

PITRUFQUÉN, CHILE: THE CITY AS A STRATEGY FOR TERRITORIAL OCCUPATION¹

PITRUFQUÉN, CHILE: LA CIUDAD COMO ESTRATEGIA DE OCUPACIÓN TERRITORIAL

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El presente trabajo analiza el desarrollo de la ciudad de Pitrufrquén (ubicada en la Región de La Araucanía, Chile, fundada en 1897) desde el punto de vista histórico, territorial, urbano y arquitectónico. Se plantea que el devenir de la ciudad se enmarca en un nuevo momento en que el Estado chileno abandona criterios militares y asume factores económico-territoriales donde la presencia del ferrocarril es determinante. La selección del lugar, su particular trazado, así como el desarrollo de su arquitectura, son evidencias de este cambio. Desde el punto de vista histórico, se analiza cómo en el sitio de Pitrufrquén, la sociedad mapuche desarrolló la ganadería como actividad económica principal, al contar con praderas para alimentar el ganado, la tierra era apropiada para los cultivos agrícolas y se encontraba allí un importante vado para cruzar el río Toltén. La situación de punto estratégico, se mantuvo y acentuó con la fundación de la ciudad y la llegada de la vía férrea hacia el año 1898, convirtiéndose el poblado en punta de riel, en el avance hacia el sur del país. En el caso de la traza urbana, se abordó su peculiaridad ya que, junto a Lonquimay, constituyen en la región de La Araucanía las únicas tramas ordenadas en base a una elipse que, además en el caso de Pitrufrquén, convive con una traza de damero. En el estudio se analizaron sus plazas, avenidas diagonales y la vía de circunvalación perimetral. En el plano arquitectónico, el artículo analiza las tres capas o aspectos de la ciudad: el primero, estudia una de arquitectura en madera con obras de fines del siglo XIX y comienzos del XX; el segundo se refiere a la arquitectura pública, representada por edificios como, la municipalidad, los servicios públicos, el correo y otros, y el tercero capa corresponde a la arquitectura moderna, como vivienda y comercio del período comprendido entre los años 1940 y 1960.

Palabras clave: territorio, historia urbana, trama urbana, arquitectura en madera, arquitectura moderna, ciudades.

This paper analyzes the development of Pitrufrquén (located in the Araucanía Region, Chile, and founded in 1897) from a historical, territorial, urban, and architectural point of view. It is proposed that the city's development is framed in a new moment, where the Chilean State abandons military criteria and assumes economic-territorial factors where the railroad's presence is a determining factor. The choice of the site, its particular layout, and the development of its architecture are evidence of this change. From the historical point of view, it is analyzed how, in Pitrufrquén, the Mapuche society had cattle raising as the main economic activity, as it had pastures to feed the cattle, the land was suitable for crops, and there was a vital ford to cross the Toltén River. This strategic location was maintained and accentuated by the city's founding and the railroad's arrival in 1898, turning the town into a railhead for progress towards the south of the country. In the case of the urban layout, its peculiarity was addressed since, together with Lonquimay, these are the only sections in the La Araucanía region organized based on an ellipse, which, in the case of Pitrufrquén, also coexists with a checkerboard layout. The study analyzed its squares, diagonal avenues, and the perimeter ring road. At an architectural level, the article explores the three layers or aspects of the city: The first one studies the wooden architecture with works from the late 19th and early 20th centuries; the second refers to public architecture, represented by buildings such as the municipality, public services, the post office, and others; and a third layer addresses the modern architecture, such as housing and stores from the period between 1940 and 1960.

Keywords: territory, urban history, urban fabric, wood architecture, modern architecture, cities.

I. INTRODUCTION

During the second half of the 19th century, the Chilean State's occupation of the Araucanía was marked by military, economic, social, and urban aspects. These were mainly materialized by military fortifications, especially between 1862 and 1883. After that, one of the determining factors for the foundation and development of urban centers was marked by economic-territorial

arguments, which were consolidated by the arrival of the railway and its expansion to the south of the country. In this context, Pitrufquén was founded in 1897, a state-planned city in the heart of the Mapuche territory. This article seeks to address Araucanía's urban development by studying this city, its strategic location before and after the occupation, and the imprint of its layout and architectural development in the 20th century.

