notes, did some interviews, and took many photographs, which he then published in his book *Estructuras transicionales en la migración de los araucanos de hoy a la ciudad de Santiago de Chile* (*Transitional Structures in the Migration of Araucanians of Today to the City of Santiago de Chile*) (Munizaga 1961).⁴ Indeed, some of the most interesting elements of the book are these images, which serve as historical documents to delve into the aesthetics of a changing indigenous world and to try to imagine those moments of Mapuche socialising within the city. However, Munizaga was part of an anthropology marked by the colonial features of research: that is, we know nothing about the people depicted, such as their names or the intimacies of their stories. We are presented with objects of study. Similarly, in an awkward act of disguise, Munizaga tried to conceal that the place was the Quinta Normal Park, renaming it ‘The Garden’ (*El Jardín*) when discussing where the described events took place.

4 Munizaga analyses what he calls ‘transitional structures’ as processes of integration; namely, social structures allowing migrants to ‘transition’ from life in Mapuche communities to urban areas. These processes were understood by the anthropologist as forms of assimilation leading to the disappearance of indigeneity in the urban setting (see Imilán 2010: 20).







Of course, for any inhabitant of the city, and even more so for urban Mapuche, it is clear that the pseudonym refers to the park. This is how, disregarding the veil that Munizaga sought to create, we went to the Quinta Normal Park and searched for the exact spots where Mapuche youths were photographed between 1959 and 1961, and played with our bodies to imitate those performativities. The gesture of reproducing his photographs aimed to highlight and challenge the ‘French model’, the parallelism between the National Museum of Natural History the human zoos, the city’s spatial segregation, and the anthropologist’s photographs, in a sort of looking back at the colonial gaze. At the same time, we unequivocally marked the Quinta Normal Park as one of the Mapuche places within the city of Santiago. Still used for many activities such as political meetings and social and cultural events today, the park is one of the sites of memory for the Mapuche diaspora. Linked to a sort of sense of beginning for Mapuche migrants, this place, besides interrogating the ethnographic lens, guided us in an exercise that delved into the question of origins. As later represented by the artwork *El Jardín*, the Quinta Normal, shaping collective memories, also represents a claim for place-making in displacement, a creative appropriation within processes of belonging and becoming. It is where the art exhibition was displayed, and later, during the development of *Santiago Waria*, the park was chosen by Roberto as the very place where the play began and the related journey through the city started. As we will see in what follows,⁵ the site was the location for the first scene, in which a young Mapuche couple celebrate their marriage and pregnancy, settling in the capital as they long for their land in the distant south. It is, indeed, a place of many beginnings, against invisibility and absence and, at the same time, where the past is not only remembered but also reimaged.

5 The extracts in the following sections come from discussions held during the first workshop and successive cartographic workshops, in March and November 2018. The objects that some of us refer to were a way of presenting oneself to the group.

EL JARDÍN

Entre 1938 y 1946, el antropólogo Carlos Merynaga, importante investigador de la Antropología Social en Chile, investigó a grupos de mujeres y hombres mapuche en la Ducha Normal. Su investigación buscaba comprender la que él denominó "su estructura socializada" en la categoría de los "aranceles", pero más tarde los "investigados" como el lugar donde nació la etnografía. Luego, transformada bajo un interés de mayor calidad científica, los nombres mapuche eran sólo iniciales, y la Ducha Normal fue renombrada como "El Jardín". Fue a partir de la publicación, con cambios y esta vez de la ciudad compuesta parte fundamental de la memoria de los días y meses de la etnografía.



El Jardín
Carlos Merynaga





The installation consisted of two pieces. Copies of the original pictures taken by Munizaga were framed and hung on the wall above a wooden nightstand covered with a printed fabric. On the nightstand, hundreds of copies of the photographs mimicking those taken by the anthropologist were available for the public to take. A short text introduced the installation referring to Munizaga's work *El Jardín* while claiming an emplaced and intimate representation against the anonymisation of Munizaga's ethnographic eye. The nightstand and the framed picture above it reproduced what could be called 'home', an intimate space witnessing the connection with previous generations where tokens of memory are preserved against time. Munizaga's photographs were framed in a gesture of tenderness, defying the anonymous cataloguing perpetrated by the ethnographic gaze; those nameless 'indigenous migrants' are family, and ancestors, silent testimonies of acts of dwelling in the city, beyond scientific debates around assimilation versus survival, permanence versus integration. Is it one; or the other? Is this very gesture of framing in contradiction with traditional forms of memory within Mapuche communities in the south? Are those orally transmitted narratives and biographical accounts at odds with Munizaga's pictures?

Look at the eyes of the people portrayed. They probably did not expect to be photographed, nor asked whether they would like to be. In our photographic reproductions, our gazes are different. We knew and staged it. We experienced the imbalance of body postures that felt so distant from our own way of standing.

What the artwork *El Jardín* wanted to defy was the anthropologist as an *author*, and the power relations entailed in ethnographic representations (see Geertz 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Asad 1973).⁶ The anthropologist's 'inscription' of others – in textual and photographic form – was questioned in its resulting in further dis-placement. Besides being relegated, as the 'subjects of study', to a different time, in what Johannes Fabian famously labelled 'allochronism' (Fabian 1983), Mapuche migrants are put 'out of place', in a romanticised 'garden' that denies their urban presence. Precisely in the attempt to appropriate both space and time, the artwork claimed a Mapuche emplacement within the city, shedding light on multiple forms of indigenous belonging and their transformation.

While questioning Munizaga's ethnographic representation and the invisibilisation of the presence of Mapuche migrants within the city, the artwork plays with these dis-connections. The form given to the installation signals both continuity and rupture, the double effect of migrating to the city. The mimicking photographs, printed in hundreds of copies and available for the audience to take as if expanding the gesture of producing family memories out of the photograph of strangers (are they?) points to the

6 See also the feminist critique to *Writing Culture* (Abu-Lughod 1991; Behar and Gordon 1996).

Puelpan: She [my grandmother] only once told me stories about her life, about a year before she died. This resonated with me very much because she was very affectionate but there was a part of her that I had no idea about. I did not know many things about her. For a start, she knew Mapuzugun but she did not speak it. Even if you asked her to speak it, she did not. So [the songs she composed] refer to this silent cry, to silence, to all this ... There was always that feeling with my grandmother, and we all had it, that ... she had something hidden, something that was just locked away ... to which there was no possible access, ever.

Rodrigo: This bombilla ... I don't know if she actually bought it, but my grandmother – my kuku – got it before coming to Santiago. It is a silver bombilla, and is made with coins fused by a kützal, in Makehue. You can still see the design of the coins; it was restored by a rütxafé here in Santiago. I thought it was silver with tin, but it is actually pure silver. This was the bombilla with which I used to drink mate with my kuku as a child. I always drank mate. Drinking tea was rare for me, and [drinking mate] was the way my grandmother used to spend time with me and also [shared] her Mapuzugun. Then my grandmother went to live at her house. This bombilla went with her, and I continued [my life] as a common Santiaguino. And when I began to search for my Mapuche being, my grandmother gave it to me and said 'you are the only grandson who will appreciate it', and it has been with me ever since.



transformation, movement, mixture, and creative appropriation entailed in the emplacement of current Mapuche generations within the city.

Previous generations – their memories of migration, their longing for the south – are still present, informing indigenous experiences of the city. Yet, their trajectories have shaped those of the following generations not only through words, stories, and remembrances, but also through silence, and what remained untold. Being a migrant from the rural and indigenous south, especially in the 1950s and 1960s entailed precarious and very arduous employment. When arriving in the Chilean capital, men were mostly employed on construction sites, in bakeries, in meat factories and public maintenance, while women worked as live-in housemaids from a very young age.⁷ The fatigue of the long working hours, the discrimination, and the abuses suffered were not always discussed within the family, and frequently indigenous migrants concealed their origins to avoid further racial discrimination and violence, or to spare their children and grandchildren what they had lived through.⁸ Often marrying a non-indigenous Chilean and ‘disappearing’ into the broader population of *pobladores* in the peripheries of the capital city, indigenous migrants were until recently almost invisible within the metropolitan region. Their silences were quite literal, for language was among the first aspects to be abandoned. Yet, this also constituted an active and ‘micropolitica’ response to Chilean colonialism (Nahuelpán 2016). A way of treasuring one’s deepest belonging, these caring silences play a key role in current identification processes for young urban Mapuche: it is also from that absence of words that a collectivity is rebuilt (Alvarado Lincopi 2016:11). This is how, while the majority of young Mapuche and *mestizos* do not speak Mapuzugun, increasing numbers are now learning it, moving from bits and pieces heard in their grandmothers’ kitchens and on visits to their families back south.⁹ Language is commonly linked to what is sometimes referred to as a ‘going back’ to one’s own indigenous origins or roots. The beginning of this process is often identified with a precise moment in time, metaphorically referring to the *kultxun* – ‘falling over’ oneself. Yet, coming to terms with one’s own indigeneity is far from a backwards movement. Rather, it is moving towards different ways of inhabiting urban space, similar

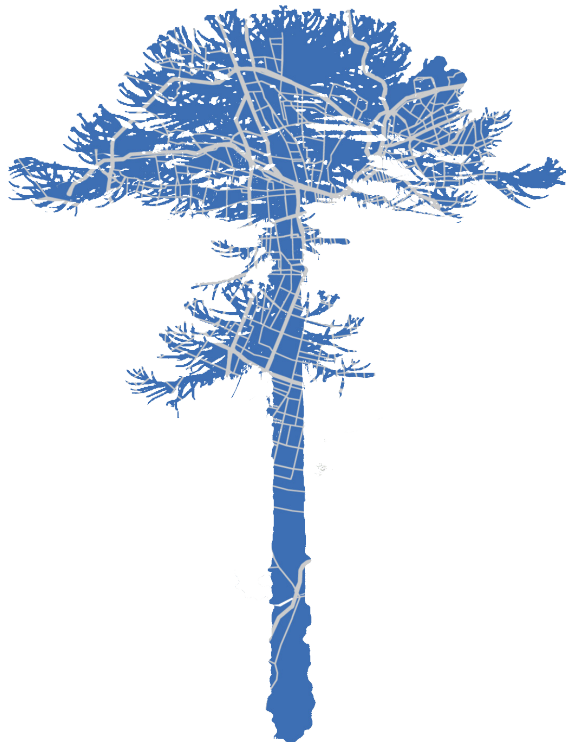
7 Breadmakers and housemaids were probably the most common occupations. Characterised by long hours and very little free time (one free Sunday afternoon every second week), these jobs were undertaken when first arriving in the city, also because they often entailed living in the master’s house or in the bakeries. Notably, Mapuche working in these occupations engaged in important trade union participation (see Antileo Baeza 2015; Alvarado Lincopi 2017).

8 Domestic violence and alcoholism were among the consequences of extremely difficult life conditions. Addressing and questioning this is at the core of recent indigenous feminist mobilisations within the Mapuche political movement (see Chapter 3, ‘Racialised trajectories’, this volume).

9 Among the members of the Colectivo MapsUrbe some have undergone or are currently undergoing this process, and a few are Mapuzugun teachers, such as Rodrigo Huenchún Pardo and Simona Mayo.

to the inventive ways in which Mapuzugun is employed in everyday life in the city as a *champurria* language. Through neologisms and mixtures with Spanish, malapropisms that become part of common use or Mapuzugun nouns becoming Spanish verbs: ‘*rukear*’, for example, meaning to ‘make home’.¹⁰ Such are the practices of dwelling that both reproduce and reinvent indigenous identities and belongings, inhabiting an imbalanced balance that appears in several forms, multiplying as the mimicking photographs did.

10 The term was employed by Rodrigo during one of the workshops (see Chapter 4, ‘Welcome to the future’). One of the main reference points for this creative use of language is David Aniñir Guiltraro, the Mapurbe poet (see Introduction).



Roberto: My Mapuche paternal great-grandfather died, and we travelled to the community as they made the traditional eluwün. I had to go to my grandfather's side to learn the ceremony. The whole culture fell down on me. I was about seven years old. They were recounting the life of my great-grandfather. The peñi were drinking and my grandfather finished drinking and passed the bottle to me. I remember that I looked at my mom, among the people behind [...] who looked at me with that mommy's 'don't do that' face ... I looked at her, and I looked at my grandfather ... I kind of felt that I was on the other side of the frontier, that I did not belong to my mother's culture. I think that at that moment I sort of 'killed my mother' a little. There, for the first time, the emotional sensation hit me – because it wasn't intellectual, it was emotional – that I belonged to something different from the rest.

Simona: I started looking at some pictures and at the letters my grandfather wrote to me when he returned to the south. [...] My grandfather used to call me 'Boliviano'. He did not say 'Boliviana', he called me 'Boliviano' and so did my grandmother. Neither of them remembers why they called me this, but they called me Comandante Boliviano. [...] Unlike my grandmother who strongly marked us as Mapuche in Santiago, my grandfather always left clues. On the patio, he wrote words in Mapuzugun. He left some little marks that were later erased. I think of my grandmother's patio ... chickens, a small vegetable garden – my grandmother's patio was very Waria che – and among all of those things, the flag of the Colo-Colo football team and the flag of Chile ...

**'PLACE OF ORIGIN': MULTIPLYING
BEGINNINGS**



In the diaspora, the *tuwün* inevitably ceased to represent a direct correspondence between the place of the ancestors, the place where one was born, and the place where one lives.¹¹ In one of the many ruptures produced by the displacement that comes with migration, the *tuwün* slips away and needs to be reaffirmed or reinvented. Yet territorial belonging is still there, in a creative entanglement of the land of origin in the south of the country, and specific places within the city. Spatial belonging is inevitably reconstructed through practices of dwelling; inhabiting different but interconnected landscapes means living through an ‘open wound’ that entails both personal and broader historical and political meanings, but at the same time, it also allows for the bridging of fractures and engaging in creative reconnections.¹²

Throughout the process of research and reflection characterising MapsUrbe, the question of origin – and more specifically of the *tuwün* – was addressed during two sessions organised by Marcela and Marie Juliette around collaborative cartography. On these occasions, everyday trajectories and places felt as one’s own were located and discussed by working on a map of Santiago’s metropolitan region. The issue of *tuwün* was probably the most problematic to grasp. For almost everyone present, it could easily be located somewhere south, yet it did not necessarily feel significant or defining for personal experiences of place and home. Living in the city somehow displaced that anchor for the self, making it feel ‘far south’ while relocating it at the same time in an equally significant urban space: in the *pobla*;¹³ in a grandmother’s kitchen; even in the maid’s room where the first years of childhood were spent together with a migrating mother, learning to be quiet while she worked.

11 Visually, this paragraph plays with the pictures mimicking those taken by Munizaga, reproducing the same ‘multiplying effect’ entailed in the displaying of hundreds of copies in the artwork *El Jardín*. This multiplying is linked to the many ways in which being Mapuche is embodied and enacted in the city, thus reworking traditional concepts such as that of the *tuwün* (see Casagrande 2021). For a discussion of the concept of *tuwün* and Mapuche territorial belonging, see Morales (2002); Quidel, Caniullan (2003); Huenchula, Cárdenas, Ancalaf (2004); Dillehay (2007); Calbucura and Le Bonniec (2009); Di Giminiani (2018).

12 The ‘open wound’ is to be understood within the broader political and historical context of forced migration and diaspora, and the loss of land and impoverishment of indigenous rural communities following the military occupation of their territory (see Marimán et al. 2006; Antileo Baeza et al. 2015). While Mapuche urban life, especially among youths, is undoubtedly resourceful and creative, it is nevertheless also related to the pain and violence in historical memories of displacement (see Huenchún Pardo, ‘Memory and pain’, Chapter 6 in this volume).

13 In Santiago’s peripheries, there are multiple forms of housing, contributing to shaping particular forms of identification. The most common within the popular world are the so-called *poblaciones*, affectively nicknamed *poblas*, which derive from processes of land seizures or self-construction during the 1960s and 1970s. There are also *barrios* and *villas*, which represent middle-class areas or housing projects planned by the state. Finally, the last few decades have seen the building of the so-called condominiums, gated communities and middle-class neighbourhoods located in peripheral sectors of the city.

This shift questions the very idea of ‘origin’ and its almost sacralised meaning for indigenous identities. In the political narrative of indigenous movements, the Mapuche being no exception, it is common to search for an ‘origin’ that reveals an entire tradition, allowing collective history to be established on a genealogical foundation or a lineage related to a specific (ancestral) territory; this is the *tuwün* in the Mapuche world. But what about the generations born in the diaspora? There are at least two possibilities. On the one hand, there is an insistence on the narrative of previous generations, and an origin that turns into a nostalgia for the un-lived. On the other hand, there is the emergence of new intimacies and affectionate attachments with the new territoriality, albeit contradictory ones. Mapuche youth marking the colonial metropolis, inhabiting it and weaving their stories there, specifically embrace this second possibility. They are reimagining the political notion of the *tuwün*, resituating one’s own beginning in and throughout urban space, encompassing not only specific sites, but also the movement between them, and hence, acts of traversing the city (see Casagrande 2021).

This gradually became evident during the research process, and especially when, as a group, we needed to make a decision concerning where to stage the MapsUrbe art exhibition. As outlined in the Introduction, at that point there was still no plan regarding the theatre play, and the concerns were rather about the best place to display the individual and collective works developed so far. Having addressed the city’s spatialities to account for the Mapuche history of migration and diaspora, and having questioned representations of indigeneity within the urban landscape and in some of the landmarks of the Chilean capital, all of us – whether from an anthropological, activist, or artistic perspective – were aware that the choice of where to stage the final art exhibition was far from a trivial one. Discussions and meetings were spent debating the matter. Should it be a proper artistic venue – with more visibility but possibly not as easily accessible for the broader Mapuche community? Or should it be somewhere more accessible, but with less political impact in terms of the broader public debate? Furthermore: what kind of place should it be, with what sort of meaning attached to its materiality? Finally, did it make sense to choose only one place, with static objects displayed as if they were in a museum? Would this form not clash with the content of what was actually said through the artworks?

Different possibilities were explored and ruled out until two key decisions were taken: first, on the need to set into motion the produced dissenting imaginations (as Arturo Escobar would put it), which would be addressed by staging a site-specific play constructed as a moving city-tour that later became *Santiago Waria: Pueblo Grande de Wigka*; and second, on the Quinta Normal Park as the place where the art exhibition would be displayed – at

Claudio: Yes, from a Mapuche point of view, in the most traditional sense, one would say that I have a tuwün. I even know it, having spent a few summers there as a child [...]. One would say I have a tuwün, where my grandmother and my grandfather were born, but I feel that it is a different matter. It is a place that is not ... I feel that thinking of the tuwün in that way is very easy but almost fictitious, I don't know. It's hard for me to think like that. Rather, it is a place to visit. I do not know if I could consider it mine; it is a place where I am the witxan. I am not ... I am not from there. [...] I do have roots, but my roots are above all in my pobla. I feel comfortable in my pobla. It is a very comfortable place for me. [...] Santiago for me is something very ... something that carries a lot of weight. I would very much like to hate Santiago, yet I feel it particularly mine. This city belongs to me, and I belong to it in turn.

Rodrigo: Regarding where my tuwün is now, I think this is an open wound for many of us. My tuwün may well be in Nueva Imperial. It may be in Makewe, but I feel that my tuwün here in the city is in my grandmother's kitchen. Although it was not a very good place when I was little, due to alcoholism and domestic violence, it is still the place where I belong and where I always return because my grandmother is still alive. That is where I definitely come from, because when I go south, it is obvious that I go to visit. I don't belong there. Instead, here is where it is, yes, my origin.

Marie Juliette: The place where I was born is Providencia. I was born in El Salvador hospital because my mother worked in La Reina in a private house and left only every fifteen days, so I just happened to be born when she was there. Three or four months ago, I would not have known what to answer if asked where my tuwün was, because I do not care much about lineage. In other words, if what you want to hear about are the descendants of my grandfather and my grandmother, that lineage or that territorial belonging in the Wallmapu, I don't have it, and if I did, I wouldn't want to say so either, because it wouldn't mean much to me. I have marked [as tuwün] the house where my mother worked. It was in La Reina, and was the place where I was born and raised for two years ... I brought a photo. That's me and that's my mother, 'La Martita' as her masters said. Her name is Marsa, and yet they were sure that she was called Marta – but she was never called Marta. Her name is Marsa.



the Centro de Extensión Balmaceda Arte Joven – later also becoming the starting point for the theatre piece.

The park, as a site where many things started, like the trees grown there and later transplanted to streets and avenues throughout the city, such as the Alameda, confirmed its powerful, if somewhat ambiguous, sense of beginning. Enacted in the first scene of the play, with the celebration of the marriage and pregnancy of a young Mapuche couple back in 1960, this sense of beginning is far from temporally or spatially straightforward. The couple's offspring is there, observing the ceremony from a distance – the Comandante Boliviano, the speechless protagonist of the piece who accompanies the audience across the city. The current generation encounters the previous one in the park, and her gaze is capable of reinventing the past all over again; under the silent eye of the Comandante, a Mapuche ceremony is performed, something that would not easily have happened in those years. It seems unlikely that a group of newly arrived migrants would have performed an indigenous ceremony in an urban park in the Chilean capital. Indeed, when they met there, they wore their best clothes as in Munizaga's pictures, rather than traditional ones. Today, Mapuche gathering in the park are – on the contrary – marked by indigenous clothes, symbols, and traditional practices. The choice of enacting a ceremony and setting it unrealistically in the past is part of the gesture of claiming a Mapuche emplacement within the city, rejecting the invisibility of urban migration. Yet the doubts expressed by the play's characters about undertaking the ceremony in the 'Mapuche way' point to the tensions and contradictions of the indigenous belonging in the city. The audience, actively involved in performing a ceremony that was happening but probably would not have taken place back in the 1960s, is asked precisely to embrace those frictions. For what had not and could not happen back then can still be staged and enacted in the 'as if' now: the past is a creative substance to play with, in the entangled routes of migration.

SCENE I

Quinta Normal Park



Audio-guide Hello. We are closer now.¹⁴ I will tell you about the Quinta Normal. This park was established as a place for studies and scientific experimentation. Well, it must first be said that at that time this building did not exist ... where we are standing now, there were trees and grass. Look down at your feet [*pause*]. Lower your gaze and look at your feet [*sound of wind and trees*]. Now, imagine the ground you walk on was grass. Can you see it? It is a presence within an absence. Real? Maybe, it depends only on your imagination.

Let's go out into the park. They say it is still possible to catch sight of the past through its trees. Follow Olivia.

Olivia raises her hand and begins to walk out of the building. The audience follows her towards the exit.

Audio-guide This park is 177 years old and was originally a greenhouse for native trees and plants from all over the country, some from abroad. Here were planted what today are the tall trees of the Forestal Park.¹⁵ This place is so old that the poplars that gave their name to the Alameda Avenue were also planted and cared for here during their early years. Inaugurated in 1841 by Manuel Bulnes, the President of Chile, and designed by the French naturalist Claudio Gay, it used to belong to the National Society of Agriculture. In 1853, the Botanical Garden was built following the instructions of Rodolfo Phillipe, a German naturalist based in Chile. Its ruins are still visible in the south of the park. In 1882, the National Zoo of Chile was established and was located here for 42 years, before being moved to the San Cristóbal Hill. Manuel Bulnes, Claudio Gay, Rodolfo Phillipe are currently street names in Greater Santiago, names that once met in this *quinta*. This Park was the first and, according to Wikipedia, it is considered the best and most beautiful urban park in the country. What Wikipedia does not say is that Jimena Lincopi Collio's parents met here. We do not have any record of their identities; no street reminds us of their names. What we

14 The audience is now wearing headphones. The play audios can be accessed on the website page, with Track 2 corresponding to this section: <https://www.mapsurbe.com/eng-santiago-waria>.

15 A popular and renowned park covering a long stretch along the Mapocho River in downtown Santiago, it is one of the few green spots in the city centre.

do have is the memory of their daughter. Listen to this story through the voice of Jimena herself:¹⁶

Jimena They met at a party that took place (in the park) where they used to gather. They were Mapuche youths, who had migrated from the south and came here to Santiago ... You know, you always try to get together with your peers, to speak the same language, because they came from the same reality. So, my mom was invited by a cousin. He brought his two cousins: my mom and Aunt Dorita.

Claudio And my granny was still working as a live-in maid at the time? I mean, it was a Sunday ...

Jimena It was a Sunday. Yes, yes, they used to meet ... Sunday afternoons were free. It was a Sunday. After lunch, Sundays were all for themselves, and the bakeries were definitely not working on Sunday afternoons, so Sunday afternoons were free.

They went and this cousin introduced her to his friends. Among these friends was Carlos Lincopi, and my mom used to tell me that she liked my dad right away; I mean, immediately, at once. She saw him, she was introduced to him, and they immediately liked each other. They looked at each other ... and that was it. Then they got to know each other, and I am sure that my dad must quickly have asked her to go out with him. I do not know how that went. The thing is that they became a couple quite quickly, and they then used to meet alone, just the two of them. They went to the Quinta Normal Park to walk on Sunday afternoons. This was her free time; Sunday afternoons with my dad walking in the park.

The audience is walking in the park.

Audio-guide Observe these large trees. Observe the limits of the park, which did not exist before. It is called 'Quinta Normal' because it resembles an orchard. The *quintas* were estates that, during the invasion of the Spanish Crown, paid a fifth of their income as a tribute. This park was 135 hectares,

16 This is an excerpt from an interview Claudio had with his mother, Jimena Lincopi Collio, as part of the book *Santiago waria mew* on Mapuche migration to Santiago, written with Enrique Antileo Baeza (see Antileo Baeza, Alvarado Lincopi 2017).

but today is only 36 hectares. Originally, this was a place for walking and recreation for Santiago's upper class that lived in the Yungay neighbourhood. However, like everything, this changed over time. The upper class moved to the east of the city, and the proximity of this site to the Central Train Station made it a place for recreation for young peasants, and in particular for Mapuche youth.¹⁷ Time passed, and in 1950 Santiago was a small city expanding quickly, and the bourgeoisie needed strong and loyal hands to build the city. For this reason, many migrants from various places came to Santiago, especially from the recently invaded Mapuche territory. Women and men came from different areas of the Wallmapu such as Pitrufluquén, Villarrica, Curacautín, Cañete, Tirúa and Nueva Imperial. Here in the Quinta, they used to meet, have fun, and get to know each other [*Mike Laure's song 'Quiero amanecer' begins*]. This place was not only a gathering place; it also evoked and evokes the faraway south, with native trees, *peuen*, clean rivers, and volcanoes. During those years, the Quinta Normal was the closest thing to the Wallmapu in Santiago. Springs passed by and the people from the south began to live in the peripheral sectors of the city, building *poblaciones* such as La Victoria, La Legua, Lo Hermida in Peñalolén in the south, La Pincoya in the north, among many others. The 1960s came, years of the twist, the World Cup and the earthquake,¹⁸ and this place was crowded with people. Far from the nineteenth-century bourgeois walks, it became a popular meeting place, and the displaced upper class called it 'the walk of the Indians',¹⁹ perhaps out of spite.

Remember, everything has a beginning and an end. Welcome to the Quinta Normal. It is 1960 and there is a party. We invite you to follow Olivia, who is walking

17 While aristocrats and the bourgeoisie previously lived in the monumental city centre, from the 1950s and 1960s the upper classes moved toward the eastern sectors of the city, closer to the cordillera. This is referred to in the literature as the 'high income cone', and is characterised by luxury houses, better services, less pollution, and the recently increasing building of gated communities (see Link, Valenzuela, Fuentes 2015; Agostini, Hojman, Románx, Román 2016).

18 The earthquake of Valdivia, on 22 May 1960, the most powerful ever recorded (between 9.4 and 9.6), which also led to a devastating tsunami.

19 'Paseo de los Indios'. The word *indio* in Spanish is pejorative, even if it has been often appropriated by indigenous people themselves. In this case it retains its strong, negative connotations.

to the left. Look. The party has started, and they are waiting for you [sound of the kullkull].

The audience takes off the MP3 equipment. They can hear a song by Mike Laure, the one they were listening to through their headphones. A couple named Lucy and Rafael is dancing, as are two more couples. There is also a table with drinks, empanadas and cakes. Everything looks cheerful and humble. The rest of those who are at the party welcome the arriving audience and offer them muzay.

The dance ends. Another song starts playing but Lucy stops the music. Lucy and Rafael look at each other and hold hands at the centre of the scene.²⁰

Lucy Chaltu lamgen for coming. Thanks for being here. The truth is that we did not expect so many people to come to this txawün. Feley, Rafael?

Rafael May. Right, Lucita. How could we have thought that so many people would have been here today? There are more people than the day we met at that dance, remember?

Lucy [interrupting him] Ya, Rafael, what did we gather here for ...?

Rafael No, who would have thought it? Most of us arrived here in Santiago alone, kishu, kishu, employed in different jobs ... as panarife, butchers, live-in nannies ... all of us scattered across this large town of Wigka ... and we got together here.

Lucy That's why we wanted to gather here today ... [*Rafael looks at Lucy*] Rafael and I, müür müür inchiw, we met here, and since this place is special for all of us, we wanted to tell you our news here; we are expecting a pichi che.

Rafael [Smugly] And it's mine!!

Everyone does afafan, celebrates, hugs the new parents-to-be.

20 This section, like the other live scenes in the play, was reworked during the staging of the play as the performers added bits and pieces of their own creation, often improvising. Throughout the book, the text always refers to the first version of the script.

Rafael Now, come on. *Peñi*, this is serious ... The thing is that we had planned to return to our *mapu* in the south, at least until the baby is born. Lucy wanted to be with her mom and her dad. That's why we wanted to go back south ...

Lucy Life here is not easy. Rafa has long shifts in the bakery. I have a lot of work in my master's house, and I sleep in a very small room for the two of us. We don't have the money to get married yet ...

Rafael In the end, we decided to go to live in the Franklin neighbourhood.²¹ Some rooms fit two or three people. Don't you agree, *peñi*? You live there, don't you? [*one of the men nods*] We are still young, determined, vigorous ... and our *fütake che*, our elders, are far away. Also, the most important thing, my *ñuke* dreamed that we should not return. Everything is upside down after the earthquake.

Lucy Last week we received a package from the town of Lautaro with little things to do something [*looks at Rafael, who does not go to get it*]. Rafael, the things! So, we decided to make something simple, with our friends.

Lucy takes out offerings: mate, flour, and pine nuts, in clay containers. Rafael takes out some metawe.

Rafael We wanted to do it the Mapuche way. We are not sure it will turn out well here in Santiago, but there are many people here who know, who have the knowledge. You, *peñi*. Can you help us? And you *lamgen*? We need two witnesses ...

Rafael and Lucy persuade some people in the audience to be their godfather, godmother and witnesses. Rafael gives instructions to the volunteers on how to walk behind them: the godparents behind the bride and groom and, behind them, the witnesses. The whole audience follows.

Lucy [*to the witnesses and the audience*] Near the park exit, there are two *pewen*. We want to ask you to take these offerings

21 One of the neighbourhoods where migrants arriving from the south settled in the 1950s and 1960s, in the then southern outskirts of Santiago, and where the slaughterhouse in which many Mapuche men used to work was situated.

to those trees and give them a little of our land, so that they – like our children who will be born in this city – grow up healthy with good thoughts, as trees that will not forget their roots.

*Olivia and Roberto show the sign for Track 2: Huaynito del inmigrante by Daniela Millaleo.*²²

Lucy and Rafael lead the audience to the two pewen, almost outside the Quinta Normal. The audience is listening to the music. At the centre of the two pewen stands the Comandante Boliviano.²³ Lucy and Rafael pause in front of the trees with the godparents, the witnesses and the audience behind them. Lucy and Rafael each advance to one of the trees and perform the ceremony, inviting the audience to accompany their gestures. When the ceremony ends, Rafael and Lucy walk away, while the Comandante Boliviano is left to silently guide the audience as they leave the Quinta Normal.

22 The song, by the Mapuche singer and performer Daniela Millaleo, can be heard on the project website: <https://www.mapsurbe.com/eng-santiago-waria>.

23 A silent guide for the audience from this point until the end of the performance, the Comandante Boliviano represents Lucy and Rafael's offspring, and more broadly, the current generation of young Mapuche living in Santiago. See Chapter 4.

INTERLUDE

From the Quinta to the Colony²⁴

²⁴ The performance audios can be accessed on the website page for this section corresponding to Tracks 3 and 4: <https://www.mapsurbe.com/eng-santiago-waria>.



PERUV NI TRANSAKSI



CHEW
MÜLEIN?



The audience is at the exit of the Quinta Normal Park. They receive the signal to activate Track 3 just before entering the metro station.

Audio-guide We will continue travelling through the city. Take all the necessary precautions and try to stick together for the whole journey. We are a group moving together, on a pilgrimage from place to place. Do not forget your travelling companions, you have seen their faces and you have participated with them in the marriage of Lucy and Rafael. Now, our leader is this silent young woman who made her appearance at the marriage. Do you see her? She is raising her hand [*Comandante Boliviano raises her hand*]. Olivia and Roberto will be with you all the way and will help you pass through the subway turnstiles. Let's begin our journey. Let us now go down the stairs and into the metro station.

The audience begins to go down the stairs, following the Comandante.

Audio-guide We are starting a new journey. We are entering the underbelly of the city, descending twenty-seven meters – which is how deep this station goes – to traverse the subways of Santiago and reach the Plaza de Armas, the historic centre of the city, the colonial ground zero from which all national distances are calculated.²⁵ The route to this place will take about ten minutes by metro [*pause*]. Do you see how wide and deep this station is? People say that the past is buried. We invite you to dig it up, to get it out from under the carpet. Nothing is still, everything is in motion, vibrating; even the past is vibrating in our present [*pause*].

This station was inaugurated in 2004, built on previously existing excavations connecting the Central Train Station with the repair site nearby at Matucana 100, almost a century before. What will this place be like in another hundred years? Santiago will surely be as moved as it is today and as it was before. Santiago houses seven

25 The Plaza de Armas is the main square in downtown Santiago, where the first colonial settlement was raised during the Spanish *Conquista*. Today, there are several important historical monuments and landmarks around the square (see Chapter 2, this volume). Here, the ironic reference is to the kilometre zero mark, from which all physical distances within the country are measured, critically addressed by playing with the figurative meaning of these 'national distances' from an indigenous point of view.

million, thirty-six thousand, seven hundred and ninety-two people, moving and commuting throughout this valley every day. This is why it is important to always stick together [*pause*].

Things are hectic in the Capital of the Kingdom, which went from being an administrative centre of the Tawantinsuyo with a *tambo* next to the Camino del Inca to becoming a disputed place between invaders and Mapuche, and eventually the city we know.²⁶ Today it is September 11th, 1541. We are going to support Michimalogko who, at this very moment, is taking over the Plaza de Armas to detain the Spanish invasion.²⁷

As she reaches the end of the first staircase into the station, the Comandante shows the route to be followed down other stairs and then disappears.

Audio-guide History is rewritten at every moment. Pay attention to the following instruction. For all to board the same train together, let us split into two groups; one behind Olivia and the other behind Roberto. Remember to all board the train together. We will get off at the third station: Cumming, Santa Ana, and then Plaza de Armas. The journey lasts no more than ten minutes. Look at every person in this station. Each one is writing their own story. They commute to work, or to run some errands, or to head back home. Given the time, some of them will be seeing their partner or going out with the person who will then become their partner, though they don't yet know it. Each person is a story that is being written here and now. Have you ever fallen in love on the subway? Have you heard any unpleasant comments?

26 The Plaza de Armas is thought to have been the site of an Inca ceremonial centre long before the Spanish invasion. The valley where Santiago was founded was most probably a place of exchange for diverse indigenous populations of the area. It was occupied by the Inca in the late fifteenth century, serving as a basis for military expeditions heading south, which were defeated by indigenous groups inhabiting that part of the current Chilean territory (see Bengoa 2008; Millalén 2006).

27 Michimalogko was an indigenous *cacique* of the Picunche group, inhabiting the Mapocho valley at the time of the arrival of the Spanish. On 11 September 1541, he attacked the recently founded city of Santiago and was able to set it on fire, with the aim of liberating the *caciques* who had been imprisoned there. Pedro de Valdivia was heading south to conquer other territories, and the story goes that it was his lover, Inés de Suárez, who defended the city in his absence, and that she cut off the heads of all the imprisoned *caciques* and threw them onto the battlefield, defeating her astonished indigenous opponents (Vivar 2002).

Act normally. Around five point five million people move throughout the Santiago metro network. In a six-car train, there are two hundred and forty people seated and seven hundred and eighty people standing, making a total of one thousand and twenty people. Stick with the Indians. Michimalogko is waiting for us at the Plaza de Armas [pause]. We will take the next train. Divide into two groups, one behind Olivia and the other behind Roberto. When the train arrives, board calmly and carefully. Once on board the train, press the next track [kullkull sound].

The audience gets on the metro train together with Olivia and Roberto. On the train, during the underground journey to the Plaza de Armas, they listen to the following track.

Audio-guide Plaza de Armas is a place where many things can happen. We have received the alert that something is happening – cut –²⁸

Radio This is a special report from CNN in Spanish. Thank you very much for joining us at this early morning hour. In this special report on the earthquake that shook various areas of the country at three thirty-four am local time in Chile ...

The referee ... the penalty is about to be taken. Casilla is ready. He has missed! Cazsley missed it!

28 This audio plays with time travelling, using the metro journey as an underground space where different times juxtapose and intersect. The track is made up of cuts taken from radio programmes, and the sound effect gives the impression of someone trying to tune in to a station, losing and changing channels. The shifting announcements refer to historical episodes, both in Chile and abroad, in order to eventually set the striking parallel between two specific moments in time: the defeat of Michimalogko and the Pinochet dictatorship. The radio jumps from the Chilean earthquake in 2015, to the famous football penalty by the Chilean player Caszely during the 1985 World Cup. It then jumps from the terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers in the USA in 2001 to the historical escape from prison of a member of the revolutionary paramilitary organisation Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez in 1996, and on to the related case of the homicide of Jaime Guzmán in 1991, a former counsellor of Augusto Pinochet during the dictatorship. The final 'jump' is the most significant one, right to 11 September 1973. The date 11 September in 1541, when Michimalogko was defeated, and in 1973, when General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte took power by overthrowing the government of the socialist Salvador Allende through a military coup, mirror one another. The recursivity of (post) colonial history (Antileo Baeza 2012; Antileo Baeza et al. 2015; Stoler 2016) is illustrated by paralleling these two moments of extreme violence. This history is somehow materialised in the south-eastern corner of the Plaza de Armas, where colonial architecture and buildings from the 1980s intermix.

Yes, thanks. We are switching to live information. There are images from New York. Only a few moments ago, a plane crashed into one of the World Trade Center towers in Manhattan. It is being reported through international news that a plane crashed into the towers that you see burning in flames at this very moment ...

Nothing like this has ever been seen in Chilean prison history. An unprecedented and reckless operation, which almost failed ...

In the operation 'flight for justice', no one was convicted for the killing of Jaime Guzmán ...

It was the last great blow to the *Frente*. After the escape, the organisation would fall into a lethargy from which it would never awaken. Twenty years later, there are still ...

Audio-guide Plaza de Armas is a place where many things can happen. We have received the alert that something is happening – *cut* –

*Pinochet*²⁹ The proclamation of the Military Government Junta will be read. Santiago, September 11th, 1973. The Chilean armed forces and *carabineros* declare: first – *cut* –

Audio-guide It is September 11th, 1541. Michimalogko is burning Santiago to the ground. Pedro de Valdivia is in the south and this September 11th is ideal for attacking the city since the Spanish are without their General Captain. We need you to be discreet and to act like a normal citizen. Michimalogko is winning and is besieging the city to rescue those of us who are imprisoned in the main square. His mission is to rescue the seven *caciques* alive, among them Apumanque and Quillacanta, former Inca governors of this valley. If we want to save them, stick with the *mapuchada* and try to go unnoticed.

The audio shifts to a letter from Pedro de Valdivia to the King of Spain, who uses a tone similar to that typical of Pinochet when he addressed the country right after the coup, yet the accent is strictly Spanish.

29 From the radio speech by Augusto Pinochet Ugarte immediately after he took over the country. The specific sound resulting from Pinochet's voice, his peculiar tone, and the background noise, is unmistakably and immediately recognisable, painfully at the core of the collective memory of that violent moment in Chilean history.

Pedro de V. My most Holy Majesty, as Lieutenant and General Captain of the city of Sanc Tiago in the province of Nueva Extremadura of the Kingdom of Chile,³⁰ I, Captain Pedro de Valdivia, inform you that my men have acted only under Christian inspiration and at the service of your most sacred person to remove Sanc Tiago from the great chaos in which it was falling in the hands of the cacique Michimalogko, Captain of the Indians. This September 11th, 1541, while I was forty leagues south of this kingdom, conquering and populating in the name of your most Holy Majesty, I received the news that all the Indians were gathering to make war on us. Only thanks to the favour of our patron saint of Spain, *Santiago Matamoros* ('Santiago Moor-slayer'), and now recently also *Mataindios*, Indian-slayer, we are proud that as Castilians, we have fought the heathen cancer that wanted to lead us to a spiritual disaster. Only thanks to His holy help, I repeat, were we able to destroy the rebellious Indians and slay a large number of them, with the loss of what we had and the burning of the city. Now, thanks to Divine Providence, we were able to save two pigs, a cock and a chicken, and even two meals of wheat for our subsistence and ...

Radio interference

*Pinochet*³¹ The armed forces of order have acted today only under patriotic inspiration, to bring the country out of the chaos in which it was being dragged by the Marxist government of Salvador Allende. The military junta will maintain judicial and executive power; the chambers will be in recess until further notice.

Kullkull sound

30 'Nueva Extremadura' refers to the original name given to the territory by Pedro de Valdivia, in honour of his native Extremadura in Spain. This is a fictionalisation of a historical letter written by Pedro de Valdivia to the King of Spain in 1541, recounting how Santiago had been occupied and set on fire by Michimalogko.

31 Another fragment of the radio speech by Augusto Pinochet Ugarte on 11 September 1973.

ACT 2

Colonial recursivity: Plaza de
Armas

Colectivo MapsUrbe



THE COLONIAL GROUND ZERO

- Roberto: Do you consider yourselves guests or foreigners in this space?
- Rodrigo: Vicuña Mackenna wanted to turn Santiago into Paris; you only have to think about that! I feel that this part of the city is not habitable; it is only for transit, especially for those of us who come from outside the city.
- Coco: I would not want to make the Plaza de Armas Mapuche. I would remove the *kultxun* from it.¹
- Roberto: Would you take it off? Completely off the map or ...?
- Coco: This is a meeting space for Latin Americans perhaps,² but I believe that in the *varia* there are other spaces that we should make Mapuche ...
- Nicolás: This discussion of being a civilised, modern country is in dispute today. It is becoming more diverse, more *morena* (black, dark, or of colour). It is constantly disputed from a spatial point of view.
- Dania: It is becoming more racially diverse not because this is something someone wants, but as something that it is simply happening for different reasons. It is like an irruption that is not only Chilean but from everywhere.
- Coco: It is becoming more *morena* maybe, but it is not becoming more Mapuche.
- Nicolás: This civilising and ordering idea makes me sick because, in reality, they came to disorder something that was already constituted here. So, what we see is that this emerging *morenidad* is emerging simply because the straitjacket embedded in the architecture is breaking. This is a very Western urban space that eventually crumbles: it has cracks. The straitjacket has cracks and everything that is hidden comes out.
- Claudio: Now, I think so. It is becoming less white, and although it is not permanently Mapuche, there are momentary irruptions with Mapuche demonstrations in the Plaza de Armas, such as the time they took over the church after a hunger strike that lasted many days in 2007, moments that later vanish. These are metaphorical spaces; just like a metaphor that is only that, something that then vanishes. So, of course, it is becoming darker, *morena*, blacker, but not necessarily more Mapuche. Even though the Mapuche do have a disruptive presence, let's say in terms of protest in that space, it is momentary.³

1 Coco is pointing at a map of the Plaza de Armas that was previously hung on the wall, and on which someone else had stuck an image of the *kultxun*, as a form of intervening its colonial space.

