

Poetic Techniques of Space Making: La Ciudad Abierta, Chile

ANDREEA MIHALACHE

The Catholic University of America

INTRODUCTION

Traditional scholarship on Latin American architecture recognizes the influence of the Spanish *conquistadores* as the major driving force behind the design of the cities in the New World. The grid-plan town with a central plaza, assumed to have European origins, has been considered the architectural instrument to physically implement the religious, political and administrative system of the conquerors¹. Alternative and revisionist theories, however, credit other precedents as relevant sources for the urban planning experimented in the Americas: the French *bastide*², the geometric Islamic garden known in the Muslim Spain, and, more importantly, the rich indigenous history of the urban plaza in the Maya and Mexica cultures³. While complex social and cultural factors have contributed to the development of the urban form in Latin America, most architectural histories agree on the authorial claims of Spanish conquerors on the urban design in the New World.

An example difficult to categorize is *La Ciudad Abierta* at Ritoque, Chile ([image 01 / La Ciudad Abierta, Ritoque, Chile](#) / Photo credit: Andreea Mihalache / [1 column](#); [image 02 / La Ciudad Abierta – Hospedería de la Entrada](#) / Photo credit: Andreea Mihalache / [1 column](#)). Initiated in 1970 and still a work in progress, it is an anomaly in traditional historiography as it perpetuates early twentieth century artistic undertakings in the landscape of Post-Modernity. Designed, built and inhabited by the School of Architecture faculty at the Catholic University of Valparaíso, this unconventional city embodies Modernist utopias of artists living and working together. The space-making strategies evoke surrealist tech-

niques derived primarily from the European avant-gardes: improvisation, games and performing acts. The mission of the group, however, is very different from the surrealist aspirations: while focusing on exploring the common sources of poetry and architecture, the larger goal at the scale of the continent is to re-define the Latin American identity.

This paper argues that the strategies of *La Ciudad Abierta*, derived from a constant collaboration between visual arts, architecture and poetry are a critique of the colonial urban practices in Latin America and propose an emancipation from European influences, on the one hand, and from the local social context, on the other hand. The city was initiated and developed throughout a troubled time in the history of Chile. Its beginnings coincide with the socialist government of Salvador Allende from 1970 to 1973 and further interventions took place during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet from 1974 through 1990. However, despite this loaded political climate, there is no claim in the literature on the Valparaíso School on immediate engagement with political issues. The goal of the group to re-shape trans-national Latin American identities can be achieved only through a mechanism of withdrawal in a mythical time that questions spatial assumptions associated with the New World. Architectural critics Fernando Perez Oyarzun and Ann Pendleton-Jullian⁴ have thoroughly investigated the phenomenon of *La Ciudad Abierta*, its origins, precedents, influences and evolution. This paper will focus on the less explored aspect of space making strategies of *La Ciudad Abierta* as a reaction against colonial urban practices within the political context of the last decades of the 20th century in Chile.

ARTISTIC PREMISES

In 1950 the Chilean architect Alberto Cruz Covarrubias meets the Argentinean economist-turned-poet Godofredo Iommi at a gathering of artists and poets in Santiago, Chile⁵. The long-life friendship initiated between the two 33 year-old intellectuals can be considered the starting point of the reformed School of Architecture at the Catholic University of Valparaíso. Following a student movement at his home institution, Cruz quit the School of Architecture in Santiago in order to accept a teaching position at the School of Architecture in Valparaíso. His view on architectural education is based on understanding architecture as a collective work and a perfect fusion between life, study, work and practice. He made it clear that the invitation to teach will be accepted only as an invitation to the group⁶ and thus in 1952 Cruz and Iommi, accompanied by students and young architects, later joined by artists and philosophers, moved from Santiago to Valparaíso to start an original enterprise that questioned the very principles of doing and teaching architecture.

Moving away from the Beaux-Arts model that has governed the architectural education in Chile, the group embraced the Modern project in the particular way it was reflected in the works of French poets Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Rimbaud, and Novalis as one of the driving forces of the school. The vision of modernity apparent in the works of these poets questions the faith in technological progress held dear by mainstream modern intellectuals, and proposes a "critical view of culture, primarily centered on achieving new freedom for human life."⁷ The core of this approach, stated by Iommi, was "no cambiar *la vida* sino cambiar *de vida*"⁸. The first step toward this almost religious conversion was for the faculty to share dwelling spaces in Valparaíso, a condition that would allow them a full immersion into a communal life of research, debate, work, and practice. Their goal is less about advancing a universal model, but mainly about discovering together the poetic roots of architecture. These aspirations will be carried on later in *La Ciudad Abierta*, one of the most representative products of the school.