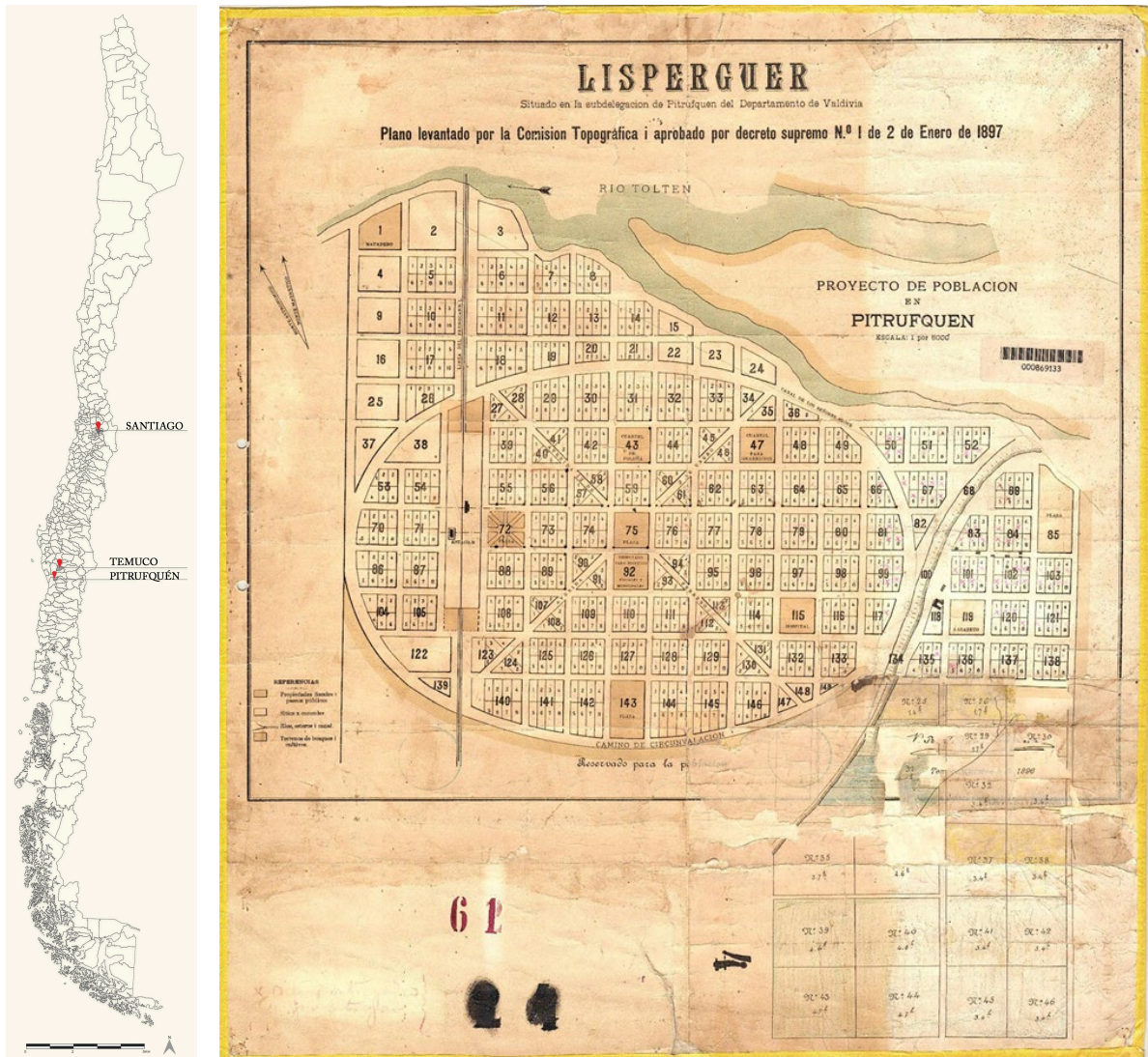


Figure 1. Map of Chile with the location of Pitrufquén. Source: Bárbara Sáez Orrego 2023.

Figure 2. Map of Pitrufquén in the Araucanía, Chile, 1897. Source: Chilean Memory. "The state and municipal buildings plan"; 43 for the "Police station"; 47 for the "garrison"; 115 for the "hospital"; 1 for the "slaughterhouse"; 119 for a "lazaretto" or quarantine station, as well as part of the blocks 144 and 145, were declared "state properties" without defining their use; in a significant space of the town was the railway station.

As Wladimir Antivil (2017) has pointed out, in the Araucanía, it is possible to see three determining factors in its configuration and development: The installation of several lines of fortifications, the construction of the railway, and the division of rural land. "These can be defined as the built physical acts that largely determined the shape and physiognomy of Araucanía" (Antivil, 2017, p. 9), noting that "the lines of the forts and the railway stand out because these structures established most cities... the railway generating a new north-south vertical trunk, consolidating urban settlements" (Antivil, 2017, p. 9). The case of Pitrufquén fell into this logic, hence its interest as a case study.

