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EXTERIOR CLADDING IN THE GERMAN ARCHITECTURE OF VALDIVIA. A METAPHOR OF REFINEMENT AND SOCIAL DISTINCTION

LOS RECUBRIMIENTOS EXTERIORES EN LA
ARQUITECTURA ALEMANA DE VALDIVIA. UNA
METÁFORA DE REFINAMIENTO Y DISTINCIÓN
SOCIAL

REVESTIMENTO EXTERNO NA ARQUITETURA
ALEMÃ EM VALDIVIA. UMA METÁFORA PARA O
REQUINTE E A DISTINÇÃO SOCIAL



Figure 0. Building with decorations
emulating classical design in metal
edges and lateral facade. Source:
Preparation by the Author.

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RESUMEN

A consecuencia del proceso de colonización impulsado desde mediados del siglo XIX en el Sur de Chile y con ello, el arribo sistemático de inmigrantes europeos, se ha favorecido con el tiempo un discurso oficioso para sostener el aporte trascendente de extranjeros en la zona, así como también de las arquitecturas devengadas del mismo, emergiendo con ello un discurso de valoración y catalogación ampliamente difundido; la «arquitectura alemana del sur de Chile». Sin perjuicio de la agenda colonizadora y su impacto general ampliamente difundidos, los progresos económicos y las mejores condiciones materiales no son asuntos transversales dentro de esta colonia migrante. Dentro de este escenario, la *Zona Típica de la calle General Pedro Lagos* ubicada en la ciudad de Valdivia constituye un sector altamente representativo en cuanto a su reconocimiento social, así como de la asignación de valoración de los inmuebles situados ahí como exponentes de un prolífico proceso de colonización. En un grupo específicos de inmuebles en esta zona, revisaremos y expondremos antecedentes pormenorizados que permitirán erigir una escena arquitectural situada y compleja, revelando los mecanismos empleados para exhibir prosperidad y ascenso social como vehículo expiatorio para recubrir condiciones de producción ajenas a la pulcritud del emprendimiento capitalista alemán y la sofisticación europea que tanto se deseaba transmitir en las ciudades bajo procesos de inmigración temprana.

Palabras clave: colonización, inmigraciones, discurso, inmuebles, revestimientos.

ABSTRACT

As a result of the colonization process that began in the mid-19th century in southern Chile and, with it, the systematic arrival of European immigrants, an informal discourse has been favored over time to sustain the transcendent contribution of foreigners in the area, as well as the architectures accrued, thus emerging a widely spread valuation and cataloging discourse; the «German architecture of southern Chile.» Notwithstanding the widely publicized colonizing agenda and its overall impact, economic progress and better material conditions are not transversal issues within this migrant colony. Within this scenario, the Typical Zone of General Pedro Lagos Street, located in the city of Valdivia, constitutes a highly representative sector in terms of its social recognition and the valuation given to the properties located there as exponents of a prolific colonization process. In a specific group of buildings in this area, this article will review and present detailed background information that will allow building a situated and complex architectural scene, revealing the mechanisms used to exhibit prosperity and social climbing as an expiatory vehicle to cover production conditions alien to the neatness of capitalist German entrepreneurship and the European sophistication that was so desired to be transmitted in the cities undergoing fledgling immigration processes.

Keywords: colonization, immigration, discourse, building, cladding.

RESUMO

Como consequência do processo de colonização promovido desde meados do século XIX no sul do Chile e, com ele, a chegada sistemática de imigrantes europeus, desenvolveu-se ao longo do tempo um discurso não oficial para sustentar a contribuição transcendente dos estrangeiros na região, bem como das arquiteturas que dela resultaram, dando origem a um discurso de valorização e catalogação amplamente difundido: a “arquitetura alemã do sul do Chile”. A despeito da agenda colonizadora e de seu impacto geral amplamente disseminado, o progresso econômico e as melhores condições materiais não são questões transversais a essa colônia de migrantes. Dentro desse cenário, a Zona Típica da Rua General Pedro Lagos, localizada na cidade de Valdivia, constitui um setor altamente representativo em termos de seu reconhecimento social, bem como da valorização dos imóveis nela situados como expoentes de um prolífico processo de colonização. Em um grupo específico de imóveis dessa área, revisaremos e exporemos informações detalhadas de antecedentes que nos permitirão erigir um cenário arquitetônico situado e complexo, revelando os mecanismos utilizados para exibir prosperidade e ascensão social como veículo expiatório para cobrir condições de produção alheias ao asseio primoroso da iniciativa capitalista alemã e à sofisticação europeia que tanto se desejava transmitir nas cidades submetidas aos primeiros processos de imigração.

Palavras-chave: colonization, immigration, discourse, building, cladding.

*Rose, oh reiner Widerspruch, Lust,
Niemandes Schlaf zu sein unter soviel
Lidern.*

*Rosa, oh contradicción pura, deleite
de ser sueño de nadie bajo tantos
párpados.*

Rainer Maria Rilke [1875-1926] Epitafio

INTRODUCTION

In Chile, driven by several State agents since the mid-19th century, the country's south experienced a systematic migratory process whereby people and families, mainly from Western Europe, arrived, entailing an insertion process of social, economic, and political influences. This is how German immigrants became a representative colony, both on the shores of Llanquihue Lake and in the cities of Osorno and Valdivia (Blancpain, 1985; Guarda, 1953, 1973, 1979, 2001; Held, 1965; Krebs, 2001; Sanhueza, 2006). This process and the analysis of its consequences have been extensively documented, establishing by consensus the magnitude of their impact and the transformations introduced. One is the creation of an extensive volume of constructions, socially recognized as "German Architecture" (Cerdea Brintrup, 1987; Cherubini, 2006; D'Alençon & Prado, 2013; Guarda, 1971, 1980, 1995; Guarda & Rodríguez, 2013; Gross, 1978, 2015; Irrarrázaval, 1996; Montecinos et al., 1981), which, over time, have been valued and accepted as the material inheritance of migrant subjects.

In this way, the issues related to the architectures of this process seem to be matters seen or settled and, when facing incipient controversy, immediately resolved without requiring acute examination, conforming only to refer to what was previously stated in the literature on the subject. From this position, the European influence on the architecture of the Chilean south resonates in line with a colonization itinerary. However, we would like to return to the architecture, review some of the background, and, above all, try to overcome the expeditious classification of some of these buildings, introducing a hypothesis that some records and attributes would uniquely characterize them, moving towards understanding them as unpublished cultural products (Browne, 1988). This approach alone is disruptive, but based on the literature above, it is also possible to recognize a positioning structure through an extreme assessment of foreign contributions to architectural practices as a result of the migratory process, fostering a willingness to exhibit (Horn, 2021) a corollary of subjects of success and prosperity.

