

PROCESSES OF SIGNIFICATION AND RESIGNIFICATION OF A CITY, TEMUCO 1881-2019

Procesos de significación y resignificación de
una ciudad, Temuco 1881-2019

Processos de significado e resignificação de uma
cidade, Temuco 1881-2019

Jaime Edgardo Flores Chávez

Académico, Departamento de Ciencias Sociales e
Investigador del Centro de Investigaciones Territoriales
(CIT). Universidad de La Frontera. Temuco, Chile.
gmanzi@uchilefau.cl
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6153-2922>



Dagoberto Godoy
Square or the
Hospital, in
the background
the statue of
Caupolicán and the
Conun Huenu hill.
Source: Jaime
Flores Chávez.

This article was funded by the Research
Directorate of the University of La Frontera, within
the framework of projects DIUFRO No. DI19-0028,
No. DI15-0045 and No. DI15-0026.

ABSTRACT

The social unrest that unfolded from October 2019 on saw, among its most visible expressions, the occupation of public spaces like streets, avenues and squares. The "attack" on the monuments that some associated with a kind of rebellion against the history of Chile was also extensively recorded. These events lead us along the paths of history, memory, remembrance and oblivion, represented in monuments, official symbols, the names of streets, squares and parks around the city, and also, along interdisciplinary paths to address this complexity using diverse methodologies and sources. This article seeks to explain what happened in Temuco, the capital of the Araucanía Region, during the last few months of 2019. For this purpose, a research approach is proposed using a long-term perspective that makes it possible to find the elements that started giving a meaning to the urban space, to then explore what occurred in a short time, between October and November, in the logic of the urban space resignification process.

Keywords: city, signification, resignification, social unrest, Temuco

RESUMEN

El estallido social desencadenado a partir de octubre de 2019 tuvo, entre sus expresiones más visibles, la ocupación de espacios públicos como calles, avenidas y plazas. También fue profusamente registrado el "ataque" a los monumentos que algunos asociaron a una suerte de rebelión contra la historia de Chile. Estos hechos nos conducen por los caminos de la historia, la memoria, el recuerdo y el olvido, representado en monumentos, símbolos oficiales, nombres de calles y plazas de la ciudad. También por senderos interdisciplinarios para abordar esta complejidad con metodologías y fuentes diversas. El presente artículo busca explicar lo ocurrido en Temuco, capital de la Región de la Araucanía, durante los últimos meses de 2019. Para ello se propone una aproximación investigativa desde una perspectiva de larga duración, que posibilite encontrar los elementos que fueron significando el espacio urbano, para luego explorar lo ocurrido en un tiempo corto, entre octubre y noviembre, en la lógica de los procesos de resignificación del espacio urbano.

Palabras Clave: ciudad, significación, resignificación, estallido social, Temuco

RESUMO

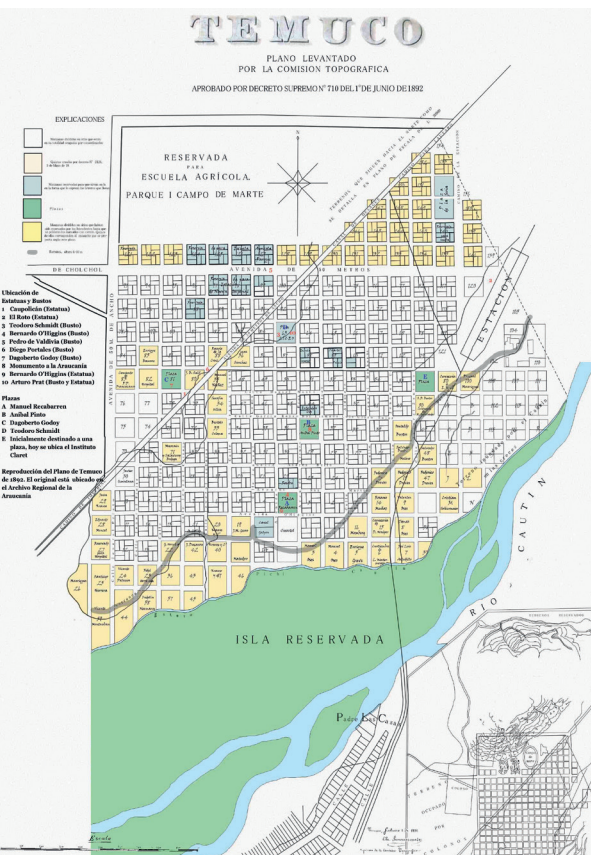
O levante popular desencadeado a partir de outubro de 2019 teve, entre suas expressões mais visíveis, a ocupação de espaços públicos como ruas, avenidas e praças. O "ataque" aos monumentos que alguns associaram a uma espécie de rebelião contra a história do Chile também foi amplamente registrado. Esses fatos nos levam pelos caminhos da história, da memória, da lembrança e do esquecimento, representados em monumentos comemorativos, símbolos oficiais, nomes de ruas e praças instaladas na cidade. Também por caminhos interdisciplinares para abordar essa complexidade com diversas metodologias e fontes. Este artigo procura explicar o que aconteceu em Temuco, capital da região da Araucanía, durante esses meses. Para esse fim, propõe-se uma abordagem de pesquisa a partir de uma perspectiva de longo prazo que permita encontrar os elementos que foram significando o espaço urbano, para então explorar o que ocorreu em um curto tempo, entre outubro e novembro, pela lógica dos processos de resignificação do espaço urbano.