The relevance of poetry and art in the new philosophy of the Valparaíso architecture school is paramount. The poet Godofredo Iommi and the

sculptor Claudio Girola have been part of the school from its very beginnings, and today two poets⁹ are listed on the faculty body. One of the principles of the school asserts the common sources of poetry and architecture, and the former has been employed as a space-making strategy to generate the latter through a process called "poetic act" or *phalène*. Similar to *dada* techniques, the French word *phalène*, designating a species of butterfly, was chosen "by opening a page in the dictionary"¹⁰ to indicate a practice meant to bring poetry into the everyday life of the city of Valparaíso. Originally, students and faculty would perform recitations of poetry in the public spaces of the city, but a deeper level of engagement was attained later, when people were allowed to join the poetic act as direct participants. They were asked to associate words with a set of images prepared in advance in the form of playing cards and, based on the connections made by the contributors, the poet leading the act would improvise a poem offered as a gift to all the participants. Evolving into an autonomous art form that was performed in various cities from Valparaíso and Rio, to London and Paris, the *phalène* will be the essential tool in the process of space-making in *La Ciudad Abierta*.

Started in 1970, *La Ciudad Abierta* is the social and architectural laboratory of the Valparaíso School. Its foundational ritual consisted of four *phalènes* interpreted in spatial terms that pointed to the locations of the first interventions. Located in the middle of the dunes, on the coastline of the Pacific Ocean, it is a collaborative enterprise governed by principles of equality and decentralization. Spread out on a land bought (and own in common) by the school faculty, the settlement is deliberately an open-ended work in progress that evolves without any prescribed guidelines or planning. With no center, no traditional infrastructure, and no services, it is neither a self-sustained settlement, nor a city in the conventional sense. The major typologies are public spaces such as an amphitheater ([image 03 / Amphitheatre / Photo credit: Andreea Mihalache / 1 column](#)), an open-air chapel ([image 04 / Open Air Chapel / Photo credit: Andreea Mihalache / 1 column](#)) and a cemetery ([image 05 / Cemetery / Photo credit: Andreea Mihalache / 1 column](#)), and semi-private spaces, called *hospederías* ([image 06 / Hospedería del Errante / Photo credit: Andreea Mihalache / 1 column](#); [image 07 / Hospedería / Photo credit: Andreea Mihalache / 1 column](#)), oc-

cupied by the inhabitants of the city. The term *hospedería* is derived from the word *huesped* (guest) and designates a type of building that accommodates both a household, and certain public features (however, not always materialized). The *Hospedería de la Entrada*, for instance, is not only the residence of a family, but, located at the entrance to *La Ciudad Abierta*, has the function of welcoming the visitors in a reception area defined by terraces and platforms on the ground floor¹¹ where a future outdoor cinema is yet to be completed.

The similarities of the *phalène* with André Breton's concept of "automatic writing" and, consequently, the surrealist game *cadavre exquis*¹² is most likely due, on the one hand, to the connections of the founding group with the European avant-garde community, and, on the other hand, to the Chilean cultural scene in the first half of the 20th century. Through Ximena Amunategui, Godofredo Iommi's wife, the group was influenced by the poet Vicente Huidobro, the leading figure of Chilean avant-garde who had spent several years in European avant-garde circles. Another member of the group, the Argentinean sculptor Claudio Girola, together with Tomas Maldonado and Enio Iommi (Godofredo Iommi's brother) have founded in 1945 the *Asociación de Arte-Concreto Invención* that promoted Constructivist principles for the renewal of art. At the end of the 1950s, Maldonado will become one of the major ideologues of the Hochschule für Gestaltung in Ulm that integrated teaching, development and research in the field of design. On the other hand, it was in Chile that the surrealist movement achieved its greatest success among the Latin American countries (although with a certain delay from the European center) when it was publicly embraced through a series of lectures delivered since June 1938 at the University of Chile by the poets Braulio Arenas, Teofilo Cid and Enrique Gómez-Correa¹³ who founded the Surrealist magazine *Mandrágora*. There is also evidence of their close relationship with the European Surrealists.