Approximation and method

To suggest the revision of the attributes constitutive of architectural cataloging, widely disseminated and efficiently reproduced for an unofficial discourse, would seem a reckless operation since the records are plausible and socially accepted. However, the emergence of a different, broad, and complex epistemological statute directed by decolonial movements (Beverley, 2004; de Sousa Santos, 2010, 2018; Dussel, 2011; Fanon, 2009) makes it possible to open an approximation capable of silencing the homogeneous and comparative gaze, installed as a dominant position of unquestionable veracity (Deleuze & Guattari, 2010; Derrida, 2006, 2008), exerting coercion on society and also impacting architectures, to articulate discourses in favor of specific, external and, above all, alien images. In the future, we will try to address these reductions in the proposed analysis scenario, from where the itineraries of modernity and colonization will have found a sufficiently forceful material means for their deployment and conformity in architecture. In short, through revision, parceling, and observation operations, it is intended to progress toward a profuse and, above all, situated understanding of some architectural manifestations in the scenario of the migratory processes of southern Chile, reducing the expeditious presumptions under a colonial perspective on what was observed, with the desire to approach our own, honest and singular story.

Supported by the notion of *collection* (Baudrillard, 2010), we will address the enunciation mechanism and the evidence used, where “(...) it is rarely the presence, and more often than not it is the absence of the object that gives rise to social discourse” (Baudrillard, 2010, p.120). This, grouped with the understanding of material goods as social capital, will allow for identifying how a particular social group uses them to establish rules of distinction (Bourdieu, 1998) that can be applied from an architectural perspective.¹ This ends in a displacement and willingness to look at what happened again (Horn, 2021), understood as a methodological willingness of the observer(s), positioning the gaze in one's own time, neutralizing the lights of a period to perceive its darkness (Agamben, 2011) and thereby challenge the preconceived categories regarding typologies and morphologies, as well as their expression and use. Everywhere, architectural - and also cultural- possibility is a silent condition, waiting to be observed and translated as powerful and singular elements (Baudrillard & Nouvel, 2001) endowed with meaning (Deleuze, 2005), modifying the perception of the known and indeed, the announced in the heritage field.

To achieve this, the procedure used is of a hypothetical deductive type because it tries to look at aspects barely addressed in the available literature, complementing it with documentation, records,

¹ Pierre Bourdieu's research [1930-2002] considers furniture in French homes of the 1970s, carrying out aesthetic and functional analyses of their arrangement, ordering, and hierarchies. Even when there are no explicit references to real estate, it allows us to standardize the dimensions mentioned because they are acquired material goods.

and fieldwork activities supported by a theoretical structure from human-social sciences. To mention some revealing aspects, we will focus on durable elements in real estate. These are aspects that are not affected - or undergo drastic changes or suppressions- over an extended period, using their treatment and analysis as constant variables. This decision is argued due to the limited bibliographic, photographic, and planimetric material available for architecture and construction in Valdivia between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

To accompany this process, we will rely on the cataloging and classification of objects, following the proposition of Baudrillard (2010), offering key aspects to address this issue, namely, first, that objects can be classified. However, that classification has implications and different mechanisms and categories that would exceed the solely material or functional descriptions, opening a scenario of the relationship between subjects and objects. Secondly, these objects contain dialog and receptivity of the World that welcomes and shapes them; therefore, meddling in objects is also a matter that concerns society and its people:

“Thus objects (especially property) have, apart from their practical function, a primordial function as a container; a vessel of the imaginary. Its psychological receptivity. They are the reflection of a vision of the world where each being is conceived as a “vessel of interiority” and to relationships as transcendent correlations of substances” (Baudrillard, 2010, p.27).

With this premise, we propose investigating the architectural issues qualitatively - specifically, in residential buildings- allowing thinking-, or rather, assuming, the task of analyzing objects and not things, that is, an organic set of form and substance (Fabbri, 2000), and in this way, focus the process on ontological issues (Bachelard, 2000; Derrida, 2006; Heidegger, 1951; Kaufmann, 1999, and Ricoeur, 2008), architecturally expressed in real estate of heritage interest.

The onslaughts of the migratory process also install a transformation of the canons and known valuations of the architectural setting of the southern part of the country. Perhaps this is where the split between the pre-existing and the novelty offered by the arrival of modern industrial production technologies and procedures for building materials and cladding brought by the immigrant promote a differential treatment and, consequently, the possibility of assigning symbolic qualities to architecture that had not been exhibited in the area until then (Gredig, 1985; Villagra Huijse, 2019). As Gredig points out, patterned ornaments, preferably for homes, were “used for representation and status purposes” (1985, p.15) and that, unlike what is appreciated in central cities, the southern climate precipitated

a radical adaptation, cladding buildings, to the point of transitioning from a "(...) partial ornament to an integral protective material" (Gredig, 1985, p.15). Although this adaptation is plausible from climatic considerations and durability, it suggests not only the possibility of a strictly material condition but also one where the inclusion of this cladding results in a symbolic transcendence, enabling mediation and dialog in an urban environment (Trachana, 2021), represented in a material aspect and with it the emergence of an architectural setting:

"Let us remember that Valdivia is a city intimately related to German colonization, and what we could consider as its architectural heritage is precisely the monumental and ancient stately wooden residences, where the stamped metal found the opportunity, as we had said, to fully and integrally express itself, surpassing its quality of 'added ornament' to embrace the entire building" (Gredig, 1985. p.15).

Although the physical outline of an architectural object is the announcement of its appearance, it will be its cladding or envelope that allows its material expression, whereby through the notion of cladding as a depository of a cultural, relative, and anthropomorphic consideration (Baudrillard, 2010) of architectural objects, it would be possible to establish a dynamic link between subjects and objects, going beyond appearance and exposing the depth of its content (Benjamin, 2015). Thus, the thick and dense cladding becomes diaphanous - not in the sense of transparency or translucency - but in a crystalline state that allows *one to look inside its thickness*, where that thickness is an attribute of a discursive and symbolic dimension. To produce this notion, it will initially be necessary to identify the material expressions that have occurred, those that are possible to describe without clouding the possibilities.