It was hypothesized that Pitrufquén shows a new moment where a State and bureaucracy with greater capacity to intervene with an urban project in a recently incorporated territory is observed. This is expressed in the choice of where to install the "city" that, far from the military criteria typical of the late 19th century, privileged its strategic location for the development and economic articulation of the railway. This strong State can also be glimpsed in the type of urban layout. Unlike the traditional colonial checkerboard cities, a radial urban model was used that sought to establish its presence and consolidate the occupation of Mapuche space through a new order that was planned, with limited borders and a defined figure, establishing a new way of city-making in the Frontier or the Araucanía territory (Figure 1 and Figure 2).

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The State, the territory, and the city

From a theoretical point of view and the perspective that the research is addressed, at least four concepts were considered fundamental for a thorough understanding of the phenomenon under study: Geographical space, territory, State, and modern project.

Geographical space is not immutable (Craib, 2004) but rather a social construct resulting from the historical processes in which internal and external elements act as articulators and disarticulators. For Santos (1990), space constitutes a field of forces of unequal acceleration that particularizes places, changing with historical processes. Therefore, it can be assumed that "space is a social act, a social factor and a social instance" (Santos, 1990, p. 146). This long-term dimension of the territory, "overloaded as it is with numerous fingerprints and past readings," makes it seem more like a "palimpsest" (Corboz, 2004). The capitalist mode of production uses the existing space (waterways, sea, land, railways, air), disintegrates it, and restructuring the previous organization creates a new space, a produced space (Lefebvre, 2013).

The meaning of territory is the space given by the people who exercise sovereignty over it. It is possible to think that this does not constitute a fixed fact. History leaves its mark on the territory, and in the case of the Araucanía, the city constituted one of the most remarkable marks, product and producer of a profound State-led territorial transformation from the second half of the 19th century.

Charles Tilly (1990) suggests that the association between State and city constitutes a binomial present throughout, at least, the last millennium in Western history, in such a way that it is possible to think that the establishment of urban centers in the Araucanía is directly linked to the need to establish "State" or that the installation of the Chilean State is consubstantial to the foundation of cities in that territory. In this sense, the foundation of cities is an expression and concretization of the idea that "the State is made by doing" (Bourdieu, 2014, p. 175), making it possible to increase statehood, that is, the State's ability to be a State (Oszlak, 2012).

In the Araucanía, "the city, as the materialization of the modern project, is the space where the political power and the commercialization and production centers are established territorially" (Alvarado, 2015, p. 111). Alvarado conceptualizes these specific urban formations as "colonial cities" where "colonial relations based on economic, political, cultural, class and socio-racial hierarchies operate" (Alvarado, 2015, p. 114).

During the second half of the 19th century, the Frontier, as the Araucanía is also called, underwent intense transformations that substantially modified the physical, political, social, and economic landscape (Pinto, 2021; Correa, 2021; Marimán, 2019; Flores, 2013). By 1900, the change in understanding the Mapuche territory and space was remarkable, accentuated further during the 20th century. The Chilean nation-state deployed different devices and tools on the territory that made this mutation possible. Religious missions, military expeditions, transport and communication routes, the arrival of the "new inhabitants," the arrival of national institutions and officials, and the foundation of cities also had an impact. This task of building a national territory led to the need to incorporate indigenous spaces into this new logic. A process that, at the same time, dismantled the existing "Mapuche territoriality" and sought to build the new "Chilean territoriality" where cities were decisive (Alvarado, 2015; Flores, 2019; Escalona & Olea-Peñaloza, 2022).

The Mapuches resisted the state's presence, materialized in forts and missions. However, the indigenous military defeat between 1881 and 1883 left fewer obstacles to establishing and developing urban centers, which were decisive in developing an agricultural economy. This dynamic of occupation and transformation demanded appropriate

communication and transport routes for the new requirements. The railway became a gravitational element for articulating and transferring people and goods from the region to the rest of the country (Flores, 2020; Flores, 2012).

III. CASE STUDY

The study analyzes the case of Pitrufrquén, founded in 1897 in the Araucanía Region, Chile. This city demonstrates the relevance of the economic logic that displaced the military one, manifested in the absence of barracks, a moat, or another defensive measure, and its acquired relevance as a railway precinct.

The city of Pitrufrquén has an oval urban design. This elliptical city represents a unique setup in Chile, as cities mostly follow the Spanish orthogonal grid model in checkerboard format, implemented in other cities of the Araucanía region.

IV. METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this study has a combination of historical and urban-architectural research methods. That is to say, from a historical perspective, a heuristic methodology was used for the location, collection, and analysis of primary and secondary documentary sources, in addition to a critical reading of the consulted bibliography. From an urban-architectural point of view, the historical and current planimetry available was analyzed: Pitrufrquén, its urban conditioning factors, location, placement, and morphology, analyzing its architecture in different periods, the materiality of the work, and the diverse expressions of the city.

The resources used in the study are planimetry, photos, and sketches.