Palavras Chave: cidade, significado, resignificação, revolução social, Temuco

INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORIC CONTEXT OF THE CITY IN ARAUCANIA

Figura 1
Copy of the Temuco 1892 Plan. Own preparation based on the original which is located in the Regional Archive of Araucanía.



We understand the city as a human community and “architectonic materiality” that has been built by its inhabitants over generations; therefore, as bearers and holders of meanings. In this sense, we must suppose that cities are permanently unfinished realities and constitute “authentic archives of memory” that can be read like a text (Colom, 2016). For this reason, it is necessary to know their history, their forms of social and economic organization, their urban story and the stories that tell us how they came to be what they are. The city, understood as a materialization of ideas, values and interests over time, is evidence of a dynamic processes that needs to be broadly viewed and analyzed (Colom, 2016). Its monuments, written and spoken records of association made it possible for the city to extend the scope of human activities beyond its physical boundaries, to project them towards the past and the future. This capability to transmit a complex culture from one generation to another continues to be the maximum “gift” of cities (Mumford, 2012). On the other hand, the city defines “the culture of living”, which is at the center of the tension between “project and experience”, and brings together whoever undertakes urban planning with the subject who inhabits the space; between what planners have wanted it to be and what the people have made of it. The tension between the two basic principles in the constitution of urban centers, on one hand the willingness to form the city as a structure set into a place and, on the other, the impressions that daily life stamps on the spaces where this takes place (Llorente, 2015). Thus, “the foundation of a city is the historic result of a decision about the use and organization of a space” (Colom, 2016, p. 122), and its development, a tension between the “urbanist planners” and the people’s living.

In Araucanía, the cities arrived with the Spanish Conquistadores. From that moment, and until the present, it is possible to identify three moments. The first, concluded with the Mapuche uprising that started in 1598 and the destruction of the seven cities of the South. In the second, the cities remained in ruins, a kind of long-lasting milestone that is remembered with the advance of the Chilean State to the south of the Bio-Bio river, in the mid-19th century. This marks the start of the third moment, where the military occupation projects appeared in strategies where the forts played a fundamental role in the Mapuche military defeat, as the germ of cities that would control the population, the territory and that would activate the economy were set up (Saavedra, 1870). Between 1862 and 1883, around forty towns were rebuilt and founded. The Mapuche resistance was intense (León, 1981; Pinto, 2015). One of the last expressions of armed Mapuche resistance was the general uprising of 1881; they attacked Temuco, among other forts. On this occasion, the main sanction was the setting up of Cholchol Fort “right at the center of their loss, as a constant threat so that always refrained the thought of rising up” (Memoria Ministerio de Guerra, 1882, p. 186). As in the past, the city came to mean a space of punishment, the Mapuche military defeat imposed the consolidation of urban centers as spaces of domination and organization of a new territoriality.

In 1877, the military had identified “a place called Temuco” as a strategic point to locate a fort. When the troops advanced on the Cautin River, they had this information and, on February 24th, 1881, the engineer Teodoro Schmidt started the topographical works, drawing up the barracks and some avenues, founding the town. Later, the engineer, Fiebig, completed the work, outlining the streets and the Main Square or *Plaza de Armas* (La Mañana, February 24th, 1917). Years later, in 1892, the engineer, Christian Sommermeier drew up the first known urban plan for Temuco [Figure 1]. The construction of the future city implied cutting down trees and digging to remove their roots; refilling, channeling and projecting streets that, to begin with, were more like tracks leading to other forts (Arellano, 1931).

TEMUCO, THE SIGNIFICATION OF THE PUBLIC SPACE

Pablo Neruda (1985) stated that “Temuco is one of those pioneer towns with no past, but with hardware stores”. The task set out upon by the national and local elite was to build a story about the past; the city itself with its architecture, streets, squares, and sculptures was built in a space for this purpose. It is also important to see the context the foundation was produced in and the first years of Temuco's life, a moment where a large part of its street names were stamped out and, in this sense, the 1892 urban plan constitutes notable evidence of the historic story they sought to build as, although it is true that the name identifies one street in particular; an overview gives us the possibility to establish their story.

Until 1887, Temuco was under the control of military authorities. That year, the Provinces of Malleco and Cautín were created, passing to have the political regime of the rest of the country, which implied having civilian authorities appointed to administer the provinces and people elected for the city government (Flores, 2019). In the first years, the neighbors had arbitrarily baptized the streets based on local events or circumstances, Quebrada de los Puestos (Puestos gorge), Calle del Canal (Canal street), Calle de la Lora (Parrot street), Los Tres Robles (The Three Oaks), la Vega Larga (Long Meadow), etc. Schmidt observed the need to assign them official names, proposing to the Intendent those of the important military men and politicians in the Occupation of the Araucanía Campaign (Arellano, 1931). The suggestion was not taken, as it is seen in the 1892 plan, where the names of the military men who took part in the Independence, the War against the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation and the War of the Pacific were imposed. In this way, the names of General Prieto, General Freire, General Blanco, General Carrera, General Las Heras, Admiral Lynch, General Lagos, Arturo Prat, General Bulnes, General Aldunate, General Mackenna, General Cruz, General Zenteno, O'Higgins and San Martín were expressed. The political work was represented by Antonio Varas, Luis Claro Solar, Manuel Montt and Diego Portales. In 1897, the Municipal Council agreed to name a 50-meter avenue José Manuel Balmaceda, popularly known as “Calle Ancha” or Broad Street, and the name of Caupolican to the avenue that crossed in diagonal; Manuel Rodríguez to the first street to the north of Portales, Lautaro to the second and Miraflores to the third (La Frontera, April 27th 1897). Thus, Temuco's streets contributed to the construction of a historic memory of the Chilean nation state of the 19th century, where Caupolican and Lautaro alluded to the indigenous presences in the times of the Conquests.