Indebted to experiments in psychology and psychoanalysis, the automatic writing that most likely influenced the Chilean *phalène*, was developed by André Breton as a means to capture the free flow of poetic phrases and images generated from the "relaxation of the conscious thought"¹⁴. Although automatism has entered art history as the quintessential surrealist technique, it was in fact a highly controversial

topic in the avant-garde circles in Paris in the 1920s¹⁵. As Kim Grant maintains "not only were many critics opposed to the notion that visual art could be produced without conscious control, there were also significant critical efforts to redefine automatism and render its revolutionary Surrealism intention innocuous"¹⁶. Breton's claim that "words have their own creative power"¹⁷ is mirrored in Vicente Huidobro's poem "Arte poetica": "Que el verso sea com una llave / que abra mil puertas (...) Inventa mundos nuevos y cuida tu palabra, / el adjetivo, cuando nu da vida, mata (...) El poeta es un pequeño Dios"¹⁸.

If the poetic acts developed by the Valparaíso group have strong similarities with the Surrealist vision of the power of words freed from the rational control of the mind, the scope, however, is substantially different. For the Valparaíso group the value of this process lies in a new interpretation of the foundational act in both architecture, and, at a larger scale, the American culture. Throughout the urban history of the American continent, from the first colonies, to the modern Brasilia, the destiny of a new city has been shaped through over-prescribed initial guidelines that diagrammed its structure and its future. In *La Ciudad Abierta* the importance of poetic acts as "foundational documents", is invested with major significance. Understanding that the fate of a building or city is inscribed from the very beginning in the way it is generated, results in a mechanism that does not aim to unfold one linear future, but opens a multiplicity of potential futures. Hence the palimpsest quality of the settlement where layers can be inserted or erased precisely because there is no final, prescribed form. The configuration of the buildings is constantly changing, and, from the scale of the city, to the one of architectural objects, the outcomes of this work-in-progress are unpredictable.

HISTORICAL PREMISES

La Ciudad Abierta can be understood only in relation with an earlier venture that has established the foundation for the future development of the school. In 1965 a group of intellectuals associated with the architecture school, among which the architects Alberto and Fabio Cruz, the poet Godofredo Iommi, the sculptors Claudio Girola and Henry Tronquoy, the painter Jorge Perez Roman, and the philosopher Francois Fedier, took a journey throughout the American continent. Symbolically called *Ameréida*

– a fusion name between “America” and Virgil’s “Aeneid” – this voyage was meant to start in Punta Arenas in the extreme South of Chile and end in Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, as an effort to re-discover the continent and create an autonomous American myth. It reflected the idea developed among the intellectuals of the school that the American continent was never really discovered because Columbus was in search of other lands, and therefore the history of the New World was based on false premises. *Amereida* attempted to restore the autonomy of the continent and act as a mythological voyage in response to Columbus’ epic journey.

These ideas were influenced by the Mexican historian Edmundo O’Gorman¹⁹ who was the first to propose the thesis that America has not been *discovered*, but *invented*. His theories became influential in the Valparaíso group through the Chilean historian Mario Gongora who was familiar with O’Gorman’s theories. “Discovery”, O’Gorman argues, “implies that the nature of the thing found was previously known to the finder, i.e. that he knows that objects such as the one he has found can and do exist, although the existence of that particular one was wholly unknown. Thus an astronomer who is already aware that some heavenly bodies are classed as planets may be said to have ‘discovered’ a planet when he detects for the first time one of these bodies. But the astronomer who first has the conception of such bodies as ‘planets’ may properly be said to have ‘invented’ that class of heavenly bodies, since it was he who formulated for the first time the concept itself²⁰”.

Columbus’ belief that he had reached the Indies was essentially based on the Christian system of thought in the 15th century that conceived the World as a finite entity – *Orbis Terrarum* – that comprised Europe, Asia and Africa, all situated in the Northern hemisphere, while the Southern hemisphere was entirely occupied by the Ocean. Consequently, according to this view, any new land had to be part of that specific world. It was Amerigo Vespucci who realized that the lands he visited were indeed a “new world:” “new”, because since it has been believed that the Southern hemisphere was a vast ocean, nobody knew of their existence, and “world” not only because the lands were inhabitable, but also inhabited²¹. In the document *Cosmographiae Introductio*, published in 1507 by the academy of St. Dié, and the world map that illustrates

it, the new lands are conceived as a “single and distinct geographical entity²²”, and *Orbis Terrarum* transcends its insular bounds, embracing both the lands and seas of the globe²³. This fundamental shift of mentality, O’Gorman argues, opened the road “to the conquest of the universe²⁴”.