2 Coco refers to the socially heterogeneous and multicultural character of the square, where migrants (especially Peruvians and Haitians) coexist with evangelicals preaching and peddlers selling to foreign tourists.

3 The Plaza de Armas is one of the sites where Mapuche demonstrations have taken place since the early 1990s. For a discussion of urban indigenous and metaphorical spaces, see Alvarado Lincopi (2021).

Coco: It would be interesting to know the reason why our ancestors chose the Quinta Normal in particular. Perhaps because it was close to the Central Station, or because the Plaza de Armas was hostile to them.

Roberto: Is this square comfortable?

Coco: Perhaps it is also a racial issue from that time. Perhaps our ancestors came with their clothes and maybe they were looked down in the Plaza de Armas, I don't know.

Cynthia: I remember my grandmother telling me that in the past, the Plaza de Armas was somewhere posh where one could find the best shops. She spoke about it as something very distant.

Olivia: I notice how nobody mentions anything personal concerning the square. It feels very far from your own daily experience compared to what we talked about in the morning, which was a much more intimate conversation about connections to the city. Perhaps the urban spaces that you have as a reference have nothing to do with the Plaza de Armas?

Marcela: There is a distance from the Plaza de Armas ... I think most of us come from more peripheral places, so coming to the city centre was like 'going to Santiago'. At least from Maipú, it was like 'hey, let's go to Santiago' and it was half of the day to just travel here and go back there.

Roberto: Older people still say that.

Marcela: Of course, my grandmother still says 'I am going to go to Santiago' like it was a parallel city for the people who live in the periphery. The city itself is articulated like this. That is, the country is already centralised and the city itself is centralised, with peripheries having their own little centres with similar shopping centres, squares, and everything. So, that's why it's like such a distant space, something foreign.

It was 1818 when Bernardo O'Higgins, 'the father' of the Chilean republic, claimed 'we are all Chileans'. After 1823, he stated that it was key for state policy to eliminate the so-called *pueblos de indios*, assimilating the indigenous population into the recently founded republic.⁴ It was not only O'Higgins. Pinochet also used to say: 'We are all Chileans.' We belong to a nation that was born from the fierce resistance of Araucanians to the Spanish Crown, and forged into a unique race and culture – except for a few 'unruly' Indians living in the rural Araucanía region and agitated by Communists.

4 Since the beginning of the Spanish *Conquista* in Chile, in the north of the country indigenous people were reduced in structured settlements linked to the institution of the *encomienda*. Indigenous populations were transferred from their villages to the places where the *encomendero* needed labour, ending up living in *estancias* and *haciendas*, and Indian towns (*pueblos de indios*) were established. O'Higgins, the hero of Chilean Independence, was one of the military and intellectual leaders liberating Chile from the Spanish rule, and Chile's second Supreme Director from 1817 until 1823.



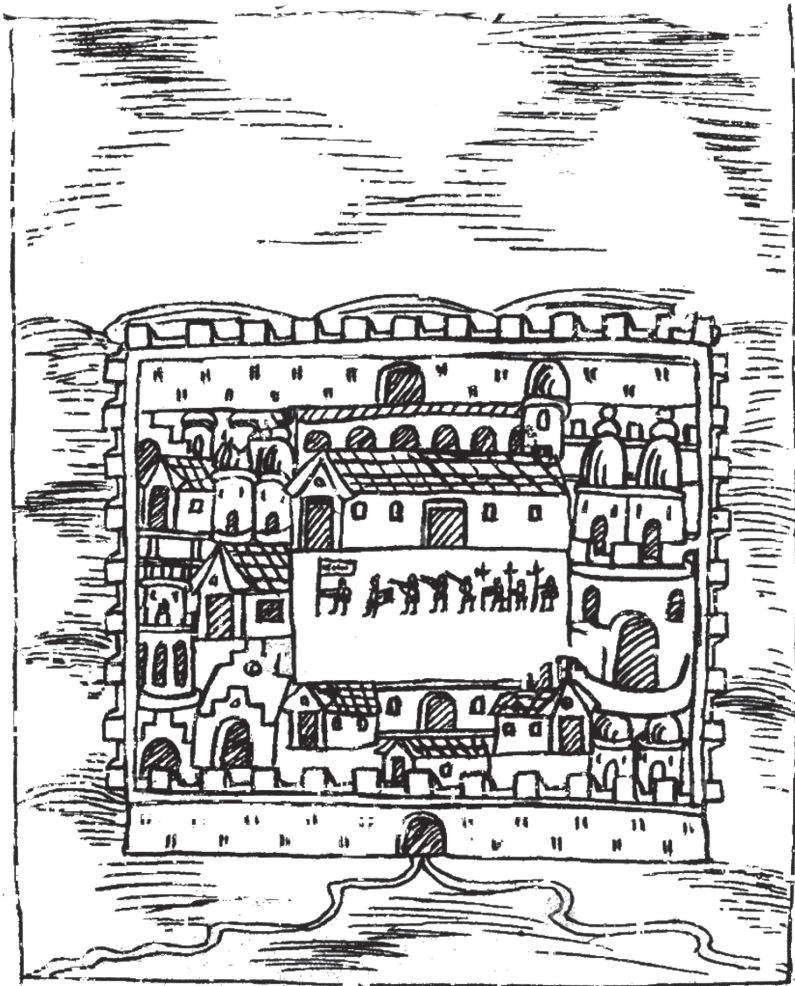
When democracy was (partially) restored,⁵ in the wake of neoliberal multiculturalism, indigenous people acquired some kind of visibility as part of the nation, as long as it was limited to the 'cultural' realm and they were not 'too different', or that Chilean identity would not be scrutinised any further. Neither should its whiteness be called into question nor the racial dynamics underlying Chilean society exposed.⁶ And if indigeneity absolutely had to be discussed, then it would be confined to the south, and would have nothing to do with the national capital. The clashes and conflicts characterising the metropolitan territory should just be forgotten, as if the Mapocho valley only became a place when Captain Pedro de Valdivia first set foot in it.

The Plaza de Armas is the materialisation of this national narrative and its unresolved tensions. It is a key landmark in national memory, the very place where the city of Santiago had its origins in the sixteenth century when the first settlement was founded. As commemorated by the 'kilometre zero' mark in the centre of the square, it is where 'Chileanness' begun, in the very first landmark from which colonial urbanism subsequently expanded the typical checkerboard layout of Spanish architecture. As noted by Setha Low in her analysis of two plazas in Costa Rica, these are 'spatial representations of Latin American society and social hierarchy' (2000: 33). The author notices how the plaza is an arena for both social encounters and the reproduction of hierarchical structures, in which power and the (partial) possibilities of subversive social interactions take place at the same time. Yet, from a Mapuche point of view, as emerged in the dialogue reported above, this conflicted space – questioned and critically addressed, sometimes defied and revealed in its contradictions and violence – ends up being inhabitable, as we will see in what follows.

At present, the square is surrounded by the Cathedral and the National History Museum, the Central Post Office, now a museum, and the former house of Pedro de Valdivia. The first National Government Junta was held in the square, at the beginning of republican independence. Yet, these memories cohabit the site together with the celebration of colonial times

5 The Concertación, a broad coalition of parties, finally defied Pinochet in 1989, thus ending the civil-military dictatorship. Especially during the 1990s, the restoration of democracy was a slow process of negotiation with the military, marking important continuities with the policies of the previous regime (see Introduction). The 'incompleteness' of democracy was significantly expressed by the first democratically elected president, Patricio Aylwin, claiming 'truth and justice to the extent of the possible', a phrase that remained iconic in Chile. This is apparent when one thinks of how democracy was built on the foundations of the 1980s Constitution promulgated by Pinochet, unchanged until the very recent Constitutional process.

6 Elizabeth Povinelli's analysis resonates here in highlighting how the policies of contemporary multiculturalism are aimed at allowing a certain kind of difference, albeit only to a certain extent, usually giving space to 'cultural' and 'traditional' demonstrations while at the same time denying political rights (see Povinelli 2002).



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La Oja

through the prestigious monument to Pedro de Valdivia, as curiously, in Chile – and probably more broadly in the Americas – whoever conquers also founds. Times and spaces before the colonising event are simply erased; just as how he was eventually captured and executed by the indigenous forces fighting against the colonisation is also erased in the commemoration of the Captain on his steed making his way through the Mapocho Valley. Undoubtedly, this historical event continues to mark the unresolved relationship between white elites and Mapuche society to this day, and monumentalising Valdivia is an act in the ongoing battle between remembering and forgetting.

This struggle of memories is embedded in the Plaza de Armas, from the first incursions of the Spanish Empire into these lands to the foundation of the Chilean republic, and from the 1980s with Pinochet's brutal 'modernisation' of the country (the glass building in the south-eastern corner of the square) to the most recent frictions and mobilities. Today, the square is inhabited mostly by Peruvian, Haitian, Colombian, and Venezuelan migrants, and visited by international tourists, street vendors, and artists, as well as Mormons giving sermons, and chess players.

As such, this site is perhaps the densest cluster of time in the country. If we consider Karl Schölögel's statement that 'in space, we read time' (2007), we could say that from that square at the core of the capital, it is possible to read the many layers constituting the national history. Urban planners are fully aware of the temporal depth of the plaza, and they have built a heritage landscape displaying national memory and for the use and consumption of tourists. In this exercise, only the times of the official account have remained evident, obscuring the violence behind a patrimonial narrative that glorifies conquerors and republican elites and materialise the narrative of the whitewashed nation, against which other bodies and histories only ephemerally stand. The Plaza de Armas thus represents the most evident expression of the 'colonial weight' in the metropolitan city. And yet a juxtaposition of temporalities settles in the spatialities of the city centre, shaping a socially meaningful place (Low 2000) where various historical horizons can be observed: colonisation and conquest; neoclassical and republican architecture; modern and postmodern buildings; contemporary heritage tourism; current Latin American and Caribbean migrations. It is a complex and contradictory landscape that reveals the baroque style of the city of Santiago.⁷

The workshop in the Plaza de Armas was held in a space facilitated by the National History Museum. The room, poorly lit and smelling of antiques, was the perfect intimate place for our opening conversation, centred on

7 We mean 'baroque style' as developed in the analysis of Bolívar Echeverría (2013, 2019). The use of this concept is elaborated further in Chapter 4.

each participant's biographical trajectory and relationship with the city, as that was the first workshop of the entire project. Each participant introduced themselves through 'biographical objects' they had been asked to bring along, in striking contrast with the objects comprising the museum collections: a helmet, some glasses, a college tie, salt and pepper shakers from Dubai, some cameras, a *bombilla*, a marijuana grinder, a *pifilka*, a maid's apron, a music pentagram, baby shoes, a book, some letters, some photographs, and a poem were placed on the big, heavy wooden table in the middle of the room.

After this first round of presentations, we began examining and engaging with the specific site of our location: the 'ground zero' of colonial history. The square was addressed in the material history of its development and architecture, and immediately after a preliminary discussion, we went out to walk it through. Drawing on site-specific performative methods, Roberto posed certain questions we could walk with: Who am I and what am I doing in this space? What are the conditions of my access? Am I here because I am invited, or am I invading? Is this place familiar? What are the circumstances of my presence here? Am I a foreigner or do I inhabit this place? Am I visible or invisible? Will any trace/register of my presence be left/taken?⁸

Our interventions 'in situ' ended up being precisely about interrogating the square; thinking while acting, the aim was to generate reflections without separating the interpretative from the performative moment. Starting from the general interrogatives posed by Roberto, additional sensory questions arose. What do we feel in this space? What can we see? What do we imagine being here? What memories emerge? What can we do, or cannot do, in the square? Questioning and questioned by these interrogatives, we walked through the 'colonial zero point' and touched its walls, observed the ground, placed our eyes on the patrimonial landscape, read the plaques of the monuments and the sculptures, sat down to look around, acted, were interrupted and wondered. Some of us learned when the buildings were built and renovations were made. Others realised interventions, individually or in small groups, ranging from photography to performance to writing, addressing monuments and landmarks in the square through the use of posters and handcrafted figures. Eventually, the police intervened, asking what we were doing in the usual intimidating way and registering Roberto's, Claudio's, and Olivia's names. After all that, we went back into the dark museum room to draw some minimal conclusions, sharing the estranged familiarity and everyday violence which the place had transmitted to us.

Engaging with the material expression of the recursivity of coloniality, we felt how – if only briefly and provisionally – we had lay bare its temporal

8 Roberto adapted the methodological questions proposed in Pearson (2010).



and spatial horizon, opening up that long memory in the capital of the country, and exposing its cracks and fissures in the present. The Plaza de Armas' smooth narrative was questioned by the biographical objects later collected in the 'Museo Waria che' installation: they unveiled another history, challenging with other materialities – smaller or simpler ones, belonging to everyday common objects – the monumentality of the square.

The scene of *Santiago Waria* later set in the square, featuring a dialogue between a Mapuche guide giving decolonial tours of the site and an upper-class passerby questioning his account, is built on these objects and the (in) visible stories they entail, the struggles for memory, and the possibility of an ephemeral intervention within the multi-layered history of the site. The protagonists of the scene are a Mapuche historian leading a guided tour (to the play's audience), and Doña Inés, who interrupts and contests the tour. The character of Doña Inés is introduced unexpectedly into the scene, as if she really was just an old lady passing by, overhearing the guide and feeling the need to contest what he was saying. By playing with the fine line between fiction and 'reality', onstage and offstage, the audience is left bewildered in order to provoke an estrangement aimed at interrogating implicit assumptions about race, whiteness and the historical power relations characterising everyday life in Santiago city centre.

As it goes, the construction of the scene was inspired by two real events during the research process; namely, the encounter with two ladies during another performative intervention realised in the upper-class area of Providencia (which is addressed in greater depth in the next chapter) and an episode experienced by a member of the group during a visit with university students to the Plaza de Armas, where she, the group's guide, was interrupted by a woman criticising her 'ideological' vision of history. The two episodes were cast and dramatised as a unique moment in the play,⁹ re-enacted by Doña Inés, whose name was inspired by the infamous lover of Pedro de Valdivia, Inés de Suárez (see Interlude 1).¹⁰ In the performative staging of the outlined ethnographic episodes, Doña Inés personifies the connection between colonial and postcolonial times, not allowing any smooth narrative about the 'Chilean race', its whiteness and modernity. By engaging the monumental landscape of Santiago city centre, the ambiguity of this narrative is questioned. Even if ephemerally, it is exposed and challenged by performing bodies.

9 It is worth mentioning that the second part of the monologue of Doña Inés is the literal transposition of the words of one of the ladies we encountered in Providencia.

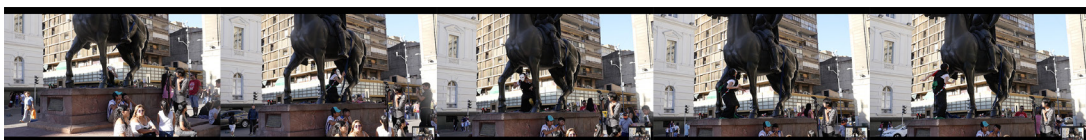
10 A marginal and controversial figure in the square and in Chilean history, representations of Inés de Suárez are caught between the brutality of her gesture, her ambiguous role as Valdivia's lover, and her defence of Santiago. Unacknowledged in the square's monumentality, her absence is another of the frequent 'forgetting' embedded in the square.

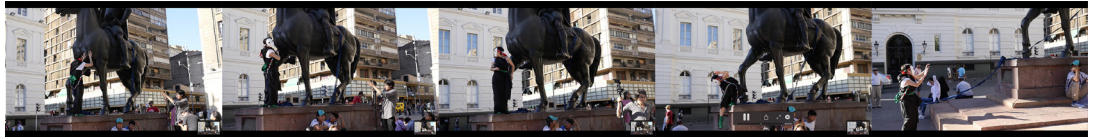
WHITE MASKS: DANIA'S PERFORMANCE

When Olivia, Claudio and Roberto went to buy what was needed for the first workshop, they found themselves rifling through stationery and textile stores in downtown Santiago. Calle Santa Rosa is full of small and larger shops selling anything one could imagine in the area of crafts, textiles, and paper. On entering one of these monothematic and extremely varied shops, they found two 'neutral masks' used in theatre, and especially in mime, staring at them with their empty eyes. At first, they were not sure about having the masks among the materials; in a quite problematic way, their 'neutrality' was claimed through whiteness and European facial traits. However, this tension was the very reason for which they ended up buying them, albeit with some hesitation. The 'neutral' whiteness of the masks was eventually appropriated as something to overwrite, as quite literally happened with both masks. The fate of one of them is elaborated on here, while the other one is addressed in the following section.

During the Plaza de Armas workshop, Dania picked up one of the masks and some black, white, green, and red textiles. She made a dress that was halfway between the traditional dress of a Mapuche woman and the proud and popular presidential sash, and that was an open mimicry of both. The 'indigeneity' of the dress was rather vague and opaque, like a distant ancestor belonging to many generations ago.¹¹ In her black dress, Dania climbed the statue of Pedro de Valdivia and lay down beneath it, the white mask on her face and a long multicoloured fabric braid coming down her shoulders and tying her tightly to the Captain's horse. The performance starts when the mime wakes up, disoriented, from beneath the horse's legs. She is frightened and tries to escape, held back by her braid attached to Pedro de Valdivia. She pulls and pulls until she breaks it. She runs toward the cathedral, opposite the monument. She stops halfway, right in front of the historical post office building. She sits on the ground among the crowd of passersby, lost and trying to orient herself in a world she doesn't know or belong to. She then starts walking again, before breaking into a run. She reaches the cathedral and finds a spot in front of it to kneel and pray like a penitent. Pedro de Valdivia is behind her, but she is in the exact line of his sight, pointing at the cathedral. She crawls on the ground, hugs her knees and then frantically starts colouring her face/mask with markers of different colours until the mask is no longer white, but variegated and scribbled on. At that point, she takes it off, and undresses down to her own clothes. She slowly looks at the mask, then throws it to the ground and tramples on it with rage. Suddenly, she searches for her phone in her bag, answers it, and starts chatting and laughing hysterically. Still on her phone, she passes the people that had spontaneously gathered around her performance and

¹¹ Dania is a professional performer and theatre actress. This performance has previously been discussed in Casagrande, Alvarado Lincopi (2022).





disappears into the crowd. The mask lies behind, on the ground in front of the cathedral.

The neutrality of whiteness is questioned here. The mask awakens in the colony, and through her walking and running towards the cathedral, ends up in the twenty-first century, where and when colours have already mixed, blended and been trampled on. Dania's body – the body of the performer, for performance has no actors, only individuals staging their bodies and selves – emerges when she pulls off the costume which she was wearing; it is that of the 'white mestiza' of dominant Chilean racial discourses (see Introduction). In the tension between Dania's body and Pedro de Valdivia's statue, in her attachment and rage towards the white mask, is the fracture generated by colonial history and its recursivity. Reproduced in the spatiality of the city, this fracture is what shapes the relationship between bodies inhabiting the urban space, or between bodies and the city's materialities, giving place to certain memories while obliterating others. We have already addressed this in the previous chapter when analysing the urban policies implemented by Vicuña Mackenna. When he created the sanitary barrier to protect the 'proper' city from the peripheries that he referred to as the 'infected Cairo', he gestured against both 'the Indians' and 'Indianness', as well as against the *mestizo* emerging from the indigenous world. That idea of miscegenation resulted in a century in which it was forbidden to be called, or call oneself, Mapuche, Quechua, Aymara or Diaguita. This entanglement of memory and forgetting is especially significant in the materiality of Santiago city centre and the imaginaries it triggers; indigeneity is concealed, or only partially – in every meaning of the word – depicted and represented.

Dania's performance played with these images, with the ambiguity of whiteness and the absent presence of indigenous ancestry; the overwriting of an inherited 'white mask' with different colours, and yet constituting something to get rid of altogether, crushing both the mask and the gesture of appropriating it in the name of neoliberal individual identities. These staged dynamics are entangled with power relations, the possibilities of and conditions for agency and oppression, and the images and representations that are or are not allowed a public presence. It transpired that only a few moments after the end of this performance, when another group of participants was addressing the same monument – this time with questions written on a poster – the police (*carabineros*) interrupted the scene. Clearly, the square is constantly guarded, and the monument to the conqueror even more so. In just a few minutes, the forces of law and order were present and forced us to stop our performative investigation. From being invisible, the monument's shield became quickly apparent; we, with small gestures, revealed the contradictory defence of colonial symbols that emerged in the official account of the metropolis.

- What the hell are you doing here? Do you know that this is a national heritage site?
- This is a research project. We are investigating ...
- Is this a political demonstration?
- No. Actually, this is a research project ...
- Do you have permits for a political demonstration?
- Well, no, but this is not ...
- You know that you need permits for a political demonstration.

People gathered around our nonsensical discussion. They formed a semicircle, just like they did moments before when Dania was performing. And just like moments before, it was not entirely clear what was going on, who we were, what we were doing, why, and the relationship between each other's masks: them (the police), us (the performers), the public, all part of the same staging. By interrupting the performance, the police transformed it into a social act. Colours and belonging got scribbled the same way as the white mask did, and the them-and-us dynamic turned out to be even more problematic than the initial dialectic we fell into when we looked at the name of the captain – the policeman, not Pedro de Valdivia – and read on his jacket 'Millán', an unmistakably Mapuche surname.¹² Other characters suddenly appear as if in a fantasy tale, such as the *carabinero* Walter Ramírez who killed Matías Catrileo Quezada by shooting him in the back with a shotgun during a land occupation on 3 January 2008, and was raised by a Mapuche family in an indigenous community not so far from where the death occurred. Matías Catrileo Quezada was born and raised in Santiago in a mixed indigenous and *mestizo* family and went back south during his university years, actively participating in land recuperation with the Mapuche community surrounding Temuco.¹³

Whiteness, power and oppression are never straightforward. The Plaza de Armas, as Coco said more than once that day, could probably never be Mapuche. On the contrary, it does to the Mapuche identity (or to indigeneity) what it did to the palm trees: it cuts their roots because the metro needs to pass underneath. Yet, what we did that day was to lay it bare: the palm trees, the metro underneath, the ways they are related and the frictions and cracks in between. The relationship is multi-faceted and problematic, like Dania's use of the white mask. Although she subverted its neutrality with her performative gesture, she was not entirely able to escape the homogenising character of the mask, somehow reproducing the very same obliteration of

12 The surname is a pseudonym.

13 Olivia's presence, as a European researcher, certainly played an active role in the episode, contributing to shape the racial and power relations at stake, along with their frictions, interplay and entanglements.

indigenous history perpetuated by the Captain's statue. As noted by some of the participants during the collective discussion on the second day, especially in the first part of the performance when she 'wakes up' underneath Valdivia's horse and finds herself struggling to escape, she is caught up in the very same imaginary reproduced by the monument. Considering the long war between the Spanish and the Mapuche, her performance was probably too much into the 'victim' narrative, especially since the Captain's life was ended at the hands of those he sought to subdue. Nonetheless, it was probably for this precise reason that Dania's performance was dramatisation and enactment, and at the same time embodiment, of the ties that the colonial history still holds, revealing that unresolved tension that has been called 'decolonisation'; should we think of and act on a 'decolonisation' as a going back to the pre-colonial, or is it rather about finding new and creative ways of carrying the weight of 500-year-old open wounds?



Claudio: We have a feeling of estrangement when we revisit places that we pass through daily. What we did was to overturn the day-to-day going about to show, make explicit a conflict or a tension. At the end, that is why the cops arrived; what we were doing was precisely de-naturalising what has been established based on violence. [...] It is very difficult to make the Plaza de Armas Mapuche, but what it is possible to do is to subvert it. The only thing that this space generates is tension and a fracture towards the past.

Marcela: When I left the museum and reached the middle of the square, I felt very observed; I almost felt harassed, which is the typical thing that usually happens because women, in general, are exposed to that. [...] I immediately thought about the women who inhabited this territory, and the historical violence that unfolded here. I thought about the violence in this territory and also about how dry this land is now. It used to be much greener. The square itself has foreign trees. There are no native plants anywhere anymore. The palm trees are only still there because of these metal sticks supporting them, as if they just wanted to die and were being forced to stand there. They have no roots. It is just like when one wants to return to their land and one is not allowed to; there are thousands of things preventing it from happening, and it is power that is blocking you.



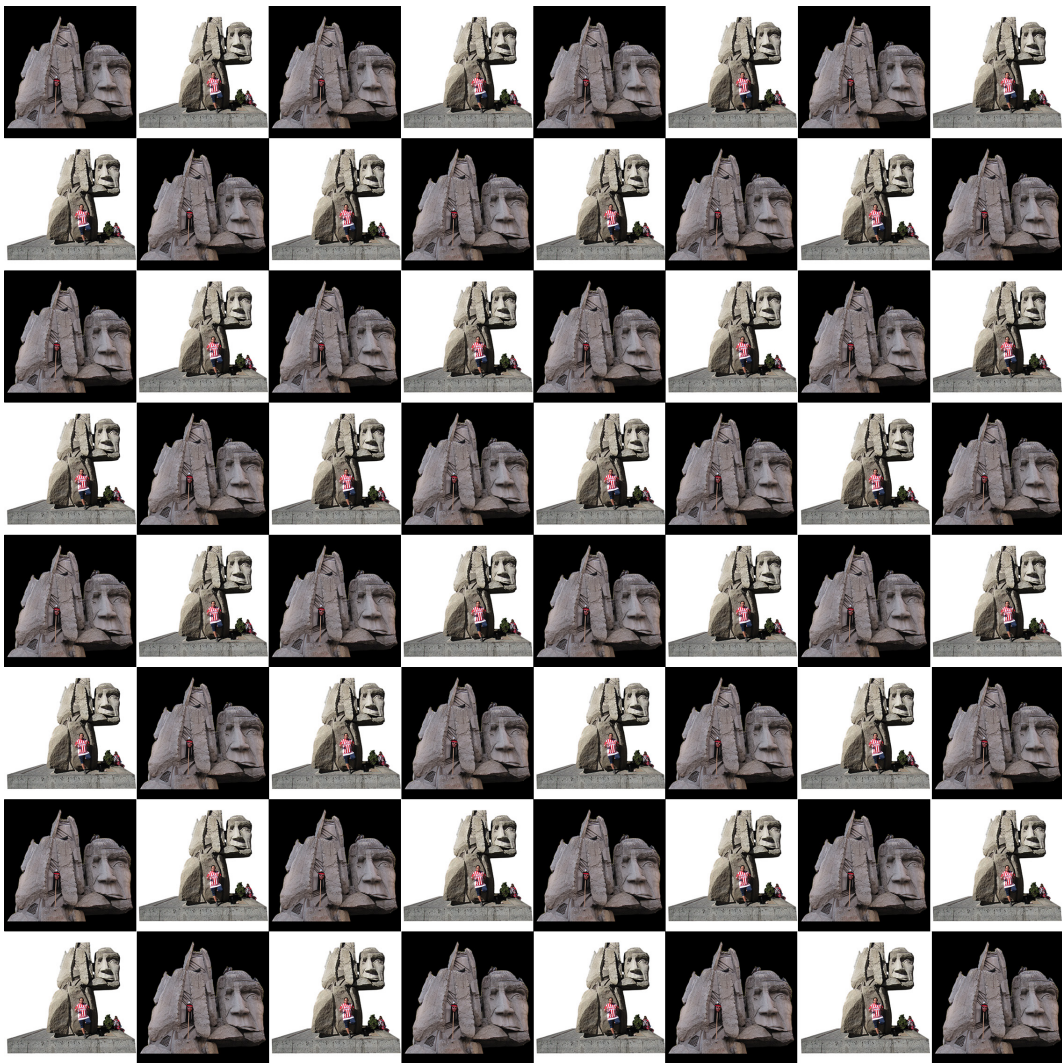
WHITE MASKS: THE INDIAN'S HEAD



With the events beginning in October 2019, the recent history of Chile took an unforeseen turn with unprecedented social unrest in which many monuments were intervened through creative and political acts, or demolished, and the statue of Pedro de Valdivia in the Plaza de Armas was no exception. During the days of demonstration, multiple battles for the urban space and various struggles for history unfolded. While today, during the pandemic, the government has sought to reconstruct the official historical narrative embedded in the city 'normality', processes of de-monumentalisation are still ongoing, inhabiting the urban landscape through the traces left by recent political upheaval. These tensions have always been part of Santiago's material spatialities, and especially of the square that is the focus of this chapter.

It would thus be fitting to return to it and to analyse some more of the material and symbolic layers of its history. At Valdivia's feet, there is a bronze bas-relief. It might seem insignificant at first, just one among the three cartographic representations of Santiago which are engraved on the grounds of the plaza. Nonetheless, that particular representation points to a fork in history that is impossible to overlook, for the drawing was made by Guamán Poma de Ayala at the beginning of the seventeenth century during the height of Spanish colonialism. Guamán Poma was an indigenous chronicler, and probably one of the first 'anticolonial thinkers' in Latin America, according to the Bolivian and Aymara scholar Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui. Through his drawings and writings, he was able to capture the knowledge and feelings of the natives towards the colonial enterprise. Guamán Poma's book, *Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno*, was originally published in 1615 and had been lost for centuries, only to be rediscovered at the beginning of the twentieth century. That volume includes the representation of the city of Santiago reproduced at the feet of Valdivia the Conqueror. It is the oldest known visual representation of the city. Curiously enough, the drawing shows a village protected by walls, even if there is neither archaeological evidence nor historical traces of walls ever surrounding Santiago. It might well be that the wall represented the palisade of the first settlement; or, the drawing of a city with walls might also be a silent critique of colonial power, a way of exposing the segregating boundaries of what would later become the current metropolis.

For monuments to generate a 'regime of visibility' (Ranci re 2004), they build a space to be seen and from there they impact the arrangements of bodies and subjectivities. At the same time: 'the monument, as a monumentalised fact, constitutes the celebration of power, of being able to have the power to monumentalize' (Achugar 1995: 155). Regimes of visibility establish hierarchies of power between bodies, and the transits in the city both embody and emanate from these naturalised hierarchies, engraved onto the skin as a result of daily life. The 'colonial continuity' feels almost



weightless, precisely for its naturalisation in the public space until a change in the daily scenography reveals the tensions underneath. These tensions are (silently) engraved into the colonial zero point, marking the monumentality of the square and its objects.

This is even more apparent when observing the corner of the square opposite the one where the statue of Pedro de Valdivia stands. The *Monumento a los Pueblos Indígenas* (Monument to the Indigenous People) by the Chilean sculptor Enrique Villalobos was inaugurated in 1992. Made of concrete and granite, the 8-metre tall monument depicts a sprouting seed arising from the earth and an indigenous head. The sculpture was probably created as a result of the impact made by indigenous demonstrations in the 1990s, somehow obliging a gesture recognising the presence of indigenous people in the country, albeit a problematic one. While intending to pay homage, the sculpture ends up producing a strange effect. The head, hanging and fragmented, is far less sublime than its counterpart, the Captain. As it is placed in a space built around references to the colonial power, the head cannot avoid an almost immediate parallel with a very specific episode of Mapuche history, namely, the hanging in the Plaza de Armas itself of the head of Lefraru (in Spanish Lautaro), the famous Mapuche military leader who was defeated and captured after killing Pedro de Valdivia.

Knowing the history, it is almost impossible not to make the connection with Lefraru and many other Mapuche military leaders whose heads were hung in the square as sinister proof of the hegemony of Spanish rule. Whether this was an explicit reference or a 'simple forgetting', an analogy that passed unnoticed, or a mere coincidence (or not?), this head of stone is unavoidably marked by the violent history it evokes. For not only in this very square were the slaughtered heads of Mapuche authorities usually displayed following their defeat, this was how the Spanish demonstrated their power to the indigenous people inhabiting what is now Santiago. Two opposite corners of the plaza with the greatest historical weight in the country sculpturally sediment how official accounts have been solidified, clearly showing the brutal primacy of white men over indigenous lives. A historical weight that does not lighten, and a past that does not actually pass. It seems that the founding event which occurred more than 500 years ago, precisely in the Plaza de Armas, still tirelessly inhabits it as subjection and insurmountable conflict. The centuries of colonisation still haunt us in republican Chile, inhabiting the historical and territorial 'ground zero' of the country. As an additional layer, the declared romantic intention of the monument conveys the ambiguities and contradictions of Chilean neoliberal multiculturalism; representing through the seed an 'indigenous re-birth' as a homage from the Chilean state to its indigenous roots, the same state does not recognise indigenous people in the Constitution, and denies collective rights and processes of self-determination and territorial autonomy

to indigenous communities.¹⁴ At the same time, the monument was and is still used as a meeting point for the indigenous movement, a site for protest and manifestation, turning into a reference point for political practices within the city and once again materialising the complexities of the relationship between the Mapuche and the Chilean state.

Seeking to unveil the contradictions embedded in the hanging head of stone, some of us decided to address the monument during the workshop in the Plaza de Armas by crafting 'the head of Leftraru'. The second 'neutral' mask was employed to represent Leftraru's head, coloured and completed with long black hair made of wool with a red band on the forehead, and pierced by a spear. The 'head of Leftraru' was placed on the top of the monument. With Leftraru's head hanging in the Plaza de Armas right atop the petrified homage of neoliberal times, a kind of mirror effect was produced. By positioning violence directly and explicitly at the centre of the smooth monumental space of the national capital, the colonial past and the postcolonial present were suddenly facing each other. The '*indio insurrecto*'¹⁵ was claimed and placed on top of the '*indio permitido*' (see Hale 2004). Both were faces without bodies and masks with hollows instead of eyes.

When the workshop ended later that day, Leftraru's head was left on the anonymous head in the square. No one thought of it until a few days later, when we discovered that a friend named Martín Llancaman (who later joined us in the MapsUrbe project but was not yet participating in it) had had a troubling encounter with the mask. The same evening, after our workshop, he was walking through the square. When he passed the monument, he suddenly saw the mask on top of it. Not knowing about our activity of that afternoon, he became really upset. He could not believe that someone would make fun of the indigenous past in this way or, even worse, would incite the hanging of Mapuche!

What was intended as a gesture exposing what lay underneath the smooth surface of the Plaza de Armas by unveiling a violent past and claiming its visibility in the very heart of the city centre, he perceived as yet more violence. The past was suddenly present as a threat. The well-known words of Walter Benjamin in his *Theses on the Philosophy of History* (VI, 1942) come to mind: 'not even the dead will be safe from the enemy, if he is victorious. And this enemy has not ceased to be victorious.'¹⁶ Martín was not unmoved and, in his rage, he climbed up onto the statue, grabbed the

14 See Antielo (2008); Richards (2013). This is hopefully undergoing important changes thanks to the ongoing process of rewriting the Constitution.

15 Or the '*indio terrorista*' as noted by Patricia Richards in reference to the application of the Antiterrorism Law to indigenous leaders and activists in Chile since 2002 (Richards 2010).

16 Our translation, we are here referring to the Spanish version of the volume, see Benjamin (2008 [1942]).

mask, removed the spear from Leftraru's head, and broke it. He then threw away the broken spear but kept the mask, bringing it to the headquarters of a historical Mapuche organisation in Santiago on the other side of the city. A few days later, when the photos of our workshop were uploaded on Facebook, Martín found out about the project and eventually joined. He is now among the authors of this book, in what might even sound like a happy ending. However, the symbolic perception of the mask bought in that shop in Santa Rosa went, once again, far beyond that of its original white neutrality.

This object is many things at the same time: a mask, painted by hand, with woollen strings glued to it to imitate hairs, with a spear of wood and cartoon stuck to it; a 'memory work' (Fabian 2003); and the gesture of carving out the meanings embedded in the materiality of Santiago's colonial square. It is a reminder of subjugating violence. Yet it is also a claim of agency and subversion drawing together rage, desire and hope. Leftraru's mask is not simply an object, but an artefact that *becomes* meaningful in being emplaced, at first in the Plaza de Armas, and afterwards, once rescued, in Martín's hands, and finally left with the Mapuche organisation on the outskirts of Santiago. It is precisely the fact that Martín saw the mask hanging in the Plaza de Armas that made him think about violence, connecting it with both the colonial past and the postcolonial present, equally marked by domination and abuse. His gesture of taking down the mask and intervening in this space of violence is somehow symmetrical with our gesture of placing it on the top of the monument; it defies the narrative of official history and its subjectivising power, scratching the surface of the city's materiality. When it irrupts into this landscape, the indigenous counter-narrative does so in an ephemeral way. It does not last, somehow failing to counteract the monumentality of national memory. Nonetheless, it still intervenes in it; just like Mapuche political gatherings in front of the 'Indian's head'; just like a biographical object claiming personal stories and partial family memories against the politics of oblivion.

Coco: What caught my attention is the statue of Pedro de Valdivia. It has a place even within the circuit of national or international visits, and a majestic, well-maintained one. It is a site for visits, a piece of local heritage. The Mapuche statue, on the other hand, is a neglected site. People treat it more as a bench. It is an inscription of the imaginary that the other has built of us. It is something that the Mapuche community itself does not recognize. My ñuke goes 'ah I don't know what that is', and she looks at the church; she doesn't even consider it! That is what happens when art is made by the other, so I believe that the Plaza de Armas marks the victory of colonialism. There are few traces of the Mapuche there. I think that the most specific thing about this space is the victory of the Spanish and Chilean colonial state over the Mapuche movement in managing to expel the Mapuche from it.

Nicolás: The statue seeks to be harmonious in terms of generating a consensus or a point of union between the Chileans and the indigenous peoples, but it is a thrown spear that lances the head. It is like [referring to the mask] how Lautaro was there [with his head] on a spear, and as a coincidence of history, the monument was made by a Villalobos. The monument, the place itself, possesses a lot of tension. Now, we have also said that when one walks past it, the monument in itself does not really mean anything. However, when one comes as a peñi to a political gathering, we get together there. The monument is resignified at that very moment, and there it makes sense because as we said, we do not inhabit that space; we only pass that way. The lamgen even said that the inscription reads that these Indians will eventually return to their land, almost as if banishing us from the place. Where do we who are Mapurbe have to return to?¹⁷

¹⁷The sculptor has the same surname as the Chilean historian Sergio Villalobos, known for his negative and racist depiction of the Mapuche.

Claudio: Vickuña Mackenna, when he was rethinking the city, was also very angry that ponchos – or makuñ – were still being worn among the people. He was very angry about that, and always made this association: ‘if they continue to wear ponchos’, he used to say, ‘when is Chile going to be civilised?’ In other words, he saw it also in the bodies. The body had to be modified and conditioned to wear particular clothing, and to speak in a certain way. The intention of ‘fixing’ the territory, in addition to being an urban and spatial issue, was also a matter of the body. It needed to be dealt with; namely, and according to racial theories of those years, by whitening it, and Santiago has been whitened quite a lot.

Roberto: It is interesting to see how in this materiality – in this displacement that is tangible and not an interpretation, but a fact – we can almost see a script of how colonialism was deployed in the city and how the Mapuche were being displaced. We seem to have been displaced all the time, at all times. [...] If we look at the maps, we find the narrative of how Mapuche displacement towards marginality began, towards the margins of the city before the city was even a city. This materiality can be read as a script. [...] A history of displacement is told through the materiality of buildings, of heritage, what is declared heritage in Chile or not: the cathedral and the La Moneda Presidential Palace are heritage but the ruka on the periphery is not within what is considered patrimonial. [...] Finally, it must be remembered that the history of Chileans is one of fatherless mongrels (huachos). Chileans, in general, come from a mongrel race – where women were raped and many people did not know their father. Beginning with Bernardo O’Higgins as a symbol, it seems that from there on this entire ‘Chilean race’ was destined to be one of fatherless mongrels (huacha). [...] And the side-effect is that we do not remember three generations back. So, how do we stand up again from there and ask questions, and also turn this around? By saying that now, although I don’t have – or they cut off – my memory, I create my memory from here onwards.



SCENE II

Plaza de Armas



*Audio-guide*¹⁸ Welcome to the Plaza de Armas of Santiago, Chile in 2018. Look around. As you can see, we have not been able to accomplish our mission. Michimalogko did not win the battle and there are still traces of that small Spanish village that was located here. The latest studies indicate that this site, before being a ‘plaza de armas’, was a centre of the *Tawantisuyo*. As you can see, the *Tawantisuyo* did not survive either. Today, the square maintains the classic structure of every Spanish square. Turn to the west, where the sun sets. There, you can see the Cathedral of the Catholic Church of Chile on the right corner, and next to it, on the other corner to the north, is the Post Office, on the exact site where the house of the conqueror Pedro de Valdivia was located. Adjacent to it is the former headquarters of the Governance of the Kingdom of Spain, today the National Historical Museum, and the Municipality of Santiago building. This block is so old that it is still possible to see a grating that was the window of the jail for people who were detained there at that time. That grating is at ground level, and the prisoners stretched their hands out to beg for food. This is the same square that Pedro de Valdivia founded and that Michimalogko burned down. Pedro de Valdivia’s horse is just over there. Can you see it? Let’s get closer to him. Come along.

Look at how imposing the sculpture of the conqueror is. He is coming down from the *cordillera* to enter the Santiago Valley. Do you see Pedro de Valdivia’s sword? In his right hand, he carries the founding charter of the city. This is a bronze sculpture. They say that this bronze comes from the war cannons of the famous ‘Armada Invincible’, donated by the Spanish Army to be melted down for this statue. The monument was commissioned to the sculptor Enrique Pérez Comendador by the Association of Spanish Institutions in Chile – which still exists – as a gift to the city of Santiago, to commemorate the anniversary of Independence. It was made in Spain and travelled to Chile in parts. The idea was to install it in 1960, the year marking the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the First National Government Junta, but that year, a series of seismic movements culminating in the Valdivia earthquake and tsunami

18 The performance audios can be accessed on the website page for this section corresponding to Track 5: <https://www.mapsurbe.com/eng-santiago-waria>.

occurred and its inauguration was postponed. It was not until 1963 that the statue finally travelled to Chile and was first installed on the Welen Hill, today called Santa Lucía Hill.¹⁹

Do you see that guide? Take off your headphones and follow his instructions.

Guide

Mari mari kom pu che. Was it a long trip? I was here before you left the Quinta Normal and this place was on fire. We had already commissioned the statue of Michimilongko, thinking he was going to win, but as you can see [*pointing at the statue*], the battle was won by this man and at some point in time the statue of Michimalogko was lost. Well actually, the battle was won by Inés de Suárez, because he was away, travelling south, but since history is written by men and not women, Pedro de Valdivia is here, not Doña Inés and certainly not Michimalogko.

Here, I must give you some more bad news. Apumanque, Quillacanta and the other five caciques were beheaded by the furious Doña Inés ... If it weren't for her, perhaps everything would be different today. We would not have the Cathedral there. Perhaps a *rewe* or *chemammul* would be in its place. Nonetheless, at this particular present time, we have this statue. This was sort of an accident since they had it made at the last minute and the sculptor had to improvise; the horse was meant to be ridden by Franco! Yes, the horse was for Franco, but the rush caused it to be assigned to Pedro de Valdivia.

