

Atlas
Uncovering Territories
in Bogotá



ATLAS UNCOVERING TERRITORIES IN BOGOTÁ

Edited by Alissa Diesch

Maps and Essays by
Arturo Calderón Esteban
Alissa Diesch

Preface by César Peña

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César Peña

The term *Atlas* implies both a book that contains the maps of the world and a fable of a man –who really was a titan– holding the celestial sphere on his shoulders. According to the *Terreros y Pando Dictionary* (1786), it can also be thought as a metaphor of a privileged point of view that surveys the earth from the top of mount Atlas. The latter is provocative since posits the act of seeing as an act of power over a territory seen from above; the former, represents a metaphor of a punishment imposed by the gods to some other deity, not even a regular mortal. Either way, the term *Atlas* is used to refer to a massive task that is frequently associated with the act of surveying a territory or some fragments of reality but always with the intention of providing the reader with a representative and comprehensive summary of the whole.

Countless books published under the term Atlas, if not all of them, comply usually with these two conditions, a massive undertaking and a comprehensive survey: *Historical Atlas of Spain*, *World War II Illustrated Atlas*, *Atlas of World History*, *The Urborne World Atlas of Dinosaurs*, *Road Atlas*, *Visual Atlas of the World*, *Space Atlas*, *Atlas of Pediatric Physical Diagnosis*, and even the *World Atlas of Beer*, just to name a few that represent the traditional sense and application of the term: an extensive overview and large amounts of work to organize and synthesize data. On the other hand, atlases such as the *Atlas Menemosyne* by Aby Warburg (2010) or Gerhard Richter's *Atlas* (Giaveri, 2012), present a different but also provocative interpretation. One, that, as well the other atlases, is based on the idea of cartography in an allegorical or metaphorical sense. Through images, both Warburg and Richter, depicted their journey over a territory that overwhelmed them with an extensive range of sensory experiences. The account of their journeys was about making sense out of the universe that represented the wide array of images and sensory stimuli surrounding them. What usually comprehends an atlas is a large selection of images that are somehow, presented in the form of maps that synthesize the information about the territory or a group of images that convey the way of experiencing it. In Warburg's and Richter's it can be interpreted as a cartography on the intersection between their subjectivity and the world.

Land surveying implies both observation and representation, but also analysis and synthesis at the same time and it is an activity mostly dominated by vision, whether it is to gather information or to represent it, this prevalent sense plays a central role, although the whole experience can be thought as a bodily experience where all the senses converge. Land surveying is a technique, sometimes also described as art or science, of determining the boundaries, area, angles, accidents, and overall physical traits of a given portion of land but is also a sensorial experience. In Latin America, travel journals written by voyagers during the nineteenth century are a good example of this kind of first sensorial approach to the territory. Travelers such as Alfred Hettner, Rosa Carnegie-Williams, Aimé Bonpland, Alexander Humboldt, Maria Graham, Flora Tristan in nine-

teenth-century Latin America, provide a good example of this kind of survey or, to an expert, pre-land-survey. In geography, the term *physiography* is used to describe the practice through which geographers approach the territory, its physical features, and the way to perceive and interrelate with it. Physiography responds basically to the perceivable questions about the territory which are usually derived from wandering and dwelling the space, something that comes close to the experience proposed by de Certeau (1984) in his *Practice of Everyday Life*.