As a consequence of the inclusion of the seas in the new image of the world, the ocean no longer appears as dividing the land into separate masses, but the land is the one that divides, instead, the waters into separate oceans²⁵. Having studied the original documents associated with the finding of the New World, the participants in *Amereida* proposed the metaphor of the “interior sea” of the continent that needs to be explored, and made the symbolic gesture of inverting the map of South America with the South pointing up.²⁶ The meaning of this act is twofold: on the one hand, it signifies “a change in the South American cultural condition²⁷”, and, on the other hand, since in the times of Columbus the known world was located in the Northern hemisphere, by turning the map upside-down, the continent is now pointing northward and, therefore, its presence is no longer obscured, but finally identified and acknowledged²⁸.

Several poetic acts took place during *Amereida* and impromptu art pieces were left on different sites, interpreting the meaning of a place or an event. Inspired by *Amereida* and the eponymous text that was created alongside it, since the 1980s the school has included similar journeys, called *travesías*, in the academic curriculum. Literally *crossings* or *cruses*, these voyages of students and faculty are design-build expeditions whose goal is to construct art and / or architectural objects, often without designated functions, that reveal the concealed nature of a particular place.

La Ciudad Abierta within the Political Context

The role of visual arts and poetry in *La Ciudad Abierta* implies not just a mere collaboration, but rather a fusion of the different strategies specific to each discipline. These mixed techniques of space-making are a critique of politics-driven decisions that mold the form and destiny of cities. On the one hand, by applying the tools of poetry and visual arts to architectural processes, *La Ciudad Abierta* generates new urban and architectural conditions that put forward an alternative to the colonial urban planning developed on the Ameri-

can continent. On the other hand, the aspiration to propose a foundational myth spawned from the synthesis of art, poetry and architecture results in a detachment from the local historical context and the complex political destiny of Chile in the last decades of the 20th century.

La Ciudad Abierta re-interprets the organizational principles inherent in the structure of Latin American cities. Uruguayan critic Angel Rama's seminal book *The Lettered City*, analyzes the power of the written discourse in the formation of Latin American societies and the role of the urban form in exercising this power. In a world still immersed in magical rituals and oral mythologies, imagining the city was rather a matter of writing words than one of drawing plans. The foundational act was legitimized in scriptures and the written word was invested with absolute power. As Setha M. Low observes, "the control of spatial meaning can be maintained through the design of the public space, as well as through the writing of its history"²⁹. What Angel Rama calls "the lettered city" was essentially the supremacy of cultivated and educated individuals, in other words the masters of writing, upon the amorphous mass of illiterate people, easy to be manipulated and controlled. This tradition of associating the words with physical power is assumed in a radically different way in *La Ciudad Abierta*, where the authority of the words is reversed: their role in the space-making strategies is no longer to control, but to set free the destiny of the city and allow the hazard to unfold unpredictable futures.

In opposition with the rigid hierarchical system of Spanish colonies on the American continent, there is no mechanism of power in *La Ciudad Abierta*, neither in the built layout, nor in the constitution of the community, which is based on equality and collaborative work. One of the governing principles is the freedom from ownership³⁰ as emphasis is put on the collective and anonymous nature of the work, dwelling permutations within the city are performed according to families' needs, and buildings gradually incorporate new additions, or slowly disappear when no longer required.

The locations and shapes of new structures are determined through collective poetic acts that have a destiny of their own and can even change the imagined evolution of a building. *El Palacio del Alba y del Ocaso*³¹ (image 08 / *Palacio del Alba y del Ocaso* /

Photo credit: Andreea Mihalache / 1 column; image 09 / *Palacio del Alba y del Ocaso* / Photo credit: Andreea Mihalache / 1 column) was initially conceived as an enclosed edifice that was supposed to accommodate two *hospederías*, patios, a common dining hall, and a public bath. While under construction, it has been decided through a poetic act that its fate is the state of un-completeness. The result is a labyrinth of curved brick walls, precisely cut at the eye level, that underline the mountains to the East (where the sun rises), and the Pacific Ocean to the West (where the sun sets). The function of this land-art piece is to make the visitor aware of the horizon line, of the in-between condition of the site, and the array of views that surround it. An intriguing part of this structure is a cluster of concrete modules (image 10 / *Palacio del Alba y del Ocaso* / Photo credit: Andreea Mihalache / 1 column) whose only purpose is to accommodate various random paths as one starts going up and down. Generated from the motion of the human body and perfectly adjusted to its physical limitations, these very simple modules make one aware of elementary movements such as lifting the foot, stepping up and down, and finding the balance of the body.