Liisa Voionmaa (2005), in her study on public sculptures in Santiago de Chile, mentioned that in the modern nation, commemorative, emblematic and numismatic monuments play an essential role in their symbolic construction. She added that, although the political history of a nation is formed by ideas, it is the “images and symbols expressing them” that constitute the public vision where a people recognizes their own identity. For Voionmaa, the common citizen generally registers the “official symbolism” passively, not noticing all the affective burden that these obvious signs of collective identity hide. There, the strength of the symbol would take root, as the national flag that acts on people even though they ignore it. It is precisely the affective load that is conceived as the “living basis of the symbol”, which nourishes the feeling of belonging over time. However, its effectiveness is not manifested “with the same strength in daily life as it does in extraordinary situations” (Voionmaa, 2005, p. 48). Likewise, not all public spaces have the same capacity of maximizing the visibility of the symbols (Salgado, 2010).

By the end of the 19th century, the square would be the favorite place to install these symbols, this had “lost functionality in benefit of monumentality”

Figure 2

Inauguration of the statue of Caupolicán in 1939.
Source: FOERSTER, R. & MONTECINO, S., 1988, p. 149.



1 From these squares, two still have the name given in the first years; Recabarren, located in front of the Tucapel Regiment, place where the fort that founded Temuco was placed. The second is Anibal Pinto. León Gallo meanwhile, as of 1965, was called Dagoberto Godoy, in homage to the first Chilean aviator who crossed the Andes mountains in 1918. It is also known as Hospital square, on since it is located in front of this institution. In the block set aside for the "School", according to the 1892 plan, a new square was set up, initially called "of the Apple Tree". Later it took on the name of Brazil until 1942 approximately, when it was changed to Teodoro Schmidt and for some years now it has been popularly rebaptized as Lautaro Square. The urban expansion at the beginning of the 20th century created the Dreves Neighborhood, which considered a square called Bismark towards 1916; 18 de Septiembre (September 18th) in 1940 and Dreves today.

2 Hereinafter, ASCMT.

3 Was the first and one of most influential Mapuche organizations during the 20th century.

(Rojas-Mix, 2002, p.176). In these, bandstands were built, gardens designed, and statues installed. This is the context and concept of city present in the occupation of Araucanía. Its squares would not follow the colonial functionality, but rather the monumentality of modernity. In 1892, four squares were planned for Temuco, later one would be occupied by the Claret Institute, the others: Manuel Recabarren, Anibal Pinto or de Armas and León Gallo. They were developed following the planners' designs, the ideas, and financial capacities of the council.¹

Stimulated by the celebration of Chile's centenary, in 1909, Temuco's Municipal Council discussed the proposal of the Directive Committee about the Monument to the "Ancient Arauco" (Acts of Sessions of Temuco's Municipal Council, July 5th, 1909, p. 431).² This work, which would be located in Anibal Pinto square, was "in remembrance of the Generals who intervened in the civilization of the indigenous territory" (Ovalle, 1912, p.97). According to the sketches, General Cornelio Saavedra held a prominent position, but a conflict arose: the relatives of General Gregorio Urrutia said that he should occupy the main position due to his brave actions in the occupation of the territory. Another project supported by Sociedad Caupolican Defensora de la Araucanía,³ sought the approval by the council "to the agreement of the National Celebrations Committee to place the monument of the "Araucan Race" in Anibal Pinto Square" (ASCMT, September 1st, 1910, p. 12). Both initiatives were never materialized. However, they reveal the willingness of different efforts to intervene in the history of the city. 16 years later, the idea of a "Monument to Araucanía" was returned to, some money was even paid to the sculptor Virginio Arias for this (ASCMT, August 28th, 1926, p.44). But there was little further progress, and then the economic crisis of 1929 hit and the parties to celebrate the city's 50th anniversary were marked by the austerity of the time.