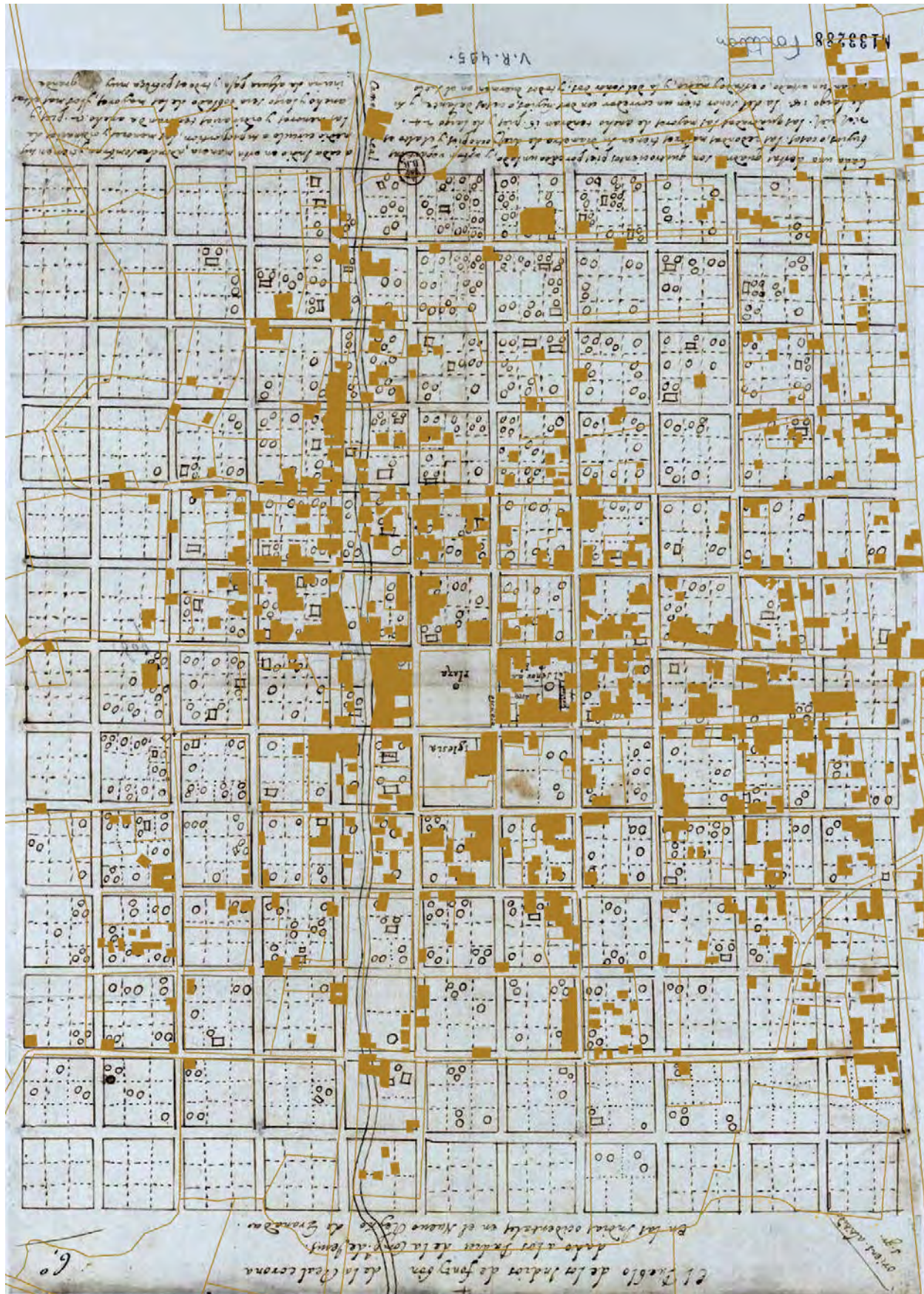
The *visitas de la tierra* or land inspections –by land meaning indigenous reservations or *Resguardos* in Spanish–, could be seen as both, a practice of physiography mediated by sensorial perception and, also a legal procedure stipulated by the crown that was enforced by the *Real Audiencia de Santafé* to audit the work of *encomenderos*, looking to guaranteed fair conditions for the indigenous population that were secluded in a *resguardo* and were part of the *encomienda*. The peoples in charge of the *encomienda* were called *encomenderos*, a position that was part of a royal favor that was initially granted to conquistadors and firsts settlers which in the case of the Sabana de Bogotá included Gonzalo and Hernán Jiménez de Quesada, Bogotá's founder and his brother. Exemplification of the favors granted by the *encomienda* can be found in many judiciary files from the repository *Caciques e Indios at the Archivo General de la Nación* (National General Archive) where the *encomendero* were usually referred as administrators of labour who were granted a certain number of *indios* for him to profit from their labour and lands, that could be either for farming, serfdom, sharecropping, mining activities or all of them.