V. RESULTS

Pitrufrquén and the Mapuche territory

During the colonial era, Mapuche society had livestock farming as its leading economic activity. The military malones⁵ on the Spanish forts gave way to attacks for economic purposes, resulting in raids on the ranches, where cattle were sought as booty. From the middle of the 17th century until the second half of the 19th century, this practice marked the economy, society,

and territorial logic of the Mapuches in the Wallmapu⁶. This dynamic led to a substantial expansion towards the Puelmapu, first in search of bighorn cattle. When this was exhausted, the destination of the attacks was the ranches of the Buenos Aires, Mendoza, and Córdoba provinces, from where many horses and cattle were driven.

The knowledge of geography, the control of the Pampas watering holes, the Andes Mountain Range openings, the fords, and the prairies in the Araucanía became a central aspect. In this context, Pitrufrquén was a strategic site because it had meadows to feed livestock, fertile agricultural land, and a location alongside the main ford to cross the mighty Toltén River. Indeed, this was why Pinolef, son of the cacique Paillaguñ, who controlled the Pucón mountain range gap, moved to Pitrufrquén and became a wealthy farmer and rancher (Guevara, 1912). In 1860, Pitrufrquén was visited by the German traveler Paul Treutler, who highlighted the fertility of the valley: "Where beans, corn, wheat, and other grains are produced in abundance, quite a few animals are fattened and where important establishments could be raised" (Treutler, 1958, p. 167).

Highlighting its strategic location, he points out that "this reservation is, without dispute, the most suitable point for trading speculation between the Calle-Calle and Toltén rivers" (Treutler, 1958, p. 167). Pitrufrquén was a strategic point for the State in controlling and dismantling the Mapuche territory in re-articulating and designing the new Chilean territoriality, which had founding towns and railway development as its fundamental pillars.

Pitrufrquén and the foundation of the town

Assuming that a town is born when the State officially approves its plan makes it impossible to specify the date of its foundation. Treutler (1958) visited the place in 1860, noting that "Pitrufrquén was one of the most important villages in the Araucanía, and had about four hundred souls" (Treutler, 1958, p. 387). Its *cacique* (leader) was Felipe Paillalef, who, in his *rucahue*, next to the *rukas* (houses) built in the traditional indigenous style, had a house built "entirely in the European way, with doors and windows, it had been made by two Chilean carpenters and a blacksmith" (Treutler, 1958, p. 393).

In 1896, the railway line was being laid. They were busily working on clearing forests and constructing embankments and stations. This task was intensified the following year when the work on the bridge over the Toltén began. By that date, in Pitrufrquén, there was already "an inn

⁵ Malón was a surprise Mapuche attack on a fort or a ranch.

⁶ *Wallmapu* refers to the entire Mapuche territory comprising the Gulumapu or Western lands, including the Araucanía and the Puelmapu, and the Eastern lands on the other side of the Andes Mountain Range.



Figure 3. Pitrufoquén railway station, c.1900. Source: Images of Chile from 1900 (n.d.).

and granary” (Verniory, 2005, p. 444). The Toltén Bridge was a significant engineering project. At 450 meters in length, it comprised nine 50-meter metal sections resting on two abutments and eight pillars. As for the Malleco viaduct and the Quillem, Cautín, and Quepe bridges, Creusot was the engineer in charge of the final assembly. In October 1898, the Toltén Bridge was completed and delivered. The Temuco-Pitrufoquén line was inaugurated by the President of the Republic, Federico Errázuriz, on November 13th that year (Verniory, 2005, p. 483). With these milestones, Pitrufoquén was united to the North with the rest of the country and was the railhead for the progress to the South (Figure 3).

When reconstituting the dynamics of the urban population of Pitrufoquén from 1895 to 2017, the results are as follows (Table 1). The figures in Table 1 show that the 1895 census identifies a “village” with 2,376 inhabitants. This data is associated with the bridge’s construction over the Toltén River and the extension of the railway line to the south.

In the first half of the 20th century, the urban population experienced an initial growth that can be associated with the installation of state institutions and bureaucracy, private institutions linked to religious orders, or a migratory process attracted by the area’s incipient agricultural and forestry activity, which found in this town a center for provisions, and a place to store and transfer its production using the railway. In 1952, the fall in population compared to the previous census is attributed to the vitality acquired

Census	Urban population of Pitrufoquén
1895	2,376
1907	3,271 (Lisperguer)
1920	4,038
1930	4,024
1940	5,193
1952	4,533
1960	6,472
1970	7,770
1982	9,437
1992	10,491
2002	13,420
2017	16,531

Table 1. The population of Chile’s towns, 1875-1992. Source: National Statistics Institute [INE], Central Statistical Office (1904), INE (1992), INE (2019).

by other urban centers in the region, such as Temuco to the north, the consolidation of Gorbea to the south, and the dynamism acquired by Villarrica, due to the promotion of tourist activity and administrative autonomy in the 1930s. However, the data in Table 1 show how the city of Pitrufoquén consolidated significantly from the 1960s.