Dislocated fragments and non-linear geometries emerge from the changing fabric of the sand dunes. Another captivating object is an open-air staircase that connects the upper level of the man-made amphitheatre with the lower level of a wild, natural ravine (image 11 / *La Escalera* / Photo credit: Andreea Mihalache / 1 column; image 12 / *La Escalera* / Photo credit: Andreea Mihalache / 1 column). An exercise of mastering an unusual pentagonal geometry and a demanding wooden structure, this staircase displays at the same time an experiment in decomposing the light: a gradual passage from green to red unfolds in a subtle color scheme depicted on the exterior panels of the flight of steps. As one goes up and down at various moments of the day, the staircase provides each time a singular experience and new discoveries through the colors that change with the daylight, or the views that vary with each shift of direction.

The construction of *La Ciudad Abierta* started in 1970, the same year that Salvador Allende came to power on September 4th. The candidate of the *Unidad Popular* (Popular Unity) – a coalition of leftist parties – had an economic and cultural agenda whose main goal was to begin the construction of

socialism, "a gradual, peaceful, and supposedly irreversible process"³², which included the nationalization of industries and an agrarian reform. The cultural policies of the *Unidad Popular* had two objectives: on the one hand, to spread the culture among all social classes (which resulted in the so-called *tren de la cultura*³³ that would leave from Santiago and reach virtually the entire country popularizing performing and visual arts), and, on the other hand, to encourage the development of specific art forms³⁴ (such as *brigadas muralistas*³⁵). The Chilean "mural brigades" are an original form of urban art born as an ideological tool of political propaganda deployed by the socialist parties. An inherently urban product, these large-scale graffiti became part of the cityscape along with posters and billboards. Created by collective, unidentified authors, with no formal education, the goal of these anonymous and ephemeral works of popular art was to educate people through a simple, almost primitive language of shapes and colors³⁶.

Without any evidence, it is hard to maintain that the guiding principles of *La Ciudad Abierta* and its urban manifestoes were influenced by such forms of popular art. It is difficult, however, not to notice certain similarities with their beliefs: the collective nature of the artistic process, the transience of the work, and the spontaneous character resulted from the absence of a predetermined project. The difference resides in the declared goals of the two approaches: whereas the "mural brigades" have a clear political agenda, the mission of *La Ciudad Abierta* is to transcend local histories and re-visit the urban identities of Latin American cities.

Following the military coup of Augusto Pinochet on September 11, 1973, Chile enters a time of violent and brutal repression against any real or potential sympathizers of the former regime. The literature on *La Ciudad Abierta* does not acknowledge any particular attitude toward any of the political regimes that have governed the country in the last three decades of the 20th century. Pursuing their ideas within a self-sufficient system, the intellectuals of *La Ciudad Abierta* advance a form of quiet resistance to all the historical conditions that have emerged from the Spanish colonizers to the contemporary political establishment. This silent manifesto proposes a cautionary view on the future of the city. If Christopher Columbus missed the finding of America because of his limited vision of the

world embedded in the religious and political system of his time, the open-ended project of *La Ciudad Abierta* and its poetic spatial strategies warn against over-prescribed visions that might obscure the nature of any potential discovery.