The land inspection was a legal procedure divided into five parts intended to provide an accurate description of the territory and its communities. The procedure started with a notification to the chieftains, the *encomendero*, and the *doctrinero* priests, so they can be aware and prepared to answer the questionnaire of the *oidor*. Second, a population census was conducted to determine the number of people who could be taxed. Third, a *Secreta* or secret hearing through which the *oidor* was able to get an overview about the current issues at the *resguardo*. Also, a description and land measurement which was usually made by "vista de ojos" or sightseeing. Lastly, the *oidor* pronounced sentences and petitions around the issues pointed out by the protector of the naturals or aborigines. These land inspections took place since the mid 16th century, starting the first period between 1550-1572, and the second period between 1593-1670, when *resguardos* were assigned and *pueblos de indios* were demarcated. It was during the second period when land inspections were introduced in the *Sabana de Bogotá*, under the presidency of Antonio González by *oidor* Miguel de Ibarra.

The first *resguardos* in American territory were made in the Antilles by the beginning of the 16th century and were disposed by the crown because of the reports presented by *doctrinero* priests who witnessed the mistreatments of the natives by the settlers, especially by the *encomenderos*. *Resguardos* were also known as "reducciones" or reductions because of the way Spanish settlers could not understand the way indigenous people had developed to

inhabit the territory, especially at the *Sabana de Bogotá* where the indigenous population used to live scatter along a wide strip of territory, observing a semi-nomadic style of living, especially because of the seasonal flooding of the *Sabana* which pushed them back and forth between the Andes and the Bogotá river so, they would be able to keep up with their farming activities.

Mapping the territory presupposes an exclusively scientific task, however it is well agreed now that these scientific representations of the territory have had a political impact in the negotiation of the territory but also in negotiating the visibility and subsequent disappearance of entire communities and cultures from the landscape (Monmonier, 2018; Wood, Fels, & Krygier, 2010). One of the challenges the researchers of the territory have faced to reconstruct the land assigned to *resguardos* is the scarcity of maps and notarial documents, mostly because the description procedure of the visit during colonial times, only provided a verbal description using ancient measures and variable landmarks to establish the *resguardo* boundaries. In some cases, there was clearly a discrepancy between descriptions made by the naturals and those made by either, the *vecinos* or the crown's servants, reflecting a political struggle for the territory. Such is the case in Fontibón where, by the late 17th century, colonial documents reflect big differences between the boundaries described by elder natives, compared to the demarcations established later by the *oidores* and the ones made by Juan Carrasquilla Botero later in the 20th century (Peña, 2003). The maps produced by Carrasquilla Botero, were exclusively based on the demarcations consigned at the notarial repository at the National General Archive. Compared to the acts of demarcation of indigenous *resguardos*, it is remarkably different how Juan Carrasquilla Botero (1989) in his work *Quintas y estancias de Santafé y Bogotá*, was able to reconstruct most *vecinos* or Spaniard neighbours' properties, based on notary files. Memory plays a crucial role and especially the way in which it was recorded and kept safe. Following Trouillot (Trouillot 1995), the *tierras de resguardo* and *pueblos de indios* case, can be used to refer to the four moments of silence regarding the relationship between power and the production of history. In this particular case, power also stands for maps and cartography: The moment of fact creation; The moment of fact assembly; The moment of fact retrieval; and the last one that involves us directly, the moment of retrospective significance. Due to historical reasons that, thanks to contemporary scholarship, are nowadays less foggy than they used to, there was a great deal of imbalance between the way in which the state apparatus dealt with memory and the archival process that often worked towards the interests of the *vecinos*, whilst neglecting at the same time, the cultural memory linked to the land, the boundaries, and law-enforcing around the *resguardos/pueblos de indios*. Historiography on space, place, and landscape, the archival process, and the way all this together can help society to make sense out of the history of a territory and of their communities, bear a responsibility that will help contemporary society to understand the complexity of the rural and feudal dynamics that are still part of the present-day urban fabric.