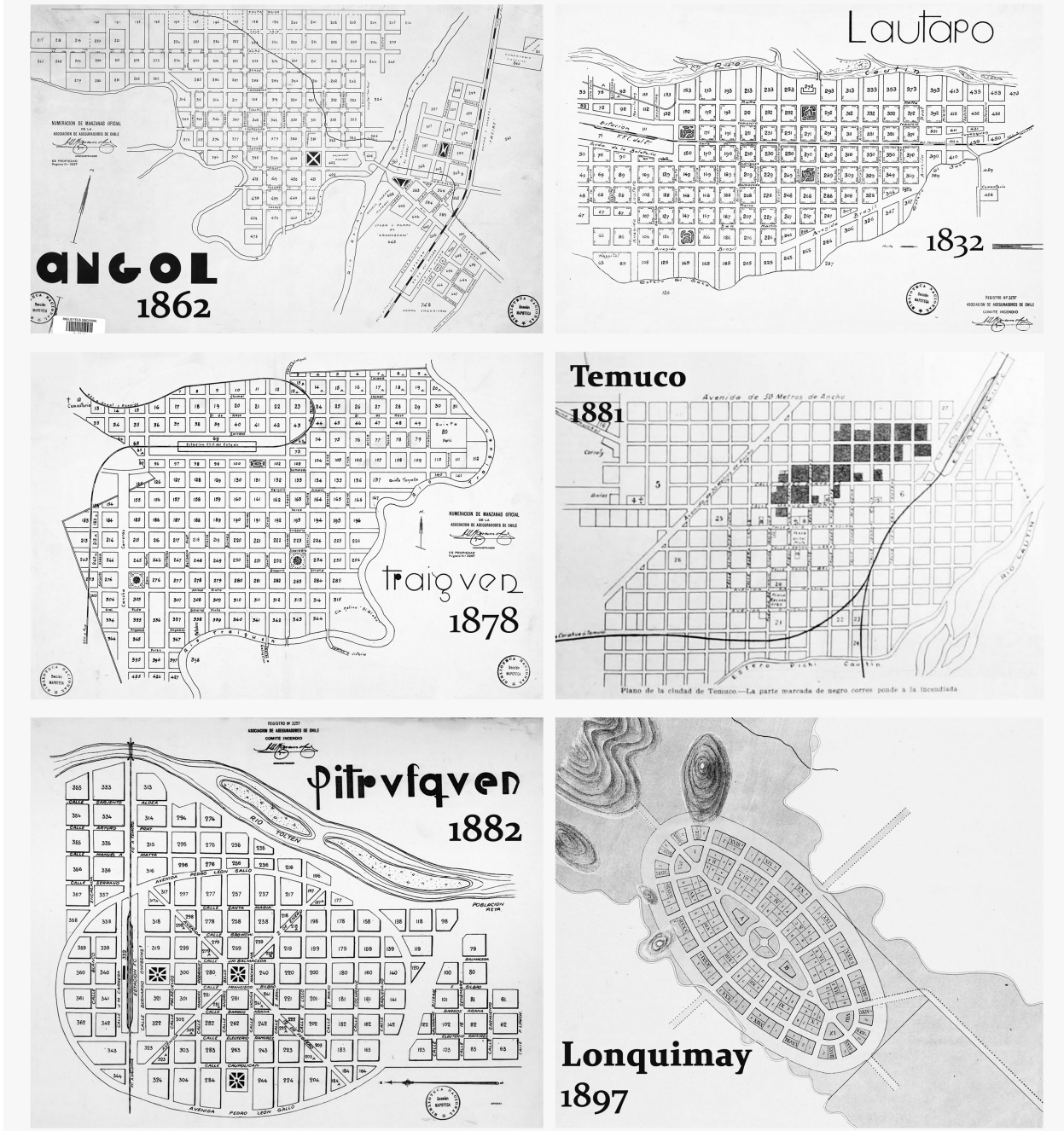


Figure 4. Traditional checkerboard patterns observed in the cities of Angol, Lautaro, Traiguén, and Temuco, compared to those of Pitruvqven and Lonquimay, unique radial patterns existing today. Source: Chilean Memory (n.d.).

The urban plot of Pitruvqven

The towns founded in the Araucanía replicated the checkerboard layout in other Chilean cities (Guarda, 1978).