By 1934, the Araucan Federation demanded to the Sociedad Caupolican, information about the "status of the work to erect the monument to Caupolican" (Foerster, R. and Montecino, S., 1988, p. 142), an example of the willingness of Mapuche organizations to monumentalize the heroic past through the figure of Caupolican and, in this way, occupy a standout place in the urban space. Five years later, the mayor informed the Municipal Council that Manuel Pereira, of the Santiago Fine Arts Academy, had offered to the council "a reproduction in white cement of the original sculpture of the 'Caupolican' standing on Santa Lucia Hill". The authority added that actions had been put in process and a Temuco local would gift this monument without this implying any expense for the Corporation. "The triangle of Caupolican Avenue with Montt and Carrera" was proposed for its location (ASCMT, August 28th, 1939, p. 182). On November 26th, 1939, the statue was inaugurated and the Araucan Corporation prepared a concentration where "Venancio Coñuepán and José Cayupi were the speakers in an act which more than 1,000 Mapuche attended" (Foerster, R. & Montecino, S., 1988, p. 128) [Figure 2]. Nicanor Plaza's Caupolican, beyond being a work of art destined to perpetuate the memory of the "last of the Mohicans" (Zamorano, 2011, p. 89) in Temuco, was resignified by the Mapuche organizations who had had a leading role in its installation. Accidentally destroyed in 1985, fifteen years went by until the figure of Caupolican would be raised in the same place. This time, the stanzas of Alonso de Ercilla inspired the regional sculptor, José Troncoso, to create a Caupolican with a tree trunk on his shoulder. Financed by Fondart and with the support of the Regional Museum of La Araucanía and the National Indigenous Development Corporation, it was inaugurated on December 5th 2000 (El Diario Austral, December 6th, 2000).

In 1940, the statue to the Roto Chileno (Anonymous hero of the Battle of Yungay) was approved and installed in the small square in front of the Railway Station. It was a copy of the one in Yungay Square in Santiago (ASCMT, September 23rd, 1940, p. 96-96). However, by 1950, the main square still did not have a monument and the 70th anniversary was approaching. With this in mind, the Council discussed, in several sessions, the acquisition, location and meaning of the statues in the city. Everything began with the materialization of a commitment taken on the previous year, to honor Teodoro Schmidt with a monument that would be located in the square that bears his name (ASCMT, April 24th 1950, p. 4). In the session, it was remembered that the previous year an unsuccessful money collection had begun to acquire a bust of Bernardo O'Higgins. It was criticized that "this was a simple copy whose intention was to be sold to all the cities in the country. It has been thought that it was better to acquire a work with greater artistic merit and not a block (sic) of bronze sold 'in bulk'" (ASCMT, April 24th 1950, p. 4). In addition, the issue of its location was addressed: some proposed Anibal Pinto square, others opposed, alluding that a work of "greater artistic merit" was required there. In this same session, it was stated that money had been deposited to raise a monument to Captain Daniel Rebolledo (ASCMT, April 24th, 1950, p. 5).⁴

The session of July 24th was particularly interesting regarding the location of the city's monuments, whether those that were under debate and those that would be acquired in the future. It began with a report of the Beautification, Public Squares and Urbanization Commission, that had proposed that the bust of O'Higgins was placed in Recabarren square, that of Teodoro Schmidt in the square bearing his name, leaving Pinto Square for the monument to Araucania, and that new monuments that were raised, were located on Balmaceda Avenue, considered as the main street of Temuco (ASCMT, July 24th, 1950, p. without number). It was then opened to the floor and the debate focused on the location of the bust of O'Higgins. Some of the representatives said that the Intendent of Cautin and the Commander of the Tucapel Regiment, following the indications given by the Ministry of Defense, requested that this bust was placed in Anibal Pinto Square, opinion that was shared by the Mayor. However, several of the representatives marked their opposition, saying that it could not be placed in that square, because the bust had no artistic value. In addition, that "arms" were just one aspect of society and the council had to consider them all. They argued that they were the ones who had the right to decide on its location, in spite of the existing pressures. This debate put the forces marked by the militarism of the past and others of a civil nature that looked to the future of the city, one against the other. The military past and present constituted a stamp that had marked urban design, its architecture, and the monuments that gave it meaning. This was present in the discussion about the location of the bust of O'Higgins, beyond the artistic value. What the Army was interested in was being at the center of *Temuquense* (from the city of Temuco) life and memory, and not being displaced to a secondary role.

It seems that the winds that blew towards the mid-19th century were not supportive for the Army's position, although the bust was installed "provisionally" in Pinto Square, for the celebration of "O'Higgins Week" (ASCMT, August 14th, 1950, p. 4).⁵ The idea of the council was to improve the appearance of the city and for this reason, they agreed to acquire four cement sculptures offered by the Fine Arts Museum (ASCMT, August 14th 1950, p.4). This offer of the Museum fell within the cultural dissemination program that was being developed. For this purpose, "The Echo", "The Chueca Player" and "The Boy of the Fountain" were chosen (ASCMT, September 25th, 1950, p.4). In the spirit of improving the image of Balmaceda Avenue, the construction of the "Skating

4 Captain Daniel Rebolledo was a soldier who actively took part in the War of the Pacific, standing out because of his courageous action of placing the Chilean flag on top of Solar Hill. He died in Temuco on January 20th, 1908. Currently, the Army's Non-Commissioned Officers School bears his name.

5 Its definitive location was Recabarren Square.

Figura 3

Bust of Teodoro Schmidt located in the square bearing his name. This is the work of the sculptor Blanca Merino and was inaugurated in February 1951. Photograph: Jaime Flores Chávez.



Rink" was approved (ASCMT, November 13th, 1950, p. 8-9) and the installation of a "reflecting pool", works that would be inaugurated, along with the monument to Teodoro Schmidt [Figure 3], during the city's 70th anniversary celebrations (ASCMT, December 28th, 1950, p. 3). Two years later, the bust of Pedro de Valdivia was installed, at the intersection of Balmaceda and Prat streets.⁶

Figura 4

Monument to Araucania located in the city's main square, called Anibal Pinto Square or the Plaza de Armas. This is the work of José Troncoso and was inaugurated in June 1990. Photograph: Jaime Flores Chávez.