Who can tell me if there is anything strange about the statue? Do you notice the horse and the rider? Something is missing there, right? Exactly! The horse has no reins. There are three theories regarding the reins: the first is that they fell off on the ship that brought the statue to Chile; the second is that the horse symbolizes a country capable of guiding itself towards its destiny; but the intention of the sculptor – a compatriot of Valdivia – was most probably to show the animal's fidelity to its owner, the conqueror. I would like to imagine the statue of Michimilongko here. What would he carry in his hand instead of the founding charter? What would he carry instead of a

19 For this and the following historical details about Pedro de Valdivia statue, see Díaz (2015).

sword? Would his horse have reins? Somewhere in time and space, there is the statue of Michimilongko and the caciques who were killed here. Let's move on to other topics. Follow me.

The guide walks a few meters towards the bas-relief at the foot of the statue of Pedro de Valdivia. The audience follows him, gathering around the bronze frame on the floor. The guide goes back to his account.

Guide What you see here is what is known as the first map of the city of Santiago. It was drawn by Guaman Poma de Ayala. Who was Guaman Poma de Ayala? Guaman Poma belonged to the Inca elite, and, as posited by the important Bolivian intellectual Silva Rivera Cusicanqui, he was probably the first anti-colonialist thinker of our lands. Now, what did Guaman Poma try to say in the sixteenth century, when he made this drawing? What did he mean to say about the city of Santiago?

If you look at the map, there is something that demarcates the city: walls. Although it is known that Santiago had a stockade, like other cities in Latin America, it was not really a walled city. So, what did Guaman Poma want to tell us at that time? Did he mean that Santiago was establishing itself as a city of segregation right from the beginning? To what extent, for example, did Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, with his definition of the 'proper city' in the nineteenth century, want to reinterpret this same idea of a Santiago that does not allow entry to others? To what extent do these walls of Guaman Poma continue to exist, in Santiago or Chile today? Now, what we can

A woman who has been listening until now, evidently upper-class in appearance and attitude, approaches the guide and interrupts his speech abruptly.²⁰

Doña Inés Young man, excuse me for interrupting but I have been here all the time listening very attentively to what you are saying ...

20 At first, the audience did not understand that she was also a performer, and the performers played along with this misunderstanding. During one of the representations, Roberto had to intervene because one member of the audience got very upset with the interruption and started arguing with Doña Inés, not letting her go on with the representation. It is probably worth reminding here that Doña Inés monologue was an adaptation of a real speech of an upper-class woman we encountered during the research process.

- Guide* I'll finish this in a minute and then there will be space for questions or comments ...
- Doña Inés* Is that ...? Young man, really. Excuse me for interrupting you. What's your name?
- Guide* Tomás.
- Doña Inés* Tomacito, excuse me for interrupting, but I sincerely believe that you are ideologising history. I have been listening very respectfully since we were at the sculpture of the great Pedro de Valdivia, and I believe that you are a little confused because of your youth, or ideas of struggle, revolution and all that, but really ... kids, listen! I find this place to be the best. It is a reference point for all Chileans! Look at that glass building next to our Cathedral of Our Lord Jesus Christ: it is a beautiful mix of tradition and modernity, wonderful! I do not know why people do not appreciate these things! The fact is that there is a lot of police here, so one can walk in peace. Look at those palm trees, for God's sake! They had to be shored up so that they do not fall! [It is because] the subway runs down here; the poor trees do not have enough space for their roots. They are like Chileans [*laughing*] ...! No, really. These are the costs of progress! What are we going to do? Give up the subway? [*Followed by the audience, she had now reached the plaque marking the 'point zero of Chile'*] Look, Chile begins here. From this place, we measure all the national distances. I know we are a good mixture of Araucanians and Spaniards; yes, but let's not be conflictive. Deep down, we are all Chileans! The Chilean race is a mixture of Castilian gallantry and Araucanian courage, although also – let's say it, as I am very straightforward, you know; I say what I have to say – we also have the defects of both races. Even so, deep down we have always known how to live together. I even had a Mapuche nanny who raised all my children for me. She was a live-in maid; very good, so they were ... Excellent, yes! They were very reliable, among other things, and they were *faithful*. You know, I lived in Brazil for a while, and when I came back in 1963, I did not understand why they discriminated so much against the Mapuche here ... In Brazil, we

preferred Negro women as housemaids because we could read their eyes. We could read if they were loyal or not, and that was the case with the Mapuche, too. It did not work with Brazilian Indians, though. The Brazilian Indian is more ... hidden. These [Mapuche] always look you straight in the eye. One can read loyalty. I had a wonderful Mapuche nanny. She raised all my children ... very, very kind, she was like a mother. It was as if she were family! She never let us down, not even when it rained. Because afterwards – first she was a live-in maid and then she lived outside the house – she never stopped coming. She was terrified of storms and the rain, the silly goose! Still, she never stopped coming, not even when it was raining ... Now, those poor Haitians who are arriving ... they are very ugly, poor them! They are poor! And the Mapuche, I also had a wonderful Mapuche handyman, who always came to paint my house, and I trusted him more than anyone else. Now, let's stop talking here. Look, I'm going to invite you home. Let's go to my house, or I should say to my *ruka*, shouldn't I? [*Doña Inés looks ironically at the guide*]. It is very quiet there, unlike here. There you can meet my Lucita. You, what are you up to, girl? You are not from here, it seems. Or am I wrong? [*Olivia looks puzzled and responds she is from Italy*] Italy! Europe! Ah, and you have seen this square, haven't you? Nothing to envy to European cities! But well, let's go take the bus. Ah, one of the yellow ones, those were amazing!

INTERLUDE

From the Colony to the White City²¹

²¹ The performance audios can be accessed on the website page, with those for this section corresponding to Track 6: <https://www.mapsurbe.com/eng-santiago-waria>.



Audio-guide Make yourself comfortable now. We are going to the intersection of two streets; Pedro deValdivia and Francisco Bilbao. The journey will take about 20 minutes. Take the cloth that is on your seat. You will need it at the next station. Look at it. You don't understand it yet, but you will soon, so when you get off the bus, take it with you.

These buses circulated for 17 years from 1991 until February 2007. These yellow buses were the buses of the democratic transition. Routes such as La Pampilla, Recoleta-Lira, Renca-Los Morros and Maipú-Las Condes transported thousands of *Santiagoños* from the periphery to the city centre and the Santiago Oriente neighbourhood, the *cuica* ('posh') city. Bakers, housemaids, construction workers, students and gardeners headed to their places of work there from the outskirts of the metropolis. This city has been built with their hands. The city is crammed with their stories, their commutes, joys and sorrows. Their migrant steps resonate throughout the city, from Cerro Navia to Manquehue and from Lautaro to Vitacura – places with Mapuche names with meanings that have since been forgotten such as 'Great stone' or 'Place of the Condors'. They resonate with a song in the mouth of a *ñaña* on a bus travelling to her employer's house; a song that still sounds, challenging the history of progress of this metropolis and migrant magnet, history with a capital H built on forgotten stories.

The audience listens to Elsa Quinchaleo's ũlkantu: a song in Mapuzugun, recounting the migration from the south to the city, the challenges of working as a maid and the heartening of friendship with another migrant woman.

After the song, the audience listens to the reading of letters exchanged within families of Mapuche migrants.²²

22 The first two letters are part of the documentary *Santiago: pueblo grande de Huincas* by Rony Goldschmied (1987), to which the title of the theatre piece makes explicit reference. Another letter is included in the next Interlude. The third letter in this section was drafted from different personal experiences of the performers and members of Colectivo MapsUrbe. It was then read by the Comandante Boliviano, and recorded as part of the play audios.

I. Lucinda Nahuelhual to her brother Felidor

My Dear Brother Felidor,

I am writing to greet you and let you know that I haven't heard from you for a long time.

As for me, I feel great sorrow when I remember the day I left for Santiago. I remember that before I got on the train, you told me, 'Stay. You will be crying. Life there is very sad', but I just had to come.

I cannot forget the excitement of arriving in the big town of the *Wigka*. How I suffered, not knowing anyone and desperate to start working so that I could send you goods. At first, I liked Santiago. Of course, I was lost. I had a hard time crossing the streets. I felt dizzy. I found those tall buildings very big. I was very afraid, but also very hopeful. It has been three years now, and I am still not at ease.

I do not know what is wrong with me, my dear brother, but I have not felt very well in my health. I have dreams that keep me awake. I am very nervous. My mistress told me that she is going to take me to the doctor to see what is wrong with me.

I miss you all a lot. I think of the land every day, and I want to go back.

I love you very much,

Your sister,

Lucinda.

Lucinda Nahuelhual, Santiago, October 22, 1986.

II. Lucinda Nahuelhual to her brother Felidor

My Dear Brother Felidor,

I am writing to you again to tell you about my suffering.

My mistress brought me to the doctor. He said that my illness was serious: depressive neurosis with paranoia is what he called it. I do not understand his word. I do not know what he meant.

The mistress allowed me to be admitted to a hospital for crazy people, she said they would take care of me there. They won't let me go south. *Wigka* doctors do not understand *wekufe* or *kalku*.

I am very sick and I want to go home, to my land. What I need is for *machi* Berta to see me; she knows very well how to get rid of my pain.

Please, little brother, tell her about my illness, and come and find me.

Lots of love,

Your sister,

Lucinda.

Lucinda Nahuelhual, Santiago, October 29, 1986.

Letter from the daughter of a *nana*

I am the daughter of a woman from Freire. [...] My mother came to live on the Mapuche reservation after being widowed at the age of twenty. The Kuriwenchu family gave her advice and support. Soon after, she had to migrate from the reservation to Puel Mapu. In all the cities where she worked, she worked as a live-in domestic maid. Knowing the precarious living conditions on the reservation, working as a nanny was the only way out that my *nuke* had to send money to her three children who were left behind [...]

Years went by and the town of Buin welcomed my mother. She arrived at the house of my maternal grandmother. The four of them came to live with my grandmother, my mother and my siblings. In a short time, my mother found a job. She spent her entire life working as a domestic maid in places like Talagante, Lonquén, Providencia, Linderos and La Reina.

This last place is special for us, her daughters and sons. At La Reina, she worked for many years as a live-in maid. She tells me that living there and having a day off every fifteen days was a great relief because my grandmother's house was very small and she preferred her children

to live more comfortably. There were fortnights in which she did not come home because her masters paid her a little more to serve at their weekend parties. On these occasions, my older brothers went for the money and things to eat that the masters gave them. The rich always have leftover food and meat from their pantries and clothing and footwear from their closets. With what they considered leftovers, my siblings and I had enough to eat lunch, have dinner, and also dress, even if the clothes were a little too big.

On April the 27th, in a cold hospital in the city, she had her little baby, so she tells me. The masters were old, and they were very happy with the birth of her baby. I was born and my mother's postpartum recovery was at the employers' house. The mistress loved me a lot, according to my mother. The lady always ordered nappies, colognes and creams for her nanny's daughter. My *nūke* says she thanked God that the masters loved me. She thinks they loved me because I was different. After all, I was quiet, *negrita* and with big brown eyes. I was raised by my mom at her job until I was 2 years old. The maid's room was my *nuka*. It was and is my *tuwīn*, my origin. There, I was accompanied by the smell of the food from the kitchen, because that was where the maid's room was. According to my mother, I knew that I could not misbehave because that could upset the masters.

If I am allowed another act of memory, I have grown up since my childhood seeing faces surprised by my name, because, yes, I bear the French name of my mother's mistress. This can be explained by my mother's dependence on the masters who gave her a home and who loved the *negrita*, her daughter. I always saw and still see faces surprised by this name, given how French it sounds. I do not even know if they are surprised by how European the name is and how unusual it is in these lands, or perhaps because they think that a body with black hair, brown skin and dark eyes cannot bear such a name.

I write these words as an act of remembrance. My name will not be disclosed in this scriptural whisper because I do not wish to represent the multiple experiences of Mapuche nannies and domestic maids. I only seek to make an act of memory for a woman who worked tirelessly in private homes, living-in, ironing, cooking and receiving, on multiple occasions, payment in clothes for what should be a month's salary. How many Mapuche women, as domestic servants, carried and still carry the stigma of the Indian on their aprons and bodies? How many times did the Mapuche nanny have to keep silent in the face of the violent words of the master and the mistress? They were and are innumerable.

Some time ago, we dusted off the apron that my *ñuke* used to wear in her last job. That apron makes me think of the childhood of all the children who grew up with grandparents, grandmothers and uncles because the *ñuke* had to take care of the children of the rich. I think about how many times we went to look for the food that was left in the masters' pots, the stale bread or the leftover salads from the buffets, or when the *ñuke* came home with a wound on her hands from the cuts of the kitchen knife, swollen feet, iron burns, and how sad it was to see her go on Mondays. Days in which you had to say goodbye in the cold front garden of the house, only to not see her again for fifteen long days.

Fey muten. Chaltu for listening.

ACT 3

Racialised trajectories:
Providencia

Colectivo MapsUrbe



THE APRON

Claudio: What struck me the most was how that woman, who was surely the owner of one of the houses there on that street in Providencia, told us, ‘Look, she belongs to our family. Our nanny is Mapuche; she is super Mapuche, but she doesn’t identify as such! I don’t know why she doesn’t’. It’s crazy because in one’s ear those phrases generate a lot of discomfort, while on her tongue, on her lips, in her own ear, they do not generate any discomfort.¹

Dania: It’s everyday talk.

Claudio: It’s even ‘good’. ‘She is my friend’ and ‘I always tell her to talk about being a Mapuche, to talk more about their culture. Now she’s opening up a bit more after 5 years, Sari’ but when we asked her, ‘What’s her surname?’, then came the son, the nephew – I have no idea who, the film student – who told us ...

Marcela: He found what we were doing very cool ...

Claudio: The guy also said her name is Sari, but he had no idea whatsoever what Sari’s last name was. It doesn’t matter what Sari is called, because ‘she’s my very best friend. I love her a lot’.

Dania: But I don’t know her last name. I don’t know what she’s called.

Claudio: It doesn’t matter. The only important thing is that she is ‘their’ nanny.

Roberto: Sure. I have a dog; I have a cat and I have a nanny.

Marcela: In the newspaper ads, it used to read ‘We are looking for a Mapuche nanny or a Peruvian nanny’ ... At least before, it did. I am not sure if it still does now.

Dania: Still!

Roberto: I remember once, when I was studying here in Providencia, a schoolmate told me that his mother always argued with the rest of her sisters about who were better, the Mapuche nannies or the Peruvian nannies.² They preferred Mapuche nannies because they were honest; Peruvian nannies might steal while the Mapuche nannies did not, though they cooked very differently. This sounds very much like a racial classification, within an already racialised profession ...

Claudio: I mean, that’s what the other lady told Olivia: that the Mapuche nannies were faithful.

1 This dialogue took place after a performative intervention in Providencia, which resulted in the art installation ‘... es como de la familia’. An acquaintance of Roberto had provided a space for us in her house after the action, where we would have some tea and food. Roberto has gone to the house to prepare the setting, so the rest of us were explaining to him the incident with two ladies that took place after he had left. This chapter builds on discussion also published in Casagrande (2021).

2 In his early years, Roberto went to school in Providencia because his whole family was living in an outbuilding next to the house where Roberto’s mother worked as a maid.

Roberto: Did she use that word ...?

Olivia: [*nodding*] 'Because you could read their eyes', she told me. 'On the other hand, Brazilian Indians, they never look you in the eyes. They are hidden, ambiguous. This is why we preferred black women as servants.'

Marcela: And then she compared them to Haitians here.

Olivia: Yes. I then realised that she was making a comparison between before and now, because she asked me what years we were taking into consideration.

Roberto: Of course, from the questions she was asking you, the lady was quite smart, regardless of her colonial and bourgeois way of looking at the world.

Olivia: Yes. She didn't have any sense of guilt, as I feel that the other woman had. The other woman was very defensive, while the older woman, who I think must be in her eighties or so, had an attitude of 'these are the facts, this is how the world works and that's it'.

Dania: Yes, the second woman started defending herself, saying, 'Hey, we're not the bad guys', before we even explained what we were doing.

Antil: Sure. I guess she thought we wanted to publicly expose someone.³

Claudio: That must be what she thought! True. She even left and then came back. The children said, 'Come on. Enough is enough.'

Marcela: She wanted to come back.

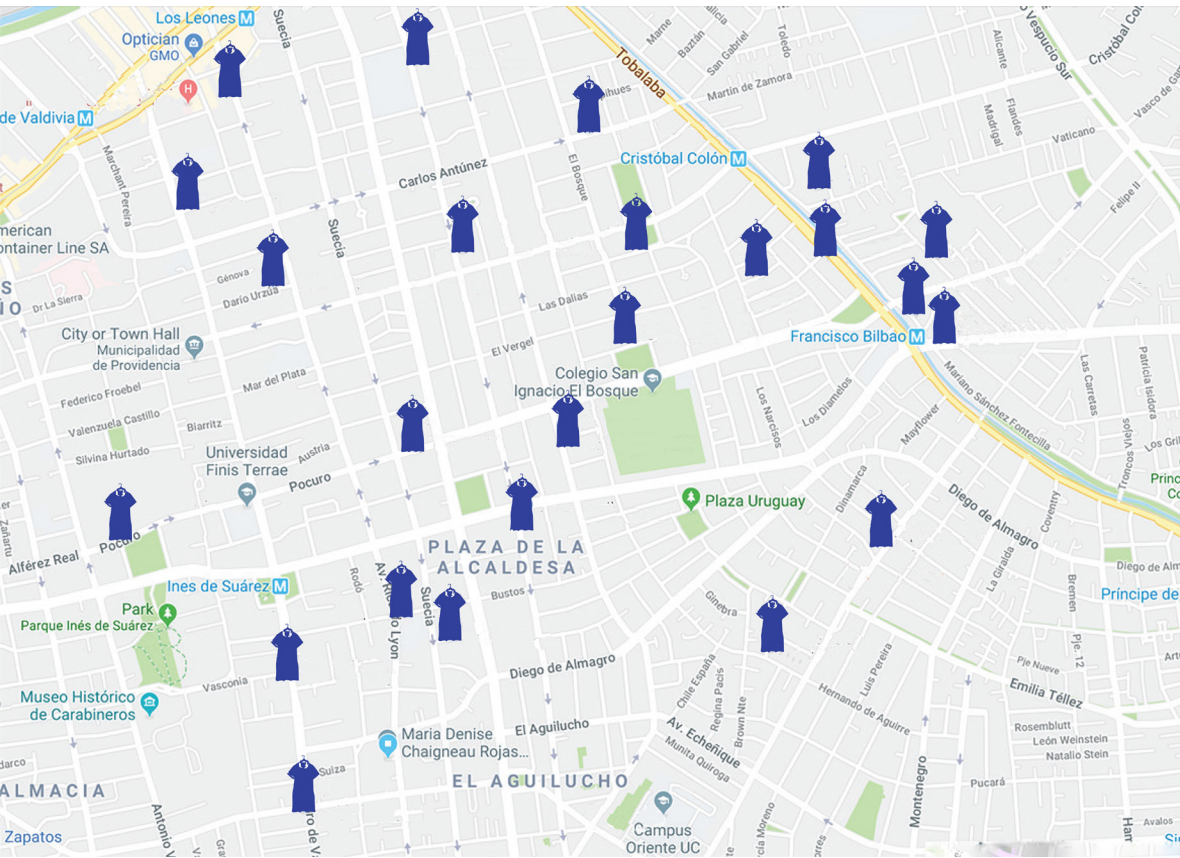
Olivia: She wanted to ask us that question about Sari not talking about her culture. It was a question: 'Explain to me why.'

Claudio: I do not think it was just a question. I mean, it was posed as a question, but one that was also a way of saying, 'You are wrong!', or as if to say 'Hey, but your people are hiding, right?'. We go and mark the space, saying Mapuche women lived and worked here, creating memory, situating it and politicising that space, and she says, 'Hey, but your own people are hiding. I myself have had to tell Sari to speak, and it has taken five years for her to finally say something about her own culture!', as if the reason why her memory is not there was her own fault.

Marcela: She is the one that does not want to talk.

Claudio: Because I've always told her to talk. It happens a lot – that is, every time one touches these issues; I mean, there are a lot of layers – but it ends up being the Mapuche's fault again. So, behind her words, I

3 The reference is to the practice of socially exposing someone who is unlikely to be judged for their crimes through formal justice, as was the case for those responsible for human rights violations during the dictatorship in Chile. These practices are denominated *fumas*, and have become common also with more recent issues of violence and abuse against women.



don't think there was an exercise of doubt. Maybe I'm very negative and I look negatively at her, but I don't think she was so naive. I think that she was saying, 'Everything you are doing is fine, but actually, the Mapuche are the ones who deny themselves.' It was interesting when Olivia then asked her back, 'Why do you think this is happening?' and the woman said that the reason is ... [looking towards Olivia]

Olivia: I think she thinks it's not important.

Claudio: That she thinks that it is not important, and that very phrase is startling: she gets into Sari's head!

Olivia: She could have said, 'Maybe she does this with us but with her family it is different.' I don't know. She could have asked herself instead of assuming she is able to read Sari's mind. She takes for granted that she knows what someone else does or does not value.

Claudio: The frontier was also apparent. In other words, it was clear that we were ... Well, also because ... Let's put it like this: we came to review the stories of our grandmothers, of our mothers, and then immediately, there is a frontier; a border, like a wall. On the other hand ... there are borders, limits, dominations, but there are also porous borders ... In other words, it was clear that the woman actually loved Sari. It is a schizophrenic kind of affection because it is an affection that emerges from domination; it is strange to love that way, but I suppose that it is her way of loving. There is real and true affection, but at the same time, we do not know the history of Sari. Many *lamgenes* deeply loved some – though, not all – of their employers, and they learned a lot from them. There are hierarchy and domination, but there is also dignity and there are porosities. Now, the complex thing is that when one considers this, it is as if all power relationships can be like that and then domination does not matter so much, because if there are porosities ...

Roberto: As if they could forgive themselves ...

Claudio: Yes! Like they can be excused somehow. But that is the contradiction of life, I guess. It is not resolved as pure domination or pure misery; it's not that binary.

Santiago is not just one city: there are at least two countries within the same metropolis. The richest, wealthiest 10 per cent in the country have average incomes that exceed those of Norway, while the poorest 10 per cent have incomes similar to those of the Ivory Coast. Two countries, separated by just a few kilometres but completely disconnected, having in common only the hundreds and thousands of workers who cross the entire region to carry out their daily tasks for the care and comfort of Santiago's upper classes. In Chile, just like in other contexts in Latin America, there is a specific taxonomy to name these high-income sectors of society: they are

called *cuiicos*. Of course, the *cuiicos* are not only recognizable by their accumulated capital. They behave in a certain way and have an identifiable cultural ethos. Even more importantly, they have a body with a recognizable phenotype: they are white, blonde, tall and thin. They are the embodiment of colonial beauty. The *cuiicos* inhabit a specific body and a specific city: the privileged spaces of colonial continuity.

Thousands of Mapuche women have been walking through these privileged urban areas for decades. The production and reproduction of immediate life – the neuralgic point of the capitalist system for feminist criticism – has for centuries been in the hands of the racialised women of the continent. Impoverished *mestizas*, indigenous and black women – more recently migrants from Peru, Venezuela and Haiti – have been those who, with their work, have reproduced the most elementary social capillarity of the well-to-do sectors of society. Their ‘domestic work’ maintained the comfort of the national elites. It can be argued that during the twentieth century, the ‘*cuiica* city’ was socially reproduced by the workforce of Mapuche women, yet is it possible to retrace their histories in this sector of the metropolis?

In the ‘*cuiica* city’, there are no public traces of the presence of Mapuche women. Nothing indicates their stories forged into this space, despite many of them living in the very houses where they worked as live-in maids. They were the nannies, or *nanas* as they are called in Chile, who cared for the children of the elites, cleaned their houses every day, cooked, washed, and even educated and advised in difficult times. Still, nothing acknowledges their presence. Their stories in elite spaces are blurred, invisible to the public memory of the ‘*cuiica* city’.

The Mapuche women who came to work in Santiago as ‘domestic workers’ were migrants who were forced to leave their land as a result of territorial dispossession. Impoverished after the colonisation by the state and Chilean and European settlers, many Mapuche women left their land on indigenous reservations in the south to enter other ‘reductions’ as live-in maids.⁴ Their jobs were bound to the permanence of the logic of servitude: they were the first to get up and the last to go to bed; they did not have work schedules, as living where they worked their entire lives was regulated by their tasks to be carried out. They had to be on permanent alert; if the *patrona* suddenly decided to drink hot milk at midnight they had to be there, serving and attending, and then again in the morning, they had to

4 The Spanish word for reservation is *reducciones*, literally meaning ‘reduction’ and referring to the concrete diminishing of the space inhabited by indigenous communities.



have breakfast ready before the whole family got up. Their lives were spent working for the social reproduction of the upper classes. This is historical in Latin America; the bodies of racialised women have been assigned to this role for centuries. They have always been pictured as being in servitude, and that is why we speak of colonial continuities; we can't truly think of postcolonialism, since the colonial never left.⁵

Nonetheless, in the face of this harsh reality, domestic workers mobilised. During the second half of the twentieth century, unions and federations emerged, with many Mapuche women unionised. Contrary to the essentialist readings of Mapuche history and indigenous peoples in general, Mapuche women were not just confined to the main, traditional forms of community organisations and extended family networks, as labour unions were also spaces where the struggles against the consequences of territorial dispossession were articulated, counteracting racialised labour and the continuity of colonial servitude. Within these spaces for articulation, the unions of 'domestic workers' in Santiago created a magazine called *Revista Surge*, in 1959. It published information about the organisation and the steps it was taking in its struggles, and at the end of each issue, the names of new members were published alongside their addresses. Many of them were Mapuche women, as noted by their surnames. Most probably, they were live-in maids; what they gave as their home addresses were in the 'cuica city', and more specifically in Providencia, presumably the house of their masters.⁶

To locate those addresses in that area of the city speaks of how upper-class neighbourhoods, far from being foreign spatialities, were and still are a part of the daily lives and family geographies of the Mapuche diaspora. Many children spent their early years in the houses where their mothers worked, sharing the maid's room with them. Some have early memories or imaginaries of these houses and neighbourhoods, constructed during the years in which their mothers and grandmothers were working in 'Manuel Montt' or 'Pedro de Valdivia'.⁷

This is why a neighbourhood in Providencia was chosen as the site for the performative intervention which seeks to address the underground memories of Mapuche women working there during the 1950s and 1960s and acknowledging this invisible historical dimension in the zones of urban

5 See González Casanova (2006), Rivera Cusicanqui (2010), Antileo Baeza et al. (2015).

6 The geography of privilege has changed during the last decades in the metropolitan region, with a historical movement of the elites from the city centre in radial directions towards the east, to the foothills, generating what is called the 'high rent cone of Santiago'. Less affluent and lower-class zones are located in peripheral areas towards the west and southern parts of the city (Dannemann, Sotomayor-Gómez, Samaniego 2018, 6–8; see also Agostini, Hojman, Románx, Román 2016).

7 The profession of housemaid has been recently defined a 'racialised job' (see Antileo Baeza 2015; Antileo Baeza and Alvarado Lincopi 2018; Alvarado Lincopi 2021a) meaning that a certain kind of person, with a certain kind of body, physical features and often also origin and class, was and is considered suited to it.

privilege. This performance, and particularly the episode recounted in the preceding dialogue, later became the material for the creation of the installation '*...es como de la familia*' (...As If She Were Family), and was the starting point for the scene of the play set in the Providencia site. This was our attempt to minimally recompose the erased memories of Mapuche history, appropriating the squared apron – the housemaid's uniform – as an object central to the Mapuche experience of the city.

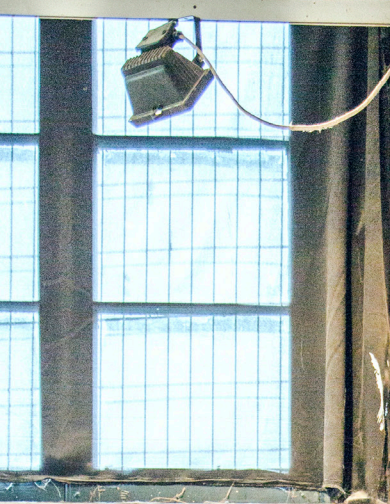
Marie Juliette: This is the apron that my ñuke used to wear. It is difficult to talk about this because my experience of the city was marked by this very common two-coloured design apron. Only recently have I been able to reflect on why I find it so difficult to say 'my tuwün'. I think being a live-in nanny in a city like this leads you to explain why one does not have one. As the daughter of a nanny, I do not have a clear place of origin because we lived in different houses: those of the masters.

My mother always, all her life, highlighted her 'Germanness'. She comes from Temuco, and she always says that her parents were German. Well, I don't know them, so I have no idea. She married a German and her first three children came out with a special phenotype; blond, white ... However, something that I understood very recently, when I asked my mother where her apron was – because she is retired now – is that for her it was very difficult to get it out. With me self-identifying as Mapuche, she has told me that it is very difficult for her to take out this apron, as she was always called 'la China' at work: 'la China', 'la China', 'la China'.⁸ My mother was – and if you met her, you would see – a very thin, very fragile woman, who was fine-faced, completely blonde, with very light eyes, and I couldn't explain why they called her 'la China'.

Obviously, if they called her 'la China', it was because that job was for someone very specific. Being a nanny in the city had a first and last name, and that job was created for someone who came from the south through migration: that job was for Mapuche women. [...] So, my mother's work has significantly marked my experience here in the city. For me, however, that my mother was able to take out this apron from the suitcase where she had it hidden, also personally represents a victory.

8 According to the definition given in the dictionary of the Central Quechua Language Academy, 'china' in Quechua means 'a female servant', but also 'both a female animal, and a hole or concave shape apt for receiving a projecting, rising or convex object'. The word is also used generically in southern cone Spanish to denote a female in a submissive, subservient or sexual role. In Chile, the nicknames 'chino' for men and 'china' for women are commonly given to people with indigenous traits, particularly the almond-shaped eyes. While ostensibly employed as an affective nickname – such as within families, for example, it still has a racial connotation, and is often used in a racist way, as Marie Juliette's narrative makes clear. See Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua (2005: 60).

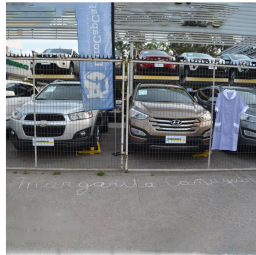
‘AS IF SHE WERE FAMILY’: DOMESTIC
REDUCTIONS



The art installation built around our performative intervention in Providencia was constituted as a homage and token of memory dwelling in the ambivalence of upper-class spatialities – both the workplace and home at the same time – riddled with racial prejudice, discrimination and subtle or more open violence; yet at the same time characterised by affect and empowerment. This paradox and tension were precisely what the action, and later the installation, wanted to address. The performance was realised by improvising in a preselected space playing with the materials we had with us – three aprons, chalk sticks and a map with the addresses. The apron was hung on a crook, neither folded nor worn, and ready to begin the working day, clean and ironed, as if waiting, or maybe resting. It was also empty of a body wearing it, representing some kind of absence: the absence of these women from their families, and of their memories from the places they worked and lived. The hung apron makes absence and that expectation present, interrogating the silence surrounding these stories through the writing in chalk.

The writing of the women's names was a small and yet solemn gesture. The materiality of chalk required a firm hand on the ground and a gentler hand on other surfaces such as metal or wood fences. Writing these Mapuche women's names was a powerful act of memory. It felt like engraving their histories on surfaces that did not bear any explicit memory of their walking through the area, even though they were made up of those memories: the streets under their feet when they went buying for the family they worked for; the park where they went with the children whom they cared for; the houses they cleaned and tidied and lived in. However, the gesture was also ephemeral. Chalk does not remain on any surface for long. It is not difficult to erase if you want to – as happened in front of us on one occasion – and even if no one bothers to actively erase it, it goes away with light rain, or just by stepping over it a few times. Nonetheless, it was still a powerful gesture, and part of its power lies precisely in its impermanence. We have no way of knowing what happened when someone left one of the houses and found the name; it might have been the name of their own nanny, many years ago, or the name of a stranger, as many of the houses had evidently changed owner and even use.⁹ As Roberto said during our discussion, it felt somehow spectral, like coming back to haunt a part of the city where the Mapuche presence is usually both a given and yet invisible at the same time. The very structure of Chilean society and the weight of a colonial 'past' assign indigeneity to certain

9 The most striking were an art gallery, two care homes for elderly people, and a car dealership. The area where most former presidents of Chile lived, defined during the dictatorship as being clearly a territory of the far right, this historically upper-class neighbourhood has been changing during the last decades due to the movement of the richest sector of the country towards the north-eastern sector of the Chilean capital (Lo Barnachea, La Dehesa).



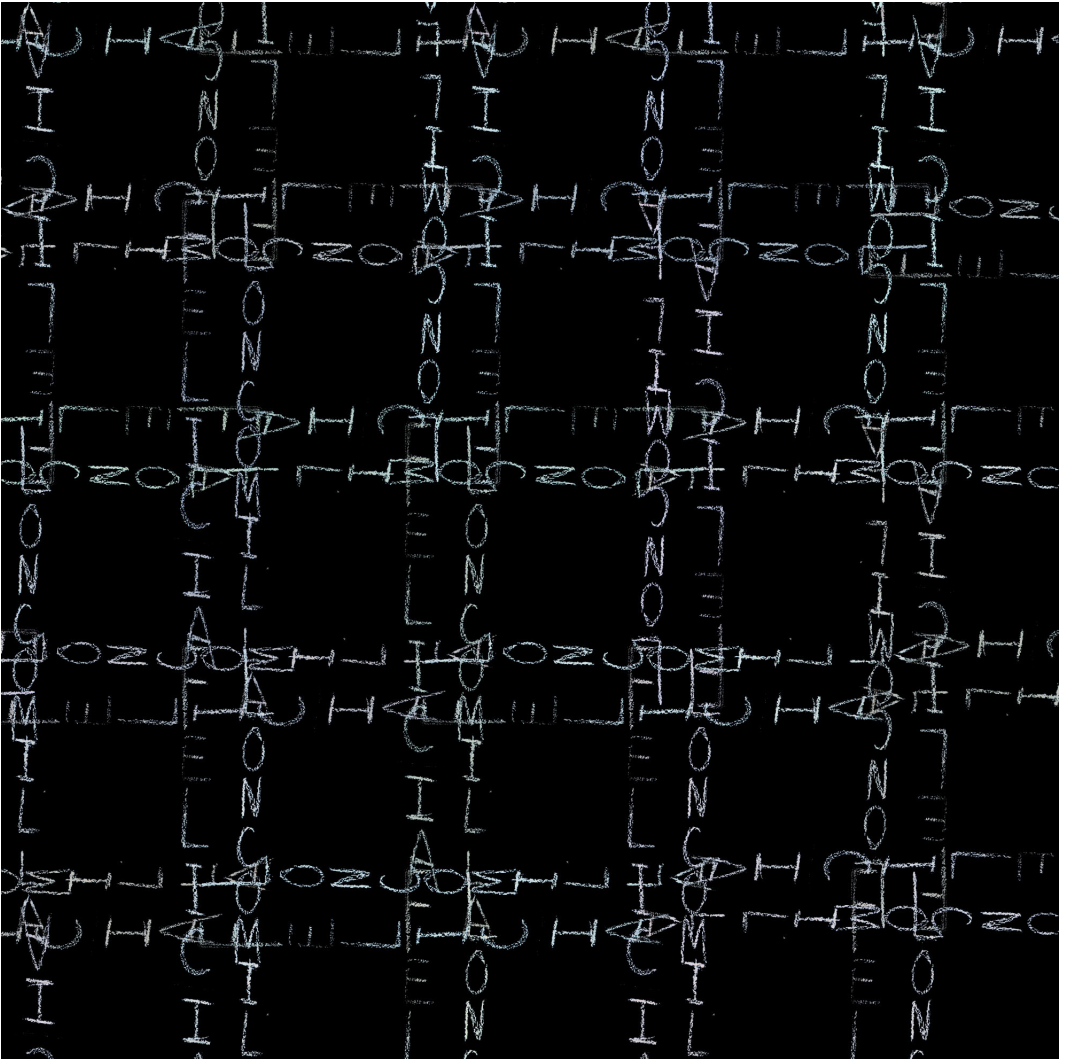
places and roles, characterising the history of indigenous people and their relationship with the nation more broadly.¹⁰

As such, the experiences of thousands of Mapuche women in Santiago de Chile have been marked by the continuity of relations of servitude. An eloquent expression of a dense past that does not cease to haunt the bodies of racialised women, the colonial wound is still throbbing on the flesh of the descendants of the colonised. During the twentieth century, domestic work – especially under the ‘live-in’ arrangement so common for young Mapuche maids – was the materialisation of relationships still shaped by earlier colonial rule: inferiorisation, exploitation of labour and minimum conditions for the social reproduction of life. This last element is part of a larger phenomenon that has afflicted indigenous peoples for centuries. Particularly in the Mapuche case, the imposition of obstacles to the possibility of socio-political continuity was part of the Chilean and Argentinian states’ colonisation policies during the second half of the nineteenth century: to impose ‘reduction’ in all and every aspect of life, the most evident being the territorial reduction in indigenous reservations. Through military forces, the Mapuche were dispossessed of large portions of land, constraining a society that had previously lived collectively on 10 million hectares to endure its socio-political reproduction on only 500 thousand hectares (Correa, Molina and Yáñez 2005).

‘Reduction’ became a central element of Mapuche life, soon permeating every aspect of everyday reality. For example, their language was reduced to minimal use, to the point of being employed only in the safest intimacy; to avoid stigma and discrimination, silence became a way of survival (Alvarado Lincopi 2016). Many other cultural tasks were reduced to their minimal expressions: medicine, political structures, rituals, traditional commerce and exchange, material culture. All aspects of sociality were reduced, classified as inferior and expected to soon disappear completely. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the renowned ethnologist Tomás Guevara published his landmark book *Las últimas familias y costumbres araucanas* (‘The last Araucanian families and customs’, 1912), warning about what was an incontestable assumption in the brightest years of the chimaeras of progress: the Indians will disappear, and before definitive annihilation, as an agonising preamble, their lives were of material and symbolic reductions.

Reduction was thus a step preceding collective death. The Indian was an inhabitant of the frontier between life and death, and that was the reservation for colonial minds. Racialised bodies had to endure their lives under

10 As stated by Peter Wade in his analysis of domestic labour in Latin America, not only are gender, class and ethnic racial hierarchies articulated in the experiences of domestic service, but this articulation is embedded within racial hierarchies and in the very idea of nation (Wade 2013: 190–196).



the reductional experience and, after migrating from deprived fields to cities in processes of modernisation, they were not awaited by the wide avenues of free and democratic circulation throughout the metropolis: once again, what prevailed was reduction. In particular, there were the hundreds of Mapuche women who, upon arriving in the capital, submitted themselves to labour relations characterised by servitude. For them, reduction was a permanent fact, reproduced under the formula of work as a ‘live-in maid’ (*trabajo puertas adentro*).

To show how this worked even in material terms, perhaps the best illustration is the maid’s room or ‘service room’ within upper-class houses. Owing to both its architectural design and the experiences lived there, this space is central for understanding the various forms of the Mapuche’s reductional experience in the twentieth century. First of all, its peripheral condition from the most habitable areas of the house is already eloquent: always in the corners, in the back of the yard or at the very end of a corridor. This position connotes a space with a sense of bordering, division and limit, as almost the last place in the house. Sometimes, these rooms do not even receive direct sunlight, and dampness is likely another of their characteristics. Their sizes are minimal and thus cannot be compared with any other room in the house; the minimum required for survival, barely a space to sleep and keep a few items, and with only a simple, rudimentary lavatory.

Domestic living reduced to its smallest expression of a bed, closet and toilet; what else could a maid need to live? Deeply embedded in the violent dimension of domestic service, this spatiality compels us to argue that rather, it is a spatiality of servitude: that person whose work provides the conditions for the reproduction of life for an entire family is not allowed to reproduce her own unless it is within its minimum expression. This domestic/reduction experience was common among Mapuche women working as live-in maids. The migratory process and the Mapuche diaspora, products of colonial dispossession, generated a mass of women who, upon arriving in Santiago, were forced to turn to work as domestics servants, enduring their own uprooting and living their own reductional experience there.

All of the above constitutes the ‘house as territory’ (Sañudo 2013): relationships are asymmetrically forged, and ways of inhabiting the house are shaped by power dynamics.¹¹ Mapuche maids experience in their work and living

11 While here we are examining the domestic sphere, the notion of spatiality cannot be reduced, in the case of Mapuche women working as housemaids, to the domestic space alone. They were indeed inhabiting public space as well, even if it was from a subordinate and invisibilised position. For some reflections on the experiences of these women and public space, see Alvarado Lincopi’s essay, this volume.



Roberto: The Chilean upper classes have got to know about the Mapuche people through their nannies. Many artist friends have written about imagining the Mapuche from the kitchen of their nannies ... However, there is also empowerment through work. I remember that my mother always differed from the rest of my aunts or the other women in the neighbourhood because she worked. Her work dignified her. It was always something that she fought over a lot with my dad because my dad wanted her to stay home; basically, doing what she did at work but at home, to be his employee and not someone else's employee! My mom always wanted the freedom of having her own money without having to see the face her husband would make for asking him for money to buy a pair of shoes like most of the women in the neighbourhood, even though she never bought herself any shoes! It is not about being grateful either, not for all those years of slavery! My mother also worked as a 'live-in' maid. For Christmas and the New Year, they took her 'on vacations' to the beach, and she went with her 'nanny-suit' and was still a nanny on the beach. In the supermarket, some ladies go in with the nanny, but they tell her, 'take off your apron', to be more 'progressive' so that they do not look like the mistresses. One can still see it, though; that is what it is. So, there is a very complex border between guilt, anger... a border that I find very delicate.

place the same reduction that was a substantial part of indigenous history during the twentieth century. Yet when we refer to power, we are not talking of absolute domination and overwhelming asymmetries without any possible form of agency. On the contrary, highlighting tension as a central element implies that no one possesses absolute power, and competing forces manage to resist, negotiate or accommodate themselves in certain given conditions. Of course, not all the agents involved have the same technologies and socio-cultural means, and thus thinking about hierarchies is still fundamental. That is precisely where our concern for the experience of the reductional lies. Even so, reduction is not inviolable and intact, and this is what we turn to now: the various ways of dealing with those asymmetries, relationships and practices that can eat away minimally at reductional solidity, without thereby completely eliminating hierarchies and power relationships.

Mapuche have lived crossing borders for decades, centuries even, where hierarchies coexisted with the subjectivation processes of those same colonial structures. In that transition, biographies of violence and dignity have taken shape. Mapuche maids, through domestic service work, managed to change their roles within indigenous society. The possibility of feeding a family and supporting their parents still living in the communities – once their working trajectory was affirmed – changed the position of many women, causing through their enhancement a somehow contradictory fracture within the reductional system. The contradiction lies in that what allowed them to find a more central role within Mapuche society and opened the way for thousands of women to be supporters of their own families, is what has been forged in the collective memory of the diaspora as experiences of pain. The logics of servitude, these women's silent passage through one of the harshest forms of indigenous reduction and exploitation of the twentieth century, was also and at the same time what made it possible for current generations to advance their lives. In other words, the same experience is read under two seemingly antagonistic positions: domestic work is interpreted both as a painful experience entangled with racialised violence and as an achievement that, thanks to the efforts of these women, managed to dignify Mapuche lives in the colonial context.