However, three cities escaped this rule: Villa Queule, whose plan dates from 1914; Villa Portales in 1898; and Lisperguer in 1897, which later changed its name to Pitruvqven (Figure 4)



Figure 5. Pitrufrué today: 1) Plaza Pedro Montt; 2) Plaza Los Héroes; 3) Avda. Francisco Bilbao; 4) Avda. de Circunvalación Pedro León Gallo; 5) Railway premises; 6) Railway track and railway bridge; 7) Pan-American Highway and road bridge; 8) Municipality, Post Office and Public Services; 9) Fire station and cinema; 10) Old railway station (demolished); 11) College of the Dominican Mothers; 12) Casa de altos (Figure 7); 13) Wooden housing (Figure. 8); 14) Robin's Hardware Store (Figure 10); 15) CORVI complex for police officers. Source: Bárbara Sáez Orrego, 2023.

In the Araucanía region, cities “were transformed, to a greater or lesser extent, into the figuration of colonial power and administration, which through capitalist and bureaucrat actors – under the European imaginary of material and spiritual progress - modified the topography, the circuits of connectivity, the hierarchies of power, and the representations of the occupied territory” (Alvarado, 2015, p. 107). In Pitrufrué, the State marked presence through its institutions, bureaucracy, and the urban and architectural materiality that this entailed. The urban center was the place par excellence where it was materialized to increase the levels of statehood over the population and the territory. There were schools, a civil registry, a court, land and colonization offices, police, notaries, and departmental and municipal offices, among others. There were also fire stations, sports and social clubs, political parties, cinemas and theaters, newspapers, and everything typical of urban life (Figure 5).

The urban plot of Pitrufrué is particular because it is a planned city using a radial model rarely used in the south of the country. It is organized around an oval intersected by two diagonal avenues, in the center of which the main square is located. The urban presence of the railway and its station, which crosses the city's elliptical plot in one of its thirds, is of particular interest, configuring a second square in front of it.

The oval perimeter avenue configures a poignant and clear edge of the city, especially towards the southern sector. Even if its layout is irregular in certain sections, the idea of forming a landscaped and wooded avenue prevails, a public promenade located initially at two points with the railway. This intersection was widened with the subsequent construction of the Pan-American highway that crosses the city on the north-south axis.



Figure 6. Pitrufoquén Main Square. Source: Gonzalo Cerda Brintrup, personal files, 2023.

The incorporation of two diagonal avenues at the intersection of the city's central square should be understood as an idea of order that characterizes the plot. The diagonal avenues hierarchize the central square, providing unusual perspectives for a Chilean city, organized from the colonial idea in orthogonal checkerboard plots (Figure 6). However, incorporating an oval edge and diagonals does not mean leaving behind the checkerboard's reticular weave. This persists in the city's design, making the grid layout, diagonals, and perimeter oval, compatible.

Incorporating the railway into the city's layout brought other urban phenomena. The presence of the railway station and its depots strained the commercial growth of the city center, which entailed the city's development from the center to the station, called the "Station neighborhood." In the case of Pitrufoquén, the formation of the "Ultra station neighborhood" defined

the sector that goes beyond the station and that had its own characteristics.

The location of railway stations in most of the cities of the Araucanía produced a phenomenon: the transformation of the line that connects the central square and the train station into the city's most important commercial street. In the case of Pitrufoquén, it is Francisco Bilbao Street around which the so-called "casas de alto" grew, a typology that incorporated commerce on the first level and housing on the second. That is to say, the city's commercial life was associated with central living, something that can be observed to this day. The commercial houses were inscribed in a continuous facade, with which the central plot of the city was spatially conformed. It is essential to highlight that the "casa de altos" typology produced a frequented and active city, even on weekends, when commerce does not work, enhancing family life on the upper floors. This urban quality is still maintained in Pitrufoquén (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Casa de altos in Pitrufrquén: first-level store; second-level housing. Source: Gonzalo Cerda Brintrup, personal files, 2023.

In the peri-urban center, remnants of rural life can be found towards the interior of the plot, with houses with significant yards, orchards, front yards, and even small agricultural facilities such as chicken coops, pigsties, wheat granaries, and other agricultural products that consider the rural occupation around the city.

The “Station Neighborhood” has, in the case of Pitrufrquén, a recognized center, the station’s square, called “Plaza Los Héroes.” This was the city’s public reception space when the railway was still running. Today, this space has changed, but its importance has not decreased. Nowadays, the spatial and commercial tension between Station Square and Central Square, or Manuel Montt Square, vitalizes the economic and urban life of the city.

On the other side of the railway line, the “Ultra station” neighborhood traditionally housed industrial and semi-industrial activities associated with the railway. Warehouses,

workshops of various kinds, small agricultural facilities, housing, and neighborhood stores continue to operate, although much less than compared to the railroad boom from the beginning of the 20th century to the 1970s.

The city’s urban growth also shifted towards the “Ultra station” neighborhood, with important State-built housing complexes (Housing Corporation, CORVI) for police officers built in the 1950s and that are currently in full use (Vergara et al., 2021).