The field of tanneries: An emerging scenario for German immigrants in Valdivia

Although the natural leather refining and leather-making industry in Chile has a longstanding tradition, in Valdivia, it would achieve its most significant commercial expression with the arrival of German immigrants (Bernedo, 1999; Blancpain, 1985; Guarda, 2001),² who introduced a productive innovation by adding Lingue bark [*Persea lingue*] with its high concentration of tannins, boosting growth to become one of the four relevant productive areas of the city (Bernedo, 1999; Pérez Canto en Alfonso, 1900b).³ Once the production guidelines were installed and the first few years with a discreet volume of commercialization, covered almost exclusively by local and national demand, the industry saw explosive growth through the signing of two commercial agreements, specifically, in 1862 with a direct coastal trade line between the cities of Valdivia and Valparaíso and, in 1872, a maritime traffic route between Valdivia and Hamburg (Bernedo, 1999).

² In Valdivia, the first tanneries started operating in 1846. Later, in 1851, Hermann Schülke inaugurated the first tannery managed entirely by German immigrants (Bernedo, 1999).

³ The others would be the breweries, distilleries, and shipyards.

Now, decisively guided by German immigrants, the leather industry was gaining relevance in Valdivian society (Bernedo, 1999; Kassai, 2000; Guarda, 2001; Pérez Canto en Alfonso, 1900b).

The impact would not only lie in the number of factories but also - and perhaps transcendently - in its capitalist organization, that is, "(...) that the tanneries founded by the Valdivian-Germans, by the 1880s, were organized as factories, as modern companies, that had steam and electricity-powered machinery, that paid wages in cash and that, in at least one case, applied the concept of productivity in this field" (Bernedo, 1999, q.25). Consequently, at the beginning of the 1900s, the tannery industry had become the largest employer in the region (Bernedo, 1999). However, in subsequent years, it would experience a decline due to diverse factors.⁴ This contrast, over a short period, of an economic activity strongly promoted by the German community in Valdivia would be decisive, as would the implications of the social transit between both conditions in a colonization scenario.

Although this evidence offers an overview of the tannery industry in the city of Valdivia, we are also presented with a close relationship between these activities and their profuse development in a specific sector in the city of Valdivia:

"(...) The factories are spread over several neighborhoods, (...) In Los Canelos, a large number of tanneries have been established along the banks of the river" (Julio Pérez Canto en Alfonso, 1900b, p.12).

It is precisely in the latter sector where the number of primarily German entrepreneurs linked to this area is significant, with productive zoning and tanneries and byproduct services dominating the industrial landscape:

"There are 23 tannery establishments, a sizeable steam-powered shoe factory, and three glue factories that use waste hides. Los Canelos is home to the tanneries of Jerman Ehrenfeld, Schüler Brothers, Jorje and Carlos Martin, Rudolfo Beckdof, Jorje Haverbeck (closed for now), Adan Nelcke, Sebastian Werkmeister, Anwandter Brothers, Teodoro Pausenberger, and Julio Lopetegui. The Schüler brothers and Alberto Haverbeck own establishments for animals and the preparation of jerky" (Julio Pérez Canto en Alfonso, 1900b, p.12).

⁴ First, the withdrawal of the tariff benefits offered by Germany to import hides [ca. 1906], later [ca. 1930] by the introduction of the "Fordist" method in the country (Kassai, 2000) and finally, the opening of import markets in 1970.

Despite this, from an urban and social positioning perspective, the outlook for the sector was less auspicious because the emerging German families were developing activities with a more significant impact and economic scope, namely those associated with logging in nearby forests, breweries, the beer and distillate marketing industry, shoe manufacturing, and the shipbuilding industry. The latter used the sectors of Isla Teja, Las Animas, or Collico for their factories and their

homes. This constitutes substantial evidence regarding what happened in the Los Canelos sector and would refer to less common issues regarding assertions endorsed to the entire community of German immigrants in Valdivia. It is suggestive and, at the same time, feeds the suspicion of an unfinished business revealed in this sector of the city, namely the observation of an environment forged between tanneries, pelts, blood, carnal putrefaction, and organic wrappings. Seen this way, the street appreciated in the historical records (Figure 1) is not only a street where the people of Valdivia and their recent foreign neighbors roam but also one where pelts, hides, and blood circulate, spreading smells and liquids. In short, a street where not everything seems to be convincingly exposed or revealed, covering, as an act of concealment, the transfiguration and metamorphosis of bodies, be they architectural or social, breaking the boundaries of an identity (Deleuze & Guattari, 2010).

The Los Canelos sector

Perhaps this is not the only thing; in fact, this sector, located beyond Valdivia's foundational hub (Adán et al., 2017; Guarda, 1973, 1979, 2001; Urbina et al., 2012), offers a response to two demands of the period. First, to satisfy the need for buildable land to host internal migrations (ca. 1810), and second, the foreign migration process (ca. 1850), which redoubles the need to locate new residents, whether local or foreign (Alfonso, 1900a, 1900b; Domeyko, 1850; Pérez Rosales, 1886; Santos Tornero, 1872; Treutler, 1858, 1861). However, the sector is rarely mentioned by these authors. If it is, they describe it as a "low sector," "remote," and "not very valuable," contrasting drastically with other areas of the city, which were referred to as "high areas" and "suitable for living," marking a contrast between them. Thus, the areas marked as suitable would be all the elevated ones, the foundational plateau, and the least suitable are all on the perimeter and low-lying areas, close to the river level and prone to flood risks. Consequently, an alien place, external and lacking the imprint endorsed to the migratory process; *they are not part of the city*.

The collection and registration in *the German colony of Valdivia 1891* (Soto Melo, 1986) also express some central features of the activities and trades carried out by the residents of the Los Canelos sector. Of these, the activities carried out most often towards the end of the 19th century were those associated with tanneries, tanners, butchers, blacksmiths, locksmiths, and accountants. They all have a unique character, linked to commercial activities with a low impact and economic profitability for the demanding scenario where they were installed, albeit of complex elaboration and production remnants. This is ratified with ads for the sector's activities, noting that tanneries were the most distinctive (Figure 2). All this allows us to accurately consolidate some central features of the character and vocation of

Figure 1. Valdivia, road to Los Canelos, 1887. Source: Emilio Held Library and Historical Archive.