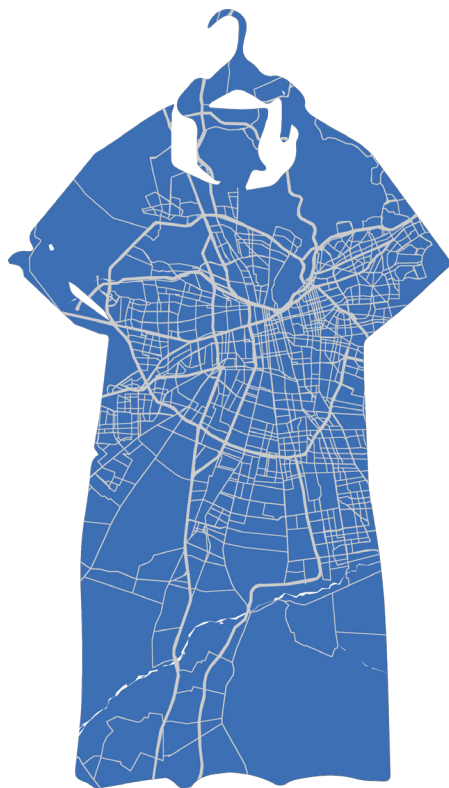
The tension in this is the 'double conscience' of many colonised people: a memory that lurches between pain and dignity, between interpreting the past under the weight of misery and interpreting that same past through micropolitical heroics. The everyday experience becomes a vital space of memory where readings ranging from anticolonial rage to survival trajectories are built. These trajectories of survival are probably the most silent resistance; as non-rhetorical political action, they are the incubation of a historical project in small, everyday, loving gestures. That thousands of women endured racialised

jobs was, as contradictory as it may seem, what allowed the most minute material conditions to be consolidated so that current generations can now raise their voices for their future and redeem their own past. It is what Stuart Hall (2010) defines as 'suture point': those ties between processes of subjection and subjectivation that unfold in concrete experiences. The current Mapuche generations make these sutures their own, drawing on both strands to project their processes of identification; a knot of experience that is also a frontier, an intermediate space that can be inhabited, and from where new repertoires for action for an urban Mapuche society have been created. The most eloquent manifestation of this is the idea of *Mapurbe*, previously mentioned and discussed further in the next chapter, which emerges precisely from the border, and from this border condition various experiences permeate.

In the context of this 'live-in' working, a grey area and border reading also entail the gestation of affectionate relationships between the workers/maids and their employer/masters (*patrones*). As we have seen, a common phrase among families of privileged sectors when referring to domestic workers is 'but it is as if she were family'. With this, elites seek to build a narrative of affective closeness to their employees and thereby overshadow a reality plagued by hierarchies and inferiority. That speech may well have degrees of verisimilitude, especially because affection is part of any kind of relationship; even when conflictive, it is not always anger, hatred or contempt. Friendship and affection were also forged in 'indoor reductions'. This reality invites us once again to look at the grey areas, the border where subjections and subjectivations are tied together, that limit that is transformed into a habitable space, making the experience of pain and dignity of the women employed in private homes something belonging to the borderline. Of course, the idea of 'as if family' nonetheless unsuccessfully hides its own secret. The 'nanny' is never really part of the family, always only 'as if' she were. In that 'as if' hides the colonial wound; the true limit is marked, hierarchies are built. Nonetheless, in that 'as if', again, there are also real affections, making any analytical reduction inaccurate. The grey areas and border thinking creep in and become necessary, without forgetting hierarchies, servitude and exploitation.

In short, between reductions and borders, like a large part of the colonised indigenous population, the Mapuche women migrating to the city had to build a life or part of their lives 'indoors'; lives reduced under the condition of servitude that forced them to work strenuous hours, from sunrise to sunset, or whenever the masters demanded it, in minimal living spaces such as the 'service rooms', but also experiencing the contradiction when affection emerged, which felt 'as if' it was real. The contradiction deepens when current generations see both violence and dignity in this labour, the border knotting of subjugations and subjectifications of urban Mapuche history.

Claudio: I remember that once a son or grandson of someone whom my grandmother worked for came to the house. He arrived there with his car to the población, and the memory I have of his visit is that the guy got up every five minutes to look and check on the car. As he left the car outside the house, the guy was scared, scared shitless. At least, that is how I remember him. He was talking to my grandmother, and my grandmother made him a cup of tea and some food, and then the guy would stand up for a little bit, look at the car, and then sit down again because there is this idea that the periphery is dangerous. That permeability, when the guy goes to my grandmother's territory, does not hold up. Sure, very few would go there, but that guy did it and he came. He certainly loved her very much, the affect again. One may say there is some sort of permeability of the borders, but what sort of permeability? Very hierarchical, and where it is only possible to keep certain neutralities or lack of tensions to the extent that they are those who govern that spatiality. When the permeability occurs in the space of the other, let's say, the permeability goes to shit and suddenly what surfaces is pure doubts about the people who live near the person you supposedly love. So, yes; permeability with hierarchy. I think that is the most dramatic tension in the end. There is dominance, yet there is also agency. There are dignities and there is porosity, but there is the hierarchy. Finally, it is not possible to frame it into something homogeneous and say 'Alright. That's how it is'.



**‘I AM MAPUCHE, AND A FEMINIST’: THE
COMANDANTE BOLIVIANO**



As revealed in the first part of this chapter, the apron as an object can be thought of as a material link between personal histories of loss and displacement and the political history of Chile. Still very much part of their memories and family histories, it shaped the childhood of many Mapuche children, passing through different generations. Even if it is not worn any more, the maid's apron can still be the layer covering one's body.¹² It marks one's biography and even genealogy, as shown in Chapter 1 where the *tuwün* was situated in the ambivalent spatialities of upper-class neighbourhoods, and as recounted in a maid's child's letter in the play section at the end of that chapter. In a context in which silences have long prevailed over the open display of memories and identities, remembrances have passed from one generation to another through everyday gestures and the shared intimacy of family life (Alvarado Lincopi 2016). Wearing the typical squared apron was one of these gestures: children's eyes have seen it hanging clean and ironed, ready for the next working day or for the Mondays in which the mother had to leave for the house of her masters.

The silent but stubborn memories of previous generations walking the Chilean capital are somehow enmeshed in that squared and thick fabric, and the apron still shapes the trajectories of current urban Mapuche youths and how they inhabit and look at the city and its spaces. The passing of these memories through generations is also part of the feminist movement emerging in the Mapuche society over the last few years, especially in the exchange between urban and rural contexts, today in a complex ongoing process of definition.

In 2018, as MapsUrbe was taking place, what is called 'the fourth wave' of feminism made an explosive entrance onto the public arena in Chile, meeting halfway with what was being discussed within the group in its strong relation to female experiences of migration, the city, and racialised work, as detailed in this chapter. What was happening on a broader (national and international) level found expression in the stories and reflections shared within the group. This opened up space for an intimate look at women's histories and bodies as the sites where ruptures of displacement and inequalities, but also endurance, found expression in the scratched hands used to work in kitchens and laundries, in the marks of fatigue and late-night work, in the feet walking the capital from one side to the other, in the scars and wounds produced within families, and in the sadness and rebellion from lack of love. The silences have characterised these women's experiences, or in the words they have found to transmit their memories – and often their own hitherto hidden language – to their offspring.

12 The concepts of Marianne Hirsch's 'postmemory' (2008) or Toni Morrison's 'rememory' (1987) are helpful for understanding this dynamic, in which following generations bear the weight of the memories of those who lived before them.

These stories and the spirited discussion of the whys and how of a 'Mapuche feminism' characterised many exchanges during the project, emerging especially when we worked in spaces provided by Mapuche organisations such as the ceremonial centre in Cerro Navia and the Kvme Felen health and cultural centre in the Quinta Normal neighbourhood. The Kvme Felen is run by three women, two of them exiled during the Pinochet dictatorship, and organises workshops, laboratories and gatherings, besides providing basic intercultural health services with a nurse (Elizabeth, one of the women in charge) and consultancy with a *machi* who travels to Santiago once a month. The centre also organises the local celebration of annual Mapuche festivities, such as the renewing of the year in late June (*Wiñol Tripanú*). During the project, Elizabeth and Mónica Pilquil have been of fundamental support, not only introducing Olivia and Claudio and thus allowing their collaboration but also making the space in the centre available. On the day of the workshop, we were also joined by Daniela Millaleo, a Mapuche artist and singer, who generously shared her own thoughts and stories with us. Warmed by soup and treated to *sopaipillas* with the spicy *pebre* of Monica's amazing cooking, we found ourselves caught up in discussions about gender relations and, once again, the challenges and opportunities of claiming 'Mapuche feminism'.

To declare oneself Mapuche and a feminist is not that straightforward (if declaring oneself a feminist ever was). It is often said that feminism is not Mapuche, and that going back to the past is the solution because patriarchy was brought by Western colonisation. Yet, while colonisation and the destruction of community ties may well be linked to the establishment of a certain kind of patriarchal dynamics, Mapuche society also built – in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries – internal patriarchal structures not necessarily related to those of the white Western world. In the Chilean context, indigenous women have been burdened with multiple levels of discrimination and violence: as women, as indigenous and as poor. The oppression shaping their bodies and lives is marked by both colonial and indigenous patriarchal systems. Like many other indigenous societies in Latin America, these systems intersect, giving rise to what is called by indigenous feminists 'entronque patriarcal' ('patriarchal juncture'; Paredes 2014; see also Crenshaw 1991; Vera 2014). Indigenous women suffer from brutal violence in different intertwined layers: in their workplace, on the streets and other public spaces, in their relationship with their partner and within their family. Resulting in a tight bind, various forms of violence converge and reproduce over their bodies: the racial discrimination within broader Chilean society; the police repression within indigenous communities, during protests and demonstrations; judicial violence as political prisoners and through accusations of criminal offences, especially and more recently in cases involving young activists and *machi*; and domestic violence, a recurring





and silenced experience (see Painemal, Álvarez 2015).¹³ Mapuche women are thus the bearers of the scars and weight of dispossession and a ‘devastated genealogy’, for even within indigenous communities, what Elisa García Mingo defines a ‘terrifying silence’ has prevailed for a long time (2017: 56).¹⁴ Anthropologists, scholars and experts have been complicit in this silence by not asking about violence in an attempt to ‘stick to the ethnographic normal’, focusing on, and investigating, traditional cosmologies instead of confronting the ‘grey zones of conflict within indigenous society’ and recognising how the very ‘tradition’ that is being investigated is what often ends up legitimising – or is used to legitimise – domestic and gender violence (Calfio 2009: 448). This trend is slowly changing, but Mapuche women are mostly absent in the public political arena as well, caught in representations that see them rather as folkloristic figures, literally embodying indigenous tradition and cosmovision and rarely being fully recognised as political subjects in their own right (García Mingo 2017: 18–27, see also Richards 2003, 2007; Pinchulef 2014).¹⁵

At the same time, different strategies of endurance such as silence, as addressed in previous sections of this chapter, nonetheless account for modalities of agency that exceed liberatory projects (Mahmood 2005: x). Through a deep and theoretically honest exploration of a key question for many feminist theorists – the ways in which historical and cultural specificities shape both the analysis and politics of any feminist project, Saba Mahmood leads us to rethinking the very notion of agency, one that questions the binarism subordination/subversion and repression/resistance. From the author’s perspective, informed by Butler’s work, the ability to effect change in the world and in oneself is historically and culturally specific: agential capacity is entailed not only in those acts that resist norms but also ‘in the multiple ways in which one *inhabits* norms’ (2005: 14–15, our emphasis). Similarly to what has already been addressed in Chapters 1 and 2, it is the multiplicity of ways of inhabiting, of dwelling into things, matters, spaces, conflictual situations or uncomfortable places, that allows other lifeworlds

13 Many Mapuche scholars have worked on gender and gender relationships from an indigenous perspective and experience: Margarita Calfio, Diva Millapán, Millaray Painemal, Andrea Pinchulef, as well as the US-based anthropologist Patricia Richards, discussing and highlighting different visions and positionalities: strategically adopting a stance for indigenous ‘tradition’; signifying traditional aspects within the present context; strongly criticising discourses of a lost and ‘golden’ past, and demanding a deep internal and historical self-critique within Mapuche society (García Mingo 2017: 33–36).

14 The reference is to the *machi* Pinda concept of ‘genealogía devastada’, quoted in García Mingo (2017: 40).

15 As a positive sign of change, the first President of the Constitutional Assembly working on the new Constitution was a Mapuche woman, Elisa Loncon, concluding her mandate in January 2022. See Afterword, this volume.

and selves to emerge. It is from these urgencies that the Comandante Boliviano, protagonist of *Santiago Waria*, was constructed as a character.

The Comandante Boliviano was originally part of Simona Mayo's artwork for the exhibition. When the project started, the iconic image chosen to represent the MapsUrbe project played with the classic picture of the 'cacique Loncon' of the end of the nineteenth century. The reworking of this iconography entailed putting one of the figures most commonly used to depict indigeneity in Chile in the context of the city, dressing him with a black leather jacket and colouring the picture. The same image was later used for the exhibition poster. Yet when it came to the play, the poster's figure turned into the Comandante Boliviano: she took Loncon's place like she takes the baton passed to her by David in the final scene. A *chamurrria* woman with a male name, she is a character in which the borders between gender identities end up being blurred and thus questioned. In her silence and her words, only uttered on the top of the Santa Lucía/Welen Hill, the stories of many women that migrated from the south and reached the capital emerge: their strength and vulnerability, their pain and freedom, the violence they suffered within Chilean society and in their own families, their creativity, and the tenderness they were able to transmit to their children and grandchildren. Her clothes – put on as overlays between each scene and somehow through the very act of moving throughout the city – testify to the complexity and multiplicity of dwelling in the city space, shaping bodies as belonging to both the past and the present, while reaching for the future at the same time.

Simona, the performer representing the Comandante, both enacts and embodies that character bearing a name her grandfather chose for her and constructed by drawing on her own family and personal biography. Yet at the same time, the Comandante condenses many more stories and trajectories, as well as imaginations and fiction: standing on the top of the hill in the centre of the *waria*, in the creative carving and shifting of spaces, the Comandante is a poetic gesture of appropriation: a powerful, if ephemeral, crafting of the future.



Daniela: A while ago, I was thinking, together with other lamgen who are also feminists, that 90% of all the violence that I have suffered in my life – physical, verbal, and a lot more, even sexual violence – has been from perpetrators who were Mapuche and men, and it is striking to rethink it like that. Why am I a feminist? Because this happened to me, and why am I a Mapuche feminist? Because I must deal with this within my own culture. I even suffered violence from an ex who shouted at me that I was not Mapuche, but that I was 'whitened' (awigkada). For me, that was patriarchal violence. Identifying patriarchal violence is very important for us because it is transversal in all cultures, especially in Latin America and especially among indigenous peoples. So, when they ask me why I am a feminist, it is because feminism deals with this violence. It defines that violence, and you understand that the fault is not yours and that you do not have to go through this violence, even if they tell you that it is 'part of the culture' and they tell you that, 'a Mapuche woman must not wear the kupan like that; she has to wear it like this' ... and they yell at you, while they wear jeans and makuñ and that's their outfit. [...] Of course, certain types of feminism are also violent, coming from a tradition of white feminism. However, we Mapuche have also been reading, and we have been in contact, for example, with the feminists in Chiapas, as well as the Guatemalans, the Bolivians and the black feminist, and we have concluded that while the Mapuche people do not deal with all of the violence that weights on female and sexually dissident bodies, we are not going to stop saying that we are feminists. We are going to criticize this violence because we must criticize the violence that exists in the communities. It must be understood that almost all market stands have been erected by women who have separated from their wentru because he was lost to alcohol and had been beating them, and they started selling at the market because they needed to eat and to feed their children. I think it is extremely important to discuss these issues, to understand that violence is more than even what we read in Mapuche history books. The statistics of my lived experience tell you that 90% of the people who have used violence against me have been Mapuche men, and that is why I am a feminist.

Danitza: The idea is about facing life as a woman. That is why I say I am a feminist; I have no other choice. That and because of my grandfather, who had to deal with being a father to me, because it was he who took care of me; my Mapuche grandfather, who stopped drinking alcohol and started doing housework because he realised that his only granddaughter was a woman and that he had to do things that would change that granddaughter's world. In his community, there was a lot of violence and

a lot of alcohol as a result of many issues, since that violence does not come from nowhere. What I'm saying is that he had to reprogram himself, and between the three of them, he, my mother and my grandmother, they raised me as well as they could. [...] He taught me about contraceptive herbs and he taught me my lawenes. He must have thought, 'I have a granddaughter and I have to prepare her for the población de Los Espejos'. When I grew up, I realised that I know how to take care of myself, and I realised that my Mapuche grandfather had taught me things, but I also remember that his life was turned upside-down with me.

Marie Juliette: In a place near Curarrehue, there were many of us, Mapuche and others. Suddenly, at around eight or nine at night, one lamgen approached me and other girls who were there and said, 'Lamgencitas, lamgencitas, you have to go to bed because at this time you cannot be outside.' We looked at each other and asked, 'Lamgen, but why so strict? If we are not drinking or anything, why can't we be outside?' The lamgen said 'No, no, no, upstairs! Everyone go to bed, to bed, to bed! Because at this time the wekufe comes out. Come on, now'. At that time, we accepted that and we went to bed, all in the same room. We turned off the light and went to bed, just like that, without a fuss. I remembered that experience again last year. That memory emerged during the discussions that were being generated at that time around Mapuche women and feminism. The truth is, when the lamgen told us that we had to go to bed because the wekufe would come out, I wondered if that wekufe was so non-human. I wondered if perhaps the wekufe – or this 'being' that something is going to do to the women – was much more tangible, and I straightforwardly mean if it actually was some guy who was drunk ... a drunk guy who was there, and the lamgen could not be seen outside because he was going to rape them or do something bad. It's not just because we had to go to bed, because it is widely accepted that if there is someone next to your house who is drunk, he either touches you, rapes you or hits you, the lamgen. So, I'm very happy that this conversation has come up, because once again I feel the same anger that I felt last year when I remembered that situation where they sent me to bed and I couldn't say to the lamgen, 'You know what? Let's see. Tell me more.' I perfectly remember that there were many men outside, drinking. So, it is widely accepted that if a man is there drinking, we are easy targets. That made me very angry because the wekufe is really much more material. He is much closer to us.

I have thought a lot about these issues lately. With several friends from the south, ñañaas, we were thinking about this, and if we really want to build self-determination where we have to be relegated to making yiwĩn kofke? Although I do want to learn how to make yiwĩn kofke, if they are telling me I have to go to make it and cannot participate in a political meeting, no. It doesn't seem right to me. If those are going to be the conditions, I'm not interested in their self-determination. That was it. Fey muten. That was it, lamgen. I don't talk much.

SCENE III

Metro Inés de Suárez



Disembarking the bus at Plaza Inés de Suárez, each member of the audience has in their hands a kitchen towel on which the map of the addresses of the Mapuche domestic employees who worked in this sector of the city between 1959 and 1960 is printed. They walk around the square, listening to the audio-guide. The Comandante Boliviano stands still in front of them. Three aprons are resting on the benches in the little square. The Comandante begins to pick up the aprons in silence, accompanied by two women dressed in black, equally silent.

*Audio-guide*¹⁶ You are in the Pedro de Valdivia square, in the municipality of Providencia. The Inés de Suárez Park is a few metres from here, which is why the metro station located here bears this name. Pedro de Valdivia and Inés de Suárez are together again as in the colony; the past repeats itself in different ways.

When Santiago was not yet this large town of *Wigka*, this area was one of farms and estates, and Bilbao and Pedro de Valdivia avenues were just paths that connected these lands to the city, now the monumental city centre. Then, these estates were sold and during republican times, they began to be populated when the centre had filled with migrants from the south and the north of the country.

Today, we are walking over footprints once again. These are traces of women of different ages. They are our ancestors who travelled from the south – some barely twelve years old – to work as domestic servants. They lived and worked specifically here, in this sector of the city. Most worked as ‘live-in’ (*puetras adentros*), with only two half-Sundays a month to rest.

On their days off, they were allowed to go out after serving lunch. They went for a walk, visited a relative or went to the Quinta Normal Park to laugh with their peers, only to be back in the houses they shared with their employers to start another week of work at nine o’clock that night. These women spent Christmas and New Year serving dinners. They went on holiday with the families they served wearing their aprons, to take care of their children, serve the table, tidy up and clean the summer houses. However, it was not all work. There was organisation too. Many of the women we are remembering

16 The performance audios can be accessed on the website page for this section corresponding to Track 7: <https://www.mapsurbe.com/eng-santiago-waria>.

were organised as workers, and gave life to the magazine *Revista Surge*. *Revista Surge* reported on labour rights, and was an important reference for migrant women arriving in the capital. This was the magazine that at a certain point stopped talking about domestic employees (*empleadas domesticas*), calling them ‘private house workers’ instead.

On the pages of *Revista Surge*, new members were welcomed with their names appearing alongside the addresses of the houses where they worked and lived. From 1959 to 1966, sixty names and addresses were published. Our historian searched the map of Santiago for these addresses, and we saw that many Mapuche women served in this neighbourhood, presumably as housemaids. Yes, in this very neighbourhood and this very square, they used to walk with the children of their masters or the elderly people they looked after.

Move on for a few meters; see how calm and peaceful this place is. Look at those big trees. Maybe some of them had been grown in the Quinta Normal Park at the beginning of the last century.

According to the 1960 Population and Housing Census, there were almost 200,000 people in Chile working as domestic servants back then, and 92% were women. In 1970, there were, in Santiago alone, approximately 72,200 women working in this field. The censuses of the time did not distinguish ethnicity. However, according to the Araucanian Census by Carlos Huayquiñir, carried out in 1966, about 10,000 Mapuche were working in this field. In 1978, the study ‘The Employees of Private Houses: Background’ registered the employment of women from 12 to more than 60 years old. This was the main job for poor Chilean women and a very high percentage of migrant Mapuche women.

Follow the Comandante Boliviano, the silent young woman, and hand her the cloth which you brought with you from the bus. Printed on the fabric there is a map showing the places where these women worked and lived.

Where are those stories? Where are these names and in what part of the city?

The public is guided by the Comandante Boliviano to the bridge that crosses Pedro de Valdivia Avenue. Once on top of the bridge, the Comandante stands still, before turning around to face the audience.

Audio-guide You are on Pedro de Valdivia Avenue. Once you have reached the centre of the bridge form a circle, to fold our memory and treasure the effort of these women who gave birth to us.

The Comandante holds out her hands to receive the kitchen cloths that each member of the audience gives her, forming a circle on the bridge. The song Sirenita by Daniela Millaleo is playing. A silent Comandante leads the audience back to the bus. While they board it once again, the Comandante and the two women dressed in black stay behind, holding the kitchen towels and the apron as though they were offerings in a ceremony.

Sound of the kullkull

INTERLUDE

Toward the Hill with Two Names¹⁷

¹⁷ The performance audios can be accessed on the website page for this section corresponding to Track 8: <https://www.mapsurbe.com/eng-santiago-waria>.



III. Felidor Nahuelhual to his sister Lucinda

Dear little sister,

I am writing to tell you that I have received your letters.

We are very concerned about you.

I could not reply before because we have had many problems. Our harvest has been bad and we have no money to repay the loan we took out to plant the beets. Around here, they are measuring and dividing. It seems that they will take our land away again.

I spoke to the *machi* Berta and she told me someone has hexed you, and that you have to come back so she can heal you. She says that you have been cursed by the devil from the north, and that is why your head is in turmoil. She says she will ritually cure you with a *machituke* healing ceremony to exorcise the northern whirlwind demon and banish the malignant forces.

Little sister, next week I'm going to collect you to bring you back to the land, so wait for me and be strong. Norfelina and your nephew pray for you every day.

Lots of Love,

Your brother, Felidor.

Felidor Nahuelhual, Prado Huichahue, December 3, 1986.

Audio-guide In the year 1991 in Santiago, something happened that upset the Mapuche community at the time: the visit of the King of Spain. While Chileans were honoured by the visit of Carlos and Sofia, a group of Mapuche prepared a protest.

Radio October the 12th is Columbus Day, 'the Day of the Race' and a day of celebrations. At least, that is what it was thought to be until a few years ago, among the inhabitants of the cities of the Americas. However, October the 12th was different this time. The Alameda between Plaza Baquedano and Paseo Ahumada was gradually filled with

furious protesters who, in one way or another, demanded that this festivity be eliminated.

They have nothing to celebrate, and if he were alive, they would surely scream in Columbus' face that his initiative was a preamble to the genocide of the first inhabitants of this continent. This is how these indigenous representatives describe the discovery of the New World led by Christopher Columbus; and not them, but also the environmentalists, as well as those who see in progress a process as overwhelming and destructive as the erosion of the hills resulting from the indiscriminate felling of forests. *Marrichiweu*, 'ten times we will win', and 'no to the 500 years' were the most frequent battle cries that were shouted furiously during the march. The crowd headed to the Plaza de Armas in Santiago, which is always guarded by the statue of a horseback Pedro de Valdivia, perhaps the most challenging symbol of the Spanish invasion of Chile for those present. The atmosphere was one of effervescence and anything could have happened.

Sound of the *kullkull*.

Luis and Abelino are bakers. They wear jeans, a white cotton sweatshirt and a short-sleeved, semi-open plaid shirt, revealing the white sweatshirt underneath. The scene takes place in October 1990.¹⁸ Luis and Abelino carry bulky denim bags, inside which are makuñ and txarilogko. They carry a package with three or four wiño that are wrapped in newspaper. The package is torn at one end, rendering its content visible. Both board the bus and pay 140 pesos per person, in old 100 coins and 10 coins from 1973, the ones that read 'freedom':

Luis: Two tickets please.

Abelino: Thank you, thank you.

Luis: Shi ... [*joking*] and the change?! Ah, you can't trust anyone!

Abelino: The fare has increased a lot ...

18 This scene refers to the historical facts of the occupation of the San Francisco church in downtown Santiago as part of Mapuche protests at the beginning of the 1990s. Martín Llanccaman wrote it and proposed it to the group, and it was later realised by himself together with Nicolás Cayuqueo Ríos.

- Luís:* And where do I put this stuff?
- Abelino:* Just there.
- Luís:* And the ...? [*looking nervously at the package*]
- Abelino:* Down there. *Chuta, peñi*, your package is broken ... *Pucha*, Lucho ... and why did you wrap them so much? What a mess!
- Luís:* It's just that, I am doing this for the first time, and I'm not sure how we're going to do it.
- Abelino:* But *peñi*, we have to be quick. We go in, we take the people out and it's done, just like we agreed in the *txawiin*. You were there, right?
- Luís:* Yes, but I only came along, and I don't know why it occurred to me to say that I had the *chuecas* (hockey sticks).
- Abelino:* [*between reproach and mockery*] The *wiño, peñi*, the *wiño*.
- Luís:* There is a lot of traffic, though.
- Abelino:* Sure, *peñi*, but it's all for this stupid thing: the visit of the King of Spain! Have you noticed the number of streets that have been cut this week? You cannot go even to work! For this very reason, *peñi*, it is so important that we do not remain silent, because these Spaniards still believe that they can just walk over us! Celebrating 500 years? What are we going to celebrate, 500 years, us, the ... [*he interrupts himself because he knows that he has become a little too excited*]?
- Luís:* ... the Mapuche.
- Abelino:* Yes *peñi*, indeed, the Mapuche. Besides, this is pure circus. Do they want us to celebrate 500 years, when all of this *mapu* was ours? The fact that we have to work as we do is purely a consequence of their robbery.

- Luís:* Yes, I agree, but what if they find out in the bakery? Look, the owner, Valdivia ... he is Spanish. What if this one who is coming is a friend of his and we end up losing our job?
- Abelino:* *Pucha, Melivilu.* You are such a *pirulogko!* This *compadre* is the King of Spain! Besides *peñi*, in the union they told me that no one can do anything to us; the *pacos* cannot enter the church.
- Luís:* But it's the San Francisco church. I don't think it is as simple as just entering and taking it!
- Abelino:* We just have to be quick, without thinking about it so much. The cops can't enter!
- Luís:* Maybe not the cops, but the military, no doubt!
- Abelino:* But they have returned to their barracks!
- Luís:* Chiii, but half a year ago, no more. The old man [Pinochet] relinquished power and the army have left, but one still has to treat them with respect.
- Abelino:* Respect, that's the word *peñi: repetu*. Imagine that the King comes and the Mapuche do not say anything. We keep silent. With what respect are we going to look at our children in the future? We have endured disrespect already too much: 'fucking Indian' (*indio culiao*) here, 'shitty Indian' (*indio 'e mierda*) there, and 'are you speaking English?'¹⁹ That is why we have to earn respect now. Remember *peñi*, when we take that church, we will be ... we will be in the national news! Even the morning programs will come to listen to us so we must say that we are against celebrating 500 years and that if it is not to talk about the treaties with the Mapuche, there is no reason for any king to come. We must say that! If we stay quiet, what will happen? Tomorrow, they are going to put us in jail. They are going to shoot us in the back

19 The 'Are you speaking English?' taunt refers to the supposed incomprehensibility of Mapuche speaking a peculiar kind of Spanish, common in the rural areas of the indigenous territory.

and take away what little land we have left! How ...
What about that?!²⁰

Luís: ... Gosh, Abelino ... you speak beautifully. That's what I like about you in the bakery. When one listens to you, one kind of gets encouraged, kind of *anewena!*

Abelino: You mean *newen*.

Luís: Yes *peñi*, *newen*. *Newen* Mapuche. You know, *peñi* ... my *laku* once told me that the old *peñi*, the *kuifi peñi* (Michimalongko) took over the entire city of Santiago, that it could be done. My grandfather says that this is in the history books, but to me, *peñi*, at school in Nueva Imperial, no one taught me.

Abelino: Yes, they always only teach half of it, but if this turns out well for us *peñi*, we may go down in history, with the *chuecas* as you call them ... [*laughs*].

Luís: The *wiño peñi*, the *wiños*. Maybe this thing gets big and we take over all of Santiago!

Abelino: [*laughs*] Come on *peñi!* Calm down, this isn't going to be so much!

Luís: Ready *peñi*, *amulepe*. I already feel ... already ... already. Hey *peñi*, but what if ...? Anyway, we should probably be a little quieter now. Look, what if there is a snitch amongst us? [*they look at the audience*]

Abelino: Do you think so, Melivilu? They don't seem like bad people.

The pop song La Indía starts playing at a very high volume on the radio. The audience receives a drink and something to eat. Luís and Abelino get off shortly before the bus reaches its final destination, the Santa Lucía/Welen Hill.

20 This is a reference to the fact that since the end of the 1990s, a significant number of Mapuche activists have been killed by the police (in at least two cases, shot in the back) or jailed for their protests.

ACT 4

Welcome to the future: The
Santa Lucia / Welen Hill

Colectivo MapsUrbe



THE FAKE CAUPOLICÁN AND THE MAKING
OF THE CITY



Claudio: I think we have in common not looking for essences, but for tensions and contradictions in ourselves, and I have a reflection on this idea of the Mapuche and the *Waria che*. Personally, I like to define myself as *Mapurbe* much more than *Waria che*, because I feel that the concept of the *Waria che* is an overlapping of traditional territorial identities – the *Lhafkenh che*, the *Pewen che*, the *Huilli che* – with the urban scenography. It is like taking the traditional logic of territorial identities and bringing it to the city and to our ways of inhabiting it.¹ It seems to me that the idea of the *Mapurbe* by David Aníñir, our poet-philosopher ...

Antil: ... our very own Plato!

Claudio: I think it really builds on another possibility; not of thinking from a tradition of territorial identities – from the *fütalmapu* – but of adopting a different code. If we were honest with that former codification, we would say ‘we are *Pikun che*, but when we say ‘*Waria che*’ what are we saying? What are we saying when we say ‘*Mapurbe*’? I believe that there is a dialectical intention: as the city challenges us, we also have the possibility of challenging the city. That’s why I like words like ‘Mapunky’ a lot because it’s not only how Mapuche are overwhelmed by the city, but also how something like punk can be overcome by being Mapuche, almost like a permanent tension within a process of becoming.

Coco: ‘*Mapurbe*’. I don’t know. The ‘urbe’, the big capital; I don’t know. I would prefer something like a neologism with ‘*población*’ ... something like ‘*poblache*’ or ‘*che pobla*’, because even when we hold political demonstrations there in the Plaza de Armas, afterwards we go back to all our ‘territories’ within the city: Puente Alto, Peñalolén, Recoleta. I think it is necessary ... I am not in favour of a *champurriada* identity – being a *champurria* myself – because a *champurriada* identity is an identity without substance; it is weak. What we must do is to ‘*champurrear*’ the Mapuche, to shake him up. When they call me *champuerrado* – I know that I am *champurria*, my same last name says it – I repeat my maternal surname, Quilán. I do that. Soto, yes but also Quilán. So ‘*champurreado*’ is not it for me; one has to ‘*champurrear*’ the Mapuche.

1 *Waria che* is related to a particular way of conceiving one’s relationship with the urban environment: this term reproduces the territorial identities related to the Mapuche territories in the south of the country and its heterogeneous geographical and social features (*Pikun che*, ‘people of the north’, *Lhafkenh che*, ‘people of the sea’, *Willi che*, ‘people of the south’, *Pewen che*, ‘people of the *pewen*’). Characteristic of the migrating generations first arriving in the metropolitan region, this term is now somehow at odd with the experiences and belongings of those born and raised in Santiago. *Mapurbe* is a more recent term for describing this diasporic condition, widely adopted by younger generation. It is worth mentioning that ‘being Mapuche in Santiago’ is already a strong claim against the Chilean capital as a ‘white’ city and the placement of indigenous bodies in certain spaces, with specific features and borders.

Antil: I no longer use the term ‘*Waria che*’ and I like ‘*Mapurbe*’, but I have a sort of conflict when thinking of Mapuche in the city. I sometimes feel that we should have certain orientations for imagining the future or for thinking collectively. It occurs to me and I wonder how we are going to think about the Mapuche here in the city and what role a Mapuche or a *Mapurbe* should have? Perhaps this should be discussed in a political project or in a sort of ‘*Mapurbe* citizenship project’ that has not been thought of so far. In the south, the *peñi* strongly defend the places of the *gen*, and here in Santiago, we have not thought of recovering – or creating new – forms in which we could better coexist with other entities. Santiago is turning into a desert. There are fewer and fewer ants and bugs, and I no longer see as many birds as before. While a collective political project should not be something univocal or imposed, certain visions for the future should be considered around this idea of the *Mapurbe*. [...] When I said we should break the cement I mean this: to transform the city or think of another type of city, from a Mapuche positionality.

Nicolás: From where we stand, and from where we are building this, I think there is an element that we all mentioned when we first met, but that we have not addressed in depth. Of course, we are mostly talking about the *waria*, but we all have a connection, and our old ones, whenever they can, head south. If they have a *lof*, they go to their *lof*. If we have a *lof*, we go to our *lof* but if we do not, we look for a *lof* and we do political, cultural or emotional work wherever. The *Mapurbe*, or at least those of us who are here, constantly look south. So, I think that this is an element that perhaps does not completely define the *Mapurbe*. It does reveal something of it, though; this constant action of going, looking and heading south.

Antil: Perhaps there is something of nostalgia, a longing to return to the *lelfün* ...

Cynthia: Pedro Cayuqueo says the *ruka* is actually a concept. It can be the place where one wants to be and where one feels comfortable. So, this ‘breaking the cement’ is like going against something, but I believe that there is also the need for adaptation. That is ultimately what has kept the Mapuche people alive. Adaptation is how culture has survived. Rather, what generates discomfort or lack of belonging in the city is the segregation produced by urban planning, and this brings up the feeling of wondering where we are. What are the places or spaces in which we can coexist in certain ways and why do we feel so rooted in certain spaces and not in others? To which spaces do we belong?

Danitza: I remember that a *machi* advised me to appropriate my own space here in the city with small gestures because that was my Mapuche home, and the discussion of what is or is not Mapuche ended there. She saw me, she read me, and she told me this is what you need.

Dania: It has to do with the value that one gives to places.

Danitz: It has to do with the value of space, of appropriating space and saying, 'This is Mapuche to me', period. So, while political roles and visions of the future can be established from within the urban community that is being generated, it is also good to question what it actually is to be Mapuche, because we also have uprooting in our blood.

Rodrigo: I wanted to go back to something the *lamgen* said about the meaning of the *ruka*. I define myself as a 'Mapunky', in the sense of 'rukear' ('making home') by appropriating a space. The city itself, although it takes us out of the centre, has ultimately been built based on our inhabiting and building it. That begins with a colonial wound, which comes from an uprooting, but which has eventually made ways of appropriating space possible. It is a filthy space – and I want to be emphatic here – and I love the term 'Mapunky' because it is an urban term. It is urban. I look with nostalgia to the south, of course, but I am an urban animal, from the gutter, with its rats, warts and all. This is my *mapu*, in the sense of 'rukear' the *mapu* with all the contradictions that run through us. The thing is that these contradictions are marked by otherness. All the ways of being Mapuche are marked because we are and always will be an 'other', because we never have a place here that is not peripheral. I think that a project of decolonisation should point in that direction. It is not about making the city Mapuche, it is about making that logic of otherness Mapuche.

[...]

Marcela: I was thinking about spatiality and how we experience it, that idea of humanist geography of experiencing space from different sensibilities. When one grows up in a city like Santiago, compared to growing up in another city in Chile, one generates that hatred of the city, but also a very strong identification with the periphery, feeling peripheral and originating your own positioning from there. Santiago is, in certain ways, planned for that to happen, so I think how we make a city is still connected to that, and probably the answer has always been from the *küme mogen*; from empathy, and from how we relate to one another. But I don't feel there is a rigidly established *küme mogen* either, because that's when we fall into essentialism. It's what we talked about; that we all belong to our own time.

Antil: I work in the Estación Mapocho as a guide, and when there are no people, I read. Something strange started happening to me. I would read something, and then someone would happen to comment on the exact same thing. Once, I was talking with Loreto Millalen about it, and she told me, 'It's the *lhewfu*. It's the Mapocho', so I said to her, 'Why, if the Mapocho is so dirty and everything?' I asked her that and she said, 'I don't know. Have you ever had any relationship with it?'

And I remembered. I had accompanied a friend doing performative work from Providencia to Quinta Normal, close to Cerro Navia. I walked, together with him, alongside the Mapocho. Suddenly this whole idea of the Mapocho as this ugly, dirty river changed. I realised that I had never been aware that maybe the *lheufu* that lives there is accompanying me! Now that I am close to it, I am beginning to experience things because it is finally accompanying me; it accompanies us. Since then, I have got a very special affection for it. So, I believe it is important that we consider this when we think about the city because it is not the same as from a political or historical point of view. Perhaps we should think of it with another kind of affection, and that way, being Mapuche takes shape in the very ways we think about the city.

Digging and reaching for the sky, a day spent in Cerro Navia with David Aniñir Guiltraro was a collective exercise of ‘archaeology of the *Mapurbe*’. The debate went well beyond the frictions between indigeneity and the urban context: the possibility for Mapuche to inhabit the city and still be indigenous as discussed during the 1980s and 1990s; what is or is not ‘Mapuche’; what is or is not part of the indigenous ‘tradition’; and how and where it should be practised. During our collective talk, in the backyard of the ceremonial centre in Cerro Navia, this binarism disappeared, to our relief: the very place in which we were did not allow mechanistic classifications. Clinging on to oppositions between ‘being’ and ‘not being’ was odd enough: the black and brown remains of a former *ruka*, burnt down and never rebuilt because of lack of funding; the *gillatuwe* – the field where ceremonies are held – with the *rewe* in the middle of it, traversed by huge lattice pylons and high-voltage cables, with its quiver-inducing electricity felt and its buzzing sound heard from nearby the *rewe*. In this scenario, the city is neither a metaphor nor a ‘landscape’, but a strong presence that finds its way across and around any space for tradition, ceremony, indigenous and *mestizo* bodies.

Moving from this buzz and the invisible vibrations that from there emanate into the metropolitan city, such peripheral spaces were initially supposed to be the sites where our work, and more specifically the play *Santiago Waria*, reached its conclusions. In a sort of smooth circularity, they constituted both the beginning (where most of us came from) and an ending. Nonetheless, this was not what ultimately happened. Rather, we concluded the performance on the Santa Lucía/Welen Hill on which this chapter is centred, the very place that had kept ‘escaping’ us, avoiding our gaze and eluding our grasp. We were finally able to reach it, once we abandoned both the claim of refunding the city in its indigeneity and any illusion of authenticity. The hill in itself is and can only be *champurria*, a site for tension and contradiction, as we see in what follows.

The Santiago basin is adorned with promontories known locally as 'island hills', natural upheavals that bequeathed ice ages and which for centuries have given meaning to the territory. Among them, the Santa Lucia/Welen Hill is one of the most important. The *logko* Welen-Wala, who once governed the surrounding areas, assigned sacred properties to the hill. When the Spanish conquered and founded Santiago, they climbed the hill to sanction their colonial power, giving it a religious name and installing there one of the first hermitages of the city. However, the hill was not simply a sacred place: since the arrival of the Spanish to the region, it has been a surveillance point – a natural panopticon – used geostrategically for the conquest.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the hill did not undergo major modifications. Under Spanish rule, what was a religious and strategic site later became a source of raw material for paving the city's streets. The century in which not only the hill but also a large part of downtown Santiago was modified was the nineteenth, and the man pushing that transformation was Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna (mentioned in Chapter 1), the politician, intellectual and urban planner who, in his redesign of the city, also conceived the aesthetical and functional transformation of the Santa Lucia Hill.

His political exile in 1852 allowed him to visit the United States and Europe, places that would act as his stylistic and urban reference when he later became mayor of Santiago (1872–75). Ideologically, Vicuña Mackenna perfectly represents nineteenth-century liberalism, with faith in science for progress and civilisation, looking towards the social and material advances of Europe as examples of evolution and modernity. The indigenous and poorer sectors of society represented a drag on the moral and material development of Chile to such an illustrious liberal: these sectors incubated most of the evils that impeded the march towards a civilised society. Mimicking Parisian urbanism and pushing the lower-class and indigenous occupations of urban spaces towards the margins, Vicuña Mackenna undertook the mission of transforming Santiago's public face. The Santa Lucia Hill was a fundamental site in his project to 'Haussmanise' the city. By the second half of the nineteenth century, that rocky, dry and dusty place in the middle of the city was turned into a hillside orchard for the Santiago bourgeoisie's Sunday walks, with fountains, gardens, gazebos and sculptures imposed on the grey stone of the ancient Welen Hill. In his crusade to save Santiago from barbarism, Vicuña Mackenna imagined and planned a new hill, a new city and even a new Chile. The hill was the spatial and landscape sedimentation of that civilisation project. From the same site from where Valdivia founded and planned Santiago, Vicuña Mackenna devised and refunded the bourgeois city.