Architectural heritage of Pitrufrquén

The radial urban model applied in Pitrufrquén has a correlate. On the one hand, with the wooden construction tradition of the architecture of southern Chile, and on the other, with the emergence of modern architecture and new materials such as reinforced masonry and concrete, both by individuals and the State. This is predominantly expressed in buildings for institutions. In this way, its urban layout is being completed



Figure 8. Wooden architecture in Pitrufrquén. Source: Gonzalo Cerda Brintrup, personal files, 2023.

with architecture, first in wood and then in modern materials, many of which constitute today part of the country's southern architectural heritage.

In the city of Pitrufrquén, at least three layers of architectural heritage are noticeable: its wooden architecture, in particular, housing and its insertion into the so-called "wood culture" in southern Chile; public architecture represented by buildings such as the municipality, the post office, the fire station, and the cinema; and modern architecture with notable examples of commercial buildings and housing from the 1940-1960 period.

Wooden Architecture

The so-called "wood culture" was used in the south of Chile from the mid-19th century, especially with the migrations of Chileans and foreigners. Pitrufrquén is an area abundant with countless native species, such as oak, larch, luma,

and mañío, among others. In this environment, it was natural that intensive use of this material arose to produce housing, religious, industrial, school, and institutional buildings and develop everyday items such as household utensils and boats of all sizes. This material penetrated the daily and constructive culture of the south of the country to the point that it is possible to state that, in southern Chile, wood, more than a constructive material, is a cultural material (Cerde, 2022a) (Figure 8).

The architectural development of the Araucanía, particularly that of Pitrufrquén, is inscribed in this environment. Thus, in this material, it is possible to find countless examples of housing, public buildings, shops, and agricultural and industrial architecture in the city. The wooden reinterpretation of the European reference models that guide the city's architectural production is of interest. Thus, supported by catalogs, photographs, and construction manuals, the local carpenters reproduced,



Figure 9. Public Services Building and Municipality of Pitrufoquén. 1974. Source: Gonzalo Cerda Brintrup, personal files, 2023.

in their way, the models contributed by the migrant population. The result is sober, austere wooden architecture, which has the first purpose of setting oneself up in the territory and constitutes an important architectural heritage of the country.

Public architecture

The state and the public-private development of institutions resort to modern architecture. Between the 1940s and 1970s, schools were built, such as the Dominican Sister's School, the Fire Service building that included a cinema, and the town hall building - the municipality - which also incorporated other public services.

The Public Services building symbolized the State's presence in the city and became one of the most significant works of countless cities and towns in the Araucanía (Parraguez & Escobar, 2022).

These works, for the most part, are located in front of the main square and unite several organizations such as the General Treasury of the Republic, Internal Revenue Service, Chilean Mail Service, and the Illustrious Municipality with its different departments. The constructions represent the modernizing action and presence of the State in the country. It is common for its architecture to be ascribed to the Modern Movement in its different periods. The hypothesis is that modern architecture represents a modernizing state that seeks to reach the whole population with its institutions and services (Figure 9).

Modern architecture

In the decades of 1940-1950, a repertoire of works that could be classified as modern architecture emerged in the city. This was architecture assimilable to the so-called "first modernity," which emerged strongly in Chile from the 1940s and in the south of the country was marked by the 1939



Figure 10. Modern architecture in Pitrufoquén. Robin's Hardware Store. Source: Gonzalo Cerda Brintrup, personal files, 2023.

Chillán (8.0°R) and the 1960 Valdivia (9.5°R) earthquakes (Cerde, 2022b). This architecture was mainly used to build stores, housing, and institutional works. The production of modern "high-rise houses" is particularly interesting. This combines commercial and housing programs the city had developed for the central plot, initially in wood.

This architecture is inserted in the pre-existing plot and a continuous facade, contributing to the conformation of well-configured edges and a continuous urban space (Figure 10).

VI. DISCUSSION

In the second half of the 19th century, the Chilean state began occupying and transforming Araucania's indigenous territory. In this strategy, the cities constituted ideological and material support for the state's arrival in the territory. If, at first, the military criteria were predominant in

determining the location of urban centers, after 1883, it gave space to those linked to economic reasons, the case where the foundation of the town of Pitrufoquén was inserted into. However, it was already a strategic point in the Mapuche territorial logic previously due to its ford and the geomorphological and soil quality characteristics of the plain on the southern bank, which had led important caciques to settle there (Guevara, 1912; Antivil, 2017; and Flores, 2023).