For a couple of decades, the Main Square had, as a central ornament, a water fountain and two lions. Once the economic crisis of the 1980s had passed, and six years before Temuco's centenary, the council ordered a Monument to Araucania. The work of art, a joint creation of Guillermo Merino and José Troncoso, was inaugurated on June 1st, 1990. There are five characters represented in it: the Spaniard from the times of the Conquest is Ercilla, in his left hand he has a rolled scroll, brings writing the Chilean is the soldier of the "pacification"; the Mapuche, symbolized in Caupolicán, is the version of a "brave warrior"; A Machi (Mapuche leader), perhaps a little disoriented, makes a call out to the south; the foreign colonist sowing "randomly" is the only one working. In this sense, the monument constitutes a synthesis of our national-regional public memory, uniting the stereotypes that, at the time, would be shared about the past [Figure 4]. It is possible that the work was not what those who had proposed installing the Generals of the occupation or the "Araucan Race" had imagined in 1910. With 80 years having gone by, the "official" memory and history had been building this image of the past. On the other hand, the monumentality and artistic sense (this is a large unique piece) had listened to the voices of the 1950 Council, but not their view to the future facing the old and new voices that were raised with the arrival of democracy. By the end of the dictatorship, could the council sessions have listened to the voice of the Mapuche, that of the women, the working-class sectors, and others? The result shows that the military presence of the time, unlike 1950, had been imposed.

In the last decade, two new monuments have been installed in the city, financed by the Autonomous University of Chile. A statue of Bernardo O'Higgins was donated for the celebration of Chile's bicentenary, which was placed in Recabarren Square and in 2015, on the 25th anniversary of its foundation, the statue of Arturo Prat, that replaced the bust of the founding father in Teodoro Schmidt Square. In their inauguration, the Rector of the University said "We believe that monuments symbolize a great deal, they symbolize culture, they are examples to follow, definitively they beautify the city and we hope to be able to contribute to Temuco with other monuments in the future". The Mayor thanked the donation, stating that this sculpture "will allow raising the image of Arturo Prat and that the eyes of the Temuquenses and visitors recognize his value, courage and patriotic spirit". (Diario Tiempo 21, May 20th 2015).

6 The plaque on the pedestal says: "Homage to the Spanish Colony, Pedro de Valdivia in the IV centenary, Temuco 25-XII-1953".

THE SOCIAL UPRISING, THE INTENSIFICATION OF RESIGNIFICATION

Figura 5

Statue of Caupolicán, the head of Dagoberto Godoy tied by a rope hanging from his hand.
Source: <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/2019/10/29/video-manifestantes-decapitan-busto-de-militar-y-ponen-su-cabeza-en-las-manos-de-estatua-de-caupolican/>



7 Initially, some media informed that it was the head of Pedro de Valdivia, making the scene even more dramatic, impacting and symbolic.

The social uprising that unfolded as of October 18th, 2019 had, among its most visible expressions, the occupation of public spaces like streets, avenues, and squares. The “attack” on the monuments was also widely recorded and debated on. Some associated these to a rebellion against history or a certain kind of history. Our strategy of placing them in a long-lasting perspective leads us along the roads of history, of remembrance and of oblivion. Alongside turning to the classics and the important Works of Pierre Nora about The site of memory, Maurice Halbwachs, who addressed the “collective memory”, and Jan and Aleida Assman regarding the “cultural memory”, we believe that the idea of “spaces of commemoration” might help this purpose.

For Astrid Erll, cultural memory is the interaction of the present and past in socio-cultural contexts (Seydel, 2014, p. 205). This leads us to the term of “remembrance culture”, which allows emphasizing the “heterogeneity and plurality of versions of the past the coexist in the space of a Nation-State” (Seydel, 2014, p. 206). This would be the most suitable concept for “post-canonical” societies and larger spaces. These collective memories would form a space of memory inside the Nation-State, with these “remembrance spaces” being configured at domestic and international levels. Seydel states that:

“diverse memories compete inside a Nation-state to become the hegemony, so the state is a kind of battlefield where diverse versions of the past are negotiated and imposed. This approach seems particularly intriguing in multi-ethnic countries with a fragmented past, that is the result of asymmetric constellations of power. In post-colonial contexts, there are hybrid remembrance practices and, in the last few decades, ever more rebellious representations about the past have entered circulation” (Seydel, 2014, p. 207).

In addition, today there are devices that allow the articulation of growing forms of versions of the past, where latencies of the memory are manifested that previously could not reach a large number of people, by means of independent film, the Internet, performances and scratches of diverse groups and social movements (Seydel, 2014).

Temuco was not untouched by the social uprising. In fact, it seems that it was here where the busts and statues began to be brought down on October 29th, within the “Mapuche March”. The names of the streets were not the focus of the protest, but other urban symbols were, like the recovery of square names and the destruction of monuments. The image that remained etched in the minds of everyone was the head of Dagoberto Godoy painted in red, hanging from a rope tied to the hand of Caupolicán⁷ [Figure 5]. That day, this scene, and the demolition of the busts of Pedro de Valdivia and Diego Portales were broadcast live to the entire country. These images were disseminated by television, radio and the written press, as well as spreading on social media.