The hill is thus full of symbols that renew the old weight of colonialism, contradictorily under both 'European' and republican tones. On its slopes,

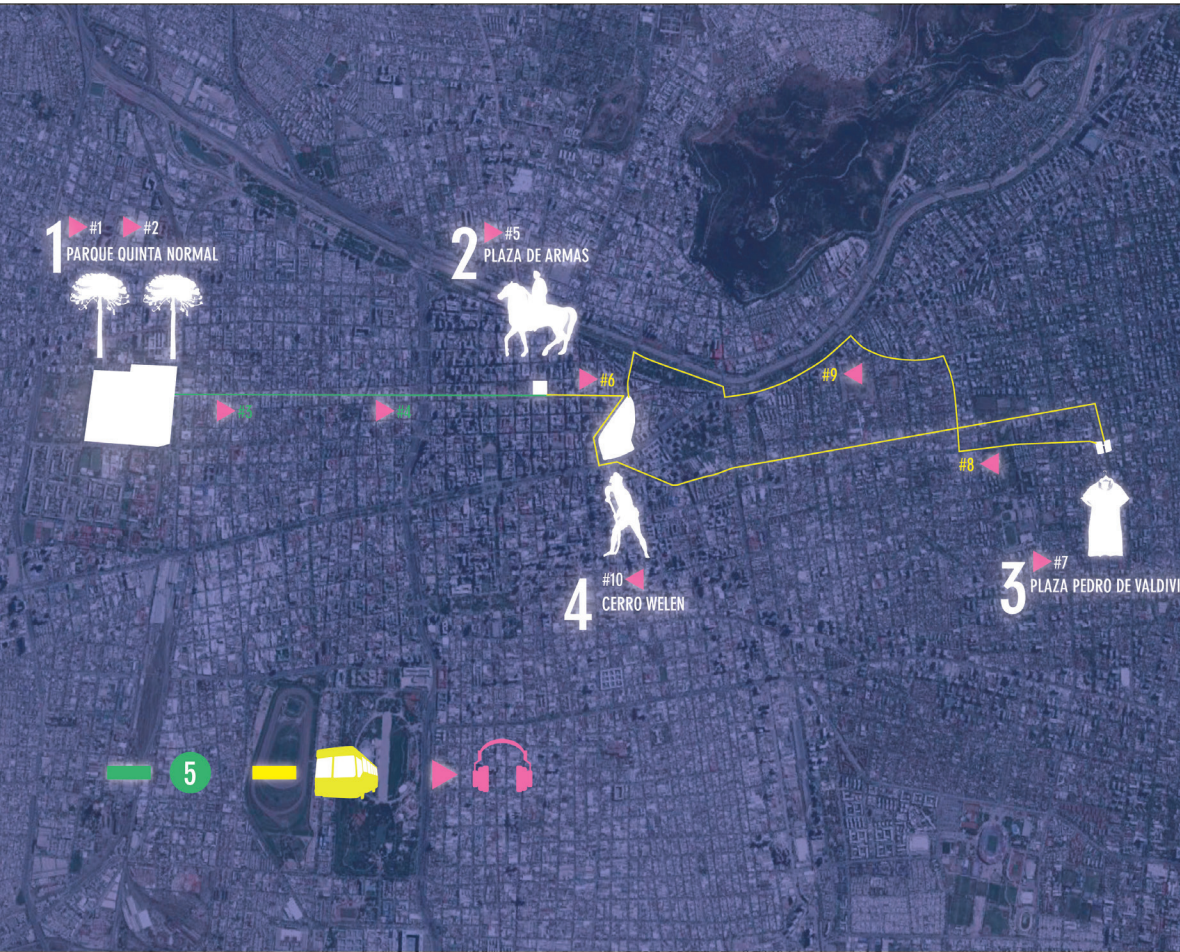
a stone is carved with famous phrases from Pedro de Valdivia to the King of Spain, describing the land he had just 'discovered' as beautiful, abundant and empty, his sword and his pen united in their effort to erase the local population. Higher up are the neoclassical pools along with indigenous and exotic trees, and at the top is a viewpoint recalling the architecture of colonial forts and from where one can see a city of glass buildings. Just below, on the paths that lead to the top, is the Caupolicán terrace, named after a sculpture located on a large, tall rock. The sculpture is supposed to be a representation of the Mapuche political and military leader Caupolicán, who fought against the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century. However, in truth, the figure portrayed is actually inspired by *The Last of the Mohicans*. The prominent artist Nicanor Plaza (1844–1918) had originally created the sculpture for an international competition in the United States. When he failed, he tried to sell it to the North American diplomats who were interested in a Mapuche figure, but when they found out about Plaza's inspirations and design, they abandoned the purchase. The sculpture was later acquired by the Chilean government and placed on the top of the Santa Lucía Hill.

Of course, when Nicanor Plaza thought about portraying an indigenous person, despite being born and raised in Chile, instead of being inspired by the Mapuche, he resorted to an illustration from the novel by James Fenimore Cooper. This, far from being a mere curiosity, reveals the depth of the denial of indigeneity: even its representation is shaped by what is considered more acceptable models to the colonial eye. In Plaza's gesture lie the euphemisms of Chilean elites, the ambiguity of a manipulative visibilisation without recognition, and veiled violence of an oblivious gaze that haunts us and the city to this day. The 'Caupolicán' of Nicanor Plaza is still there, looking down at Santiago, as one of the most important representations of the Mapuche in Chile, crowning a highly symbolic space in the city centre, the icon of the modern and civilising impetus, the beautiful Santa Lucía Hill. Here is where the colonial wound remains symbolically open: Chile still cannot really see the 'other', it is not yet ready to know its true body, real wounds and heartaches, its roughness, and stubborn brownness (*morenidad*).

The electric buzz of the cables sounds and resounds in and between indigenous and mestizo bodies inhabiting peripheral spaces. Where places for ceremony and gatherings are built, allowing memories of the past and of other places to be present, and change to be the way tradition is brought to life. Because the colonial wound inscribed in the fake Caupolicán can also be appropriated, as when David, declaiming his poetry on top of the hill at the end of the play *Santiago Waria*, addresses the statue with a 'peñi Sioux'. With feathers and loincloth, yes, and a far from realistic representation of a sixteenth-century Mapuche warrior, but still, if that statue dominating

Santiago is called Caupolicán, why not? In its own approximation and irresolution, if we want it to be, it can still be a *peñi* – a Mapuche – inhabiting the city, dominating it from above and appropriating it through its fakeness and lack of authenticity. For a single, ephemeral moment that has already happened. This is it. Welcome to the Welen/Santa Lucía Hill. Welcome to the future.

FROM CERRO NAVIA TO WELEN: 'THIS IS
WHAT THE PERFORMANCE IS ALL ABOUT'



1 #1 #2
PARQUE QUINTA NORMAL

2 #5
PLAZA DE ARMAS

4 #10
CERRO WELEN

3 #7
PLAZA PEDRO DE VALDIVIA

5

David was born in 1971 in Cerro Navia, one of the municipalities on the outskirts of Santiago hit hard by the economic and socio-political crisis during the military regime. His mother had migrated from the south, just like many others, and married in Santiago. As the family was struggling during the deep economic crisis in the 1980s, David started working from an early age, only later making space for his visionary, beautiful and unvarnished verses which are powerfully marked by both abandonment and endurance. Cerro Navia is bordered by the Mapocho. There, downstream from the hills where its flow is but a thin stream, is where it darkens and becomes a river, almost leaving the city behind. Later a space where gatherings and even shows were organised, during the 1980s the riverbed was one of the sites for cruel military repression, including one night when a young woman of the MIR (*Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* – ‘The Movement of the Revolutionary Left’), in her early twenties, was dragged there and killed with dynamite tied around her body.

David’s poetry, which gradually began to circulate and gain relevance in urban indigenous contexts both in Chile and in Argentina during the early 2000s, could well be defined as ‘avant-garde’, drawing together indigenous roots and belonging to an urban reality of transformation and contamination. ‘Impurity’ and mixture are strong in the very use David makes of language: his Spanish is mixed with Mapuzgun words, urban jargon and some English terms (mostly related to the web and virtual reality). His verses, and especially his concept of *Mapurbe* (see Introduction), are a key point of reference for young Mapuche generations as, in contributing to making complex experiences and identities visible and somehow ‘authorised’, David’s poetry opened up a space of belonging for those who had been feeling out of place both in the south and in the city.² Its complexity and richness stand in depicting indigeneity as made of multiple layers, contradictions and juxtapositions, far from static and straightforward. David’s harsh gaze allows one to question and to be questioned about what ‘mapucheness’ should represent, opening up to differences, doubts and creative forms of dwelling (urban) spaces and bodies. The very concept of the ‘*Mapurbe*’ relates to that: the pain, contradictions and struggles and the constant sensation of not fitting, and yet the need of keeping this tension somehow alive, without resolving it. It also relates to contamination and its generative possibilities: tuning and mixing

2 In Chile, the references one encounters during school years are usually from the Western context. Even Latin American art is often discovered only later on, let alone indigenous art. Mapuche artists and thinkers or historians are almost never part of formal education. Albeit from an underground background, David has been (more so today) one of these figures of reference, and while others before him had called for recognition, representation and the very possibility for indigenous voices to be heard, his importance lies precisely in opening up a space for both recognition and a critical rethinking of indigeneity. While this is not the place to discuss the matter, this also entails a risk of some kind of commodification, as in other counter-cultural artistic expressions (see Richard 1994; Palmer 2011).

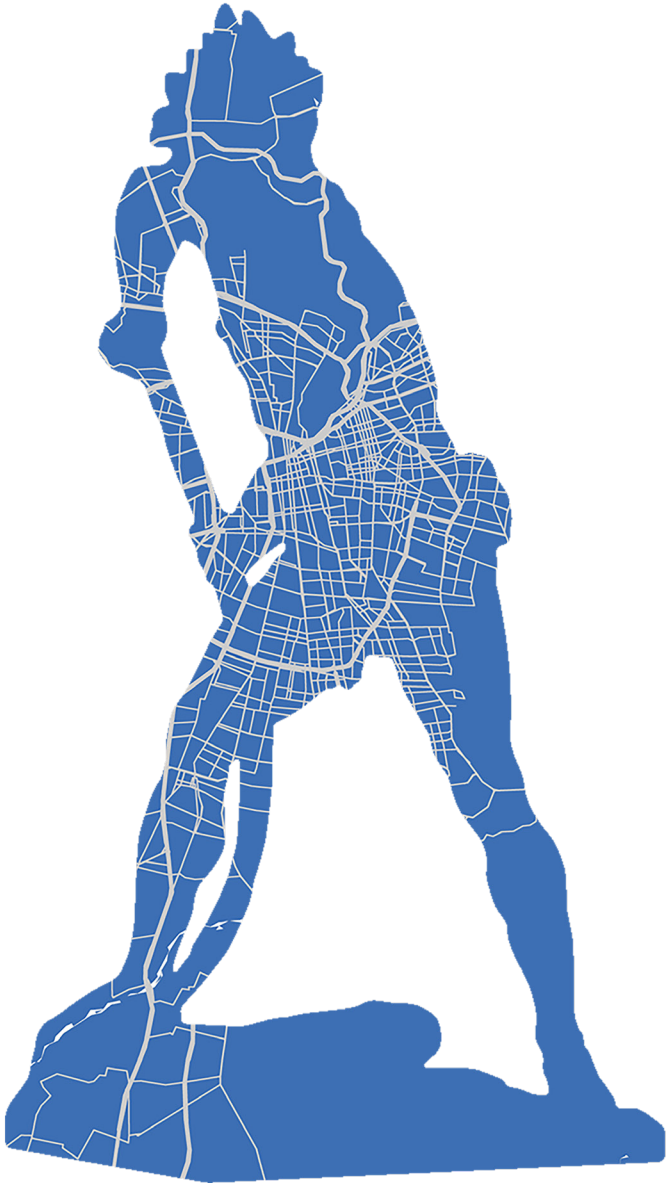
with other political claims, social realities and visions – from the land occupations in areas such as La Victoria, to the struggle for human rights and against the Pinochet dictatorship, to artistic and aesthetic interventions. *Mapurbe* – the poem and the concept – calls for an (only apparent) contradiction of treasuring the past while questioning it; the delicate task of looking back with a deeply caring and yet strongly critical gaze, as Roberto put it: ‘defending and wanting to change one’s history at the same time’. This paradoxical stance is one of ‘tenderness’ (*ternura*): the care for collective and family memories, coexisting with the firm gestures of building, inventing and imagining *something else*.

While this is much more broadly common in intergenerational relationships, and especially in contexts of diaspora and migration, here this process is entangled with the very concept of indigeneity, and how it has been constructed, appropriated and changed over time. In turn, the presence of self-claiming indigenous bodies within urban spatialities in the context of the Chilean capital brings forwards usually invisibilised processes of racialisation, questioning claims of whiteness, socio-economic inequalities and practices of segregation. The very idea of the city is challenged.

These elaborations thus acquire both a deeply biographical meaning and a political one: personal trajectories and collective identities engage with the urban scenario, drawing paths that rely on the steps taken by past generations while parting from them. This is what the word *champurria* indicates: reconfiguration and rearrangement, in the valuing of ‘mixing up’ and finding creative ways of binding together paths and belongings; this is also how the route of the play was eventually redesigned in the very last weeks of rehearsal.

David: Mapurbe is about love. It is about love because it was for Carola, the mother of my daughter. Well, we met on the Alameda. We sat on a staircase and she was sad because hell (puta) many of the lamgenes do not have good times. She was the oldest, and with all of the needs, and her father and her mother, she did not want to go home anymore, and she said to me, 'What has happened to us? Why is there so much lack? It is not a lack of affection. Are we such a poor, miserable nation?' That's how it came to me. I wrote the poem to cheer her up because it happened that we cried, and we cried a lot.

Antil: I wanted to tell you an anecdote about the square near my house, Plaza de Los Espejos in Pudahuel, an area that belonged to the MIR resistance [to the dictatorship], and now a place where nobody wants to talk to anyone, where everyone is suspicious, and nobody connects with others. Once though, a few chemamul appeared in the square, and I thought, 'Are there some Mapuche here? Why don't I know them?' I was like this for a long time, unable to figure out why those chemamul were there, and then a kullkull began to play for Wiñol Tripantu! So, I said, 'Oh, a kullkull is playing!' and I went outside and I began to look to the square, and a few people were doing the Wiñol Tripantu, not exactly how it should be done, but they were doing something, and it was – I don't know if a 'proper way' really exists – very watered-down and somehow whitened ('awigkado'). Then, I kind of started to make connections and to reconnect with the neighbourhood. I did not know that there were other Mapuche near me, apart from my own family. It was nice to make those connections in Pudahuel. This is important because maybe the urban grid was imposed on us, but these are small details that can start reconfiguring the city, with something as symbolic as putting the chemamul in a square. They took over the square; they claimed it.



The script for *Santiago Waria* was almost finished. The main sites of the tour had been selected: from the city centre to the upper-class neighbourhoods to the periphery, concluding in one of the most important (and most remote) Mapuche ceremonial centres in Santiago, in the municipality of 'El Bosque'. Everyone was excited about it, especially because the route of the tour as seen on a map resembled the *pata del choique* ('leg of the Rhea'), a prominent figure of Mapuche textile iconography. Nevertheless, the chosen route was long and complicated, and we were trying to solve this issue when one day, the authority of the community in charge of the ceremonial site where the play was due to end called Roberto and told him that one of the elders had died and that they were suspending all activities for several months to mourn. Everyone panicked. A whole afternoon was spent staring at a map of Santiago. Emails and phone calls were made to find an alternative final site that had a similar meaning, but what was this meaning about, anyway?

After several hours searching the 'periphery' and for 'ceremonial centres' – which sounds quite odd now – suddenly Claudio said that it was not necessary to end the tour in any of those places. Noticing the general astonishment, he explained, 'We are looking for a ceremonial centre just because it is a nice and smooth ending, but to be honest, it sounds a bit too obvious and even fake to me. Why do we want to end the tour there? What do we want to say with it?' The following discussion centred on the fact that, while the chosen ceremonial site was, of course, part of the experience of many within the room and a fundamental reference for self and home-making within the city, it did not have the same meaning for everyone. The connections with these kinds of spaces were intimate and personal and they had not been part of the creative process developed within the project. We had actually been focusing on the central sector of the city, its monumentality and landmarks, its upper-class spaces – towards the margins but still not really the periphery – and the Quinta Normal Park. This was the core of the debate, to which the discussion soon shifted: the question of whether or not to include peripheral spaces in the tour. While it was true that, except for that day spent with David in Cerro Navia, peripheries had not really been the focus of the project, how could they be cut out entirely from the play? Almost all of us were born and raised in Santiago's peripheries, even if some now live closer to the city centre. How could those places not be part of the representation of the stories and history which the piece wanted to tell?

The discussion went on for a long time until Claudio hit the nail on the head by affirming, 'I do not need to go to the periphery to make this point. *I am the periphery*. What matters to me and what mattered in this project was to intervene in the city centre, to bring the periphery to it through our bodies, to contaminate it with the stain of our presence. This is what the performance is all about.'

Throughout the entire project, the complex, painful and even violent relationship between the city and the bodies inhabiting it had constantly surfaced through collective reflections, memories, and personal or family histories. In the context of the diaspora, especially for the generations arriving in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, but also well into the present day, 'racialised work' had marked indigenous emplacement within the metropolitan area, in the reproduction of an urban geography of inequality. This is part of everyday life, through the common experience of being marked as belonging to a certain racial category and, consequently, to certain urban spatialities, while being considered 'out of place' in others. Claudio's claim, and the designing of *Santiago Waria*, addressed these dynamics at the intersection of the performers' bodies and the city's space. The 'whiteness' of the Chilean capital is confronted and 'stained' with the presence of bodies that refuse to keep silent. In this gesture, processes of racialisation 'haunting the bodies on stage' (Kondo 2018, 108) are both made visible and challenged, powerfully addressed in the urban scenario of the Chilean capital. 'Being the periphery', and from that position 'contaminating' the national imagery embedded in the monumental materiality of the city centre is performatively claimed as a gesture of *champurriar*, 'staining whiteness' through embodied histories and biographies, and thus revealing it as an artificial masquerade under which the skin of the nation was, and always had been, of different colours. This represents the heart of *champurria* political aesthetics, bringing back to public debate racial issues commonly silenced within Chilean society and questioning the social construction of *mestizaje* as 'whitening'.³

The choice of setting for the final scene of the play in the Santa Lucía/Welen Hill thus constitutes a claim for active place-making against urban segregation, engaging in performative practices that enable the project to intervene the landscape of the city – even in ephemeral and imaginative ways – or to *rukear*, as Rodrigo put it. Besides underlying indigenous participation in the making of the city itself through work, movement and participation, this same stance eventually led to the construction of *Santiago Waria*, not only as a city tour moving through urban space and connecting with different spatialities, but also emplaced right in the central area of the capital, and concluding in a hypothetical future up on Santa Lucía/Welen Hill. Shaping the play's political aesthetics in fundamental ways, the designing of this route invoked questions of positioning and belonging deeply connected to the performers' racialised bodies and their 'place' within the urban context.

3 See the Introduction; Casagrande (in progress).

Simona: A couple of weeks ago, we were with some friends and we were wondering about the Andes, above all because with one of the colleagues who were there, we used to constantly cross the cordillera (mountain range) when we studied in Argentina and were there for several years, so we have a stronger relationship with the crossing of the cordillera. We thought of Santiago, a city that is right at the foothills of the Andes, which is full of hills, and yet it has never been within the collective consciousness of people in Santiago to define themselves as 'Andean'; to define themselves around the great mountain range that they see every day, which guides them. We thought about that, and also that when you travel it is very difficult to orient yourself because you are used to the cordillera as a landmark.⁴ So, I was wondering, what is it about that supposed 'andeanness' (andinidad) that we do not assume, that we do not see and that we do not internalise? I think it has to do with indigeneity: assuming oneself Andean is assuming oneself indigenous in some ways. In Chile, wherever one needs to go, there is always the cordillera, but we still do not feel identified with it. I was thinking about that as a 'Waria che'. As a native of Santiago, I was thinking of this city surrounded by hills with the Andes, which are right there and immense, yet we overlook them. That mountain range is enormous, but we ignore it in our daily lives. I think it has to do with those relationships that have been developing; the founding of Santiago and the erasure of the indigenous identity, reaching the point of ignoring elements as large as the Andean mountain range.

4 In Santiago and in Chile more broadly, the *cordillera* has in fact played a strong role as a familiar landscape. Testimonies of exiles during the Pinochet dictatorship account for a sense of disorientation precisely due to the absence of the Andes, and in everyday life the reference to it as a landmark is usual, and yet there is no identification of Chileans as 'Andeans'.

Claudio: What I feel is, I have resisted a lot, politically speaking, the thought of a Santiago Mapuche. Particularly, because I think that the Mapuche territory is located south of the Biobío River and I think that that is the territory to conquer for our political self-determination. Now, when I think of Santiago, I still think that yes, one can think of morenizar Santiago. One can do so based on a long history that still exists and that is real, but what does that mean politically, and not only in terms of identitarian issues? What would that imply in terms of power, the organisation of power and the political structure of Santiago? What would that exercise mean?

STAINING THE CITY'S WHITENESS: THE
CHAMPURRIA



The relationship with the capital city is ambivalent. Santiago is beloved, hated, claimed and disregarded. As the capital of the Chilean nation and the material representation of the state, it is impossible for it to be thought of as indigenous, and yet still, for brief and ephemeral moments in time, in circumscribed and specific places, perhaps it can be. Nonetheless, most of the time, it feels that an indigenous Santiago is just impossible to even conceive. What seems possible, perhaps, is to make the city more *morena* – or, better said, to see the city in its own *morenidad*.

The south, always headed towards and always looked towards, is the place of origins and the territory from which the diaspora was violently diffused. There is a strongly felt need to be there, to go back there, and contribute to the struggle for the Mapuche nation, which is not, and never could be, in Santiago. Santiago was lost with Michimalogko. Santiago can only be imagined differently. Yet sometimes these imaginations feel so real as if they were able to bring the *cordillera* back to the city, and the city back to the *cordillera*, not only as a landscape but as a social actor and a defining presence.

These are some of the layers and contradictory drives of being Mapuche in Santiago: living in the capital – occupying its spaces, walking its streets and defying its indifference – while sensing the strong connection with the communities in the south, and loving the entanglement of both. As the *peñi* Fernando Quilaleo wrote in the early 1990s, every time a *ruka* is installed, every time a Mapuzugun workshop is held, every time someone holds a *gillatun*, it is a triumph for the Mapuche movement, even in the south. In other words, when a *ruka* is consolidated in Santiago, it is a consolidation of a political project and a national political project which has to do with the possibility of still existing, of still *being*. Here lies yet another layer; how is it possible to exist in the city, inhabiting the city in everyday life? What is the claim? What is the mark on the urban space?

Undoubtedly, the modern metropolis is challenged by Mapuche trajectories, making any Eurocentric dream of the city impossible. Racialised bodies disrupt the monochrome of whiteness, making metropolitan indifference improbable; on the contrary, gazes are directed at them and they are watched, and as a product of that controlling attitude, they appear to generate heterotopia in what was imagined under the precepts of a utopianism without obscenity.

The heterotopic, as those multiform spaces that dissolve monolithic trajectories, appears in the Latin American city as an unavoidable condition. It is the underdevelopment of development generating spatial experiences, dependence as a status within the world system manufacturing urban marginalities that are articulated with the diverse processes of racialisation that have been going on since colonial times on the continent. In short, it is the racialisation of class relations (Margulis 1999), where inequality is

articulated with the construction of otherness; it is where indigenous, black and poorer *mestizo* bodies make up those places that exist because of their being 'others' because they are border inhabitants of the metropolis, where difference does not generate passive cosmopolitanism, but rather porous walls, where conflict is always alive.

This contradictory condition of the metropolis was read under the notion of postmodernity in the North American context, and postmodernism as an explanatory conception of reality also had its moment of emergence and dominance in Latin America. In 1992, the Venezuelan Celeste Olalquiaga began her essay *Megalópolis. Sensibilidades culturales contemporáneas* ('Megalopolis: Contemporary Cultural Sensibilities'), noting: 'Postmodernity is still in force. Hundreds of detractors and years of intellectual discussions have not managed to stop its expansion or reduce its impact'. Her concerns revolved around kitsch, the residual, cultural recycling and nostalgic pop aesthetics, which at the time were interpreted under the term of 'postmodern'. Of course, times change: in the republishing of the aforementioned book in 2014, Olalquiaga nuances, giving value to reflections that for decades have questioned the 'post-' taxonomy, among them Habermas in his tensions with Lyotard: 'we are still, for better or worse, in modernity, as Habermas saw at the time', with the author expanding: 'it is not a question of a single modernity' (Olalquiaga 2014 [1992]: 9).

Decades ago, and in the face of criticism of the concept of postmodernism, voices emerged which, while sustaining the perseverance of modernity, sought to notice its diverse trajectories in order to think about the concrete formations of a global phenomenon. The notion was pluralised to give way to the idea of *modernities*. This, of course, has led to elaborations on the diverse expressions of the metropolitan, bearing in mind that this urban expression is a sublime manifestation of a long, historical path called modernity. Andrea Huyssen, for example, in *Other Cities, Other Worlds* argues: 'as post-colonial and recent modernism studies have shown, colonial cities had their own very specific modernity distinct from the modernity of the western metropolis' (Huyssen 2008: 14). Huyssen is right to cite postcolonial studies as a reference for thinking about the dissimilar trajectories of modernity and its metropolitan constitution, especially when recognising South Asian authors such as Dipesh Chakrabarty, who urges 'provincialising Europe' (Huyssen 2008) as a call to recognise its importance but not its universal status. Huyssen's urge to recognise other cities, other worlds, is embedded in an intellectual trajectory typical of those who inhabited or inhabit colonial conditions.

From here, it is then possible to sustain ideas such as 'vernacular modernities' (Hall 2010) or 'alternative modernities' (Escobar 2010) to delve deeper into the differentiated trajectories of 'the modern' and thus of 'the metropolitan'. Of course, as the Peruvian Aníbal Quijano has rightly argued, it



is not just a matter of temporal differences, but of hierarchies sustained over time. Modernity does not exist without the colonial fact; they are indissoluble (Quijano 1992). Thus, as the Colombian Eduardo Restrepo argues, the other modernities 'are not variations or modulations of Euro-modernity, but are genealogically and ontologically other modernities' (Restrepo 2011: 143), for there is no essential identity of modernity. Discovering our own heritage is part of the task, and we believe that observing indigenous trajectories in metropolitan spaces allows us to approach certain understandings of modernity in Latin America.

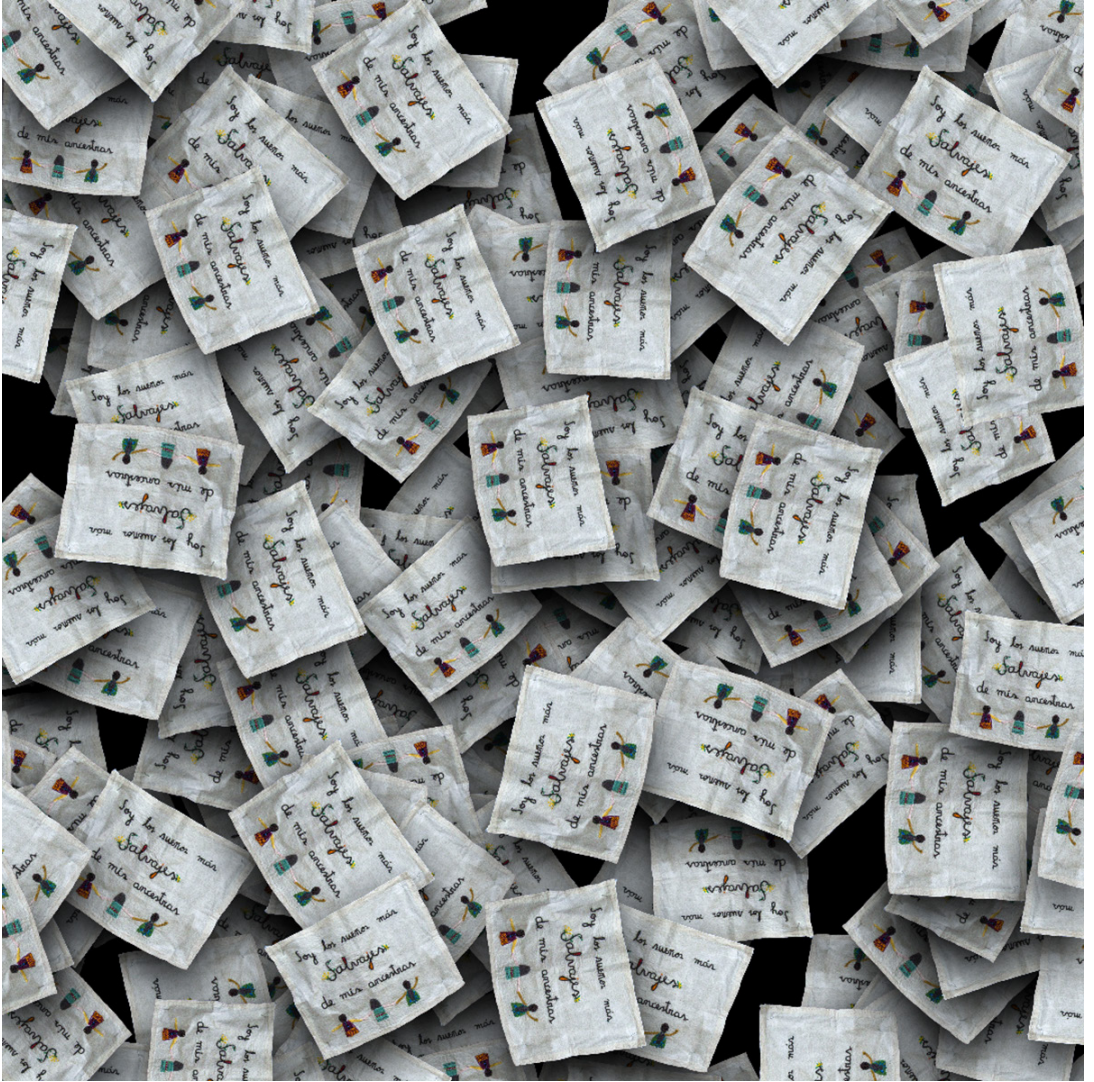
These temporal and cultural overlaps have also been analysed through the notion of hybridity. García Canclini has probably made the greatest contribution to the concept of hybridity to understand Latin American modernity in global times, although criticism has not been long in coming. Canclini developed the concept of hybridity to overcome categories such as *mestizaje* or syncretism, which, according to him, were limited to 'racial mixtures' (the biological *mestizo*) and 'fusions of traditional symbolic movements' (the syncretism between indigenous and Catholic religiosity), without taking into account 'modern forms of hybridisation' (García Canclini 1990: 15). This contribution was fundamental. However, the difficulty brought about by the notion of hybridity was a reading of juxtaposition as a synthesis of the interaction between the traditional (popular culture) and the modern (globalised consumption), in which trajectories are mixed in order to 'erase conflicts, oppressions and exclusions' (Pulido 2011: 108). From the idea of hybridity, it is possible to think of multicultural societies, which have ultimately proposed to deal with diversity in a depoliticised way.

Likewise, reflections on the heterogeneity of Chilean society have always been silently conflictive. Although some authors recognise the *mestizo*, even the baroque, within Chilean society (Morandé 1984), this behaves again more as a matter of cultural synthesis which, although it recognises the indigenous contribution, ends up blurring their present and active condition. It is recognition as a past trail, as if it was only an undeniable cultural preterit, but one that would vanish in the contemporary society, leaving the current Mapuche generations without the capacity to act as agents. This is why we grow suspicious of the way many Chilean intellectuals have treated the idea of *mestizaje*. As Rita Segato (2007) reflects, the *mestizo* can be both a potency and an operation of forgetting, the latter through an acceptance of the indigenous but only as a past trace, as barely a mark without the capacity to act here and now. *Mestizo* as a synonym for Chileanness, without recognising that there can be processes of *mestizaje* or practices of baroquism without the indigenous to be fused into national identity. Instead the Mapuche can be thought of in a *champurrea* way, even in the capital city, strengthening their internal ties, and claiming for themselves the possibility of being a people with aspirations of self-determination.

Far from multiculturalism, we would rather think of contradictory juxtapositions, uncomfortable assemblages, and dialectics without synthesis. It is Bolívar Echeverría's proposal of the baroque, those rhizomatic courses that filter and strain the homogeneous city, be it the monochromatic liberal or the multicoloured neoliberal one. We seek to go through the 'nonsynchronous contradictions' (Bloch 1971), through the complex and contradictory palimpsests of sedimented times, the actuality of the tensions inaugurated since colonial times that are still latent today. These are the elaborations of thinkers such as Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui in Bolivia – with the idea of 'syntagmatic presents' and 'long colonial continuity' – and Gyan Prakash from India. In particular, Prakash reflects that the cities engendered by the experience of colonisation contain patterns and layers of a scaly structure where the colonial, the capitalist and the communitarian coexist asymmetrically, thus emerging as an 'Alien City' (Prakash 2008: 201). The alien, as what lies beyond the world, is a contemporary way of understanding the old mode of construction of inequality/difference generated since colonial times: the indigenous. From this place of historical marginality, contrary to common belief, the *mestizo* development of the continent and its cities has risen. This is what can be observed today with the Mapuche presence in Santiago, especially when it calls for the *chamपुरria*; in other words, to be mixed under a permanent back-and-forth, without losing the anticolonial rage, without ceasing to be Mapuche and not as republican *mestizaje*, but as uncomfortable contamination.

From here, *mestizaje* constitutes a space of struggle, which is tantamount to placing conflict at the centre of debates on the socialisation of inequalities/differences. It is worth citing ideas such as Gruzinski's (2000) 'mestizo thinking' or Richard White's (1991) 'middle ground'. Both emphasise the intermediate rationalities and spaces that emerged during the colonial process, where indigenous peoples managed to devour elements of the coloniser and infiltrate their cultural objects, thereby modifying their original meanings. It is the cannibal impulse which, for some decades now, has ceased to be considered only as an outburst of barbarism, and its potency in the cultural processes of colonised peoples has been understood. We start, as we have already insisted, by observing these activities as latency, as an underground weight that can be apprehended in metropolitan times. The objects of the *other* are cannibalised, either through their refunctionalisation or their aesthetic saturation, to emerge under contradictory juxtapositions as nonsynchronous tensions. The Mapuche metropolitan inhabitant is the highest expression of that reality today in Santiago.

From those exercises, set in the historical depths of our continent torn by the first colonial moment, 'baroque modernity' emerges, making the objectuality and landscape of 'capitalist modernity' impure. This always points towards whiteness: an order of things and bodies looking for behaviours,



gestures and straight appearances and following the steps of the 'visible saints' (monumentalised bodies in the public space?), who mostly represent the supposed biographical trajectories of the 'white man': productive and puritan. In the face of whiteness, which for Echeverría (2010) would constitute the 'spirit of capitalism' in Latin America, the baroque emerges as its theatricalisation, closing down univocal meanings and opening up the juxtaposed, the conflictive and the contradictory.

The emergence of the baroque here is a gesture of staining the whiteness of the city. We only have to consider that 60 per cent of Santiago's population feel 'white' (Telles, Flores 2013: 442). That idea of whiteness brings the popular world closer to the ruling classes, generating a strange inter-class bond based on skin colour alone. Since we are all Chilean and all 'white', someone in La Pintana, Pudahuel or Recoleta can easily think, 'Well, I have a connection to the guy in Vitacura.' Yet, they would never think of themselves as belonging to an 'Andean' country, let alone an 'Andean' people, even though the cordillera is so obviously, impressively and meaningfully there. It is here that this idea of how Santiago can be intervened towards the concept of *morenizar* (becoming more *moreno*) or 'andinizar' (becoming more 'Andean') comes to the forefront. It is here that David addressing the fake Caupolicán as '*peñi* Sioux' comes into play. Ultimately, what through these gestures is being said to the broader (*mestizo*) popular world is, 'We are not them.' The class fracture is thus defined from a different element, articulating from a fundamental aspect of popular and social struggles: the question of identity. Numbers change and statistics change: if that 60 per cent could be reversed theoretically, as well as imaginatively, then who knows? Perhaps the unreal could still shape reality, regardless of whether those who could suddenly start thinking of themselves as indigenous are actually Mapuche, regardless of their grandmothers or grandfathers, or of how far back they would have to go in order to state their own indigeneity or to see it and feel it, and regardless of how well they would be able to perform 'tradition'. When one defines oneself as Mapuche, there is a political element that says, 'I am not them.' This is what the final part of the play wants to say. The Comandante is caught between these tensions, finding her way by walking through a path that she has to recall, retrace and reinvent. Moving through and across the city, she is shaped by that very movement, and she 'assembles' herself while walking, a process in which the audience participates (see Casagrande 2021). Moving from this imagination, maybe it will be possible to create a fracture with the dominant world from an indigenous positionality able to claim both *morenidad* and *champurria*, and from the many layers and possibilities of impurity and contamination.

Roberto: I think this is a question we asked ourselves when we were doing the theatre piece Nahuelpán Presidente. The question is what power, and how we want that power. I believe that there is a symbolic power, a power in the arts, in recovering spaces, culturally speaking. This is a battle that is taking place, concerning intellectual power. I also think that we are in transit. We are building something and we may well not know what we are going to end up with, but something is being built. I feel that the generation from David onwards has already shown the ability to install fictions, and I feel that that is extremely interesting, because everything is language, and language shapes realities. So, by creating the Mapurbe myth we are already giving place to something new. By creating the myth, I deeply believe that in 20 more years, no one will say that the myth of the Mapuche president cannot come true. When one begins to introduce the myth, I believe that the myth, or the story, is also a place of power.



SCENE IV

Santa Lucía / Welen Hill



*Audio-guide*⁵ Welcome to the Welen Hill, known by Chileans and Pedro de Valdivia as Santa Lucía. Here, both he and Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna paused to ‘re-organize the city’. This stone hill served as a quarry to carve out the first cobblestones of the capital of the Kingdom of Chile. At the time of the second ice age, there was already a human presence in this place. If we were to reverse history, could we change the future? What would Santiago look like if Michimalogko had triumphed? Would we have these buildings and this city? What would the streets be called? Let’s try it.

Welcome to the Future. You are on the Welen Hill, a meeting point and disputed place for different cultures. Here is the grave of the Chilean race, a strange race of human beings that was a mixture of indigenous Mapuche and Spanish settlers. Here is also Michimalogko’s letter to future generations. Formerly, on that very stone, a letter from Pedro de Valdivia to the King of Spain was engraved, but there was a President who changed this; yes, a Mapuche President called Nahuelpán, but that is a story from another theatre play.

Years ago, it became customary to go up the hill with all of the *mapuchada*, to observe our *waria* from above. The past never ceases to repeat itself, but the time that has elapsed does not come back. Here I begin to say goodbye: you will not hear this voice again. I will perhaps be a small remembrance in some part of your memory until I fade into oblivion. Today, I cannot go that far into the future, but I leave you with a voice that has also crossed time, from one of the people who climbed this hill in 1987. Listen to him while you walk up the hill. Let’s go, as the past never ceases to repeat itself.

Pewkayal.

*The audience climbs the hill while listening to the story of Floriano Cariqueo, a Mapuche leader who participated in Ad Mapu in Santiago in the 1980s, and who recalls an event that took place at that time on the Santa Lucía / Welen Hill.*⁶

5 The performance audios can be accessed on the website page for this section corresponding to Track 10: <https://www.mapsurbe.com/eng-santiago-waria>.

Floriano

Mari mari pu lamgen, pu peñi. Mari mari kom pu che. Chaltumay mulepay tufachi zungun mew. My name is Floriano Cariqueo Colpihueche, and I am originally from the Huichamamuel community near Loncoche. Because of the way life turned out, I lived in Santiago for many years after the coup. I now live in Valparaiso, where I largely do my own things. We climbed the hill in 1987, to hold an event that symbolically represented the beginning of Ad Mapu activities in Santiago, with the urban Mapuche brothers. That work was linked to the indigenous Mapuche movement at the time of the dictatorship, which in turn was linked to the peasant work that we carried out during the time of the Allende government, so there is a historical link, which in one way or another is always connecting us to the city.

We accessed the hill through different entrances, and as we walked we put our traditional clothes on, and we played the *kultxun*. We arrived at the top and started the event immediately. By the time the police officers coming up to stop us had arrived, we had already finished. We had held the ceremony, planted a cinnamon tree, and took our leave from the hill in a friendly way. In other words, we did not give the forces of repression any chance to act, because it was very complex. Most of the people came from the south. Our *machi* sister came. She was elderly so we could not expose her to any uncertainty, because matters such as life and protection were different. We knew that if they caught us they would kill us, just like that.

For us, at the foundation of the hills is the story of the Kai Kai and the Txen Txen.⁷ That is always in the memory of the Mapuche. The hill is a safe refuge from the waters that can suddenly become violent. The hill is protection, and also the hill gives you everything [to eat]: there you have protection, you take care of the animals and all that, and you go down to sow the valley.

6 Floriano opens with a traditional greeting in *mapuzugun*. Floriano's account was recorded in an interview held with Olivia during the research process. The event he recalls also appears in the documentary *Santiago: pueblo grande de Huincas*.

7 Floriano is referring to the *epew* of the Kai Kai and the Txen Txen, a Mapuche foundational myth which, among other things, recounts the history of how hills and mountains originated.

That is a spiritual perspective, if you like, but also a political one because you dominate everything from the hill.

Planting a cinnamon tree at that time meant a symbolic recovery of space. This is the meaning that we gave it at that time: a recovery of symbolic space in Chile. Now, there honestly were not as many things so deeply elaborated; we had to go to the hill because we had to go to the hill, a place that belongs to us and is symbolic, so we went to the hill. Sometimes life is also quite simple, even if it involves great things, in practice it's like ... it's simple. Look, it is one of the things that we haven't talked about, but for us to start working with the Mapuche in the city was something historical. Due to the ways society was developing, and due to the great migration, we perceived, or I personally perceived, that the urban Mapuche had a lot of things to say, so our challenge was to break [the silence]. This was the essence of it.

The thing is, the hill has always been here. It is the *waria* that joined in. The hill was always here. Now, there is a big discussion about that. I do not know how it is now but at that time there was that discussion; that the *waria*, no [that in the city it was not possible to be Mapuche], and look, I always said, 'Wherever I am, I am Mapuche.' First of all, I go with my culture on my shoulders. I can be in any room – and in fact, I have been – and I never stop feeling Mapuche. I do my *kultxun*, I play, I sing, not an issue. And the earth is only one. Anyone can be the offspring of the earth anywhere. One is always Mapuche, wherever one is, and there are *gen*, and there is everything everywhere.

Sound of the kullkull.

The audience is arriving at the Caupolicán terrace. They hear the sound of a trutruka that guides them to the point where the poet David Aniñir Guiltraro performs, declaiming his poetry from the top of the hill, with the glass buildings of the city centre in the background.⁸

MAPURBE

We are Mapuche made of concrete

Under the asphalt, our mother sleeps

Exploited by a bastard

We were born in this s-hity because of the singing vulture

We were born in bakeries so that the curse could eat us

We are the children of laundrywomen breadmakers market

and street vendors

We are those who remain in only a few places

The market for manual work

Works our lives

And charges us

⁸ David's performance changed slightly at every representation, always entailing some more improvisational aspects in addition to his poems. Particularly significant, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, was his interaction with the Caupolicán statue on the terrace, with which he never failed to entertain some sort of dialogue.

Elderly Mapuche mother, exiled from history

Daughter of my kind people

From the south, you came to give birth to us

An electrical circuit split your belly

And that is how we were born

Screaming at the wretched bastards

marri chi weu

In the language of a nursling

Father, hiding your longing for the land behind the booze

You walked on the icy cold mornings to cool down your sweats

We are the children of the children's children

We are Lautaro's grandchildren taking the bus

To serve the rich

We are the kinsfolk of sun and thunder

Raining down on the perforated land

The black tear of the Mapocho

Will accompany us forever

In this smelly santiagónico wekufe.