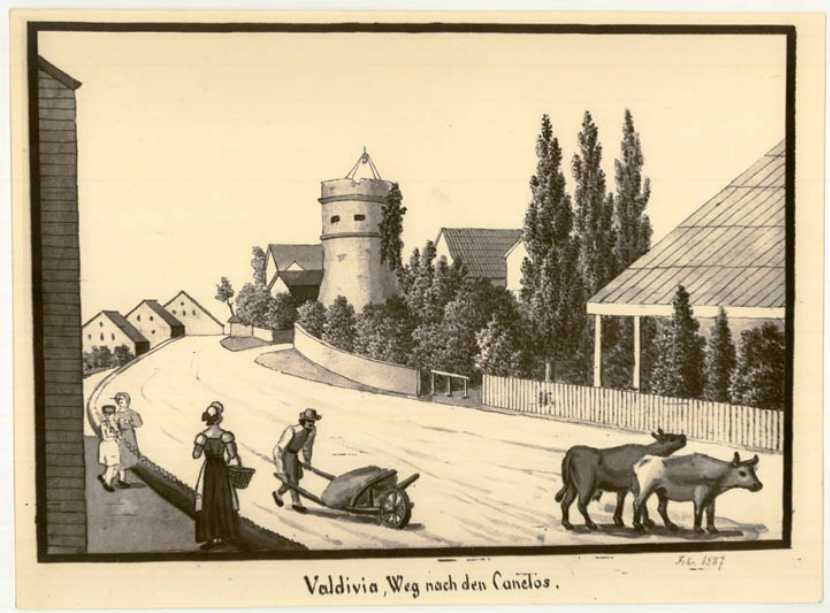


Figure 2. Tannery ads in the Los Canelos sector [clippings]. Source: Soto Melo. 1986. p.w/n.

the place towards the end of the 19th century. Specifically, the tanneries and their productive process were systematically grouped in this city sector due to negative externalities, particularly the waste thrown into the waterways as leached liquids and into the atmosphere through the emanation of steam and strong odors.

In this way, the scenario and the accompanying evidence are relevant, creating a setting of pestilence and putrefaction, unworthy conditions for a neat image of German capitalist entrepreneurship and European sophistication that was so desired in cities under early immigration processes. There is no doubt that it was an industrial city. However, within that setting, some activities were despicable, or at least merited special treatment by designating a specific sector for their development, thereby limiting the dissemination of smells and environments characterized by hides, pelts, and blood throughout the city. The sector chosen was that of Los Canelos.

Despite this, in recent times, an exercise of positioning the sector's splendor has been encouraged, a matter reaffirmed with expressions that announce an exceptional value, such as, "(...) we do not hesitate to qualify this street as the most important of the cultural, architectural and tourist heritage of Valdivia, which, preserved (...) can be constituted, as a unique case in the country" (Guarda, 1980, p.27). This quote probably overwhelmed each subsequent attempt, consolidating a discursive action to establish a site with unique characteristics and substantial architectural value (Horn, 2021), although - according to the hypothesis offered - for very different reasons.

Real estate in Los Canelos

Once the scenario has been announced, it is appropriate to delimit coverage to make a detailed analysis, choosing a set of properties located in the second section of the *Typical area of General Pedro Lagos Street in Valdivia*.⁵ Specifically, according to that stated by the authors consulted (D'Alençon & Prado, 2013; Guarda, 1980, 2001; Guarda & Rodríguez, 2013), those properties that have been included in lists, due to their association with German immigrants in the South of Chile and in which the existence of constructive and/or typological elements linked to this can be verified. Specifically, a particular structural system, the planimetric distribution, the inclusion of attics, and the use of semi-detached volumes (Prado, D'Alençon & Kramm, 2011). We will also check the records with buildings still standing, thus reducing speculation on matters that are difficult to empirically verify today so that the analysis refers to what is happening (Horn, 2021) over the discursive recursion seen in previous paragraphs. In this way, Figure 3 below identifies the properties available in the area, distributed along General

5 The Typical Area of General Pedro Lagos Street in Valdivia was established by a Supreme Decree in 1991, establishing the legal protection of the area and its buildings.

For application and management purposes, the area was divided into two sections, from east to west, the first, along Yungay Street between Lautaro and Yervas Buenas, and the second, along General Pedro Lagos Street, from its intersection with Yervas Buenas and Miraflores. Source: Supreme Decree No. 89, Ministry of Education. Declares Calle General Pedro Lagos in Valdivia as a Typical Area. April 1st, 1991.

For the purposes of this work, the second section was considered, identified as the section physically located outside the city's founding walls. Therefore, it was a sector occupied later, and as a result of the demands of new urban sites by the city's growing population due to migratory processes. "General Pedro Lagos Street has witnessed the history of the city of Valdivia.

On this avenue, important families of the late 19th and early 20th centuries built their mansions imitating European styles that endowed the city with elegance and sophistication. A peculiarity of these buildings is that they are one of the few survivors of the catastrophes that affected Valdivia during the 20th century, such as the fire of 1909 and the earthquake and tsunami of 1960, from which the street received the name it currently has. In 1991, General Pedro Lagos Street and the properties located on it were declared a Typical Area due to their homogeneity, quality, architectural value, and historical importance for the city of Valdivia. Although some have been affected by fires or lack of maintenance, they are generally in good condition, and part of them have been acquired by the Austral University of Chile, which has taken care to restore and preserve them" Source: <https://www.monumentos.gob.cl/monumentos/zonas-tipicas/calle-general-pedro-lagos>

Figure 3. Identification of properties in the second section of General Lagos Typical Area, Valdivia. Source: Preparation by the Author.