On November 14th, the Diario Austral of Temuco informed that, during the march in remembrance of the “death of Camilo Catrillanca, masked men” brought down the statue of Arturo Prat. Although the views focused on Prat, on the other side of the square, the bust of Teodoro Schmidt had also been brought down, as the photographs that accompanied the news show [Figure 6]. Two days later, the press broadcast a communique of the Chilean Navy that “gratefully thanked the efforts of the Police to rescue, clean and restore the statue of Arturo Prat Chacón”, stating that the statue had been sent to the Naval Command in Valdivia. (El Diario Austral, November 16th, 2019).



Figura 6

After the statue of Arturo Prat and the bust of Teodoro Schmidt were brought down, they were used as part of the barricades erected in downtown Temuco. Source: <https://www.soychile.cl/Temuco/Sociedad/019/11/14/625093/Manifestantes-derribaron-estatua-de-Arturo-Prat-en-Temuco.aspx>

Figura 7

Two photographs show the Mapuche vindication and the social uprising. The first, the bust of Pedro de Valdivia is stepped on by protesters. The Kaskawilla and the cell phone form part of the scene. Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lwbJ4bi-eg8L>. The second photograph, installation of a banner where symbolically, the name of the Teodoro Schmidt square is changed for Leftxaru Square. Source: <http://www.laizquierdadiario.cl/Cambio-de-nombre-a-Plaza-Leftxaru-Lautaro-ex-plaza-Teodoro-Schmidt-una-deuda-historica>



8 Initially, some media informed that it was the head of Pedro de Valdivia, making the scene even more dramatic, shocking, and symbolic.

9 We are referring to the photograph of Susana Hidalgo that she published on Instagram on October 25th, 2019, which quickly went viral.

On November 19th, in an act called by the Temuco Plurinational Popular Assembly, Teodoro Schmidt Square was symbolically renamed Leftxaru (Lautaro) Square. On this occasion, Ana Llao said that “today more than ever (there is) the need to recover the spaces, considering that we are in Mapuche territory”; the press report outlined the “symbolic importance of removing the colonizing, genocidal and murderous figures; under the cloak of historic figures who instilled the logics of impunity that today are repeated without trial and punishment for the guilty”; returning to these “symbolic claims as a sign of invalidity for these patriotic figures”. The Mapuche leader asserted that it was “time to post the statues of our martyrs... (and) rename several places in the region.” Then, Marcelo Catrillanca, the father of Camilo Catrillanca, spoke, suggesting that it was not the idea to accept the government’s proposals and “that although the canvas is symbolic, the participation of the Mapuche people and more sectors of society is important” [Figure 7], recognizing the youth as a key player in the uprising (La Izquierda Newspaper; November 22nd, 2019).

“Remembering and forgetting are the two faces, or rather, the two different processes of the same phenomenon: memory” (Erlí, 2016, p. 10), but in some way, they are also part of history, in the understanding that its construction, research and writing, imply a selection of what we want in history and, therefore, an “intended forgetting” of what we believe is not relevant or is dangerous to narrate. Processes of this nature are more evident in territories like Araucanía, where “communicative memory”, in the language of Jan and Aleida Assmann, is active, and “cultural memory” makes itself felt. The usurpation of land is a generally shared truth, while the statue of Caupolicán or the bust of Pedro de Valdivia constitute objects and images “available to be reused, operated as records and catalysts that permanently reestablish group memory.” (Dolff, 2010, p. 32). It is possible that these “remembrance cultures”, in Erlí’s language, of what has been and what is present in the streets of Temuco, in the Mapuche marches of the past and present, is “competition” of diverse memories within the Nation-State, is what has been occurring from the city’s very foundation, expressed in the attack on Temuco’s fort in 1881; the naming of the streets Caupolicán and Lautaro in 1897; the proposal in 1910 of Sociedad Caupolicán Defensora de la Araucanía of raising a monument to the “Araucan Race” in the main square; the installation of the Monument to Caupolicán in 1939, that was rebuilt, as a new version, in 2000; the demand to rename Teodoro Schmidt Square as Lautaro, one of the most recent symbolic acts happening just a few months ago. All of these are a sign of the “adaptation”, “negotiation” and “resistance” of other versions of the past, in the long term.

In this dispute for memory, on placing identity symbols that “commemorate” for themselves and for others, the social uprising was the right moment to install the Wenufoya (the Mapuche flag) in the national iconography.⁸ It was the corollary as a sign of identification of the Mapuche nation domestically and internationally. Created in 1992, its first outing happened that year in the context of a Mapuche march, strongly suppressed by the police “in a moment of calm, a Wéken, standing on the chassis of a parked pick-up truck... lifts the official flag up with his hands” (Weken, 2012). As the years have gone by, this flag has been popularized. Every year more were waved in the indigenous marches held in the different cities of Araucanía and the country. For the social uprising, its use went beyond Mapuche hands and demands, becoming one of the distinctive icons of the different protests around the country. In one of these events, the Chilean flags that wave in front of the Municipality of Temuco were lowered and the Mapuche flag was raised in their place. But, without a doubt, one of the most symbolic images of the uprising captured, in the city of Santiago, a crowd of people on the statue of General Baquedano and on top, the wenufoye⁹, waving. Were the “Chilean people” giving a new meaning to the Mapuche flag?