MARIA JUANA the MAPUNKY from LA PINTANA

You will spend the money

Of the bygone bourgeois vinegar

To recover what does not belong to it

You will fly over the silver cloud

And throw balls and spears of snow

Towards its big bonfires

You are dirt and mud

Mapuche of blood that is red like that of a stabbing

You are a Mapuche in F.M. (or should I say Fleeing the
Mundane?)

You are the Mapuche *girl* of an uncopyrighted brand

From the cold and lonely corner hooked on your bad habit

Your dark skin is the network of Super-Hyper-Arch-veins

That seethe and gush over vengeance that condemns

The lies stabbed the papers

And the wounds of history were infected

A tepid cemetery breeze refreshes you

While from the silver cloud, electric explosions erupt

Spear-bearing Indians are raining

Revenge-coloured black rain

Dark blackness of Mapuland Street

Yes, it's sad not to have land

Crazy girl from the neighbourhood of La Pintana

The empire takes over your bed

Mapuchita kumey kuri Malen

You vomit a bellyful at the military ID which Lady Cop

Lucy flashes

And at the system that in the holding cell, crucified your life

In the name of the Father

Of the Son

And Holy Spirit

AMEN

And you do not give a shit about HIM

Lolita Indian, a xenophobic cop of the

Blessed Law and Order

Shackles your feet forever

However

Your *pewmas* direct your dissident steps

Lovely Lady of the *Mapu*, the stars of the earth above are your nits

The rivers, your black deltic flowing hair

Kumey kuri malen

Crazy post-earth mapunky

Such a hairy pussy cat with attitude

Talking trash to touch on an intoxicated nerve

Mapurbe

Liberty doesn't live in a statue far away in New York

Liberty lives inside you

Circulating as a spark in the blood

And trampled on by your own feet

Amuley wixage anay

Mapunky kumey kuri Malén

AWAKENING AWARENESS IS FREE.

On the terrace, the performers' bodies are set in static poses. The Comandante Boliviano guides the audience through them. A chorus begins. Each performer repeatedly reads a poem. Their voices get confused and mixed, and what is being said is not easy to understand. The Comandante Boliviano crosses the space slowly, guiding the public until she stops and stands in front of them to begin her monologue.

With her gesture to the choir, the choir stops. Then, it declaims the first lines of her monologue with her before falling silent.

COMANDANTE BOLIVIANO MONOLOGUE

Iñche ta Comandante Boliviano pingén, mapuche domo gen welu wentru üy nien. Tañi laku eluen tüfachi üy. Chumngelu nien tüfachi wentru üy? petu kimlan ...

Estelvina Calfunao Fierro *pingey ñi kuku*, laundrywoman and migrant, mother and grandmother, father and grandfather *kafey*.

¿Iney gen iñche? Who am I?

I am the legacy of the transit of my *kuku* through this city.

I am the bravest dreams of my grandmother.

I am the colonial wound of this *füttra waria*, capital of the kingdom as it was called.

I am the Mapuche *nanny* from the upper-class neighbourhood, I am the laundrywoman of the aristocracy of this *waria*, and I am the breadmakers at the central station, the rebel shoemaker from Matucana Avenue.

I am the dark hands that wash the masters' white towels.

I am the *ñaña* lost in the *füttra waria* asking *¿chew mülen? ¿chumngelu mapudungukelan?*

I am the grandmothers and mothers who came to this urbe, who travelled from the faraway periphery to the extreme opposite, to the most uptown sites, and made it their own.

I am the *ñukes* who occupied the margins of Santiago with their *kultxun*-faces and gave birth to a generation of freedom in the shantytowns.

I am the grandmother who sowed the tenderness of identity, that mother who sheltered the sorrows of dirty faces.

I am the *papay* who did not stop speaking her Mapuzugun, but kept it in her *piwke* and today transmits it to her offspring.

I am the *weichafe ñuke* who raised resistance where there was silence, who raised rebellions where there was racism, who sowed memory where there was genocide.

I am the inheritance of all those mothers and of all those grandmothers who walked with bare feet to their schools in the countryside and who with that same courage arrived at the Central Station.

I am the granddaughter of those mothers and grandmothers who also became fathers and grandfathers.

I am the rage of that memory, and I am the pain of that migration but I am also life.

I am ancestral *newen*, I am the rebellious joy of those invisible *domo weichafe*.

I am the Comandante Boliviano. That's what my grandfather named me. Old *macho*, abuser, absent father, but strangely as a grandfather he gave me the little bit of tenderness that he never gave to his own children.

I am the Comandante Boliviano, *feley may*, Comandante Boliviano *ta iñche*, an Indian with a rank, an Indian with the name of a *wentru*, dark-skinned and Andean, but Andean from the slopes of Santiago, from the mountain range that I have seen every morning of my life from the población La Faena of La Peñalolen.

Mapuche domo ta iñche, of *küpalme champurriao*, Chilean mother and Mapuche father, with *tuwün wariache* in Santiago and ancestral *tuwün* in the faraway Ancahual.

Resistant to the fire of this city, to the cold of the Wallmapu, I am the freedom forged by the women before me.

The Comandante ends her monologue and stands in a line with the other participants, facing the audience with the city behind her. In silence, they turn towards the city, their backs to the audience.

THE END

PART II

Interventions:
Champurria poetics

(Dance) Steps to return
your side: Mapuche
migration and joy

Martín Llancaman

ENCOUNTERS

Recollecting and narrating, strolling down memory lane and having *nütxamkan* – that is, recounting one’s own or one’s family’s lived experience – is one of the most valued activities of Mapuche life. Memory traverses spaces and margins – latent or dreamed – be they experienced first-hand or second-hand through a mother, a grandfather or a brother. To narrate is also to define oneself. To be able to tell of a place and how its spaces appear to us – a river, a *txayenko*, a field, a hill, a *menoko*, a *ngillatuwe* – is to say something about oneself: where the family comes from; where the grandmothers and aunts live; who the neighbours were and which roads led to each house; what the responsibility or commitment of each family within the community was; where they would sit at the table. These would then be the questions that order life, and in one way or another, make clear to others an origin and a trajectory.

However, the Mapuche experience of the twentieth century extended beyond the limits and fences that the colonising enterprise of the late nineteenth century imposed on the reservations. In other words, it reached beyond the spaces of the community, its *gillatuwe*, its rivers and hills. With the land exhausted, and the remnants of the old territory overpopulated, migration became the new feature from 1900 to the present. Comings and goings drew new cartographies that, on one hand, asserted the differences between the countryside and the city, and on the other, gave way to new forms of life, nourished by this continuous migration. Such migration saw Santiago as one of the main poles attracting the Mapuche population. There, they survived, re-articulated and, somehow, flooded the old, small, colonial metropolis. This experience requires ‘thinking of these spaces in a hybrid, complex way, with cultural borrowings and journeys from one side to the other. We must imagine, in short, porous borders between the spaces of the coloniser and the colonised’ (Alvarado Lincopi 2015: 110).

Moving through these borders, bringing back to the present the story of why migration was necessary and even forced, can often become a gateway to pain. It is not surprising that in telling the stories of Mapuche families who inhabited the city at different times, one frequently encounters the casualisation of labour, abuse and discrimination. Torn between survival, exploitation and mutual support networks, one generation after another had to negotiate over and over again their relationship with the colonial city:

They arrived alone. They were single, paired, married; they were incredibly young when they arrived. They made radical decisions at one point in their lives: to leave, to leave without knowing whether they will ever be able to go back, to leave to help the family, to leave to soon return, to leave to forget. (Antileo Baeza, Alvarado Lincopi 2017: 93)

However, oblivion and silence are not the only ways to understand the practices of inhabiting these new spaces. A strong political and social activism emerged early on in Santiago, such as in the founding of the Galvarino Society in 1932 or the long trajectories of leaders in the bakers' and housekeepers' unions, as again documented by Enrique Antileo Baeza and Claudio Alvarado Lincopi (2018). Moreover, it is important to recognise that these forms of coming together were not univocal; rather, they were traversed by different trajectories and emotions. Alongside the trade union movement and the first Mapuche organisations, other kinds of gathering, much more spontaneous and dynamic, took place in parks, diners and dancehalls; places of 'shelter, romance and meeting', and other forms of gathering that should also be considered part of social and political processes characterising individual and collective trajectories in the *waria* (Antileo Baeza, Alvarado Lincopi 2018: 130).

Toasting glasses of *chicha* clinking, tropical rhythms heard for the first time, coloured light bulbs, Sunday strolls in the Quinta Normal Park, *gente morena* (people of colour) dancing in old dark houses on Matucana Avenue, it is from these rhythms and lights, from those dance halls and meadows, that I ask myself a simple question: how do we understand ourselves from joy? How did we live through that past, on the flip side of a coin that so often sealed our fate by showing us the face of suffering?

To seek an understanding from a place of joy is to allow for a question rarely addressed by history and perhaps even less by philosophy. The actions and political or military decisions of heroes and revolutionaries – overwhelmingly male – fill the pages of chronicles and archives. The abyss in the face of death, domination and violence, the question for the gods, the efficiency of economies and passionate suffering all exhaust dialogues, treatises, essays and articles from old Plato to Byung-Chul Han. Joy and Sunday loves are territories seldom explored: their innate multiplicity and polynomial meanings refuse scrutiny, the abstraction of signifiers, and any explanatory schematisation that philosophical or historical analysis so often require. Music, love and joy are a broken glass, whose wine bleeds drop by drop and, once drunk, is refilled again by the constant repetition of our stories.¹

'EL PASEO DE LOS INDIOS' (INDIANS' WALK)

Between the streets of Portales and Santo Domingo and bordering Matucana Avenue lies the Quinta Normal Park. Created in 1842 as Quinta Normal

1 Paraphrase of the lyrics of *La copa rota*, a song composed by the Puerto Rican Benito de Jesús (Trío Vegabajeño) in 1966, and popularised by the Mexican Vicente Fernández in the 1967 album *La voz que usted esperaba*. Another version which is particularly appreciated is that of José Feliciano, also from Puerto Rico.

**Estension total.—Estensiones parciales segun la
destinacion**

La estension total de la Quinta Normal es de 134 hectáreas
27 áreas 14 metros cuadrados mas o ménos, que se descompone
como sigue:

	Hectáreas	Áreas	Metros Cdos.
Parque	26	85	13
Invernaderos i jardines de invierno . . . . .	..	49	33
Campos de estudio i esperiencias agricolas . . . . .	..	35	78
Jardin zoológico i hospital veteri- nario	2	31	95
Jardin florestal	1	24	58
Jardin frutal i huerta	2	34	90
Plantel de árboles Frutales . . . . .	..	26	..
Verjel	1	77	20
Plantel de árboles forestales i de ornato	5	06	65
Viña	20	97	59
Escuela Práctica i anexos	2	68	41
Corrales de servicio . . . . .	..	65	82
Bosques	2	59	04
Plantas forrajeras anuales	8	..	..
Praderas temporarias	22	..	..
Cereales	6	..	..
Plantas escardadas	3	06	..
Plantas industriales	4	..	..
Jardin de concurso anual de ani- males	2	31	50
Cercas, canales, etc.	2	54	30
Caminos, avenidas, plazas, etc.	14	34	86
Superficie total de la Quinta Nmal	129	87	04
Observatorio Astronómico	1	69	83
Jardin Botánico	2	70	27
Estension total	134	27	14

de Agricultura, it was originally set aside for the study and preservation of seeds, plants and domestic animals that were of interest for the modernisation of agriculture and livestock in Chile. In total, 135 hectares were carefully allocated, fenced and measured. Our first image of the Quinta Normal is thus of a scientific site for studying variables, controlling and searching for constants. In that sense, the Quinta is yet another place where the old opposition between man and nature is put into practice; the objective to be achieved: the domination and domestication of the natural and multiple, for the republican triumph of the 'white' man's civilisation.

Here, I shall allow myself an *excursus*. I write 'white' in inverted commas because it is not the white marble of neoclassical France that it would like to be but is, curiously, a Creole white, coloured in its skin more than it would like to admit by the soot of the Indian stove, by the Mapuche *ñogol*. This republican white has the appearance of the limestone quarried from the *Cerro Blanco*² – formerly called *Wechuraba* – and perhaps that is why the whiteness of the rock appears to the Chileans as tarnished, overly trodden by barefoot *werken* and *chasquis* on their climb as lookouts. It is the same stone from which *La Moneda* (presidential palace and government headquarters) was built; a stone darkened by the fat from hot, creaking pots, used to prepare food for centuries for ceremonies on the hill. I imagine that it was to cleanse it of these rituals and impurities that Inés de Suárez built a Catholic hermitage on the hill (later the church *La Viñita*),³ in an attempt to exorcise the smoke from so many pots and animal flesh with the bloodless sacrifice of the Eucharist and its white Communion bread made of wheat.

Back to the Quinta.



As I was saying, mastering the thorny and irreverent nature of the Quinta Normal was, for the Chile under construction that gave rise to it, a technical necessity and a civilising mission. This idea was conveyed in the inaugural speech of the Sociedad Promotora de Agricultura, the association that for decades administered the study grounds of the Quinta Normal:

We shall occupy ourselves exclusively with the most important aspects, which are the soul of agriculture. That is, to remove the obstacles which hinder its full speed: to destroy these boundaries, to promote the progress of agriculture, to foster it, to protect it and to reward achievements. An active and indispensable motor is lacking to put the dull, seasonal agriculture of Chile into action: everyone knows and everyone feels the need; everyone longs to get out of the narrow circle traced by the old system of decrepit routine. Must a land

2 Hill north the Mapocho River, part of the mountain range of the San Cristóbal Hill, that was used as quarry from the eighteenth until the twentieth century.

3 La Viñita church and the Cerro Blanco: <https://goo.gl/maps/EaYd6dbqVgxGECVRA>.

such as Chile [...] – which can be compared, with no impudence, to that beautiful country called the garden of Europe, a country where the republican institutions and the good sense of its inhabitants (in short, everything) contributes to the fostering of its forward movement and encouragement of its progress – remain lifeless? No, gentlemen. It would be an offence to the Creator not to accept the gifts that He has so liberally granted us; it would be to despise and to destroy the holy ends of our mission on earth: it would be, finally, to violate our most sacred duties. (Sada 1852: 1–2)

This inaugural speech can be read as a baptism for the Quinta: progress versus backwardness is its initial foundation, and to remain in an era of seasonal agriculture is to remain lifeless. The entanglement between republicanism, enlightened modernity and anthropology anchored in theological grounds is in plain sight.

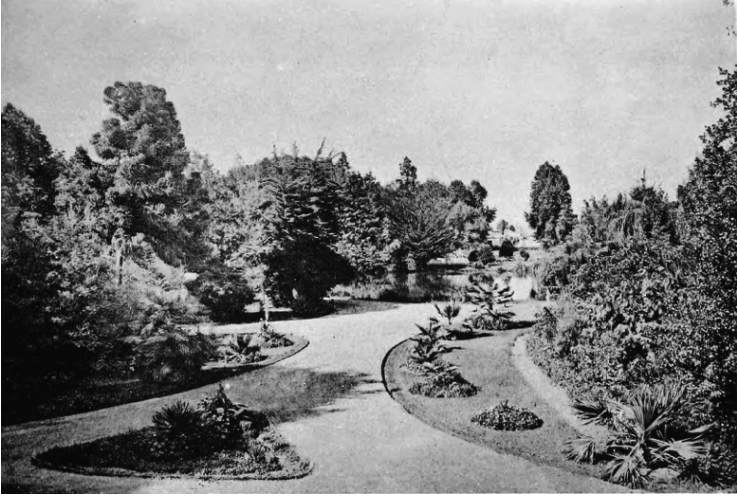


However, the twentieth century slowly brought change to the western sector of the city. For migrants from the south, on trains, arriving in the Central Station,⁴ Matucana Avenue (on which the park was located) and Exposición Avenue soon became the first homes of the Mapuche diaspora. Both in Exposición – south of the Alameda – and at the intersection of the avenues San Pablo and Matucana, where the San Camilo bakery still stands today, the emerging bread industry provided shelter and food in exchange for the sweat, labour and fatigue of 14–18 working hours a day (Alvarado Lincopi 2017). There, those without a family or a home to go back to, the so-called ‘*huachos*’, came to live above, or in houses annexed to, the factory. In exchange for those forced labourers, Matucana Avenue and the Central Station returned a different kind of worker to the south: a bustling contingent of *normalista* teachers educated at the Escuela Normal Superior, also called Escuela de Preceptores de Santiago, located on Chacabuco Street, one block from the Quinta Normal Park.

Why the adjective ‘normal’? Precisely because it was these teachers who were responsible for shaping the public education project that the Chilean state pursued from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. Both male and female preceptors would repeat in the emerging Chilean schools – including those in Mapuche territory – a uniform account of history, a Universalist model of customs and institutions, a strict separation of roles according to gender and class, and finally, the obliteration of any cultural difference.

Amid this eagerness for norms and normality, young students and young bakers would cross paths in the wide street. Both groups would walk past

4 Central Station, Street view: <https://goo.gl/maps/15UMzj7rsZYLjyjM8>.



a hardware store, one of those that displayed rolls of wire, steely and shiny, ready to be loaded onto the train to the south. Everything would go south: the wire to fence the land and the would-be preceptors to fence minds and discipline bodies. Then, walking eastwards, young Mapuche women would be found trying to find employment in an upper-class house in Barrio Yungay or the aristocratic mansions on the thoroughfares of Cumming and Brasil. Decades later, that journey for domestic work would continue its course eastwards, first through Providencia, then through Las Condes, and today through Vitacura and Lo Barnechea.

Over time, the whole area that once was a country estate and then a research site was gradually populated and urbanised. Along with the increase in population, the Quinta itself was changing: the area set aside as a public park was expanded and a zoo encouraged the curiosity of weekend strollers. As the first decades of the twentieth century went by, the place became popular and a favourite place for Mapuche youth to stroll around on their rare days off. The former scientific site became a park, and the park began to be called the '*paseo de los indios*'. There, every other Sunday afternoon, live-in housemaids used to spend their half-day off. If lucky, the Mapuche breadmakers, dressed in their one impeccable tailor-made suit ordered in Ahumada or Carmen streets, could also spend their Sunday afternoons there.

In this setting, they came under observation when the scientific impulse, somewhat tired of botany and zoology, turned to racialised human beings and their behaviours through anthropology. By 1961, the anthropologist Carlos Munizaga published his field observations and reasoning under the title *Transitional Structures in the Migration of Today's Araucanians to the City of Santiago de Chile*. A text of two-fold interest, his work documents the use of the park (and other sites) by the Mapuche population at the beginning of the 1960s and, at the same time, reveals how anthropology tried to interpret the generation of our grandparents.

We were able to observe that, mainly, the Mapuche walked in mixed groups of 3 people or, at most, 5. We also observed groups of men only, and some isolated individuals (preferably men) [...] In addition to the above observations, we also saw couples (men and women), apparently in sentimental relationships. One of these couples was walking around hand in hand. The general non-verbal behaviour could be characterised as 'calm', slow, lacking exaggerated gesticulations [...] Basically, the Mapuche were walking around, and I overheard a girl saying to her male partner, 'So much walking! I'm tired', to which he replied: 'Yes, here you have to walk, walk, walk, and walk. Nothing more.' However, my indigenous informant, R.C., has informed me that in spring and summer, when the weather is good, the Mapuche sit or lie down in the meadows. (Munizaga 1961: 32)

What does Munizaga tell us that we haven't been already told over a warm *mate*? Not too much. The anthropologist gives an account of how the



Mapuche in those years used the park as a place for socialising. Under the label 'informal urban mechanisms', Munizaga introduces the concept of 'ethnic consciousness' occurring without explicit arrangements (Munizaga 1961: 28). This was a stilted, over-elaborate way of affirming that in the often-hostile city, we sought, again and again, to relate to those who were our brothers and sisters and our relatives. It was the academic way of saying that we shared moments of joy with those who were our peers, fellows in our feelings, in our longing for the south and in our ways of laughing.

Of those times, what is left in Quinta Normal? Of the buildings, only the monumental ones, such as the National Museum of Natural History, remain. Of the plants and natural life, a certain part has survived. However, there is a legacy of the Quinta that flows through its own history: the force of *subversion* that each new occupant installs in it. The park was first a place of study and learned culture, which the Mapuche completely subverted. Their presence turned it into a place for strolling; their leisurely walks and their joy transformed this cultured site into a popular haunt. The Mapuche will use the Quinta in their own way, for a hidden game of *palin* or to name herbs and bushes with the words by which they know them. That memory of subversion remains, though, with the passing of the decades, it continues now in the gatherings of other migrant groups from different parts of the continent; Peruvians, Otavaleños and Haitians. Irreverent to the occasional attempts of the sanitation-conscious city councillors to 'whiten' the park, the apocryphal heirs of the Quinta will maintain again and again its inverted order as a place of joy, romance, food and popular music.

MUSIC FOR A NIGHT OF HAPPINESS

It is a short distance from the Quinta Normal Park to the intersection where the avenues San Pablo and Matucana meet. Fifty years ago, that corner was the epicentre of the capital's working-class nightlife. Without being exclusively for Mapuche people, the venues were filled with faces of colour (*morenas*) in the best clothes they could afford. As the poet Aniñir said, they were 'the grandchildren of Lautaro taking the bus', but at this time on a Saturday night, far from the masters and their orders. The space of the *fiesta* is a place for peers, and again, for temporary subversion. However, unlike controlled spaces in broad daylight, the darkness of the jamboree, barely illuminated by coloured bulbs, offers a more subtle and intimate subversion: that of the individual confronted with the label of their colour and its implications of their stay in the city.

Can we be the same person, after we leave our place of origin and slip out of community norms? There, the social position and the role to be played were determined by the history of the *lof*, by the *küpalme* of the

family and by a precarious economy that repeated cycles of need and misfortune. Here, away from the elders, the subject can for the first time, and in an unprecedented way, determine themselves. The fiction of the individual inhabitant of the metropolis is then benevolently overlapping with the story of the migrant indefatigably transitioning between the reduction and the colonial city.

In the affirmation of the self, the subject appropriates precarious symbols that correspond to the new language that surrounds them. The garments chosen for that night at Matucana and San Pablo were an impeccable blue suit and a white shirt bought in a tailor's shop at 42 Ahumada Street, though unlike the suit worn by the employer (the Spanish businessman or the Italian merchant), the worker's suit was not made of silk, but of cotton and polyester. The women, for their part, would take ideas for a new hairstyle from *Paula* magazine; perhaps a 'perm' that could curl that unruly thick black hair, once and for all. A Pepsi Cola held in the hand completes the portrait of the men and women who entered the doors of 'El Frontón', one of the old mansions that used to host the parties in the 1960s.

Mapuche clothing is generally good-looking, with a new and very clean appearance. The prevailing colours in women's clothing are green, red and deep blue. The men wear blue suits, white shirts and black shoes. Many indigenous women gather at the bottom of the stairs as if asking to be invited by someone to join the gathering. The men look towards the women seated at the tables in the hope of dancing with them. (Munizaga 1961: 38)

In a way, the new experiences in the city are occasions for 'whitening'. Caught between the contempt of the upper class and the uneasy suspicion of the Chilean working class (quick to point out someone's status as an 'Indian' in the *poblaciones*), Mapuche become skilful artists who, to find a place for themselves, are attentive in accepting all that the capital offers and any occasion for recreation, such as a football tournament, a birthday with relatives, or a Saturday night out: 'wonderful ways to bend exclusion and racial hatred and position oneself in urban life. Enjoying instead of lowering one's face, that common image of the Indian with his head down. Enjoying before crying' (Antileo Baeza, Alvarado Lincopi 2017: 152).

What's more, this pursuit of joy fortuitously tends to soften the initial intention of 'whitening' and safeguarding. Colour, an impeccable suit, hairstyles, drinks, a silver ring perhaps, and fashionable music are too much abundance for a farce. No, Mapuche dressing in the *Wigka* code is not a parody: it is a performance. Its execution requires discipline, careful observation and understanding of the society in which one is inserted and of the power that governs it. Above all, it requires respect and dignity. On these nights out, there is a certain pride in knowing that one can be satisfied with oneself. Overall, it is the abundance of these gestures which ends up shifting

the balance closer to the homeland, to the connection with family history and communal learning. To give generously and to receive in equal measure is almost a duty; to show off one's best clothes in this new kind of secular rite is a commitment wanting to look good. To be acknowledged by the other Mapuche in the hall. That is also what it is about.



Nietzsche used the term 'overabundance of life' to signify the prevalence of strong impulses – desire, dance, music, power, war – in the face of the lie told by religion, art and metaphysics calling for humility, servitude, moderation and abstraction. In this sense, the Mapuche concept of abundance connects with what is most concrete in nature: the enjoyment of good food and its abundance. It is the search for a joyful and good life. In other words, it is *küme mogen*. For such a life, each migrant generation has enthusiastically taken up the task. Thus, those formerly quiet newcomers flooded the colonial city, transforming it in their pursuit of a better life. They were present in the many networks which the working-classes forged for themselves and their peers as leaders of bakers' unions, leaders and founders of the maids' unions, activists for land occupations and informal settlements, neighbourhood pastors, footballers and founders of neighbourhood committees.

For such feverishness and migrant intensity, a night at El Frontón could only have one main sound: *cumbia*. Emerging in an Afro-Colombian mould from the Caribbean coast of Colombia, and soon in a powerful intersection with the 'Indian' in the mountains, *cumbia* has been a cross-border, popular and diverse sound since its inception. With its instruments and cadence, it signals occasions for encounter and participation:

The expansion of coffee cultivation of the mid-19th century, within the framework of liberal domination, produced an intense population migration towards the Atlantic coast of freed slaves, indigenous people and *mestizos* from the interior [...] All of them converged with whites, creoles, blacks and mulattos [...] intensifying the processes of syncretism and *mestizaje* between diverse socio-cultural traditions that were already taking place in the lower strata of colonial Colombian society. This confluence would give shape to the emergence of *cumbia* as a popular genre of the Atlantic coast. (Ardito 2007: 81)

In the *cumbia* that arrived in Santiago – danced in sheds and parties – there was still that popular force expressed through the 'gallop', the predominant rhythmic characteristic of *cumbia*. However, it was no longer the Colombian coastal version that was heard through a set of speakers and record players, but rather a more elaborate and salon-like expression, encouraged by the strong music industry that internationalised Central American music. From

the towns of the Atlantic coast to the capital cities of Chile and Argentina, the journey of *cumbia* represents a history of migration in itself: the original street music was recorded by Antonio Fuentes, founder of Discos Fuentes in 1934. Colombians such as Luis Carlos Meyer and Lucho Bermúdez brought it from the coast to the capital, Bogotá, but it was transformed under the ‘conjunto’ or ‘orquesta’ model. In the 1930s and 1940s, the orchestral model became successful and joined other Afro-Latin American rhythms, such as *salsa*, *son*, *rumba* and *cha-cha-chá*, which were already triumphing in the United States, in an era that exoticised differences.⁵ In Chile, this diverse ensemble was labelled ‘Caribbean’, ‘Cuban’ and later ‘tropical’. Radio programmes like ‘Discomanía’ – hosted by Ricardo García from 1955 onwards – and the consolidation of local bands such as Orquesta Huambaly (1954), Cubanacán (1954) and Sonora Palacios (1962) would forever install the colour and sound of *cumbia* and the Caribbean in Chile’s social imaginary.



Curiously, this migrant itinerary of *cumbia* would have been impossible without a good dose of ‘whitening’ to free it just enough from the suspicion of the dominant classes; in order to cross every border, *cumbia* has been dressed up, first by swapping ‘the clothing of musicians and singers – previously peasant-inspired – for black-tie outfits’. As that was not enough, it also changed its themes: from the original lamenting address to ‘lyrics

with sexual and festive content, the replacement of the *gaita* with the clarinet [...] and the substitution of the drum ensemble with Afro-Cuban percussions – such as *timbales*, *congas* and *bongos*’ (Ardito 2007: 85). In Chile, the paradox of this whitening is that time and again, in each reinvention, *cumbia* returns to its popular roots. Whether in the ‘*cumbia sound*’ of the late 1990s, the ‘*cumbia ranchera*’ widely favoured in the south, or even in the so-called ‘*new Chilean cumbia*’ originating in the early 2000s (and becoming mainstream around 2010), class judgement returns at every turn, but also popular gathering and recreation. *Cumbia* recognises its equals and equalises those who recognise each other.



Now that I’ve put the soundtrack on, I will go back to the dancers. They are young and have known the radio in their workplaces. They haven’t seen a saxophone or *timbales*, they haven’t seen Caribbean music shows on television, and they don’t even have the now-common image of a group of two or three dancers repeating the steps of a typical choreography. They did not see anything of the sort in the ‘El Frontón’,

5 A notable case of this is the success of the Lecuona Cuban Boys, an orchestra of Cuban musicians who performed permanently in the USA and had a long tour of post-war Europe. They toured Chile in 1942.

as music there wasn't live. How can you dance to a sound of which you have no visual record or experience, other than that provided by the dancers and by the sound-waves incessantly reproduced through the loudspeakers?

The answer is simple but its implications are wide-ranging. The participants turn to the memory of their own body, rather than to any other figure that the Caribbean rhythm might suggest. In this respect, Munizaga reproduces his informant's account: 'Sometimes some Mapuche, recently arrived, dance like in the *gillatun*. (Question: How is that?) They dance like in the south. Sometimes the others laugh and say that these newcomers are *dancing in Mapuche*. After a while, they change' (Munizaga 1961: 39).

In this brief explanation, I believe that we are faced with the experience of a subject immersed in 'modernity', not only at work, but also during recreation and leisure. Allow me to explain myself. The recorded music that the Mapuche listened to was produced by a record industry, a small piece of art in an era of technical reproducibility, as Walter Benjamin would put it. However, the Mapuche music of that time and this new experience of reproducible sound were worlds apart. In the community, sound appears organic and associated with specific moments: a *gillatun*, the joy of an abundant harvest or the change of a *machi's rewe*; in Benjamin's words, it has its 'aura', its ritual sense of the here and now. In the phenomenon of modernity, by contrast, music exists as detached from any time or occasion; it is composed in the studio under careful control; it will be broadcast without variation on any Saturday night or any evening of 'Discomanía'. In such a scheme, music no longer belongs to the community that is an irreplaceable witness of its moment. It is now a kind of common knowledge, for which belonging to a group is not needed. In other words: 'the reproductive technique detaches the reproduced from the realm of tradition. By multiplying reproductions, it puts its massive presence in the place of an unrepeatable presence' (Benjamin 1989: 3).

To a certain extent, it is this massiveness that turns the Mapuche, lost in a *boliche* on Matucana Avenue into an inhabitant of the city: through music, one becomes part of it. Although the meaning of becoming a '*Santiagoño*' is diffuse and somehow empty, one now masters a code and a language, which is of this new territory. If the latter – knowing a language and its relation to the territory – is, from a Mapuche point of view, the possible way of belonging, then the Mapuche do enter the city, but they do so with their own way of understanding what belonging means. One is an inhabitant of the city, and to be an inhabitant it is essential to continue being Mapuche. In colloquial terms, I would say that even in being modern, we truly are Indians.

As young Mapuche do not yet know how to dance in an urban way, it is in this fracture that the unthinkable happens and the newcomers end up

dancing the migrant *cumbia* as if it were *purun*. How the Mapuche appropriate the city is perhaps the most interesting fact for me. They do it with flexibility and at the same time through their own patterns, learned from their parents and grandparents. In a certain way, they will never be able to 'whiten' themselves, no matter how much they try, partly because colonial society marks a limit for them, even if from time to time they are able to cross it. But 'whitening' will, above all, prove impossible because they will continue to tell their stories, to live in the city and to hear the music from their attentive ears of colour that are familiar with the sounds of the countryside. To be able to speak and sing, they will narrate their diasporic life from that unruly tongue and that stubborn accent marked by its *tr*, and *sh* and which makes the sound of the Spanish *v* difficult to reproduce. Oh, language, that non-transferable trace by which one is marked, and with which one marks everything one knows!

Memory and pain: *Santiago
Waria, Pueblo Grande de Wigka*

Rodrigo Huenchún Pardo

At what point did the children inherit this wound?
The one that had been haunting all of the Paichil
since the day a bad war was declared on their lineage
(Javier Milanca)

Many wounds were opened.
Many wounds were transformed into scenic stories of such beauty and cruelty,
that the lines between reality and fiction were blurred on many occasions.
(Paula González Seguel)

It is not easy to address the experience of collective and creative work within MapsUrbe. The Collective was conceived as an exercise in the discovery of Mapuche memories and identities in the city of Santiago, based on David Aníñir's work, *Mapurbe*. However, on a personal level, it also implied an exercise in mnemonic openness, as well as academic and sentimental socialisation. This piece seeks to reflect on the meanings entailed in the site-specific theatre play *Santiago Waria. Pueblo Grande de Wigka*, which synthesised the work of the Collective but that transcends us as a group and results in a representation of the Mapuche identity traversed by the contradictions, violence and tenderness we inherited. In other words, it is a personal elaboration on this inheritance.

To begin with, talking about the condition of the Mapuche diaspora after the occupation of the *Wallmapu* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is far from new. A bibliographical abundance tells of how the Mapuche population was forced to live outside their territory, and for several generations has been marked by violence and discrimination, resulting in a wound inherited through generations, both in *Puelmapu* and *Ngulumapu*.¹ The inheritance of this violence manifests itself in ruptures, forgetfulness or traumas that dismember and uproot indigenous identity from its own sources and forms. Families of the Mapuche diaspora transmit the memory of this wound as a shared experience marked by a condition of otherness and social marginality. This otherness in turn implies the emergence of new contradictions for the diaspora's identity: 'other' as indigenous in the city, but also 'other' as urban within the indigenous world. Thus, for a long time, Mapuche urbanity was considered a problematic knot for indigenous identity in terms of loss and *awigkamiento* (Antileo Baeza 2006).

To continue, I need to clarify that this writing stems from a personal reflection, as part of the Colectivo MapsUrbe, as a performer in the play, and as a member of a Mapuche migrant family. From this positioning, my elaborations arising from *Santiago Waria* have as entrance points and frames the concepts of 'distancing' (Brecht) and 'cruelty' (Artaud). It is not the

1 See the work of Geraldine Abarca, Claudio Alvarado Lincopi, José Ancán, Enrique Antileo Baeza, Andrea Aravena, Claudia Briones, Felipe Curivil, Mauro Fontana, Walter Imilan, Ana Millaleo and David Aníñir Guiltraro.



intention of this piece to carry out a theoretical discussion of these concepts, but rather to use them as tools to reflect on the significance of our performance.

In theatre, it is understood that ‘distancing means placing in a historical context, representing actions and people as historical, that is to say, ephemeral’. This exercise, of course, is not just about the past, as the same can be done with contemporaries by presenting their attitudes as time-bound, and ultimately as equally historical and ephemeral as those of the past. However, it is not only a matter of seeking a meticulous, exact representation but also of constructing alternative narratives, modifying circumstances and imagining possible futures (Brecht 2004: 52). On the other hand, the concept of ‘cruelty’ points at theatre as a practice of ‘waking up’ as a ‘means of authentic illusion’, leading to a rethinking of all aspects of both the external and internal human world, ‘revealing man to himself’ through a sort of ceremonial communion between actors and the audience (Artaud 2001: 104). It is the intersection of both concepts that builds this reflection.

The play *Santiago Waria* is shaped by almost a century of Mapuche inhabiting Santiago,² which has its origins in the post-occupation migration of the *Wallmapu* at the end of the nineteenth century, throughout the whole twentieth century, and continues until the present day (see Antileo Baeza, Alvarado Lincopi 2017). As a result, memory is articulated within the city and transmitted/inherited by three or more generations of Mapuche living in Santiago. Over time, and through the marginalisation suffered, this memory has become invisible, despite forming a strong nucleus of common experiences. This is why the first approach to constructing the play involved an investigation of a somehow normalised memory. Being and living here for years, decades or a lifetime, results in many of the Mapuche dynamics in Santiago taking on an air of naturality and thus leave the realm of the conscious, which is why the play gives an atmosphere of specificity to stories that were assumed to be generic. Revealing the meanings and contents of the Mapuche memory in the city was the main aim of the performance. For years and decades, generations of Mapuche have inhabited the city that was erected as a bastion of power and civilisation over our people, and that welcomes us while it rejects us at the same time, in constant contradiction. At the centre of the play was the memory of the children and grandchildren of Mapuche families who at some point decided to migrate and project their lives in the *waria*. Traces of common and particular experiences marked by the stigma of the diaspora, it is the story of the violence inflicted on Mapuche bodies marked by the city: racialised labour, otherness and marginality, cruelty historically located among and within us.

2 However, it is possible to speak of a Mapuche-Pikun che habitation during the Colony since the very beginnings of the city (see Colivoro, Álamos 2012).

On the level of representation, this cruelty is not that which manifests in tearing each other's bodies apart, mutilating our anatomies [...] but the much more terrible and necessary cruelty that things can exert on us. We are not free: the sky can fall on us and theatre has been created to teach us that above all. (Artaud 2001: 91)

And yet, it is also the story of tenderness, dreams and lifeworlds that take shape in and *from* the city. Family ties, romances, joys and festivities, new bonds forged in the capital. What we did in *Santiago Waria* was precisely to find a way to understand the tenderness of a letter, or the agitation before a demonstration, and to reflect on the vicissitudes of the *mapurbidad* at the margins of the city, but also to declaim from the civilising watchtower that is the Welen Hill, with performative and corrosive language, that we are still alive and still Mapuche. 'Distancing' and 'cruelty' intersect in the space of the city and the relationship with the audience. Similar to what Artaud posited, we choose to open up the spaces of the stage and the hall by setting the performance in public spaces, 'extending its visual and sonorous radiance over the entire mass of spectators' (Artaud 2001). This spatial and sensorial involvement frames the spectator's experience and allows a shared space in which reflection and, ultimately, empathy can be manifest. As the Mapuche theatre director Paula González Seguel points out:

The scenic creation thus enfolds through the rescue of those images that are rooted in our memory, and have been crossed by certain historical events belonging to the time and context we inhabit [...] a particular voice that moves between private and public, individual and collective, situating the scene in what traverses us, what hurts us and what has been made invisible, silenced and oppressed by political and economic power, by the violence exercised towards the human beings and the territory we inhabit, transforming it, from this perspective, into a work that moves between the aesthetic, the social and the political. (González Seguel 2018: 25)

As a site, the city is the materialisation of a history of cruelty, the stage of estrangement. This is why the site-specific approach becomes especially relevant, as the embodiment and emplacement of layers of memory embedded in the city space of Santiago, the physical materialisation of centuries of colonial power. The locations of the performance correspond to critical nodes for this deep material memory, sites where a superimposition of images produces invisibility: a pre-colonial Inca settlement; the *capital del reyno* during the process of colonisation; the capital of the Republic; a civilised 'Paris' of the nineteenth century; the city of the masses of the twentieth century; the economic and financial capital today. This is why one of the main locations of the performance is the Plaza de Armas: a spatial and architectural manifestation of the political, religious and military power of the *reyno*, the residence of presidents of the Republic for decades and the

old heart of the city's historic centre, permeated in turn by the presence of migrants and street vendors, and ironically weakened in its foundations by the modernisation of the underground metro. It is a material representation of this layering of narratives, memories and identities over time, some of them obscuring others. In this sense, the traumas and silences inherited by Mapuche families in the city acquire special importance as a *repertoire of memory*, allowing the city to be seen from a different perspective, or the stories hidden in its patrimonial spaces to be scrutinised.

The city seen from this different perspective brings us back to our wounds and their implications, shaping and transcending the Mapuche inhabiting the city. Each mark comprises a plurality of fractures, of social and even domestic violence; yet despite being common, they are not necessarily shared. This is how forgetfulness, omissions and silences are produced, and yet from them, it is also possible to build resistances, in a stealthy way. It is not just political proclamations that play a part in surviving the colonial yoke: everyday life is equally fundamental to the endurance of those bodies crossed by racial, work-related, domestic and sexual discrimination, as well as by affection and tenderness. Here, the stories of Mapuche women, so often silenced and silent, take centre stage. Their suffering as a result of the economic insecurity, sexual abuse and violence is common in their workplaces as live-in maids, but also all too common within their own families, inflicted by indigenous men. As pointed out by Fernando Pairicán, their subtle and everyday forms of resistance are probably even more meaningful than open political struggle, for they are 'humanizing from within our own people, hurt by the trauma of colonialism' (Pairican 2018: 10; see also Paredes 2014). As our play states:

I write these words as an act of remembrance. My name will not be disclosed in this scriptural whisper because I do not wish to represent the multiple experiences of Mapuche nannies and domestic maids. I only seek to make an act of memory for a woman who worked tirelessly in private homes, ironing, cooking and receiving, on multiple occasions, payment in clothes for what should be a month's salary. How many Mapuche women, as domestic servants, carried and still carry the stigma of the Indian on their aprons and bodies? How many times did the Mapuche nanny have to keep silent in the face of the violent words of the master and the mistress? They were and are innumerable.³

These comprise the violence, traumas and silences that we inherited as Mapuche in the city, and which to a large extent constitute who we are. In the words of David Aniñir, the poet and author of *Mapurbe*, 'We are the children of the children's children; we are Lautaro's grandchildren taking the bus to serve the rich' (Aniñir Guilitraro 2009). We are also, as Matías

3 Extract from 'Letter from the daughter of a *nana*', Interlude II of the play *Santiago Waria*.

Catrileo, murdered at 24 by the state police in 2008, would say: ‘the sad generation that in tears and despair writes punk rock, emptying its pain into a glass of alcohol’ (Catrileo 2014); we are the *xampurriada* (Milanca Olivares 2015) that inhabits the city; we are *ñañawen* selling our products in the Persa Biobío market; we are the CONAPAN bread-makers union;⁴ we are the Club Deportivo Arauco FC or Atlético Pulkoche; we are *poblache* and *mapukys*, members of the COEM⁵ Mapuche student union; we are migrants at a dance in the Quinta Normal Park, learning the steps to our first *cumbias*, meeting friends and lovers; we are the women working in private homes who are members of ANECAP⁶ or their daughters and sons who grew up in the shadow of the master and mistress, and the grandchildren who knew about workplace and domestic violence. We are all of these, and at the same time, we are alive, we endure, we project and we feel.

Fente puy.

4 Confederación Nacional de Panificadores, the bread-bakers’ union (National Confederation of Bread-bakers).

5 Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Estudiantes Mapuche (Coordination of Mapuche Students’ Organizations), the broadest Mapuche students’ organisation.

6 Asociación Nacional de Empleadas de Casa Particular (National Association of Private Home Workers), the labour union of domestic employees.



Voices Beneath the Concrete /
Miñche kura pülli ñi awkiñ: An
Imaginary for Urban Mapuche
Jewellery / *Warian Rüttran*

Cynthia Niko Salgado Silva

The sounds beneath the concrete
must speak, breathe
and manifest themselves
in order to hear their song with a voice of their own.