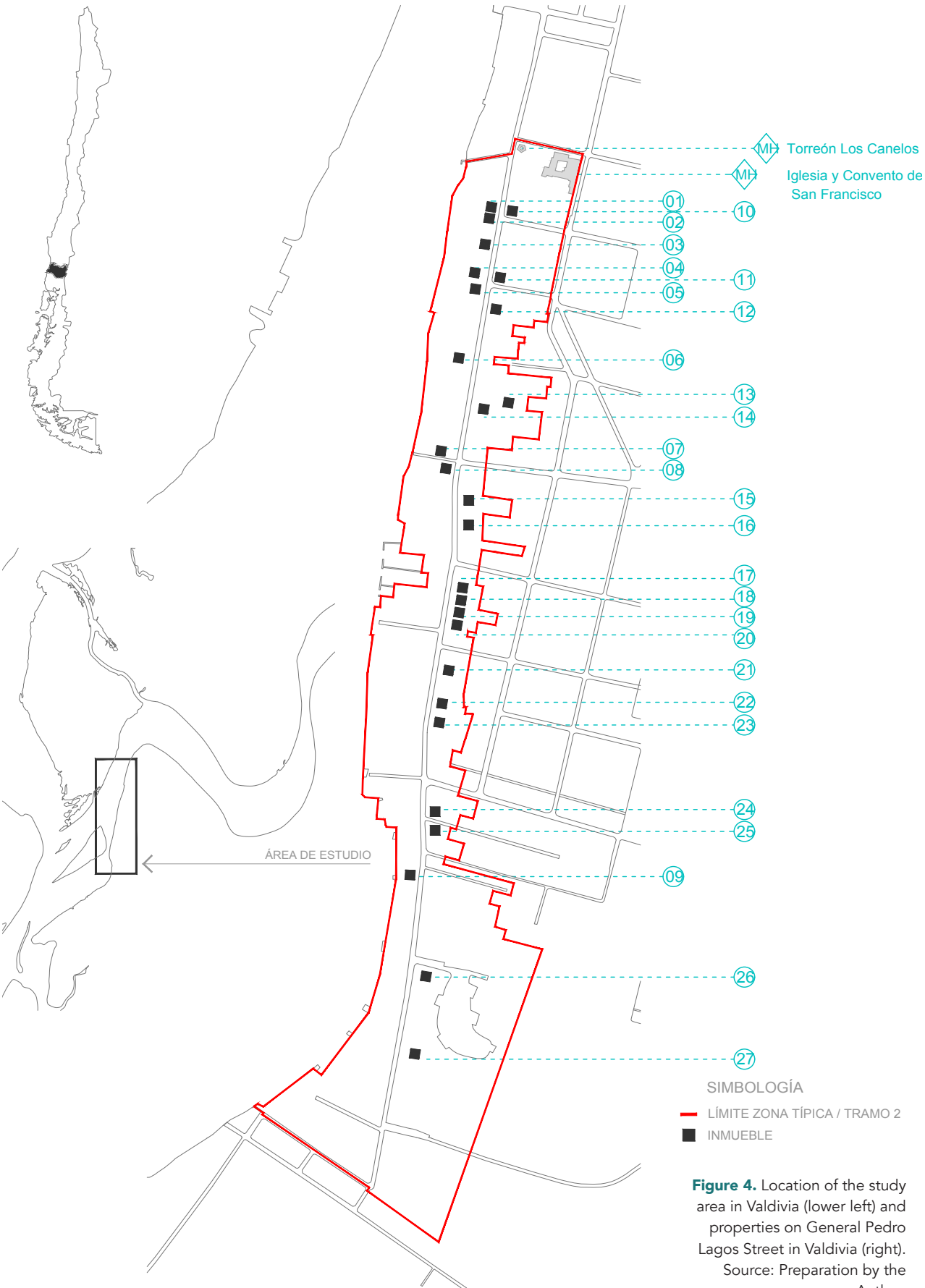
ID	Nombre	Calle	Nº	Estado
	Casa 837	General Lagos	837	-
01	Casa Gaete García	General Lagos	891 A	+
02	Casa Lopetegui Mena	General Lagos	891 B	+
03	Casa Von Stillfried	General Lagos	911	+
	Casa Werkmeister	General Lagos	965	-
04	Casa Monje Anwandter	General Lagos	985	+
05	Hogar Villa Virginia UACH	General Lagos	1001	+
06	Casa Ehrenfeld	General Lagos	1107	+
	Casa Río, Conjunto Behrens	Pasaje Behrens	s/n	-
07	Casa A, Conjunto Behrens	Pasaje Behrens	60	+
08	Casa B, Conjunto Behrens	Pasaje Behrens	81	+
	Casa Interior, Conjunto Behrens	Pasaje Behrens	s/n	-
	Casa Bartsch	General Lagos	1271	-
	Casa 1551	General Lagos	1551	-
	Casa 1757	General Lagos	1757	-
09	Casa 1845	General Lagos	1845	+
10	Casa Cite	General Lagos	890	+
11	Casa Noelke Pausenberger	General Lagos	990	+
12	Casa Pausenberger	General Lagos	1036	+
13	Casa Hoffmann Huber	General Lagos	1190	+
14	Casa Commentz Hoffmann	General Lagos	1194	+
15	Casa Möller	General Lagos	1334	+
16	Casa Schuller	General Lagos	1352	+
	Casa Weiss	General Lagos	1394	-
17	Casa 1448	General Lagos	1448	+
18	Casa Liewald	General Lagos	1452	+
19	Hogar Leiva Mella, UACH	General Lagos	1470	+
20	Casa 1480	General Lagos	1480	+
21	Casa 1550	General Lagos	1550	+
22	Casa Harwart	General Lagos	1608	+
23	Casa 1638	General Lagos	1638	+
24	Casa 1748	General Lagos	1748	+
25	Casa Perez Yoma	General Lagos	1768	+
26	Casa Haverbeck I	General Lagos	2026	+
27	Casa Haverbeck II	General Lagos	2050	+

Notas: [+] inmueble aparece en fuente bibliográfica, existente en actualidad, [-] inmueble aparece en fuente bibliográfica, no existe en la actualidad.

Pedro Lagos Street as indicated in Figures 4 and 5, a total of 27, a considerable sample for the purposes here.

Findings

The evidence presented and the empirical verification of the urban and social scenario where the properties in the Los Canelos sector were built differs from a sublime and prolific economic panorama linked par excellence to the German immigrant families in Valdivia. Their examination implies stalking the scene until revealing the traces of what was happening there, even when those properties seem dissimilar and complicit. The