ENDNOTES

1. In her book *On the Plaza*, the urban anthropologist Setha M. Low argues that the 1573 Laws of the Indies that are generally considered the document that officially instituted the grid and plaza-centered urban design in the New World, were, in fact, just validating an already existing urban phenomenon at a time when most of the major cities in the New World have been founded (Setha M. Low, *On the Plaza* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 85, 95). It was rather the redesign of the Spanish cities under Philip II, she argues, that was influenced by the urban experiments developed in the New World. Spanish cities at that time could not have provided this type of precedent because "most of the cities of medieval Spain are characterized by their irregular plan and lack of open spaces" (p. 92).
2. The *bastides* are "population centers established for trade, defense, and administration, particularly in southwestern France but also in Spain and England." (Setha M. Low, *On the Plaza* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 89.)
3. Setha M. Low, *On the Plaza* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 100-125.
4. Fernando Pérez Oyarzún, "The Valparaiso School," *The Harvard Architectural Review*, No.9 (1993): 82-101; Ann M. Pendleton-Julian, *The Road That Is Not a Road and the Open City, Ritoque, Chile*. (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1996); Fernando Pérez Oyarzún. "Ortodossia / eterodossia; Architettura moderna in Cile," *Casabella*, No.650 (Nov. 1997):8-15; Fernando Pérez Oyarzún; Rodrigo Pérez de Arce, *Escuela de Valparaíso / Grupo Ciudad Abierta* (Madrid: Tanais Ediciones, 2003).
5. Fernando Perez Oyarzun, "The Valparaiso School," *The Harvard Architectural Review*, No. 9 (1993): 85.
6. Fernando Perez Oyarzun, "The Valparaiso School" in Fernando Pérez Oyarzún; Rodrigo Pérez de Arce, *Escuela de Valparaíso / Grupo Ciudad Abierta* (Madrid: Tanais Ediciones, 2003), 10.
7. Fernando Perez Oyarzun, "The Valparaiso School," *The Harvard Architectural Review*, No. 9 (1993): 85.
8. To change the way one leads his / her life, rather than simply changing their life.
9. Manuel F. Sanfuentes Vio and Jaime Reyes Gil
10. Fernando Perez Oyarzun, "The Valparaiso School," *The Harvard Architectural Review*, No. 9 (1993): 88.
11. Fernando Perez Oyarzun, "The Valparaiso School," *The Harvard Architectural Review*, No. 9 (1993): 94.
12. "The Magnificent Corpse" was a game practiced by the Surrealists in which each participant writes on a sheet of paper, folds it and pass it to the next player so that the next person wouldn't see what the previous has written. Started as a verbal game, this technique was later adapted to drawing and collage.
13. Willard Bohn, *Marvelous Encounters: Surrealist Responses to Film, Art, Poetry, and Architecture* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2005), 192.

14. Kim Grant, *Surrealism and the Visual Arts: Theory and Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 36.
15. Kim Grant, *Surrealism and the Visual Arts: Theory and Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7.
16. Kim Grant, *Surrealism and the Visual Arts: Theory and Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7.
17. Kim Grant, *Surrealism and the Visual Arts: Theory and Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 79.
18. "The word is like a key / that opens a thousand gates (...) Imagine new worlds and watch your word, / the adjective, when it doesn't create, it kills (...) The poet is a little God." Alfredo Lefebvre, *Poetas chilenos contemporaneos, breve antologia por Alfredo Lefebvre* (Santiago de Chile: Zig-Zag, 1945), 102.
19. Edmundo O'Gorman was the brother of the architect Juan O'Gorman who designed the house for Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera.
20. Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 9.
21. Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 113.
22. Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 123.
23. Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 128.
24. Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 129.
25. Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 131-132.
26. Image taken from an ancient map – Fernando Perez Oyarzun, "The Valparaiso School," *The Harvard Architectural Review*, No. 9 (1993): 90.
27. Fernando Perez Oyarzun, "The Valparaiso School," *The Harvard Architectural Review*, No. 9 (1993): 90.
28. Massimo Alfieri, *La Ciudad Abierta: una comunita di architetti, una architettura fatta in comune = La Ciudad Abierta: A Community of Architects, an Architecture Created in Common* (Roma: Librerie Dedalo, 2000), 22.
29. Setha M. Low, *On the Plaza* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 100.
30. Manuel Casanueva Carrasco, "Hospederia del Errante," *Architectural Research Quarterly*, Vol.2, No.2 (1996): 40.
31. The Palace of Dawn and Dusk
32. Mark Ensalaco, *Chile under Pinochet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 5.
33. Train of culture
34. Ana Longoni, "Puentes cancelados: Lecturas acerca de los inicios de la experimentación visual en Chile," in Nelly Richard; Alberto Moreiras, editors, *Pensar en / la postdictadura* (Santiago: Editorial Cuarto Propio, 2001), 227.
35. Mural brigades
36. Ernesto Saúl, *Pintura social en Chile* (Santiago: Ediciones Quimantú, 1972).