FROM INSIDE OUT, FROM SOUTH TO NORTH, FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE TO THE CITY

My parents were always travelling, due to my father Julio's restlessness and work in the mines, my mother Lucía being a hardened trader, and their great capacity to adapt to all the places we have lived in. My grandmothers are of peasant origins. My maternal grandmother, 'la mamita Vero', is from Copiulemu, and my paternal grandmother, 'la Carmencha', is from Trabuncura. Both migrated to the *waria* at an early age as domestic workers. My grandfathers, 'el Chamelo' from Linares and 'abuelo Gastón' from Talca, were both travelling salesmen. I always heard about their lives over good peasant food – stories intermingled with discrimination, violence, alcohol, erased surnames, *machismo* and a long walk in search of direction in a society that is demanding of material things, but with deep, widespread poverty. In order to survive, they decided to adapt to the dominant system, leaving behind their own cultural belongings, erased and silenced by the concrete of the city, or abandoned to oblivion, rather than face the pain of their experiences.

The lives of my ancestors strongly marked my own itinerant way of life. Being from nowhere in particular, my rapid adaptation to different spaces and my strong need to relate to territories is marked by a nostalgic absence of belonging. I feel the need to be constantly on the move as if it were a biological necessity. There is a strong connection between my understanding of the present and my ancestors. When I travel, I sense their voices and acts in my own body; I realise that I carry knowledge and experiences that I have not experienced myself, but rather come from those before me, as if I were inhabited by other histories, other corporealities and other knowledges. All those voices accompany me from within: they are in my own words, in my walking, in my actions, in my thoughts. I am a living testimony of my ancestors. I am the latest version of them, in a convergence of times coexisting in a single instant: a body in resistance claiming and expressing itself through updated revolutions. In my journeys, I have observed how territories and their inhabitants relate, and how they are complicit with one another without the need to agree. With every step I take, I perceive how local people connect with each rock shaped in the architecture, blending with the smells of food, their bodies and the colours of their clothing. In their walking, I imagine the history of their ancestors, while different

materialities vibrate on a similar note as if they were music. Everything is intertwined in wandering time.

After travelling from the coast to the Andean mountain range in *Wallmapu*, I became fascinated with the genesis of Mapuche jewellery and its strong territorial belonging, like everything else in the Mapuche cosmovision. When I came back to Santiago, I realised that there was no such thing as 'local' jewellery and clothing for urban Mapuche, but that it was brought from the *lof* in the south, which I had visited. While urban Mapuche identity is so clearly and strongly expressed in the city, with its own codes, when it comes to jewellery, I wondered if the south didn't feel somehow 'superimposed' on it. Mapuche traditional jewellery is linked to each territory and is made according to specific places and their geographical features, family and personal characteristics, thus becoming testimonial portraits of cosmogonic spirituality and socio-political organisation. As affirmed by Painecura, jewels are divided into *puwel che* jewels and *gulu che* jewels at a broader level, and on a smaller territorial scale, for example in the context of the *gulu che* territory, they can be divided into *lhafkenh che*, *wente che*, *naq che*, *willi che* and *pewen che* jewels (Painecura 2011: 38). This only takes into account ancestral Mapuche territories, excluding Mapuche populations in cities. The *Mapurbe* are not linked to any specific jewellery. Despite the large Mapuche population in the *waria*, urban indigenous identity seems to not be defined in terms of particular clothing and/or jewellery. Rather, in the *waria* each individual mixes items (and feelings and senses of belonging) in a *champurriado* style, giving rise to heterogeneous identities. Yet, who can be sure that Mapuche *gen* cannot inhabit the *waria*?

Here begins 'Voices under Concrete', as a respectful experiment in the creative construction of an imaginary built around these identities and their stubborn (urban) emplacement, persevering in a territory claimed as their own. I chose to do this through jewellery because I feel close to it, being myself a designer of clothing and jewellery to be sold in fairs and markets, and having often shared with many *lamgen* spaces for reflection about the complex ways in which their bodies inhabit the territory of the *champurria*. Nevertheless, even though I feel *mestiza* myself, I did not want to appropriate their situated gaze and cultural belonging. So I decided to go back to these conversations with *lamgen* who grew up in Santiago and live there to this day, addressing them with a more 'formal' request to contribute to the development of an imaginary of urban Mapuche jewellery. Their words and reflections, recorded as part of several interviews, are part of the final artwork and constitute the background for the writing of this text¹. To me,

1 Thank you to all the *lamgen* who kindly agreed to be part of this process and openly shared their thoughts: Daniela Millaleo, Martín Llanccaman Norma Huche, Roberto Cayuqueo Martínez, Simona Mayo, David Aníñir Guiltraro, Marie Juliette Urrutia Leiva.

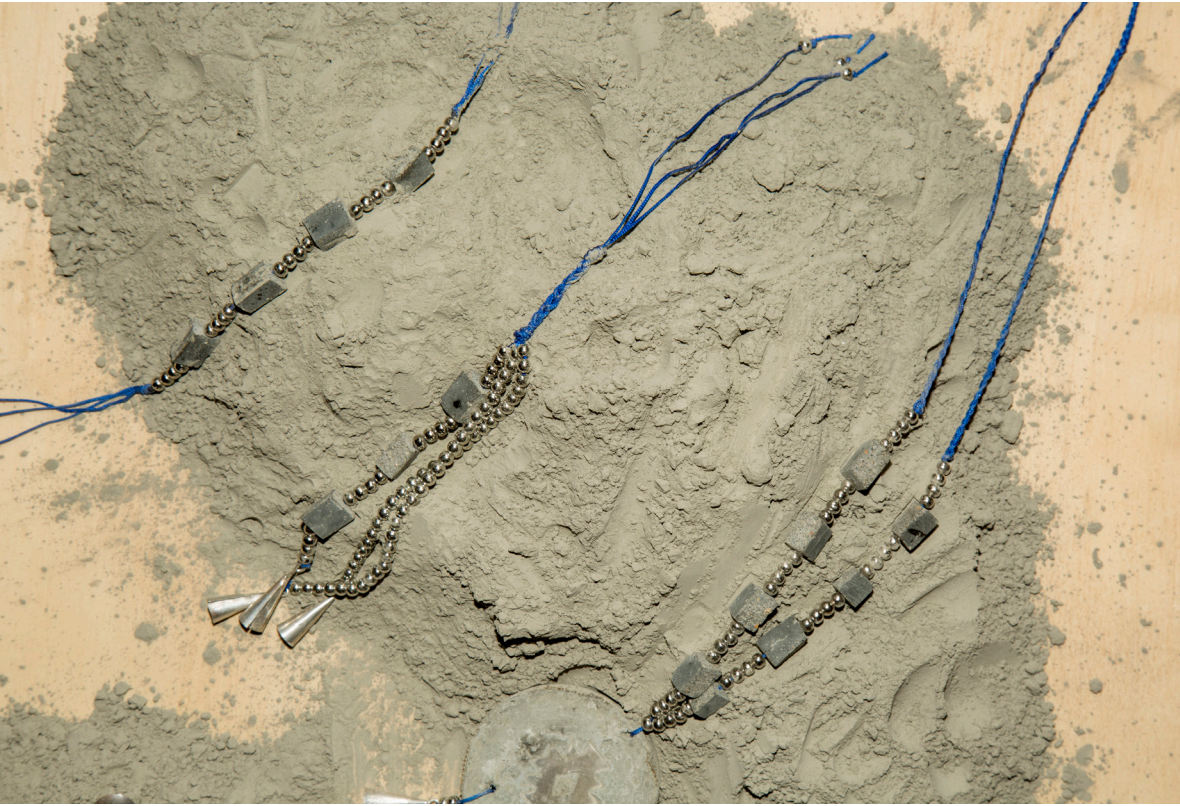
art is a tool to re-signify materialities and corporealities, a channel to transmute erased suffering through the courage of past and present voices, where our stolen ancestralities can find their lost words.

THE BODY AS A TERRITORY TO BE INHABITED

I consider my body as a political territory because I understand it as historical and not biological. Consequently, I assume that it has been named and constructed based on ideologies, discourses and ideas that have justified its oppression, exploitation, subjugation, alienation and devaluation. This way, I recognise my body as a territory with history, memory and knowledge, both ancestral and from my own personal history. On the other hand, I consider my body as the political territory that I can really inhabit in this space-time, based on my decision to rethink myself and to construct my own history from a reflective, critical and constructive stance. This process of inhabiting my body has acquired a holistic dimension, since I have been doing it more and more from an integral perspective, interweaving the emotional, spiritual and rational dimensions. I do not consider that there are hierarchies between them because the three dimensions are equally important to revaluing the meaning and the way I want to interface with life through this body. (Gómez Grijalva 2012: 6-7)

The body is the living testimony of a territory. We are the territories we inhabit; we are bodies that interact with space constantly. This is how places influence our behaviour, habits and ways of relating to each other. At the same time, through our bodies, we show what we want to say and through our gestures, we express ourselves as well as through our ornaments; clothing and accessories can become a discursive means of expression. Our bodily discourse in the city is constructed as political, social and cosmological. From a *Mapurbe* perspective, it is related to the body in resistance of the ancestors who travelled from the countryside to the city, who lived through marginality, racism, the dispossession of rural life and tradition taken away by the indifference of discrimination; it determines with impetus and rebelliousness a resignification of one's own racialised bodies. There is no desire to be, it is just being: showing with pride corporeal traces in a city that does not accept difference, and continues to flatter the neoliberal mercantilist and capitalist model, sedated by Eurocentric Western fashion trends.

In this context, clothing and ornaments infringe the traditional and become revolutionary bodies that connote their corporealities as political. From there, with precision and courage, they incorporate their ancestors: these bodies are their ultimate representatives. The rural south and the ancestors continue to inhabit them, still vivid through the recontextualised objects used in the urban territory. Dressing bodies with Mapuche elements



...Un colgante de plata de wanglen, es espiritual y de conexión igual que la lanita roja en mano izquierda, lisa o con unas bolitas llev llev, mi hija también la tiene.

Tengo cierta iconografía, un chaway, unos tokicura, un cultxún, pero nuestra vestimenta es totalmente de cuidad.

Chapetuwe ocupo coles con campanas.

Pulsera roja y los chawai.

Me gusta usar plata, las ocupo de este material por protección.

Me representa el hierro forjado, rejas para ventanas, paso mirando ese tipo de cosas, me llama la atención por el proceso creativo lo que requiere forjar el hierro: inteligencia y fuerza física.

Símbolo el **río Mapocho** está hartó en mi imaginario poético.

Me represento más con las piedras.

... Si tuviera que pensar en Ngen warria, los buscaría en la naturaleza que está presente acá: la cordillera, los cerros, yo creo que **el Ngen warria son puros cerros...pura mahuida.**

Yo creo que de algo me tengo que proteger en la ciudad es de los pacos, la plata me protege siempre.

Mi materialidad las plantas, lo que está en resistencia en la ciudad son las plantas, **igual que yo.**

Tiene una intención política, de resistencia y educar.

Yo le digo el **asfalto**, a mí no me gusta el asfalto encuentro lindo el gesto de cuando crecen las plantas y "rompen" el asfalto.

Debajo del asfalto duerme nuestra madre.

Materiales rudos para enfrentar la rudeza de la ciudad, la ira, la forma de destruir la imagen la pulsión y la tensión.

Para mí el cemento es como camino, ruta, sin una connotación tan negativa.

Ngen warria, si hay, en los cerros, en las plantas, el viento también... están medios secuestrados... yo hablo del río Mapocho como un río secuestrado.

in the city is a gesture of resistance, a *champurria* impetus for cultural reproduction and reinvention. In this mixture, there are still vestiges of southern traditions such as the red ribbon, the *chaway*, *makuñ*, *kupal*, *tokikura*, *txarilogko* and symbols that continue to represent elements of power and protection for those who wear them, often accompanied by rings, scarves and colourful shirts, with fabrics made in Asia, the use of jeans as a material symbol of peasant resistance, the abundant use of black as the colour of festivity, violet for feminism and blue as the colour of the Mapuche people since Leftraru, or the hair combed into braids. The instances of usability are determined according to social context, occasions for celebration or ceremonies, or as ways of carrying one's *tuwün* throughout everyday life. For some, the choice of ornaments does not necessarily belong to a specific territory but is rather a mixture of feelings and experiences, or memories of places as diverse as Ireland, Argentina or *Wallmapu*. Moreover, jewellery that was once only for women is now beginning to be used by men as well, questioning the gendered idea that people carry with them energies that must be categorised according to the male/female divide, and in some cases even claiming both energies converging within each being, thus opening up different possibilities of using 'masculine' and 'feminine' jewellery (energies defined until today in traditional Mapuche jewellery).²

SOUNDS UNDER THE CONCRETE

Silver jewellery has sound. My mother said that if the earth sounds differently when you step on it, there is a burial or a cemetery, and there, jewels sound clearer. The sound of Mapuche jewels cleans the path. That's what I feel; I confirm my dear mother's theory. (Elisa Del Carmen Avendaño Curaqueo)³

It is curious to think that the material for spiritual protection of the people of *Wallmapu* comes from their invader and is what gives them strength. It is an act of rebellion against the oppressor to take their most precious good – the silver of their coins – and transmute it into something with a very different, almost opposing, spiritual-political identity: it is a gesture of neutralisation, to erase the traces and marks of the coloniser. As a result of this reflection, I started thinking about concrete as a kind of 'invader'. Although it does not generate the same level of violence as the Spanish conquest, it distances us from direct connection with the earth; it destroys in order to build, and the process of its extraction exterminates any possibility of life sprouting up in its place. Although we have been living with this

2 These questions and ideas were raised during the conversations held for this project. They are not intended to define the gender usability of the jewellery in any way.

3 Quoted from [//www.genero.patrimoniocultural.gob.cl/651/w3-article-55387.html?_noredirect=1](http://www.genero.patrimoniocultural.gob.cl/651/w3-article-55387.html?_noredirect=1).

material since the days of ancient Greece, and in a much more disruptive way during the twentieth century, its pervasive presence results in distance, density, infertility and impermeability, perhaps because it removes earth from our daily life, leading us to walk on and be surrounded by its grey materiality.

This grey is cumbersome on the urban landscape: little community life, electric cables, asphalt pavements, few trees, constant glare and noise, stimuli that are not always friendly, everything is intruded by human beings for the supposed comfort of habitability. Even the course of the Mapocho River has been disrupted, including its water flow, with the hills reshaped, some poorly cared for, and others used aggressively for tourism. Despite this, there can still be some kind of cosmological connection with the *waria*. Perhaps the *gen* continue to inhabit this city, around the Mapocho River, in the island hills that are part of it, in the few animals. Indeed, they continue to breathe under the asphalt; as Daniela Millaleo says in her interview: '*gen waria* do exist in the hills, in the plants, in the wind too. They are kind of abducted. I think of the Mapocho as an abducted river'. Moreover, concrete derives from the earth and its minerals: it is a mixture of clay and calcareous materials. With water, it solidifies and hardens into a new substance, resistant to heat and cold, to blows and earthquakes. As concrete comes from the earth and the hills, we could think that perhaps some kind of entity belongs to it that could even give us protection, just as Spanish silver coins, appropriated and transformed into traditional jewellery, have been doing for centuries.

Once it was defined as my central element, I began to test the materiality of cement in different ways. As jewellery is usually made of relatively small pieces, it was more difficult to achieve the material's own rigidity without it falling apart. I also learned to make Mapuche bells with the *rütxafe* Martín Llanccaman, considering sound as one of the important factors of spiritual protection. The rest of the creations are reworkings of Mapuche symbolism that I considered important to keep; for example *wagülhen*, the *epew* of the blue star of world creation and fertility, a symbol of protection for some *lamgen*. I also included – with respectful hesitation – new symbolism created with what I was told could be the *gen* of the city, bringing to life an imaginary of dialogical creation not directly related to any traditional iconography. My main inspirations were natural elements such as the river and the hills in the *waria*. I also tried to work through the materiality of concrete forms and shapes that spoke to me of the city, some rather straight, angular and smooth, at the same time bearing in mind the Mapuche cosmovision and its circumferences. I considered the braiding, the colours, the materialities and the sounds as key elements for protection.

The imaginary of Mapurbe jewellery takes hold in the context of a *champurria* city that is rigid, full of stimuli, activities and dynamism, filled

with condensed stories, conversations, and infinite time suspended in static architecture. Bodies cohabit in these diversities with their own voices rooted in political and cultural convictions, spiritual beliefs and stubborn memories. As such, a *champurria* history of the Mapuche in the city manifests itself in the materiality of concrete, in a political gesture that claims its 'resistance' as a place of enunciation. The jewel represents the channel of transmutation to be carried on the body itself: it is how the corporeal and spatial atmospheres come together in perfect symbiosis, coexisting and cohabiting time and memories in the *champurriada* city of the *Mapurbe*.

A minimal cartography for a
place of impossible memory:
An ephemeral Indian stain on
privileged areas of Santiago

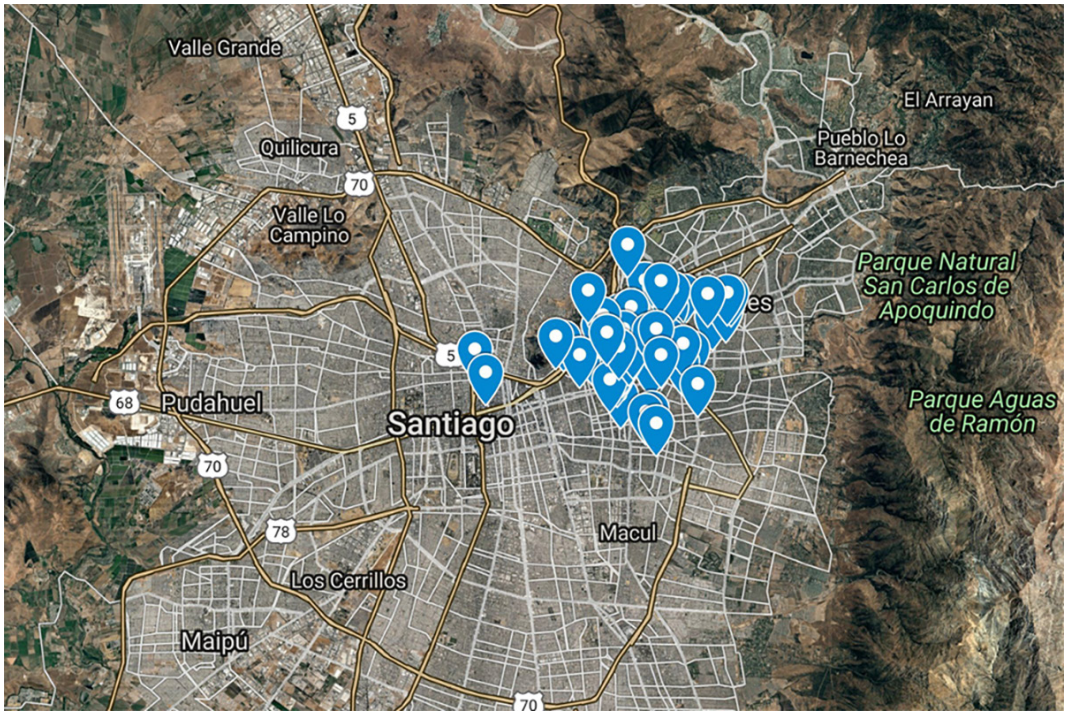
Claudio Alvarado Lincopi

Nor will the dead be safe from the enemy,
if the enemy wins.
And this enemy has not ceased to be victorious.
(Walter Benjamin)

Places of memory, spaces where collective memory crystallises and takes refuge, are ephemeral and volatile for diasporic peoples. Migration forces a metaphorical permanent renewal of the territorial tie with an abandoned space in material terms and, at the same time, it unseats possible future memories in the newly inhabited areas. Thus, everything is initially metaphorical: a pure representation of a desire gestated as nostalgia for the past and hunger for the future. This is why places of memory for communities that have been displaced as a result of violence are framed by a rocky path that makes everything weak, fragile, perishable. What is a place of memory for a people that migrate to survive? The train station at their destination? The bars frequented by the community in those cities that sheltered them? The areas of marginality where they were discarded? The hyper-exploitative workspaces where they had to sell their labour as final cogs in the production chain? The diasporic experience is difficult to contain, but over the years, time sediments in certain spaces in the place of destination. It is necessary to sharpen our gaze, to observe closely those past and present experiences to mend a memory and to create an affective bond – often painful, but also dignified – to make visible what has been denied.

One of these invisibilities is to be found in privileged areas of Santiago; the ‘high-income cone’ as contemporary urbanism has called it, the territory where the country’s wealth and prestige merge, the areas of the greatest opulence and where Chilean elites live. These are located in the east of the city. The Barrio Oriente is full of nannies and domestic workers, the ones who enable the basic reproduction of life for our elites. Many were and still are Mapuche women, and their stories are completely erased from these urban areas of privilege.

During the MapsUrbe project, we sought precisely to stress that invisibility, circumventing denial through an exercise of minimal commemoration of these biographical trajectories. It was an ephemeral, transitory exercise: the fact is that places of memory are traversed by power relations that are inexhaustible as long as the hierarchies that forged these unequal experiences are still active. As in Benjamin’s words mentioned in the epigraph, the memory of our dead is not yet safe: there are only flashes of unholy enlightenment on a still tenacious colonial structure. This is precisely what we did: to mark in an ephemeral way a place of impossible Mapuche memory, a profane flash of remembrance to survive present urgencies with dignity. However, we are obliged to review the history of Mapuche migration and racialised work before addressing our intervention, in order to understand



the depth of the gesture and then reflect on our affront to oblivion in the attempt to create an impossible place of memory.

COLONIALISM, DIASPORA AND RACIALISED LABOUR IN MAPUCHE HISTORY

Mapuche people were subjected to a brutal process of colonisation during the nineteenth century. The nascent Republic of Chile militarily invaded and occupied the territories that the Spanish Empire had been unable to seize for three centuries. Industrialising technology, a new geopolitical context and the narrative of civilisation versus barbarism created the ideal scenario to carry out the colonial interests of Chilean elites (Antileo Baeza et al. 2015). At stake were millions of hectares for ‘the granary of Chile’, a process of colonisation mirrored in Argentina. By the end of the century, 95 per cent of indigenous land was seized and the Mapuche were constrained to living on only 500,000 hectares of the 10 million they previously inhabited. This, of course, ensured the impoverishment of the Mapuche society and is key to understanding our diasporic experiences during the twentieth century. Countless Mapuche families have lived in various urban areas as a result of migration. Currently, 70 per cent of the Mapuche population live in cities, which is no small matter when it comes to processes of identification and cultural reconfigurations. Given its metropolitan status, Santiago has become the city that has received the largest Mapuche population: in this city, stories of violence and dignity have taken place, many of women working in private homes as live-in maids.

Domestic employment in Latin America is rooted in colonial servitude. Since the arrival of the *conquistadores*, ‘personal service’ has been considered necessary and inevitable, to the point of naturalising it. In other words, it is an old structure of labour, similar to latifundium (large agricultural estate that used peasant or slave labourers) and *inquilinaje* (indentured tenant farming), fundamental arrangements in the last five centuries of Latin American history (Sánchez and Cruz 2015). Therefore, discussing this particular structure of labour requires addressing the deepest socio-cultural forms of human relations on the continent. Unveiling the spatiality of ‘live-in domestic employment’ is yet another way of entering into the phenomena of segregation and the configuration of frontiers of Latin American spatial sedimentation, as almost a micro-history from a micro-spatiality of stratification (see Chapter 3).

Domestic labour is among the most feminised in our region. In 2005, the International Labour Organisation stated that more than 12 million women and girls were ‘housemaids’ throughout the continent, representing more than 15 per cent of the economically active female population

(Pérez 2013). In Chile, research shows that 97 per cent of domestic jobs are currently performed by women (Órdenes 2016). This feminisation is the result of a series of cultural and political structures that go beyond the scope of this chapter, but which, by way of outline, and following in-depth research on the subject, we could characterise as a patriarchal model of life that defines certain bodies – the feminised ones – as those called upon to carry out service, cleaning and care work; in other words, naturalisation of the place of women within the labour structure (Peredo 2003). To make matters more complex, it is impossible to think about the experiences of women as domestic workers without considering the racial dimension. An interesting study in this regard was carried out by Enrique Antileo Baeza, who, by cross-referencing data, argued that around 60 per cent of indigenous residents in the ‘high-income cone’ of Santiago work in domestic service. This is where the long, colonial continuity becomes apparent; transposed into the twentieth century through racialised jobs, it generates a ‘historical configuration of imaginaries and stereotypes around the jobs held by indigenous men and women (Mapuche in this case), which operate through labelling that assigns certain groups to specific places in the social structure and categorises their jobs as jobs for Indians’ (Antileo Baeza 2015: 73). As such, domestic work in Chile, and Latin America, has been feminised and racialised. Indigenous and Afro-descendant women are the ones who have fulfilled this role for centuries in a labour structure sustained by colonial continuities. This is precisely where hundreds and thousands of Mapuche first arriving in the city of Santiago were employed, after being forced to migrate because of the impoverishment resulting from the Chilean colonisation of the mid-nineteenth century.

There are two contradictorily connected readings of these experiences. On the one hand, the Mapuche women’s accounts tell of pain, but also often of affection, when they refer to their relationships with their masters. Most of them were young women, even girls, who on arriving in the metropolis found work, shelter and food in the same space: they worked where they slept, and ate where they worked. They came from the south, from the rural world, and they stayed in a small room at the back of a big house in privileged areas. Their work was relentless and with no fixed working hours, a kind of servitude where sorrow and affection were mixed. On the other hand, despite this condition of servitude, these jobs gave Mapuche women a new place within their family clans. They received a salary and were able to help their parents who still lived in the impoverished fields of the former Mapuche territory. Many underwent a process of radical empowerment. They could build families and support them, depending on no one but their work. Herein lies a process of dignification that is very present in the Mapuche memory of the city and is why in other research we have argued that Mapuche women’s experiences of domestic work can

ROSA CALIUMAN



be read as ‘memories of violence and dignity’ (Antileo Baeza and Alvarado Lincopi, 2018).

Yet, where do these ‘memories of violence and dignity’ reside? What are the places of these memories? Are they possible? Those of us who had mothers or grandmothers who worked as live-in maids only saw them when they came home, tired but happy to be able to bring food to the house. Very rarely did we see them in those spaces of privilege that they inhabited daily. Of course, we knew their stories; through them, we were informed of the personal conflicts of Chilean elites, through their stories we imagined those houses and neighbourhoods. However, it was nothing more than that: representations of an alien space, unjustly alien, because that is where our grandmothers and our mothers spent their lives.¹

Thus, during *MapsUrbe*, as a small gesture of rage and love, we went and fleetingly marked those spaces that are foreign, but so much our own, in our memories. We walked those streets which many women of our people inhabited during their working lives and we used the garment that marked them as ‘nannies’ to engrave and make visible a denied memory. In short, we ephemerally stained with Mapuche history one of the privileged areas of Santiago.

A MINIMAL MAPPING FOR A DENIED MEMORY

In the Newspaper Archive of the National Library of Chile, we found a magazine published by the Federación de Trabajadoras de Casa Particular (The Federation of Domestic Workers), the *Revista Surge*. Only the issues dated between 1959 and 1966 had been collected there, but it was still fundamental for the construction of our cartography.

The 1960s were a time of great political turmoil in Chile; trade unions and workers’ organisations multiplied with new members joining every day, as was the case throughout Latin America. The Cuban Revolution of 1959 brought an atmosphere of epochal change that enveloped the whole continent. The *Revista Surge*, in particular, changed its editorial line over the course of the decade. If it initially wrote mainly of the role of women as carers and central pillars of the family, with a notorious editorial line emanating directly from the church, during the agitated years of the 1960s, the focus of what was published in the magazine turned to labour conflicts and the unionisation of women working in private homes, especially encouraging those employed as ‘live-ins’. Moreover, to make the exponential growth of the union’s strength visible, the *Revista Surge* began to publish the names

1 As shown in Chapter 3, children of live-in maids were sometimes allowed to stay with their mothers when they were very small. It was much less common for the entire family to live in the master’s property.

and addresses of the new affiliates in each issue. They were probably trying to make others lose their fear so that they would be encouraged to join the Federation when they read the name of someone they knew. This information proved crucial for us. The names and addresses printed in the magazine were enough to imagine a zoning of domestic employment, and above all, to recognise where Mapuche women were working, at least between 1959 and 1966. To our surprise, almost all the addresses reported were located in the affluent areas of Santiago. Presumably, unionised female employees gave the addresses of their working places, probably because that was also where they lived as live-in maids. Thus, what we did was to look for names that would show their Mapuche origin through their surnames. In Chile, Mapuche surnames are very recognisable and often a source of discrimination, to the point that during the twentieth century, many Mapuche decided to change them. This immediately distorts the recognition mechanism we used. Even so, it is the form mostly used in archival work, given the impossibility of constructing other mechanisms of identity recognition. What is more, it was enough for us; with this information, we were able to make a minimal mapping of Mapuche domestic employment in the area of Providencia, relating the women's names to particular addresses.

We had before us another possible indigenous territoriality, not the classic one that speaks of the rural world or marginalised urban areas. This was a cartography that located Mapuche lives in the high-income area of the city – as workers, of course. It was a place of memory erased in the materiality of an obstinately homogenous city but also not claimed by the official Mapuche narrative, which is mostly focused on communal rurality.

THE STUBBORNESS OF OUR MARK FOR AN IMPOSSIBLE PLACE OF MEMORY

We had a map of the trajectories denied in the official memory of the city. We managed to reconstruct a minimal cartographic representation of the lives of dozens of Mapuche women employed in racialised and feminised labour. We also had names and addresses. However, the map itself wasn't enough; we had to go and mark those places where these memories do not appear, in a small gesture to dignify the walking of our own mothers and grandmothers. It was a minimal exercise in anticolonial reparation.

Our intention was never to sediment meaning in any definitive way. As commented, the permanence of the stratification and the continuity of racialised work make it impossible to generate a conclusive process of remembrance in that space. This is why we refer to our act as ephemeral, aware of its transitory condition given the impossibility of establishing a place for memory in affective and identitarian terms in that area of the city.

Our action was more like a stain, a brief affront out of tenderness, not as revenge but rather as a precarious redemption. That is why at each house of the addresses found in the *Revista Surge*, we wrote the name of the Mapuche woman who worked there using the white chalk which we used as children at school.

Chalk, as the materiality of our performance, has a transitory condition of its own. We scratched the street with it, but its erasure was to be expected. It was the only possible outcome: it would only endure until rain washed it away or until, with a simple cloth, someone was ready to remove the name from the ground. Thus, the ephemeral condition of our exercise, given the impossibility of sedimenting a place of memory in the zones of privilege, found its material constitution in the use of chalk. We wrote knowing that we would fail, that our lines would be irremediably erased, that their existence would disappear very easily. And yet we did it. The city then became a school blackboard, and our chalk sketches were nothing more than a tender mark on it. Only through photography could we establish a trace of existence, allowing us to state what we did, how we stubbornly managed to precariously intervene the bourgeois homogeneity and claim a place for the 'oppressed, but not defeated' in the city of forgetfulness and lasting segregation.

In addition to the names of the Mapuche women marked at the addresses indicated in *Revista Surge*, we wanted to be obvious. We wanted to unveil. The metaphor had to be irrefutable. To do this, we used the same marking that sealed the bodies of domestic employment: the maid's apron. The practice of marking is crucial for the reproduction of social hierarchies, for in this way the bodies of domestic servants become evident. Aprons were and are a marking to differentiate and hierarchise, an aesthetic reinforcement to deepen the racialised and feminised aspect of work. Clothing is also political; its uses and meanings are defined by power relations. The bodies of indigenous women wearing those aprons thus projected their undisputed place on the scale of otherness and inequality. Those bodies covered in blue or reddish pastel tones with mostly grid patterns were easily recognisable in the city of privilege when they went shopping, when they walked the dogs, when they fetched the children from school, when they watered the streets and when they swept the gardens. In short, when their bodies used the public spaces, everyone would know who they were, what their role was and why they were there. Perversely, the pigments, phenotypes and bodies of female domestic workers are generally not common in high-income areas in Chile, nor in much of Latin America. Wealth, to a large extent, remains white on the continent, and a brown body in the public space of privilege is strange, even suspicious. Thus, marking the body of domestic employees was ultimately for the residents' own peace of mind, an exercise for their own security. Furthermore, the work apron also

contradictorily minimised suspicion of Mapuche women: given their visible role as mere servants, they could walk there without arousing any.

That is why we used that same way of marking racialised and feminised labour as a mark of memory. It was an exercise in saturating the meaning of clothing; its radicalisation as a sign to the point of turning its hierarchical proclamation into an anticolonial banner. Inverting the violence of its meaning, without forgetting that violence, we transformed it into something that is sadly ours, from where – with rage and pain – we seek a dignified memory. It was ultimately a cannibalistic, anthropophagic exercise of devouring the colonial aesthetic until we made it our own, passing it through our entrails, and with it, timidly staining that imposed oblivion, to give shape to an ephemeral and impossible place of memory on the streets of Santiago's *barrio alto*.



The Indian's head

Antil



On the south-west corner of the Plaza de Armas, in a space where prostitution and evangelical preaching coexist, there is a sculpture that seeks to celebrate the indigenous presence in Chile. Sculpted by Enrique Villalobos in 1992, in the early post-dictatorship years and in the context of the fifth centenary of the conquest of the Americas, this public monument was intended as a gesture to show an appreciation for the indigenous peoples. The sculpture is very abstract. Constructed of concrete and granite, it gives the impression of being a rock with sharp cuts which are built one on top of the other, from a thick base to a narrow tip. This construction of cuts bursts onto the square, revealing a section of a broken face on one side, of which we can only see an eye, a nose and half of a mouth. It is a fractured, deconstructed indigenous face, somehow crossed by the edges of the rock.

We know that in this square, the germinal space of conquest and colonial enterprise, almost ten Mapuche heads were publicly displayed in 1541 after the Spanish *conquistadores* put down an indigenous revolt. It is impossible not to think of those heads when we see the fractured face of the sculpture entitled *Monument to the Indigenous Peoples*. It is a curious tribute, and a grim one to say the least.

From that feeling of gruesomeness and uneasiness, in the heat of the debates generated during the MapsUrbe project, I conceived the artwork presented here: *Cabeza de Indio* (The Indian's head). Through photography, digital collage and sound, it sought to build from what has been fractured in order to allow a face to emerge, a multitude of faces, really, among the empty and decaying spaces left by the colonial imagination that carved the aforementioned sculpture. Behind that torn face there is still a life, which today seeks to compose itself from a variety of possibilities. In the face of the colonial fracture, today we inhabit possibilities of decolonisation which open up a space to rethink ourselves and to discover our hundreds and thousands of faces. There, the very place where Mapuche heads were exposed as a triumph of colonialism, we infiltrate new aesthetics; we compose upon the inherited fracture, in order to emerge from the very same place in the metropolitan city.













La Indía: The right to imagine
Mapuche Pop

Puelpan



Neo Lautaro
Peñi passenger of this journey
You know that there is life after death
And death after life
As those butterflies used to say
With the buzzing of their steely wings
Listening to IRON MAIDEN
(David Aníñir Guiltraro)

A UTOPIA OUT OF PLACE

‘A utopia out of place’ was what my inner voice told me. Or perhaps it was the voice of others – both Chilean and Mapuche in unison – that haunted me like a ghostly shadow, while I programmed the beats of my own pop songs in front of the computer. Inherited from what came before me, the origin or nationality of the voice was ultimately not important. Wherever it came from, it was me. I had made it mine.

After several years of making music and taking part in projects of different musical styles, my career was entering a new phase. The need to leave a group for a solo project in which I could radicalise my musical ideas, from lyrics to sounds, seemed unavoidable. Previous experiences had led to the incorporation into my musical imaginary of two elements which, although at different levels, had proved crucial for the creation of new sounds that would bear witness to the life processes I had been going through in recent years. First, I felt I needed to engage, through my work, with a politicised vision of reality: this implied tracing and capturing the steps on the path towards the recovery of my Mapuche identity, which I had undertaken years before. Second, after varied musical practices, I was convinced of the need to materialise my ideas (and feelings) into a single format that would allow me to frictionlessly incorporate the multiple influences and styles that had marked my development as a musician. Thus, I chose as my vehicle one of the artistic expressions I was most familiar with; one that had been the object of my devotion since early childhood and even up to the present time. Here I am referring to, by far, the most seductive, capitalist and neoliberal (almost always banal and contrived) of all the musical genres on the face of the earth: pop.

Almost inevitably, the word ‘contradiction’ – in capital letters and with exclamation marks – came to my mind. However, it was not my wish to interfere with the flow of ideas or music, which, from my perspective, should always manifest itself as it comes. Other genres that have been linked to, or have been closer to, social demands and protest – such as hip hop or folklore – already have a place in the imaginary of popular Mapuche music. Rock, *cumbia* and *ranchera* have also played their part in this. However,



although these musical genres have also been imported and, in very broad terms, somehow participate in the spectrum labelled ‘pop culture’, both in terms of their staging and mechanisms of circulation and dissemination, it would be hard to relate the concept of ‘pop song’, simply put, to certain political and/or identity processes located on the fringes of the mainstream.

What is the work of a Mapuche musician or artist supposed to convey? What are the languages, formats and codes allowed to express one’s own identity? Who is the controlling, abstract entity that determines what is allowed and what is not? What should the musical or artistic work of a *champurria* – as the descendants of Chilean-Mapuche miscegenation are usually called, for better and for worse – be about? ‘Mismatches’ such as the ones just mentioned are what motivate the writing of this text.

RECAPITULATIONS

It is a fact that not all Mapuche, or Mapuche-*champurria*, who have been born and lived most of their lives in the city of Santiago, far from their territory of origin or *Wallmapu*, have the same shared experiences of their *mapuchidad*, and neither have their experiences shaped their identity in the same way. While some have maintained contact with aspects of Mapuche tradition and culture, as well as with the Mapuzugun language, others have experienced their origin as a nebulous reality, blurred, and in some cases, omitted or denied as a result of a colonial wound passed down from generation to generation. My particular case is the latter.

‘Mamita Blanca doesn’t want to speak Mapuzugun’, I heard people say in passing at one family gathering or another during my childhood and adolescence. Sometimes, stories were told. They talked about Rucaco, the area near San José de La Mariquina, located in what is now called the Los Ríos Region, where my maternal grandmother, Blanca Puelpan Huaiquimilla, was born and raised. From there, when she was very young, she moved to San José de La Mariquina, where she worked as a dressmaker, and met my grandfather Floridor García Obando, whom she later married. Her deepest aspiration was to study to become a teacher, she once told me, but this seemed far out of her reach at the time and she could not realise her dream. However, this did not limit her creative expression. Throughout her eighty-seven years of life, in countless notebooks, many of which are now lost, her ideas about the world surrounding her were recorded in the form of poems and song lyrics she composed with a guitar. Many years later, having raised four children, my grandparents, along with part of the family, moved to the Metropolitan Region, settling in the municipality of

San Bernardo. I was born in the 1980s, in the middle of the *waría* and also the civil-military dictatorship, the only child of my mother, Marila García Puelpan, who raised me with a lot of love and toil. Of my childhood memories, very few lead me to any substantial event that led me to identify myself as Mapuche. Rather, I retain in my memory unconnected episodes and fragmented associations which, it seems, have articulated a kind of unconscious narrative that, over time, gave rise to a sense of belonging or, at least, of coming to belong.

In recollecting, voices and visions follow one after the other, with no apparent order or meaning. I remember, at around the age of 10, going with my mother and uncles to visit family friends who lived in Maiquillahue, near the seaside at Mehuín in the Los Ríos Region. That time we were received with great hospitality and Don Santos Cañulaf, the grandfather of the family, talked to us for long hours. His eldest son, Rubén Cañulaf then did the same. Each one summed up practically their entire biography in their respective stories. As a child, I was not bored. I felt that time passed differently and I thought to myself, ‘How different the Mapuche are. They are very relaxed and take their time to do things.’ That night we stayed in one of the family’s *rukas*. I remember overhearing the adults talking about how my uncle Gonzalo, who had never left the south, had kept the ‘legendary’ pieces of traditional Mapuche silver jewellery worn by my great-grandmother, María Huaiquimilla Lefno, and had given them to one of her daughters. I remember my aunt Gloria commenting on her experience of having participated in more than one *gillatun*. I recall my mother telling me the story of when she was 8 years old and her aunt, my grandfather Floridor’s sister, had chased her on horseback through the streets of San José de La Mariquina, shouting, ‘*India, india, india!*’, a generational insult inherited from mother to daughter. I remember my father, in his visits during my childhood, asking me about my maternal family with his particular sense of humour and typical joke of ‘How is the tribe?’

Things like these, ranging from anecdotal to sad and, at times, absurd, are what I recall from that first phase of my life. However, the one thing I remember above all others is the silence of my grandmother, the unshakeable silence of Mamita Blanca. There was never a way to get a single word out of her about her Mapuche origin and identity, nor was it possible to get a word out of her in the Mapuzugun she knew so well. It was not until I entered university to study musical education at the age of 18 that I gradually began the process of re-encountering my own Mapuche heritage, which I felt reaffirmed by how, at the School of Pedagogy, I made friends with other Mapuche who also recognised me as such and began to call me *lamgen*.

OF SCREENS AND GLITTERING SEQUINS

While I was denied access to my own Mapuche identity during my early years, there was another universe that was, like to most children born in the 1980s, completely accessible to me: image culture and the alienation of television. The investment in everything related to the entertainment industry by Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship during this decade, in particular, was colossal. Television undoubtedly had a very important role to play as a smokescreen to distract from, and mask, the brutality and cruelty that marked this period in Chile's history.

They were the glory days of stardom. National and international stars followed one another in an endless parade, floating in glittering sequins adorned with huge shoulder pads, leonine hairstyles and an excess of ultra-dramatic make-up. The lavish display of scenic resources gave the spectacle an almost circus-like feel that entertained, captivated and bewitched the masses, especially the new generations who did not know the world before the omnipresence of screens. Music, in this context, appeared as a key piece on the chessboard. The pop song, with its catchy, short-lived melody, made its presence felt in people's homes through radio and television. Regardless of context or place of origin, this style seemed to be able to take any influence, absorb it and return it as an appealing 'universal' product, extraordinarily cross-cutting and accessible to everyone.

As a child that was – and still is, as an adult – deeply impressionable and sensitive to both visual and sound stimuli, I remember being completely captivated by the songs and videos of these charismatic beings that appeared on my screen, wanting to become one of them myself. At the age of five, with no particular ideological or moral construct, I would indulge in long routines of practice in singing and dancing and imitating my idols before performing in front of a loyal audience of family members, neighbours and schoolmates. Of the steps traced on the path of memory, it may be that, over time, certain elements appear to us as simply a backdrop to, or decorative aspect, of the scenery, which, most of the time, is inhabited unconsciously. Nonetheless, I believe that to understand the power and conflicts that affect us, both personally and collectively, it is necessary to assume that we are not only daughters and sons of all of the mothers and fathers who came before us, but also, and no less importantly, we are daughters and sons of our times.

LA INDÍA

Eventually, almost five years after deciding to make a fundamental change to my artistic creation and after a long period of deep musical and existential readjustments, I recorded my first video clip. As if it were an initiatory

action, I decided to ‘designate’ myself Puelpan, taking as my new name and authorial signature for my compositions from that moment onwards the Mapuche surname of my maternal grandmother, in a gesture that seemed fair and necessary to me: not only because I do not approve of the fact that the Mapuche name has been erased from me, but also because the reason why this happened is that it is always the mother’s name that is erased through generations as a result of the patrilineal and patriarchal logic of descent imposed, in this case, by Chilean legislation.