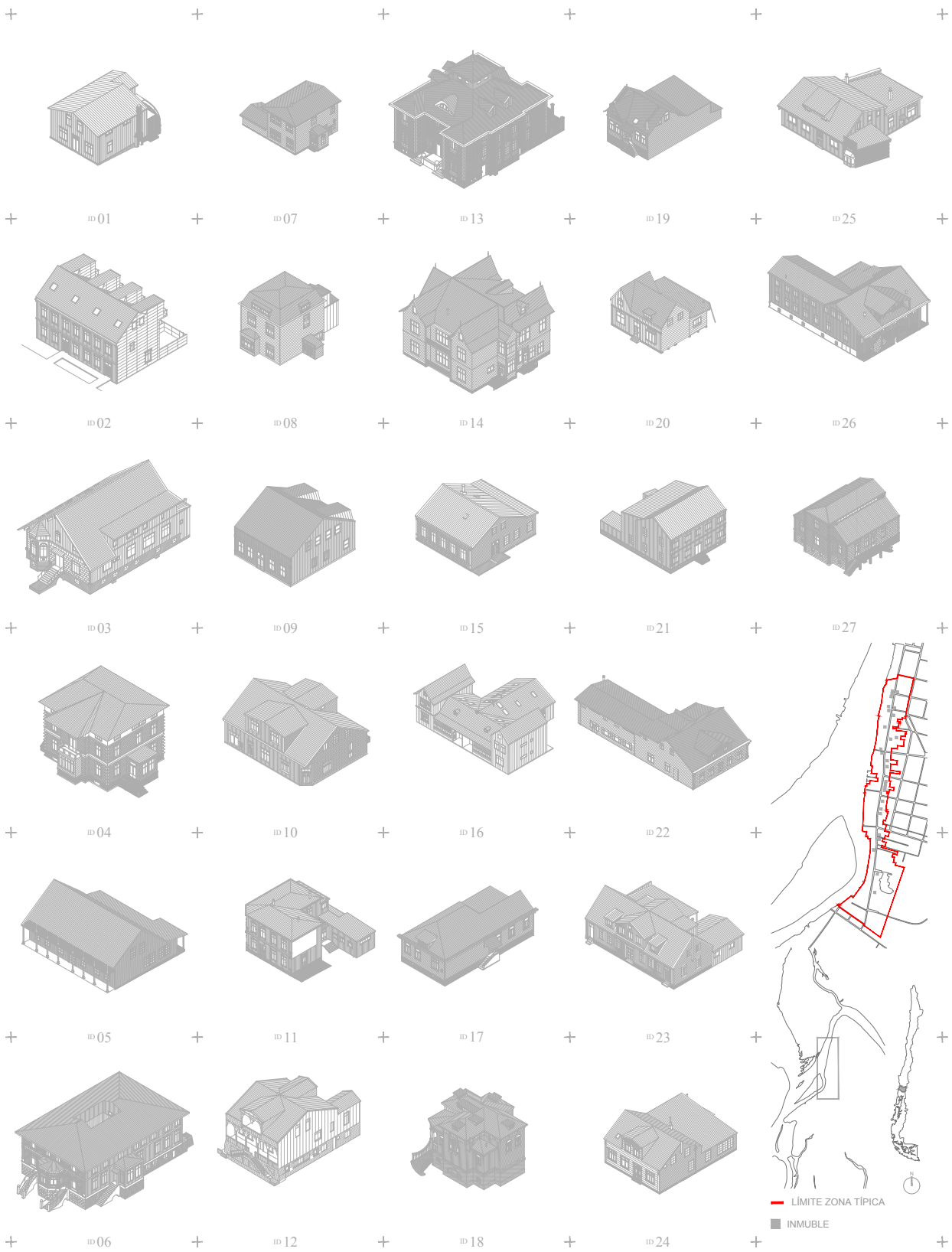


Figure 5. List of properties in the General Pedro Lagos Street Typical Area. Source: Preparation by the Author.

historical and material conditions seem to impel a will to transgress and, with it, the realization of an expiatory mechanism capable of expressing what is improper.

Looking again at the buildings, as expressed in Figure 6, the following material expressions can be identified in their cladding: a. *smooth wood*, based on elaborated species (e.g., Oak, Lingue, Coihue, among others), preferably arranged horizontally and assembled by a *tongue-and-groove* or *shingled* system on vertical uprights. This has a smooth and homogeneous finish but sometimes has functional recesses without constituting an ornament; b. *ornate wood*, a variation of smooth wood using slits and deep carvings with mechanical tools, developing rectilinear and trapezoidal formats, emulating cladding such as carved stone or brick masonry; c. *sheet metal*, made of ferrous metal with zinc-based galvanized coating, with smooth or wavy presentations, the latter being the most common due to its greater resistance to compression deformation. Its assembly is done on a continuous wooden surface, allowing strengthening and the application of mechanical fasteners⁶ and; d. *plate metal*, a variation of plate metal in reduced format, using square, rectangular, or trapezoidal geometries, emulating materials such as stone or brick but increasing durability. These incorporate edges, margins, or perimeter folds and have inscriptions of floral or organic motifs made by mechanical stamping. The total number of expressions would be⁷ smooth wood, 44 times, or 39%; ornamented wood, 8 times, 7%; sheet metal, 50 times, or 45%; and plate metal, 10 times, 9% of the total cladded facades. The most common are smooth wood and sheet metal, with 84% vertical facade planes. This seems conclusive regarding equitable distribution, leaving in doubt the cladding and appearance mechanism if the smooth-wood - associated with local materials of reduced processing - continues to be very representative.

However, based on a saturation strategy, this very circumstance shows the presence of one cladding. We review the catalog again, dispensing with the gross quantifications to examine spatialization and the relationship with the surrounding environment. Thus, an asymmetry emerges between the numbers and their constitutive vocation, where 23 properties are identified with a single defining material of the main facade, which we will call "simple-cladding," and only 3 properties - Pausenberger House, Schuller House, and House 1480-, have more than one cladding material for the main facade, called "multi-cladding." This confirms that these buildings' facades predominantly use a single material, denoting a condition of resounding and particular application, without fuss and additional resources, sure of its concealment capacity by exhibition. Once the check had been made, the breakdown would be smooth wood on 7 main facades, or 24%; ornamented wood on 3 main facades, or 10%; sheet metal on 12 main facades, or 42%; and plate metal on 7 main facades, or 24%. In this way, 66% of all the main facades are represented by metals, relegating wood to the sides and/or

⁶ See *Pieles Metálicas, Patrimonio Material del Sur de Chile 1875-1930*, by María Emilia Villagra Huijse (2019).

⁷ Casa Hoffmann Huber is excluded due to cladding unrelated to the general sample. So, considering 4 facade plans per property, 104 plans are counted. However, for 7 properties, facades with more than one material are identified, thus, the analysis is made with 112 cladding plans.