CONCLUSION



Figura 8

Caupolicán Avenue in Temuco. In the foreground, the busts of Diego Portales and Dagoberto Godoy without his head, which had been hung from the arm of Caupolicán, October 29th, 2019. Source: <https://temucotelevision.cl/web/2019/10/29/temuco-marcha-mapuche-se-desarrolla-con-danos-al-monumento/>

Figura 9

Pedestal where the bust of Teodoro Schmidt was located in the square bearing his name. On the front, a bronze embossment is seen with the image of Teodoro Schmidt with a theodolite and at his feet, a Mapuche woman seated. The bust was brought down on November 14th, 2019.



On October 29th, November 14th and 29th, 2019, downtown Temuco was the scene of a series of protests that channeled Mapuche demands: that of history and recognition, this time concentrated in time and place. As they had done since the beginning of the 20th century, they marched along the streets playing their instruments, rallying in *Mapudungun* (their language) and carrying placards in said language. The media informed through formal channels, and the cell phones of protesters took photographs and made videos that were spread through social networks [Figure 8].

139 years earlier, Temuco had been founded, the expression and holder of the hegemonic discourse of the Chilean Nation-state, which can be seen in the naming of its streets, squares and the monuments that were installed. It is possible to classify the latter in three groups: Pedro de Valdivia, Bernardo O'Higgins, Diego Portales and Arturo Prat, correspond to the idea of the national pantheon. On another plane, we find the busts of Manuel Recabarren, Teodoro Schmidt and Dagoberto Godoy, more closely linked to the history of the city, in the understanding that the first one founded it; the second outlined its streets and then lived there until his death; and the third, born in the city, became a "national hero", on being the first to cross the Andes by plane. For its party, the "Hellenized" statue of *El Roto* (Ivelic, 2001) defends the victorious people in the War against the Confederation and the War of the Pacific, and in the case of the statues of Caupolicán, beyond the aesthetics of the two versions, it was possible to see the resignification and appropriation by the Mapuche organizations of 1939, as well as the protests that went beyond the Mapuche in October 2019. Its strategic position in the urban radius of Temuco makes it part of "zone zero". The Monument to Araucanía, placed at the heart of the Main Square, constitutes a kind of synthesis of the national-regional public memory.

Finally, in this long-term view, we can identify six moments in the signification and resignification process of the city of Temuco expressed in its monuments. The first, for Chile's centenary, the emergence and debate of the idea of a "Monument to Araucanía"; the second, at the start of the Frente Popular period, with the installation of the statues of Caupolicán and *El Roto*, a kind of inclusion of the alternative in the urban space; the third, towards the mid-20th century, with the organization of the monumental space, the identification and hierarchization of places and statues. This is the moment when the busts of O'Higgins, Schmidt and Valdivia were installed, and the idea of reserving the Main Square to the Monument to Araucanía was consolidated; 1981, the year of the city's centenary, the bust of Portales was installed and a new impulse to the Monument of Araucanía was given, which ended up being materialized in 1990; the fifth, 2010-15, the reclaiming of the nation's heroes, with the statues of O'Higgins and Prat; finally, October-November 2019, the protests against the "official" memory and history through the destruction of some monuments, a sign that shows the importance and urgency of the debate on the resignification of the urban space in line with past, present and future times [Figure 9].