In December 2018, the video of the song *La Indía* my first creation under the name of Puelpan, was exhibited for the first time. It was screened at the art exhibition of Colectivo MapsUrbe, whose research aimed to delve, through an interdisciplinary exercise, into the multiple layers and complexities traversing urban Mapuche identities in the city of Santiago, seeking, at the same time, to unveil their reflexive and creative power.

The concept of ‘*indía*’ or ‘*indiada*’, as the central axis from which the lyrics unfold, refers to an expression of Chilean popular jargon. It is charged with a pejorative connotation of irrational unruliness associated with ‘the Indians’ – that is, the Mapuche caricatured in the imaginary of Chilean folklore as inherently insurrectionary, choleric and bellicose characters – directed at those who revolt or disobey. The use of the word applies to any kind of collective or individual uprising by Mapuche or non-Mapuche, as well as to any sudden manifestation of anger or dissent. Finally, the term ‘*indía*’ is also associated with an idea of collectivity, people, populace, plebs, mob. An extract from the lyrics of the song follows:

What is it that you are so afraid of? What is going to happen?
If you cross the border, you put your feet in the river along with many others.
Yes, our feathers rise in reaction. One has to know how to fight.
The Death Star of order and progress doesn’t want to listen to you,
Where force is the law, there is no time to cry, no time to choose
There is no time to suffer, no time to fight,
There is no time to sleep, no time to cry out.
The apocalypse of St. John is already coming, and how will it find you?
Struggling to be human or serving Satan?
Maybe you’ve heard that making noise is wrong
Maybe you’ve heard that ‘they have a bad case of the *indía*’.

Turning words upside down, subverting the meaning of ideas that have historically been used to belittle and subjugate us, disarticulating their purposes and altering the trajectory of language are all ways of interfering with reality to be able to *create reality*. Moreover, the operation of dislocating configurations and meanings of verbal language can be transferred to a process of transmutation and re-articulation of sound associations, since both music and all kinds of sound are also engraved within a symbolic framework.

As I pointed out earlier in my story, through the different phases I have gone through as a musician, I have always valued the multiplicity of forms that the pop song potentially contains. As a language that I have constantly sought to explore, I am also aware of the complexities involved in the creative process for this format and have admired the gift with which many authors and performers have mastered their art. Pop as a musical genre is, to me, a way to fluidly incorporate and reconfigure the different influences that have marked my own route as a musician. In the case of *La Indía* it has been possible for me to articulate elements of Andean *tinku*,¹ as well as electronic and punk music into a single track, thus converting this format into a tool that allows me to exercise subjectivity from the local context and my personal experience. This way, colonising and anaesthetising devices such as pop culture and music are transfigured into tools that open the way to a decolonising, politicised and lucid creative exercise that, in turn, allows one to generate their own and situated imaginaries through which to invoke other possible futures. On the other hand, the video clip as an audio-visual instrument is, without a doubt, one of the most iconic elements and a central piece of the pop machinery, since in the audio-visual capsule, all of the genre's resources are synthesised. As such, due to its non-linear and arbitrary narrative structure, this format entails an incomparable potential when having resources to freely articulate representations from one's own local and self-conscious perspective.

Directed by Rosario González, the video clip of *La Indía* also constituted an exercise in experimentation with a collective dimension. Improvisation played a determining role in this through a spontaneous choreographic exercise carried out together with my *pu lamgen* from 'Ninja Newen', a Mapuche group of *waria che pu domo* who define themselves as 'lof of the future' and whose members at the time were Camila Huenchumil, Aylin Espinoza Chehuaicura, Mikal Neculqueo, Gianni Nahuelhual and myself. My friend Antonia Larenas and my friend and *lamgen* Antil also joined in on this kinetic and audio-visual experiment. A projector, a background wall, our bodies as a support for the light and Rosario's intuitive eye were the only resources available at the time of filming. The projection of sequences of manipulated analogue tapes² and the subsequent editing of the images were the elements from which the director constructed a visual narrative for the song. From a minimalist production, it was possible to generate a visuality inspired by pop references – cyberpunk, comics and *animé*, among others – but which, from the very way it is made to its discursive dimension,

1 Andean ritual and original dance from the north of Potosí in Bolivia, also practised in areas of southern Peru and northern Chile. Since the late 1990s, it has been present in the city of Santiago as a distinctive element in marches, protests and social demonstrations.

2 Some of this material was provided by the Collective for Experimentation and Research in Film Formats CEIS8. Also included were tapes intervened by Rosario González.

is strongly committed politically, distancing itself completely from the motivations and clichés of global pop aesthetics.

FROM THE UNIVERSAL TO THE LOCAL

Regarding the initial questions concerning the apparent contradiction of using an emblematic manifestation of consumer society – in this case, the pop song – for exploration and expression in my identitarian claim, I think only time, through praxis, will be able to shed light on the power of formats with these characteristics. It is only by walking down this path that ways of transmuting ideas into possible realities will be revealed, which, in being socialised – through the collectivisation of creative processes, for example – will acquire renewed and relevant situated meanings. It is also necessary to consider the ‘nature’ of the reality we inhabit and not to ignore the fact that in the present there is an audio-visual dimension that inundates us and with which we interact permanently. Inevitably, participating in this virtual construction, our identities are permeated by the infinite elements contained therein, but we also feed it in turn. From Guy Debord to Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui – among others – it is nothing new to say that the colonising global culture is the culture of montage, artifice and spectacle. We could then say that culture *is* pop. It is the hallmark of our times. As if it were a holographic Trojan horse, the scope of its onslaught infiltrates painlessly into our individual and collective spaces, entering into direct relation with our daily lives. This is its greatest Machiavellianism and its greatest power.

Perhaps this is why, from the perspective of the *weychan*, it makes more sense to make pop instead of making ‘art’; perhaps we have already reached the point in which perpetuating these categories is not useful for the development and effective communication of ideas and emerging creative manifestations which seek to intervene, interfere with and transform reality. For this to happen, new practices and formats are needed.

I imagine a pop from the margins. I imagine a pop that, at the same time, is not pop. I imagine a *champurria* pop, ‘stained’ by the traces of colonial history, but original in its exploration of its own identity. I do not imagine a *champurria* pop as a slogan to indulge in an unaware, insubstantial and accommodating relativism. I do imagine a pop *champurreado*, politically and spiritually committed, unapologetically situated in the space-time it has been given to inhabit. Finally, I imagine a Mapuche *champurria* pop that does not aspire to move from the Mapuche to the universal but, on the contrary, traverses the global as a way to look at itself again, recognising what is its own in its making and in its different ways of manifesting itself. I believe that to imagine the future, projected in large or small utopias, is a form of resistance. And that what does not exist can be invented.



EPILOGUE

Niitxam / A conversation

*Olivia Casagrande, Claudio Alvarado Lincopi, Roberto
Cayuqueo Martínez*

ON THE BUS: 'SINCE THAT FIRST MOMENT, WE WERE
FILLED WITH TENSION'

Olivia: It is not easy to recall it now. It was a tough moment. I remember when we met ... Well, I was coming from attempts with an urban Mapuche organisation that had rejected me very decisively. I was looking for someone who wanted to participate in my project, and I naively thought that, as my idea was collaborative work, people would naturally want to *collaborate*. It was naive of me to think that just coming up with something collaborative would be enough; so that was one of the first things that brought me back to the reality of relationships. At that point, it was the meeting with the Pilquil sisters that acted as a bridge, and I think there are two things I would like to comment on here. The first is that I got to know them through contacts I have with Mapuche exiles in the Netherlands. That's what made it happen; when we discovered that we had friends in common, what acted as a bridge was this relationship with the Mapuche exile.¹ Also, when we randomly met at an event at the Librería Le Monde Diplomatique in Santiago, it was Achille who caught Elizabeth's attention. Ultimately, the fact of being with my son and being a mother, also changes the fate of what happens in the 'field'. It was Monica who then made the contact with you, both Monica and Elizabeth.

My first encounter was with Claudio, who was giving a class on intercultural education to kindergarten teachers at the Kvme Felen Health Centre, run by Elizabeth Pilquil. What I remember very well is that you were calm and open to listening to me, and I could see that you were interested in the project and the issues it addressed, so I felt relieved. I was expecting to be rejected again, but I relaxed talking to you. Then, after I told you what I wanted to do, we took the bus together. We were both going to the centre of Santiago, but you were going to work and I was going home, something quite telling in terms of the geography of the city. There, on the bus, you went on a fifteen-minute tirade on *mapuchógrafos*.² You never explicitly directed it at me specifically, but it touched a nerve with me personally, because obviously, even if you were not talking about me in particular, the whole diatribe was about the place I was occupying and what I was doing: a European anthropologist researching indigenous people in Latin America. What I felt was that I couldn't disagree with what

1 During the civil-military dictatorship of Pinochet, the Pilquil Lizama family suffered political persecution and exile. They spent a few years in the Netherlands, where the Railaf Zuñiga family was also exiled, with which Olivia got in contact during her PhD research.

2 *Mapuchógrafos*: literally those who write about the Mapuche, and are mostly 'white' academics, often European. The use of this term is part of the critique of academic *extractivismo*, in which the produced knowledge ends up being instrumentally appropriated by only one of the actors participating in its construction.

you were saying. Your words made a strong impact on me, and I got off the bus thinking that you would probably never want to talk to me again. I assumed it was another refusal, but then I also thought, 'You know what? Maybe I'll contact him again, I'll see.' And the truth is, when I called you, we got together again and we talked and there was no rejection on your part. I expected a rejection, but there was never any, and I also had the impression that you didn't expect me to contact you again either, but I don't know about that, because that's your part of the story ...

Claudio: Yes, I think, in a way, that – after my tirade about the *mapuchógrafos*, the political economy of knowledge, and how there is a tradition of the the north studying the south, reiterating, therefore, forms of knowledge production that are profoundly colonial – by the time that you had gotten off the bus and then called me back, what then happened from my point of view was that I thought, 'Let's open up to this.' After all, you wouldn't have called me either if you hadn't also been willing to cross the border, step outside your comfort zone and get muddy, and think about the tensions of roles and positions in the politics of knowledge production. All of this is quite uncomfortable for traditional views of anthropology.

Now, on the other hand, the truth is that I didn't do it consciously either; I just went on a rant. It wasn't a matter of tactics; there was no tactic or strategy at the time. It was simply a very visceral rage about the way knowledge is produced. It really had nothing to do with you, and never had, actually. However, it did have to do with the precariousness of my job at that time too; an attempt to get into the academic world but with a lot of precariousness. In short, all those kinds of things were also thrown into that bus. Now, all in all, I think that from the beginning it allowed us to permanent question ourselves and our position in the processes of knowledge construction, particularly in the indigenous world, in a city on the periphery of the world. It made it possible not to pretend this wasn't an issue, but on the contrary, to ask ourselves the fundamental questions we had to ask ourselves when we were trying to produce knowledge from this place and to know, therefore, what role we had in this and how at the same time we generated tensions around these roles, which was a fundamental element of the project.

With Roberto, we had a previous process that had been fostered by a series of projects, and which asked questions very similar to those you raised, to do with the city and the Mapuche, and at the same time, with attempts at disciplinary crossovers, between theatre, history and urban cultural studies. Precisely, one day Roberto had invited me to his house through Dani Millaleo without us knowing each other and had said to me, 'There's a project I'd like to do about the Mapuche breadmakers in Santiago. It's a site-specific performance.' So, with Roberto, we had just done that work,

which was called *Panarife*, and suddenly this came along. I said, 'It fits like a glove.' It was perfect; like everything was on track, and well, when you asked me who else would be suitable, I immediately thought of Roberto, and then Roberto also joined the group.

Roberto: Well, after that Olivia arrived. We had an activity with Mapuche artists at the GAM,³ I presented an extract from *Panarife* and then we chatted a little bit. She seemed a bit nervous; we were in a very noisy place and we couldn't hear each other well. We agreed to meet up another day. I remember I was looking after a friend's house, and Oli came to see me. I thought this interesting of an anthropologist, what she thought; first of all, to work with Mapuche in Santiago and, then, to think of theatre as a possibility, and specifically site-specific, as a possibility to lead a process that, it seemed, was more theoretical than artistic. Then the three of us started to get together, do you remember? We made the first field visit following the course of the Mapocho.

Claudio: From the very first moment, we were filled with tensions, and we have been elaborating on those tensions. Is *co-labor* possible with all these tensions crossing us? We interrogated this to the point that we eventually came up with concepts to try to resolve this dilemma between our subjective roles and the structures of knowledge production. We were permanently seeking to dissolve or to challenge them, which tells of how we dealt with that structure; how our agencies managed to, even if minimally, question those processes. That is why, as I was going to say, notions like 'the producer' emerge: rather than a role of leading the process, of directing it, this notion takes form of 'producing' moments and spaces for the sharing of reflections and concerns. Something else that came forward when we began to invite people, brothers and sisters to join the project, was the question of how were we going to consider them? Only as 'witnesses' or also as people who are reflecting and interpreting reality? That leap was always fundamental, including for thinking of the final products.

Ultimately, we were tending ourselves, trying to create those shared moments and spaces, but at the same time, trying not to think that the *peñi* and *lamgen* who joined this project only had a role as 'witnesses', and that their words did not only describe a reality, but they were also interpreting it. Therefore, in that interpretation, there was also the production of knowledge to the point that they developed artworks themselves. In short, it was an attempt to disrupt the logic of *co-labor*. Towards what? I don't know exactly, but at least interrogating some of its dynamics and above all, not playing dumb and not overlooking the fact that in the end there is still a structure

3 Centro Cultural Gabriela Mistral, the Gabriela Mistral Cultural Centre.

and a political economy of knowledge. This is very important because what often happens with the logic of *co-labor* is an attitude of ‘I am very well connected to the communities and there is no asymmetry.’ No, here we always foregrounded the role of power relations; power within our relations was always at the forefront. What we do with our power is a question that is not easily resolved, but having that primary intuition allowed us to try to find answers, at least.

Olivia: Yes, it’s a question that I don’t think is resolved. Besides the fact that *we* did not resolve it, it probably cannot be resolved, but I do believe that being in that question is fundamental. For me, from my position as an anthropologist, it changed my perspective because I came from work that, although not necessarily *co-labor* as understood in more radical terms, was still politically engaged, like testimony, the biographical, or community work; this idea of working in communion with people who want to tell their stories and to become an instrument of that is still something that has its own value, and that had its value in a particular historical period. I remember the exact moment when my perspective changed, though. I was proposing this idea of biographical interviews or digital storytelling – basically walking around the city and using video collaboratively to tell the participant’s life histories – and you, Claudio, said – I don’t remember what exactly but it was something like: ‘Look, no interviews.’ We were still in the planning phase of the project, so you gave me a very clear limit, saying, ‘I’m not up for interviews, and I’m not up for enabling you to interview other people. I’m not interested in that.’ So, that’s when I started to think about what that means, and what it means is that we are working with people, as you said now, who are not there to describe but to interpret, which is totally different. So, I think that this changed the approach a lot and that it wasn’t simply about the indigenous experience of the city anymore, which would have had a testimonial aspect, and for which interviews, observations, data, are needed to make that experience accessible. It was about a shared space for the construction of representations, interpretations as artworks, or performances. There, the work of interpretation can be mine, yours, or the artist’s; everyone does their own, but the artwork has different dimensions, not purely a testimonial one. In that sense, it changed my perspective a lot and I got over the anxiety of the interview and data collection. Obviously, for a while I was thinking, ‘What am I going to do without interviews?’ but then I let it go.

Another among the discussions we had a lot, was that, even if there were and are affective personal relationships, even if we did develop friendship, that was not necessarily going to change the power relations we are caught into, and how to navigate being in antagonistic positions in structural terms, so to say, but enjoying an affective relationship in personal terms. That was,

for me, at times, the most difficult thing. I think this is very much part of our work *Antropofágias* – and that’s why I insisted so much on it, which perhaps at some point you hated, but I felt that I needed to somehow find a way to represent the possibility of affectivity *within* antagonistic relations, and how both exist at the same time, and often the only thing one can do is to recognise it.

HOW TO PRODUCE KNOWLEDGE?

Claudio: I believe the reflection about *how* to produce knowledge – because it undoubtedly already came in the very gestation of the project – evolved necessarily because all these epistemological questions needed an action method. And that is also fascinating, that is, the question of how to overcome the boundaries of objectivity versus subjective notions also needed a way forward. One of the richnesses of the project was exploring methodologies and disciplinary crossovers. I feel that this is a very powerful possibility because it allows a diversity of people to come together in trying to ultimately produce knowledge but also criticism and challenge, which is something uncommon.⁴ At least in Chile, it is something quite uncommon. The possibility here of the crossover between theatre, anthropology, history and art is, in short, something that is almost non-existent in Chile, and it’s one of the richnesses of this process. I think Roberto’s role was fundamental here.

Roberto: Yes. Well, time allowed for all this. One thing we had in our favour was the time we had to build the process. In Chile, sometimes because of how cultural funds work, you do not have more than five months; six months is already a long time for the construction of a theatre piece, so having a creative process lasting more than a year was very much appreciated. In site-specific practices, of course, it’s common to work for a whole year, but given the reality of Chilean theatre, that’s not usually possible. That was important, as well as the time we had between workshops, too. We also had some breathing space; it wasn’t just the moment that we got together. Between one meeting and the next, time passed and ideas were being moulded. The group itself had time to elaborate and we gradually realised what we were looking at. In the beginning, when we got together with the other participants, each of us came with their own concerns but also not knowing exactly what we were coming for. For me, whenever a creation is approached, in a way, you know you’re going somewhere but you don’t know where, so I think that this vertigo was also part of the process. I remember the first time in the Plaza de Armas, when we tried to do a

⁴ The recent play *Treva*, realised by Paula Gonzalez Siguel with the company Kimvn Teatro and in collaboration with Helene Risor is a notable exception.

decolonising exercise. We did a performative exercise, but then we felt uncomfortable with it. From our own emotional feelings we managed to grasp things and to interpret: in this case, Plaza de Armas was lost territory for us. It's impossible to make it a Mapuche place and discomfort prevails there. The only possibility is of an anticolonial attitude or challenge.

Olivia: Yes, and I believe the contribution of theatre was also the possibility of reflecting on how one is always producer and performer. You have both roles at the same time, so you are working as a producer but you are also part of the performance, and that was something that materialised strongly for me when you asked me, 'What do you want to do? Do you want to continue simply being an anthropologist or do you also want to be my assistant in the play?' It was like going on and off stage all the time. I don't know how to describe it. It was something that the three of us did in different ways but it was also part of the process.

Roberto: For me, it was pretty obvious but the subject of the assistant director was especially interesting because you have the method that being a researcher gives you and, in a way, that method helped us to organise the direction of the play as well. So, it was very pleasant to have you as my assistant, but I remember you asked me, 'And what does the director's assistant have to do?' You were with your pencil and notebook waiting for me to say, 'Well, number one ...', but I just said, 'I don't know. It's to be by one's side.'

Olivia: [laughing] Well, though being by one's side seems simple, it's not, but being by one's side really is what it's all about.

Roberto: Of course, and I also appreciated working with you: the analysis that you give, that mirror is thought-provoking. I remember when we were already working on the script, and at some point, we got lost. That's where I think these transdisciplinary debates were critical. At the moment when we were working on the closing of the play, we wanted to close in a *ruka*. That was very natural but it was obvious, and we problematised that obviousness. We realised that our intention was not to represent the most widespread and official image of the Mapuche. In the project, we tried to deny folklore and common representations of the Mapuche and I believe that through the constant exchange and critique from the analysis that was made, the play achieved a very good condensation of the whole process, and those same questions were raised with particular vigour during the social uprising [in October 2019]. Well, eventually, when we were going to conclude in the *ruka*, Claudio said, 'If we finish in the *ruka* in the periphery of the city, it almost ends up like a cliché Mapuche representation, but we are looking to generate a tension with the centre of the city.' I always remember that

phrase. So we decided to close in the centre, and then it became ‘Let’s close on the Welen Hill’, which has always been a space of constant dispute as the hill of the colonial founding of Santiago. We know that they took that space away from us, but we are going to take it back until the hill is called Welen again.

Olivia: It’s also very significant that the Welen Hill was the one place that had always escaped us. During the entire research period, we were supposed to go and we couldn’t: first, because there was this super *cuica* gastronomic fair or something; then, we were supposed to go again but there were demonstrations because Camilo Catrillanca was killed. That is, there were maybe two or three times when we had to go and we couldn’t. Then, when we wanted to do a re-founding of the city on the hill, it was the group itself who said, ‘We’re not interested in doing any re-founding at all.’ Of course, that possibility alone has certain patriarchal and colonial meanings. In the end, it was such an important place for the closing of the play but until then it had escaped us ...

‘WHAT WE DID IS *CHAMPURRIA*’

Claudio: At one point the question was of discovering something, an immutable truth about the city, but then became more than a discovery: it was a utopian exercise. There was a double dimension to it. It wasn’t just about looking for a Mapuche origin. For example, when we had the workshop on the San Cristóbal Hill. We climbed the hill and there Raúl Molina, the geographer, explained to us what this Mapuche territory must have been like before the arrival of the Spaniards. There, there was a possibility, which was to go and find out what life was like for the Mapuche before the colony, where they were located, what the most important hills were and what they meant. Yet, we were not so much interested in that; rather, it was the exercise of, as we said, ‘staining the city’ and the possibilities that the existence of Mapuche in a metropolitan city opens up. That is, not to look for the Mapuche origin before the metropolitan city, but on the contrary, how this metropolitan city changes as a result of the Mapuche inhabiting it. I think that there, in a way, we were asking ourselves what decolonising means. Does decolonising mean returning to an origin? Or does decolonising mean assuming the colonial condition and from that contradictory, impure, complex, variegated place, imagining new possibilities and creating new human beings?

There was also the imagining of spaces and cities that arise from the question of the colonial. I believe that what Roberto was saying, about going to the *ruka* or not, was, in a way, part of the debate about what it

means to decolonise and what decolonisation means. Did it mean ending up in the *ruka* to show and prove that we are still who we once were? Or, rather, do we end up on Santa Lucía Hill, marking it as Welen Hill with new bodies, from a new foreshadowing and a completely new scenario of these buildings that crowned this contemporary scenography, which our bodies managed to tense? In the end, what we have, once again, is a question about what kind of metropolis we inhabit on this continent. Is it possible to speak of modernity, or to speak of multiple modernities including Mapuche modernity as well? How does this Mapuche modernity defy this capitalist, white modernity?

It was a very good decision to conclude on top of the Santa Lucía or Welen Hill, and especially to close with the poetry of David Aniñir Guiltraro. If there is an origin, as regards to MapsUrbe, it is a poem written in Cerro Navia by David, a *Mapurbe*, a Santiago-born Mapuche, which is very contradictory. Therefore, if there is an origin, the origin is there, in that poetry, and it is very nice to think that our origin is in a poem. Indeed, Chile was founded on a poem; *La Araucana* is a founding poem of Chile. From the quill of Ercilla, Chile was born, and in some way, from David's pen, we were born. We are human beings who do not want to define ourselves as *Mapurbe*, but who feel in that place a possibility to ask ourselves about our future and our identity. The idea of being born from a poem is fair. It is beautiful.

Olivia: And it is also looking to the future, because the last scene is set in the future. In a way, it's situating that imagination in the future. Again, it returns to the utopia. That idea of staining the city is also relevant with poetry too. When David speaks to the Caupolicán – who is there, but who is not a Caupolicán either; he is, in fact, an indigenous person from another place, a Mohican – what does he say to him? David, in his genius, calls him 'peñi', and he sort of appropriates a false representation of the Mapuche in Santiago, as if saying, 'It doesn't matter if it's false. It is still up here on the hill looking down at the city, so be it a Mapuche, and that's it.' It is as if his perspective allows that imagination of the future, with all the bodies that are there and concluding with memories but looking towards the future, because there is also Simona's monologue as closure, and all that was possible because of the Welen.

Claudio: It's a much more cannibalistic attitude; I think that's where it is going. MapsUrbe had a cannibalistic flavour, with the logic of 'you taught me your language and with it, I curse you'.⁵ That was the fundamental content of MapsUrbe from the beginning. From there, it was in dialogue

5 This is a free quote of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.

with a lot of other categories that were in the Mapuche world; the idea of *champurria* to think about identities, but also to think about forms of knowledge production. That is also something beautiful. That is to say, *champurria* was also the mixture between archive and artwork, to *champurrear* was also to construct a site-specific performance that contained other texts, cannibalised texts, with *champurria* also as a method. Ultimately, one of the things we were giving up was looking for essences, and that's why it's hard for us to say that *Mapurbe* is an identity. We don't believe it. That was another of our discoveries. We don't believe that *Mapurbe* exists as an identity, but rather as a poetic and political problem; *champurria* is not simply an identity but rather poses a problem, the question of form, not only about the content of things, but also about how they are made, or how they are gestated. I think that was very important in MapsUrbe and, for me at least, the question of method was enlightening: it is a question that always comes second as if it were easy to answer, and here it becomes fundamental.

Roberto: Yes, what we actually did was *champurria* in itself: this *champurreado* of anthropology; the *champurreado* of this group of people, you who come from Italy but work in Manchester, we as children of generations who were born in the south and who adapted here. The *champurria* is involved in the whole process, and well, the participants too; they were all *champurreados*. *Champurria* was the whole process and also the result of this work, and decolonising goes that way: perhaps a method to decolonise is to *champurrear*.

Olivia: Well, the same use you make of the site-specific always caught my attention. The site-specific is a Western method and you mix it with Mapuche storytelling – the *epew* – but at the same time, the *epew* are very much site-specific in themselves, even before the site-specific existed as a method and certainly independently of it. The perspective changes again. It's not about using Western methods applied to indigenous traditions, but also the other way around.

Roberto: There is also something of a learning process in that process. I believe that identity and, for the same reason, *champurria* is never unique and defined. Identity is changing day by day, or you can construct it day by day. It's not that my identity is this and that is it, which I think is also very twentieth century; it is about what is being built today. Perhaps we can't have our past, but we can forge our future, and from there we can 'stain' our identities.

‘THE POETRY AND THE CHALLENGE OF CO-LABOR’

Roberto: This also has to do with that stubborn habit of having memory. It is the very story that we are constructing when we relate to a Mapuche group in the 80s that climbed the Welen Hill, and then we, with the audience, walk, thirty years later, up the same hill. Most likely, a Mapuche group will also try and climb that hill again in thirty years. I think it was also experiencing and listening to these voices that are not usually heard. One is more used to one’s own generation, and in this case, it was a very heterogeneous group, of different diversities – sexual diversities, diversities of territory, of trade and of generations – which allowed us to draw another map of what it is to be Mapuche today here in Santiago and the world. In the same way, by writing from afar or by having this Zoom meeting through digital formats, we are also bringing together other territories that we do not inhabit.

Claudio: We have tried to put all of this into the book. It has been a long process, but it has the same intention. How can multiple forms of knowledge production be expressed in a text? On the one hand, we made a play; that is to say, the play has this condition where mixture, playing with bodies, textualities, representations and sonorities give certain possibilities and much more in the public space. However, a book prioritises the textual, so we have tried to give shape to this diversity of formats, giving each of them the same hierarchy. That has been the most complicated part; in other words, not to think that now, at last, comes the moment of interpretation, or that the moment has now finally come to interpret reality after gathering information. No. The writing of the script, the images and the sonorities, which appear in a different format in the book, and the textual, as well as the articulated and collective process of interpretation, and then trying to give all of it a certain symmetry within a text has been challenging at the very least.

Olivia: Yes, because the play had an ephemeral dimension that is very difficult to reproduce in a text. Yet at the same time, we didn’t want to make a text that merely explained the process. We aimed for a text that could – with all its limitations but still – go back to that process conveying all the complexity of its layers: the visual and the sound, for example, or letting the visual have its own dimension, not only ornamentally but also epistemologically. Of course, it was a process that had limits – also, structural limits – due to being far away, regardless of the pandemic. Especially considering that most of the authors had concerns that came before the book because it is not their job, so some differences are there and are very difficult to overcome. As we once discussed, my grant was structured in such a way that in the third year, when you have to write, you have to ‘come back’.

Beyond being caught off-guard by the October uprising and afterwards by the pandemic, there is also the fact that we realised how trying to write collaboratively has to deal with, once again, the geopolitics of knowledge and power relations. The only way forward is probably to assume this and play with different levels of collective and individual authorship, which, I think, is also one of the interesting things about the book; how it tries to work with different perspectives and authorships at the same time. That, I believe, is the poetry and the challenge of *co-labor*: assuming the asymmetry but dreaming that it is still possible. That is the path we are on: to return to that bus as many times as necessary, to that discussion that is never resolved and never ends, and to learn how to *be in it*.

Afterword

Claudio Alvarado Lincopi

Santiago has long imagined itself without Indians. This imagination was drastically displayed and sedimented by the progressively minded elites who, during the nineteenth century, sought to combat every hint of 'barbarism' to impose the beatitude of 'civilisation'. Of course, that 'civilising' enterprise was pure colonial violence, denying the *morenidades* or shades of colour that have always been part of the national capital.

Today, this 'Indian denialism' is experiencing tedium; a moment of malaise that has allowed what has been forgotten to find an outlet to the surface and stain the *capital del reyno* with its denied trajectories. Ever since 18 October 2019, when the popular uprising began, maintaining the Chilean metropolis in anticipation of its redemption, colonial symbols have suffered the wrath of those who have felt this malaise for centuries. At the same time, previously denied symbols such as the *wenufoye* and the *wiphala* have emerged as emblems of both rage and hope. There is rage at continuing colonial dominance, albeit reformulated under the veil of republicanism, and the hope of a country longing for re-foundation. The Indian-stained gestation of a constituent moment contravenes the national narrative of the elites, recovering what has been erased and carving out spaces for the indigenous presence to find a place in a city and country that has been built for so many years from the perspective of whiteness. Today, at last, in Chile and Santiago, a space is opening up to contaminate future utopias with variegation.

It is curious how similar to these processes our work in MapsUrbe has been. In affirming this, we are not interested in proclaiming ourselves prophets, but only in embarking on a larger story, on an impulse that was already reverberating through Santiago. The fact is that the discomfort was evident, and there were hundreds of us inhabiting the identitarian restlessness that today finds collective outlets. Indeed, they are more than collective; they are massive or even universal. Beforehand, we used to be just a clique that bonded over a common search for what was denied, inventing a tradition to undermine the foundations of the country's history. That was also what MapsUrbe was: the coming together of scattered lives that went about questioning their own existence and future, searching from a seeming state of orphanage for what it was to be a 'Mapuche in the city'. In MapsUrbe, we had a small space of bonding and complicity to reinvent ourselves and to reassemble the fragments of stories that each one of us had in order to confront a national linearity that never appealed to us; what appealed to us was the forgotten and the infinite desire to redeem our dead.

However, we never sought to have the last word with MapsUrbe. It has always been about rehearsals, collective and clumsy elaborations in search of something uncertain, more of a desire to create than to find any definitive answer. Last words are dogmatic, like the national homeland we are trying to escape from. Rather, we wanted to problematise ourselves, to be suspicious

of ourselves and, above all, to be suspicious of official public narratives. Each of us looked at the city from perspectives of rage, oblivion, grief and questioning; in other words, from our infinite experiences as members of a colonised people. There, we only found a few clues: places, laughter, love, violence.

However, through these clues, a series of apparently insignificant indications, and through interdisciplinarity, we generated creative processes. We are artists, actors, students, historians, teachers, anthropologists, and ramblers of the urban night. We mixed knowledge and feelings to the point that 'interdisciplinarity' felt narrow, uninspiring, and nothing like what we were doing. Perhaps it makes much more sense for us to speak of 'indisciplinarity', both as a gesture of disobedience and as a practice of disciplinary combination without pure and expected ends. 'Indiscipline' was our methodological drive, which is why we also questioned the role of the 'external anthropologist', and invited ourselves to abandon the comfort of any professional status, as decolonisation is above all an exercise in de-hierarchisation – not only a battle for scripts and narratives but fundamentally a power struggle. This is the daily search in which we engaged during MapsUrbe.

With indiscipline, we stained the city. We addressed spaces where the memory of our people is completely erased despite their actively participating in the development of those places, such as the privileged areas where Mapuche women have worked as nannies and housekeepers for decades. To do this, we used history, cartography and performance. We reproduced part of the anthropological photographic collection of Mapuche in Santiago; unmasking it, we tried to penetrate the violence of anonymity so typical of colonial anthropology. We also made maps with fabrics and remains of various items of clothing as well as collages of images of the city. We discussed poetry and history and wrote with our bodies and computers, engaging with the metropolis that agonisingly seduces us, enchants us and wounds us. Santiago was rethought and marked by our trajectories and reflections. With MapsUrbe, we inhabited the precious contradiction of being Mapuche of concrete: daily inhabitants of a metropolis without denying our indigenous biography. We pushed the city towards its hidden baroque reality and its inevitable *champpureo*, which amid all the passion of the uprising has become stronger than ever. With MapsUrbe, we were just messengers warning of the impending baroque blaze.

All this was honoured with the theatre play *Santiago Waria*, where indiscipline found an outlet. History, anthropology, photography, performance, poetry, political reflection, everyday walking and art – in short, everything we tried to be – were led through creative practice to different sites of the city to display them under the umbrella of our reflexive intuitions, revealing hidden memories and anticolonial interpretations that we mashed together during the process. This is another kind of dismantling, a transgression of

the neoliberal paper; because it traverses both reason and feeling, we are convinced that such a work is much more complex than any possible accumulation of writings on the 'Mapuche in the city', as decolonising also implies rethinking the ways of communicating the knowledge that emerges through a research process. In each of the creative exercises presented here, there is not just a description of reality; they are not only representations of those who suffer colonial pains, but they are, above all, anticolonial reflections and interpretations. The purpose of this is to stop being the eternal informants for colonial academia, and to begin, at last, to be actors who conceive our own history. MapsUrbe is part of this journey, a space that has also allowed us to problematise the global north and global south divide, and to discover that there are ways to circumvent and overcome, at least in everyday research, the weight of decades of colonial practices of investigation. In short, MapsUrbe was a theoretical and practical exercise in discovering our grey aesthetics, our bifurcated biographies and our lost and reinvented chimaeras. It emerged as an academic project, but along the way, it was blurred, stained with the street, with critical breath, and with interpretations that overturn roles. We sought to blur our individualities in order to re-emerge under a collectivity that thinks of itself as variegated, multiple, contaminated and contaminating cultural repertoires: anthropophagic in essence, ontological in movement.

We came into being under the poetic banner of David Aníñir Guiltraro, who has fostered innumerable creations, thinking and anti-discoveries; the constant creation of *Mapurbe* or *Poblache* future, of the nocturnal *waria* perforating the colonial condition of the *capital del reyno*, our beloved and despised city as we bathe with the water of the Mapocho to insist on our contradiction, perhaps our only certainty. Yet there, inhabiting the oxymoron that we are, the paradox we enjoy, we sought for a year to sediment our concerns in creations, documents and poetics. Today, in a pandemic-struck Santiago that still breathes the tensions of the uprising, in this Chile that de-monumentalises, we think of MapsUrbe as just another of the impulses that served as a canary in the mine. It is a small trail of multiples that have made it possible to strengthen the anticolonial critique which opens up the debate on a plurinational Chile, and from there, to imagine new models of democratic coexistence for the twenty-first century that are less homogenising; where dialogues of knowledge form the basis of conflicting universalisms, where heresy, dissidence and the unity of opposites are not seen as errors on the margins, but as centres of a culture of frontiers towards a world where the creole is a universal value, on the way to baroque modernity.

Rem Koolhaas, in his classic book *Delirium in New York* (2014), constructs a method of spatial projection on the basis of the surrealist principle of

'critical paranoia'. This methodology assumes the fact that we inhabit the minds of those who imagined us in the past. We are thus, in a way, trapped in the fantasies of Christopher Columbus here in Latin America. Well, these hallucinations can also be created by those of us who suffer from the paranoias of Columbus, with our ravings against the manias of colonialism.

In a way, MapsUrbe was our critical paranoia. It was a place for us to dream of another city, fantasise about worn-down monuments, have hallucinations about a Mapuchised metropolis, and rave about aesthetics and actions that decolonised the city. It is also curious that, as a surrealist mandate, these delirious utopianisms acquired an overwhelming consistency, surpassing even our own dreams, when Santiago de Chile burned on 18 October 2019. That day, a popular revolt began that no one had foreseen, not even us, but in its gestures we found ourselves and we saw our fantasies consummated. Monuments were displaced, uprooted, streets and squares renamed under anti-oligarchic names with the emergence of sphinxes of indigenous and *mestizo* representation, all to compose a plebeian, *chamपुरrea* and plurinational pantheon with our critical paranoias consummating and inhabiting a surrealist revolt. MapsUrbe was a warning, our warning and the intimate hallucination of young Mapuche in the metropolis. Since the revolt, we have spent the last few months in the midst of a constituent process unprecedented in the history of Chile. Never before in the country's history had there been the possibility of the Magna Carta being drafted through democratic procedures, let alone one with gender parity and with the presence of indigenous peoples. And the reverie is complete when we see that the president of the Constitutional Convention is a Mapuche woman, our *lamgen* Elisa Loncon. Are we in the midst of the surrealist dream of a young Mapuche woman from the sixteenth century? It is a possibility.

Mapurbe glossary

Note: Some words vary slightly in their spelling across the various text reproduced in this book, according to the preference of each author

Afafan: a battle cry, also used for celebrations and in certain ceremonies.

Awigkamiento: the process of becoming a *winka* (foreigner). It is used by Mapuche essentialist sectors to construct the idea that there is an ideal way of 'being Mapuche' and other 'deviant' ways. The deviation from this ideal would be through the use of *winka* culture within the Mapuche world.

Bombilla: a metal straw used to drink *mate*, a herbal tea common across South America.

Chaltu: from *chaltu may*, meaning 'thank you'.

Champurria: mixed or mixed up. Originally referring to racial mixture. Also used in the verbal form of *champurriar*, or *champurriado*.

Chasqui: an Andean messenger who travelled great distances along the Inca Trail.

Chaway: earrings.

Chicha: a fermented, fruit-based drink, preferably apple-based in *Wallmapu*.

Colo-Colo: the most popular football team in Chile, especially among people of Mapuche origin. Colo-Colo is the name of a Mapuche leader from the first half of the 1500s who fought in the *Arauco* war with the Spanish.

Domo: woman, female.

Eluwün: funeral. The Mapuche ceremony entails the recounting of the whole life of the dead person as a way of 'closing' his or her existence previously entangled in ongoing relationships. This biographical narrative is usually performed by patrilineal and matrilineal relatives in a dialogical way.

Epew: Mapuche fictional stories featuring animals.

Feley: affirmative and/or reinforcing statement.

Fente puy: phrase used to end a story or a speech, the literal translation could be 'I have finished' or 'it's over'.

Fütake che: older people, ancestors.

Fütalmapu: large territorial units, unified in terms of identity and politically organised in the event of war and diplomacy.

Fütra: big, large.

Gen: spirit of natural entities (literally ‘owner’).

Gillatun: one of the main religious ceremonies of the Mapuche people.

Gillatuwe: a place where one of the most important religious activities of the Mapuche people, the *Nguillatun*, takes place.

Gulu che: people/a person from the west of Mapuche territory, present-day Chile.

Kafey: also, too.

Kalku: sorcerer, witch.

Kishu: alone.

Kuku: grandmother.

Kullkull: a musical instrument similar to a bugle but made from a cow’s horn.

Kultxun: a drum, usually employed in ceremonies by shamans.

Küme mogen: ‘Buen vivir’ or good living.

Küpal/Küpalme: family, descent, lineage. Socio-cultural and community heritage of a family lineage.

Kütxal: fire.

Lamgen: sister/brother. Used also as a generic term by a male speaker to address a female interlocutor and by a female speaker to address both female and male interlocutor.

Lelfün: rural lowlands.

Lhafkenh che: people/a person inhabiting the coast.

Lhewfu: river.

Lof: basic communal unit of social organisation, recognising the authority of a *lonko* (chief).

Logko: chief, literally ‘head’, in charge of the *lof*.

Machi’s rewe: each *machi* (Mapuche religious authority) has his or her *rewe* (altar), which marks his or her life history and link to the territory.

Machituke: healing ceremony performed by a *machi*.

Makuñ: traditional Mapuche poncho or blanket.

Mapu: land, earth, the surrounding environment.

Mapuchada: a group of Mapuche, the Mapuche crew.

Mapunky: neologism for Mapuche and punk, used to identify musical genres, aesthetics, lifestyles.

Mapurbe: a term coined by the poet David Aniñir Guiltraro and widely adopted by urban Mapuche in both Chile and Argentina. Identifying young indigenous Mapuche living in cities, also used as an adjective and to refer to places, ways of being, and poetics.

Mapuzugun: the Mapuche language. Literally: ‘the language/word of the earth’.

Marichiweu: battle cry meaning ‘ten times we will win’.

May: yes.

Menoko: semi-marshy areas where it is possible to find various natural medicines.

Metawe: a pottery jar of domestic use, usually for liquids.

Muzay: a fermented beer of maize or wheat.

Ñaña: affectionate and respectful address between women.

Naq che: people/a person living in lowland areas or plains.

Newen: strength or energy.

Ñogol: see *Machi's rewe*.

Ñuke: mother.

Nütxam: a genre of speech usually related to history; also used to denote conversation and dialogue.

Paco: Chilean jargon for policeman.

Palin: traditional Mapuche game played with a ball (*pali*) and a stick (*wüño*).

Panarife: a bread-maker.

Papay: affectionate and respectful address of adult women and of each other.

Peñi: brother. Used also as a generic term by a male speaker to address a male interlocutor.

Pewen: *Araucaria araucana*, the Monkey Puzzle tree, also known as the Chilean Pine.

Pewen che: people/a person living in the Andean mountain range.

Pewma: dream.

Pewkayal: farewell greeting. It literally means 'until we will meet again'.

Pichi che: child/children.

Pikun che: people/a person living in the north of the Mapuche territory.

Pirulogko: silly, dumb. Literally 'wormy head'.

Piwke: heart.

Pobla: affective and colloquial, from 'población', denoting a marginalised urban settlement, slum or shanty town.

Purun: to dance/a dance.

Puwel che: people/a person from the eastern part of Mapuche territory, now Argentina.

Ruka: house, home.

Rukear: Spanish verbalisation of *ruka*, neologism for ‘to make home’.

Rützafe: a metalsmith.

Tokikura: an axe-shaped stone used by Mapuche political authorities.

Txarilogko: headband.

Txawün: meeting, reunion.

Txayenko: waterfalls of great cultural and spiritual significance.

Tuwün: one’s place of origin.

Wagülhen: star, divine feminine energy, creator of life on earth.

Wallmapu: the territory all around. It refers to the Mapuche ancestral territory.

Waria: city.

Waria che: person/people of the city. Widely used by former generations of Mapuche migrants, it adapts to the urban context the traditional way of denominating territorial identities.

Weichafe: warrior.

Wekufe: spirit or demon.

Wente che: people/a person inhabiting the valleys.

Wentru: man, male.

Wenufoye: the Mapuche flag.

Werken: messenger.

Weychan: fight, battle.

Wigka: non-Mapuche, mostly with a negative connotation. It can also mean ‘thief’ or ‘enemy’.

Willi che: people/a person living in the south of the Mapuche territory.

Wiño: ‘hockey’ sticks to play the *palin*, traditional Mapuche game.

Wiphala: the flag of indigenous people of the Andes.

Witxan: visitor.

Yiwiñ kofke: fried bread (in Spanish *sopaipillas*).

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