By the end of the 19th century, those who designed the railway route identified Pitrufoquén as the most suitable place to bypass the Toltén River using a bridge and in the plain to trace a town that did not contemplate a military enclosure or a moat, but did have blocks and sites for the installation of a series of state institutions. A territory as a palimpsest, a historical process, with old and new vestiges that imprint the places, singularizing them (Corboz, 2004). The reading of the written and cartographic sources

confirms that Pitrufuquén, unlike other Araucanía towns, was not configured as a military fort, but was the result of a new stage of state action, where the railway marked the hierarchization of space and its stations constituted the gateway of the towns.

It is essential to point out that the installation of towns and cities in the Araucanía represented a territorial occupation strategy different from that developed by the original Mapuche people, characterized by the installation of dispersed housing in the territory, mainly following the river (Antivil, 2017; Flores, 2021). On the contrary, the Chilean occupation was carried out through cities that followed the railway line, first in a north-south direction and later in the opposite direction along branch lines. This established a different occupation logic from the pre-existing one that, in some cases, was resisted by members of the Mapuche community. However, it was also positively valued, given the railway's modern communication and transport facilities⁷.

Regarding the study and analysis made, it is argued that urban centers in the Araucanía constitute one of the clearest expressions of the state action, of the need to increase the levels of statehood, the spatiality of colonialism, and a manifestation of the interdependence of the State and the city that was projected until today. Thus, the city, as a state artifact, not only accounts for the emergence of the urban phenomenon but also constitutes one of the fundamental aspects in the redesign of the ancient indigenous territory (Alvarado, 2015; Escalona & Olea-Peñaloza, 2022; Flores, 2012; Flores 2020 and Flores 2023).

In the case of Pitrufuquén, as is also the case of Lonquimay, the use of a radial model for the urban plan can be associated with the search for an idea of order, the establishment of a well-defined plan, of known edges that clearly define what is city and what is countryside.

Without there being a specific document that explains the reason for the implementation of the radial model in the city's fabric, the case of Pitrufuquén may correspond to a current in vogue towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, based on European reference models, both for the city and its urban plots, as for architecture. These models are reworked, reinterpreted, and adapted to the local reality. It has been stated that in the configuration of cities in "Latin America, since its inception, there is a symbiosis and

superposition of cultures, the abrupt transplantation, the chronological mismatch, the more or less slow adaptation to imported ideas, of new solutions full of spontaneity and inventiveness..." there being "the common thread in the effects of European urban culture on Latin American societies (Andreatta, 2007, p.14).

It is possible to hypothesize that Haussmann's ideas for 19th-century Paris, which influenced the development and renovation of European cities such as Vienna, Brussels, or Florence and even North American cities such as Chicago through the City Beautiful movement, may have been an antecedent of the radial outline of a new-plan city such as Pitrufuquén in southern Chile.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

It is concluded that Pitrufuquén constitutes a significant example of the Chilean nation-state's occupation and transformation process of the indigenous territory of the Araucanía. In this sense, the city and the State consider each other indispensable in dominating and controlling a border area. That is why Pitrufuquén is the symbolic, material, and cultural expression of an urban society of the late 19th century that moves on indigenous lands.

Regarding the territory, the city represents the new territorial logic implemented by the Chilean State that differs from the one that the Mapuches had elaborated, a territory without cities. The choice of the city's location was strategic. The ford allowed crossing the mighty Toltén River, the intersection point of the main indigenous roads that crossed the Araucanía from north to south and east to west. In this sense, new technologies such as the railway are present in the origin and development of the city through the railway bridge, the station, and the economic dynamics of the city and the rural environment.

Regarding the urban plot, the configuration of the elliptical outline of the city, the presence of diagonal avenues, the incorporation of squares, the checkerboard layout inserted in the ellipse, and the presence of the railway are especially notable. The urban layout is peculiar in developing cities in Chile and the Araucanía, representing one of the few examples that advance from the traditional checkerboard pattern to other more complex urban layouts.

⁷ this positive assessment on the part of the Mapuches on the arrival of the railway to La Araucanía was expressed by Wladimir Antivil during the presentation of his paper "The construction of the territory between Malleco and Cautín during the advance of the State in La Araucanía: reflections on four cartographies (1869-1888)". 2nd Seminar Territory, City, and Architecture in the Araucanía 19th – 20th Centuries. University of Bío Bío, Concepción, November 6th and 7th, 2023.

Regarding architectural development, at least three architectural layers are evident in the city: wooden architecture, with notable examples of homes and commercial buildings that are part of southern Chile's so-called "wood culture"; public architecture, represented by buildings such as the municipality and public services; and modern architecture, with notable examples of modern "high-rise houses" where commercial and housing programs are combined.

For these reasons, Pitrufuquén represents a paradigmatic settlement of insertion and territorial occupation according to the State logic in the Araucanía towards the end of the 19th century, testing a configuration and peculiar elliptical radial urban plot that characterizes it compared to other cities and towns in the south of Chile.

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