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

- Actas de Sesiones del Consejo Municipales de Temuco (ASCMT) (1909).
- Actas de Sesiones del Consejo Municipales de Temuco (ASCMT) (1910).
- Actas de Sesiones del Consejo Municipales de Temuco (ASCMT) (1926).
- Actas de Sesiones del Consejo Municipales de Temuco (ASCMT) (1939).
- Actas de Sesiones del Consejo Municipales de Temuco (ASCMT) (1940).
- Actas de Sesiones del Consejo Municipales de Temuco (ASCMT) (1950a), 24 de abril.
- Actas de Sesiones del Consejo Municipales de Temuco (ASCMT) (1950b), 24 de julio.
- Actas de Sesiones del Consejo Municipales de Temuco (ASCMT) (1950c), 14 de agosto.
- Actas de Sesiones del Consejo Municipales de Temuco (ASCMT) (1950d), 25 de septiembre.
- Actas de Sesiones del Consejo Municipales de Temuco (ASCMT) (1950e), 13 de noviembre.
- Actas de Sesiones del Consejo Municipales de Temuco (ASCMT) (1950f), 28 de diciembre.
- ARELLANO, O. (1931). *Reseña histórica de Cautín en el cincuentenario de Temuco*. Temuco: Imprenta Gutiérrez.
- COLOM, F. (ed.) (2016). *Forma y política de lo urbano. La ciudad como idea, espacio y representación*. Bogotá: Editorial Crítica.
- DIARIO TIEMPO21. (2015). *Universidad donó estatua de Arturo Prat para la plaza Teodoro Schmidt de Temuco*. (mayo 20 de 2015). Recuperado de <http://tiempo21araucania.cl/universidad-dono-estatua-de-arturo-prat-para-plaza-teodoro-schmidt-de-temuco/>
- DOLFF, G. (2010). "Topografías del recuerdo y colectivos de memoria". En: Birle, P.; Carnovale, V.; Gryglewski, E. y Schindel, E. *Memorias urbanas en diálogo: Berlín y Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Obra Completa.
- EL DIARIO AUSTRAL. (2000). *Caupolicán domina nuevamente su avenida*. (diciembre 6 de 2000). Recuperado de <http://www.mapuche.info/news01/austral001206.html>
- EL DIARIO AUSTRAL. (2019). *Manifestantes derribaron estatua de Arturo Prat en Temuco*. (noviembre 14 de 2019). Recuperado de <https://www.soychile.cl/Temuco/Sociedad/2019/11/14/625093/Manifestantes-derribaron-estatua-de-Arturo-Prat-en-Temuco.aspx>
- EL DIARIO AUSTRAL. (2019). *Carabineros de Temuco recuperó estatua de Arturo Prat y se la entregó a la Armada*. (noviembre 16 de 2019). Recuperado de <https://www.soychile.cl/Temuco/Sociedad/2019/11/16/625368/Carabineros-de-Temuco-recupero-estatua-de-Arturo-Prat-y-se-la-entrego-a-la-Armada.aspx>
- ERLL, A. (2016). *Memoria colectiva y cultura del recuerdo. Estudio introductorio*. Colombia: Ediciones Uniandes.
- FLORES, J. (2019). "La construcción del Estado chileno en la Araucanía a través de los papeles del Fondo de Intendencia de Cautín, 1887-1914". En: *Bajo la Lupa*, Subdirección de Investigación, Servicio Nacional del Patrimonio Cultural, Archivo Nacional de Chile. Recuperado de https://www.archivonacional.gob.cl/616/articles-93552_archivo_01.pdf
- FOERSTER, R. Y Montecino, S. (1988). *Organizaciones, líderes y contiendas mapuches (1900-1970)*. Santiago: Ediciones CEM.
- HIDALGO, S. Fotografía publicada en Instagram el 25 de octubre de 2019. www.instagram.com.

- IVELIC, R. (2001) "Escultura chilena e identidad (1900-1970)". *Aisthesis*, n° 34, pp. 153-170.
- LA FRONTERA. (1897). Periódico de Temuco, (abril 27 de 1897).
- LA IZQUIERDA DIARIO. (2019). *Una deuda histórica: cambio de nombre a Plaza Lefxaru (Lautaro), ex plaza Teodoro Schmidt*. (noviembre 22 de 2019). Recuperado de <http://www.laizquierdadiario.cl/> Cambio -de- nombre-a-Plaza-Lefxaru-Lautaro-ex-plaza-Teodoro-Smichdt-una-deuda-historica
- LA MAÑANA. (1917). Periódico de Temuco. (febrero 24 de 1917).
- LEÓN, L. (1981). "Alianzas militares entre los indios araucanos y los grupos indios de las pampas: la rebelión araucana de 1867-1872 en Argentina y Chile". *Nueva Historia* n° 1, pp.3-49.
- LLORENTE, M. (2015). *La ciudad: huellas en el espacio habitado*. Barcelona: Editorial acantilado.
- MEMORIA DEL MINISTERIO DE GUERRA. (1882). *Memoria del Comandante en Jefe del Ejército del Sur, sobre el último alzamiento de indígenas*. Angol, diciembre 23 de 1881. p. 186.
- MUMFORD, L. (2012). *La ciudad en la historia. Sus orígenes, transformaciones y perspectivas*. Logroño: Pepitas de calabazas ed.
- NERUDA, P. (1985). *Confieso que he vivido*. México: Editorial Planeta.
- OVALLE, F. (1912). *Por el Sur de Chile. Civilización desconocida*. Santiago: Imprenta i encuadernación "La Ilustración".
- PINTO, J. (2015). *La formación del Estado y la nación, y el pueblo mapuche. De la inclusión a la exclusión*. Santiago: Dibam.
- ROJAS-MIX, M. (2002). *La plaza mayor*. San José, Costa Rica: Editorial de la ciudad de Costa Rica.
- SAAVEDRA, C. (1870). *Documentos Relativos a la Ocupación de Arauco*. Santiago: Imprenta de La Libertad.
- SALGADO, A. (2010). "Escultura pública e identidad nacional: Chile , 1891-1932. En: Cid, G. Y San Francisco, A. *Nacionalismo e Identidad Nacional en Chile. Siglo XX*. Vol 1. Santiago: Centro de Estudio Bicentenario, pp. 159-190.
- SEYDEL, Ut. (2014). "La constitución de la memoria cultural", en revista *Acta Poética*, Vol. 35, n° 2, Julio-diciembre, pp. 187-214.
- VOIONMAA, L. (2005). *Escultura pública. Del monumento conmemorativo a la escultura urbana. Santiago 1792-2004*. Santiago: Ocho Libros Editores, Santiago.
- WEKEN, J. (2012). *Historia de la creación de la bandera mapuche. Significados de formas y colores*. Recuperado de <https://www.mapuexpress.org/2015/05/07/historia-de-la-creacion-de-la-bandera-mapuche/>
- ZAMORANO, P. (2011). "Nicanor Plaza y Francisco Gazitúa: diálogo en torno a El Caupolicán". *Aisthesis*, n° 49, pp. 84-100.