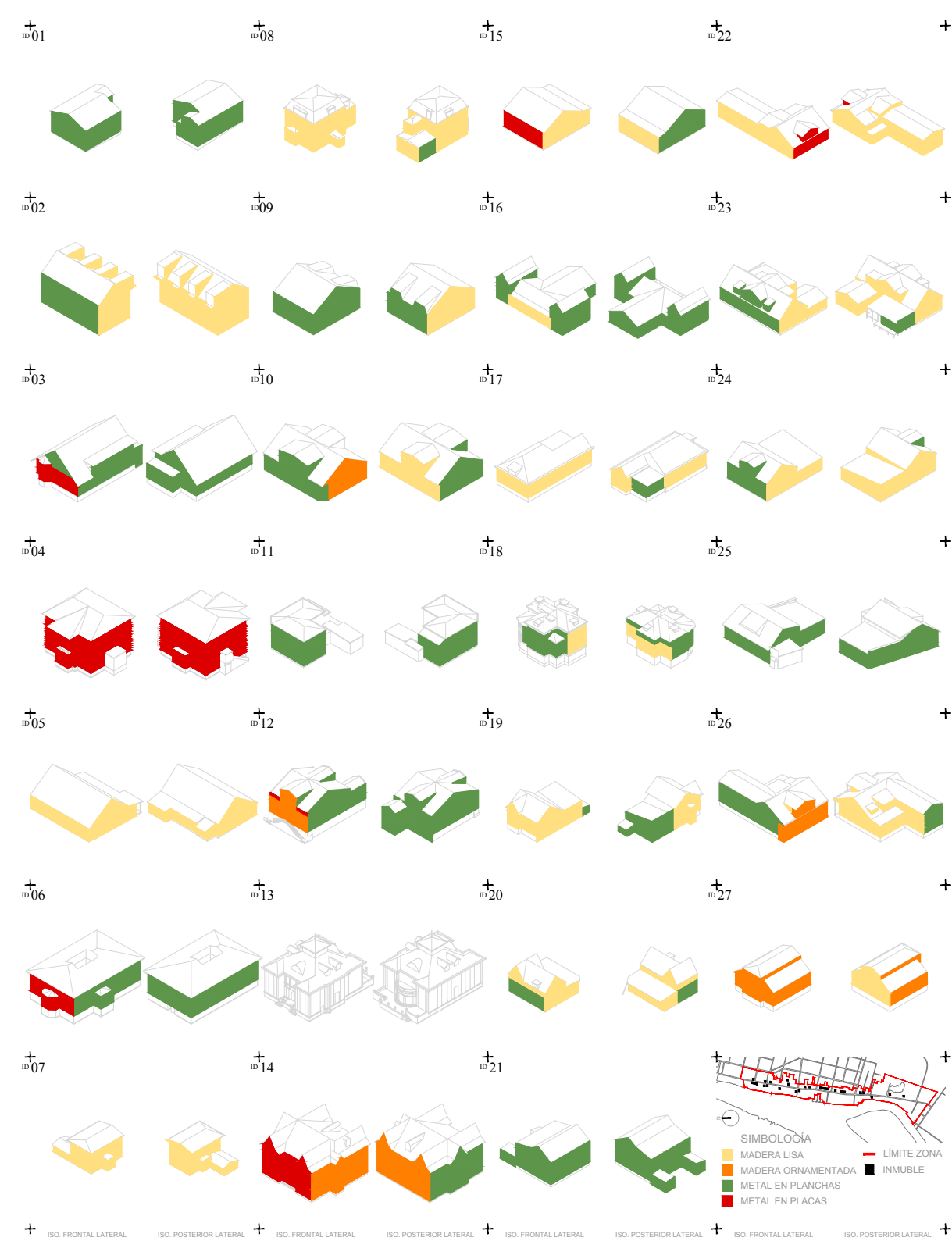


Figure 6. Recurrence of cladding materials in the buildings. Source: Preparation by the Author.

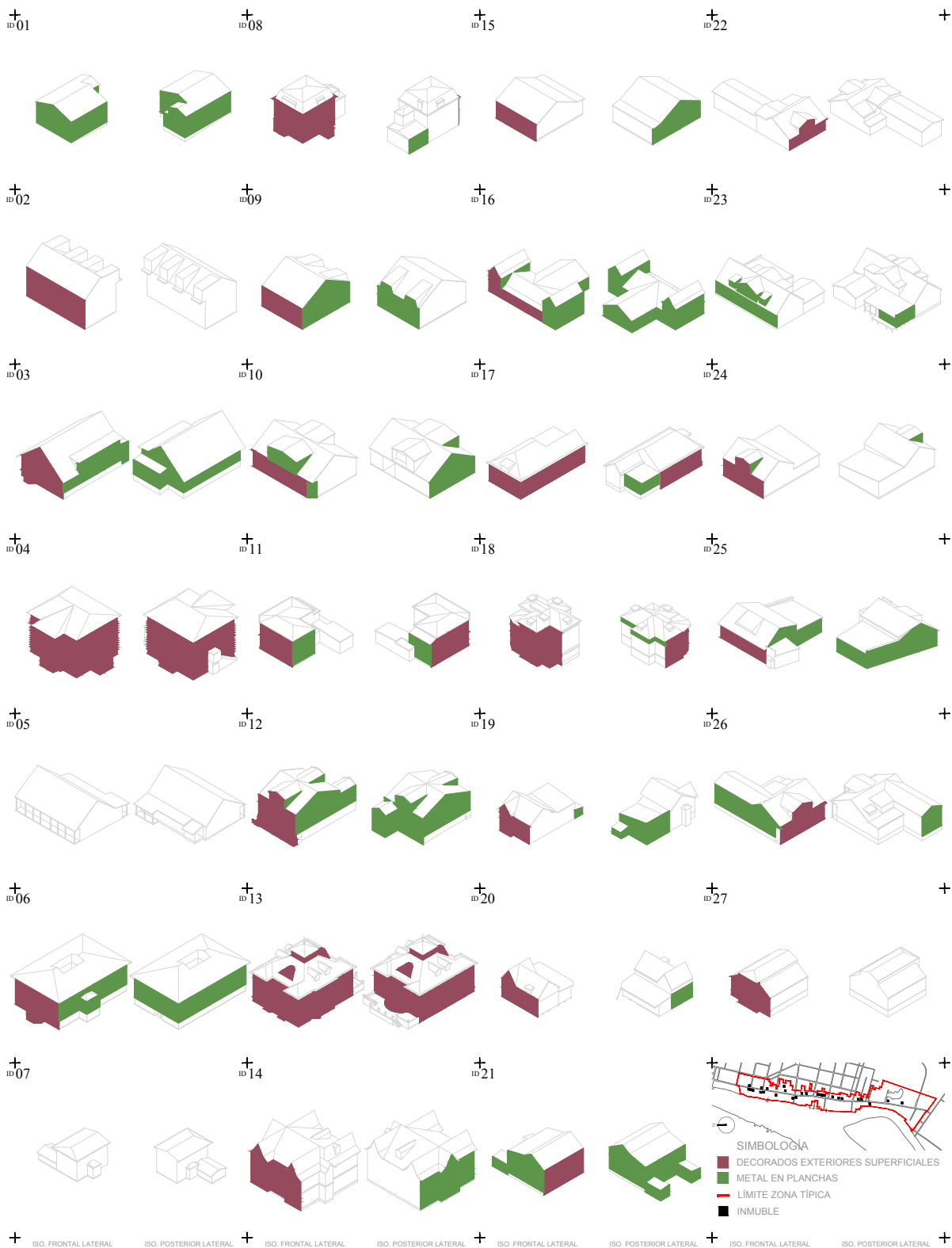


Figure 7. Recurrence of metals and exterior decorations in the buildings. Source: Preparation by the Author.

Figure 8. Building with spatialized cladding. Source: Preparation by the Author.



rears of the buildings, hiding them from the public road, and a symbolic exhibition.

Removing wood opens up the possibilities, in particular, of including these metals as refinement and distinction elements in a specific socio-cultural and architectural environment. This evidence is complemented by the fact that 85% of the buildings (22 out of 27) have exterior decorations on the main facade, with different formats and geometries, highlighting edges, borders, cornices, or some offsets. All this can be seen in Figures 7 and 8, where the different materials identified are represented, as well as their spatialization and recurrence in the catalog, offering an explicit and graphic understanding of what was revealed.

What has been presented until now allows establishing concrete variables, but without the ambition to formulate a new taxonomy of the evidence, but rather, to organize the panorama of the possible material expressions that can be identified and quantified in the properties chosen, impacting their expression and valuation. In this way, pelts are a transcendental and defining issue of registering and cataloging the architectural universes examined, but for very different reasons. That is to say, the initial concealment. Hence, introducing additional elements in the facades as a primary gesture due to economic restrictions to finance the inclusion of more complex and complete elements, produces a very accentuated strategy of hierarchization and prioritization, either in the cladding



Figure 9. Building with metal cladding on the main facade, decorations, and wooden side facade. Source: Preparation by the Author.

or ornamentation - or in both -, where we have demonstrated their inclusion primarily in the street-facing facade plane and with it, the social and public facing facade. This would clearly be a strategic exhibition within the field of the exposed and full exteriority so that it would fall on the visibility of an exteriorized exterior. Then, with the incorporation and addition of textures in the *exterior surface cladding*, a contradictory effect is produced, that is, with the desire to wrap, cover, and overlay to saturate the objects, on the one hand, it manages to divert attention from the limited conditions of access to material goods to produce an architecture similar and related in material and formal conditions to those indicated for the other subjects of capitalist success. On the other hand, it exposes them intentionally in front of those -or anyone - who notices them, thus becoming available for view and contemplation, stripping - and covering - the architecture. Therefore, once executed, it ceases to look like a masked thing and begins to blend in with those appearances that it wishes to emulate, shedding its cover, abandoning the simulation, and assuming definitively all that it is not. It is a matter of self-persuasion and a very well-assimilated speech. The certainties of the device are such that, from what has been mentioned, we can establish its presumed and full display and, with it, its effective masking.

Considering this background information and, above all, the images and figures where the spatialization and recurrence of the exterior cladding of buildings in the catalog are presented, we can maintain that what is

Figure 10. Building with decorations emulating classical design in metal edges and lateral facade. Source: Preparation by the Author.



appreciated in them not only refers to a material dimension linked to constituent elements of the cladding but also to a discursive dimension for the interests of recording architectural universes known and with immigrant ancestry, specifically, German (Figures 9 and 10).

CONCLUSION

Once again, the buildings have changed their physiognomy, fixing exteriority understood as a projected image, an enunciated discourse, and thus, an ambitious appearance, executed by some ambassadors of progress, who, charged by a will of positioning and recognition in the social structure in the city of Valdivia, subvert the material conditions of a sector characterized as a place where they circulate, transfer, and process pelts - and their pestilence and putrefaction-, through an expiatory and at the same time, compensatory mechanism. To do this, they resort to a device, adopting cladding from which, that presented with repulsion, manages to be converted and transfigured into an architectural state, using for this the initial disadvantage as a creative power, subverting the moment of inferiority and decimation. Characterized by the advent of metal-based cladding and superficial exterior ornaments, assisting the covert conversion of organic leathers made in the sector as an economical vehicle and family prosperity in *arquitecturized skins*. In short, this *architecture of pelts* is in charge of completing the process, covering up the denounced material conditions

of its occupants and, at the same time, exposing to the public road and the attentive gaze of passers-by, those attributes capable of claiming distinction and nobility.

To move towards its realization, we must reveal the double cladding used: on the one hand, the cladding of the impure productive tasks of the sector lacking impact and scope in the dimension of progress and modernization, and on the other, their cladding using different formats, sizes, and executions within the limited repertoire of analysis. However, they allow us to assume the unequivocal condition of their validation. They are so different from each other that it is impossible to trace a pattern or shape, where an architectural modeling device based on simulation and disguise is hidden behind all that heterogeneity. What a paradoxical matter it would be for a colonizing agency to continue working the same hides and pelts as any local manufacturer would, reducing the differences between classes and placing the new German neighbors as an equal, or at least, a fraction of them -specifically- those who lived or worked in the Los Canelos sector of Valdivia.

However, as mentioned, the notion of *architecturized pelts* challenges the ambitious state of the catalog and, at the same time, reconciles the frustrated desires of an absent material distinction as a consequence of economic prosperity achieved, understood as those that would make them participate in a dignified and hereditary scenario, this time crystallized in architectural objects. However, the actions favoring this masking and covering cannot saturate the property in content and meaning; on the contrary, they end with its total nakedness. An architectural melting pot from which the stage of concealment becomes the stage of facades and with it - again - the stage of skins. Thus, edges and contours outline a device, where, years later, the architecture of the pelts will become the "German Architecture of General Lagos Street," transfiguring its imprint and the reasons for its appearance. While giving space and acceptance to the breadth in the view, this notion founds a dialogical understanding of some buildings built in the city of Valdivia between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, where the agency of colonization, individual entrepreneurship, the development of peripheral capitalism, the desire for distinction and the will of noble origin, forced a heterogeneous material expression in the form and homogeneous in the background, to build social promotion and position. Although it is impossible to ignore the existence and development of a capitalist upper class among the German immigrants of Valdivia, those records are insufficient to endorse sectors such as Los Canelos [General Pedro Lagos Street] in the same city.

Everything mentioned above does not attack or reproach what happened; on the contrary, it is observed comprehensively and consistently concerning a maelstrom introduced by certain subjects

and social groups since the mid-19th century in southern Chile. Nor do these results imply a questioning of the foreign contributions to the architectural practices of a city under migratory influence. Instead, they aim to smooth over the comparisons towards the known or previous so that, under the protection of the evidence presented, they move towards a deep and dense characterization of the architectural events, the consequence of the valuable contributions of different social and cultural groups in the analyzed scene.

The action of overexposing is precisely a gesture of diverting attention from covert issues, which, as we have argued, refer to the material and economic limitations of the sector's inhabitants, who cunningly elaborate a simulation device with which they cover their shortcomings, presenting an appearance and in this way, elaborating an architectural discourse of imposture and effective masking. However, it is not hidden as if it were an omission. Quite the contrary, the fundamental gesture is based on the fact of covering up the pelt scenario that allowed a slight economic and social ascent, but without ceasing to exhibit it publicly, being altered only in their state, turning the initial social and economic disadvantage into an architectural capital, which, over the years would be valued and positioned as the most significant in the city of Valdivia.

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