Fontibón. Plan of the "Doctrina" 1612-1619 (obtained from Bibliothèque nationale de France IFN-8451126) and Fontibón 1940s

There are few Bogotá maps since the 18th century that include not only the urban area but its surrounding territory. Carlos Francisco Cabrer's map from 1797, is probably the first known map to offer a view of the town Centre and part of the area between the Andes and the lands towards the Bogotá river to the west. This map, locate some quintas like *La Cabrera*, *Montes*, and *Chamicera*, as well as some roads and swamps like *Camino de Soacha y Fusagasugá*, *Camino de Honda*, *Pantano de Capellanía*, and *Pantano del Salitre*. Elisee Reclus' map from 1893, presents a wider panoramic view of the *Sabana* and shows the relationship between Bogotá and the former *pueblos de indios* of Usaquén, Engativá, Fontibón, Bosa, Soacha, Tunjuelo, as well as some of the main geographical features. In the 1930s the first aerial photographs were taken in the country, allowing to create the first detailed representations of the territory –scale 1:25,000– in the so-called *Carta Preliminar* made by the *Instituto Geográfico Militar y Catastral* at (Geographic Military and Cadastral Institute), later renamed *Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi*, that were subsequently published after 1936 until the late 1940s.

The overlapping of the information consigned in the land inspections and this first exhaustive topographical survey, has been useful to reconstruct the missing parts of the history of the *resguardos* and *pueblos de indios*. They somehow, provided insights on the way present-day city logic, respond to different dynamics that are still being negotiated between multiple forces. The Spaniards, aware of the negotiations that were taken place, created a position, the *Cosmographer* who, according to Portuondo (2009), was commissioned to try and respond to the questions on who lived there and how they inhabit the territory, among many others. The *Relaciones de Indias*, a sort of questionnaire created to inquire about these and many other questions, were distributed by the Spanish Crown by 1579 and represent a good illustration of the type of actions conducted to figure out how to understand the newly encountered cosmogony. *Oidores* and land inspections were part of the same administrative reasoning to use this sort of interview-driven procedure to acquire information on a complex and, thus far, incomprehensible world.

Although many atlases' projects usually end up turning into an experience close to the metaphor implied in their title, with unsurmountable amounts of data, images, and maps that are compiled in a big or various volumes, I could assert that usually this kind of projects start with a question about the territory and lots of peripateticism. The only example I can properly talk about is the only one atlas I have ever committed to, back in the late 1990s when we started the research for the *Historical Atlas of Bogotá*. This atlas was the result of the combination between the discussions held at the seminar *Ciudad* or *City*, under the direction of professors Jaime Salcedo and Carlos Niño in the MA in History and Theory of Art and Architecture at the *National University of Colombia*, and lots of drifting and wandering throughout the city in the convulsed and convoluted 1990s in Bogotá. In spite of the dangers that came with living in Bogotá during that period, the constitution of 1991 encouraged the younger generations of *bogotanos* to appropriate the place, be part of the land-

scape and walking the city was certainly paramount in the beginning of a crazy enterprise that would pretend to render a wider picture of Bogotá's built environment between 1538 and 1910. Back then, the idea of taking a second look at the conception of Bogotá being a single core that expanded from the town Centre and spread towards the *sabana*, was starting to gain momentum. After several years of drafting several itineraries throughout the city, and witnessing the way in which that downtown-centered narrative of Bogotá, was evidently more dependent on the labour coming from the former *pueblos de indios*, the idea of a poli-centric city started to make a lot more sense as conceptual framework to properly understand the city growth dynamics throughout Bogotá's history. Almost twenty years after, serendipity played a crucial role in taking me back to revise all my work on *pueblos de indios*, and it came from an unexpected place: Germany. In 2016 a friend in common, introduced me to Alissa Diesch who completely got me off guard when, after a few minutes, asked me about *pueblos de indios* and for Fontibón, the one I wrote my master's thesis about. What strike me the most, was that she did not ask me about the *Atlas histórico de Bogotá* but about Fontibón, which was a minor part of the titanic job I committed several years before to reconstruct the built environment of Bogotá in the 2000s. From that point on, we kept in contact and continued an ongoing conversation about Fontibón, *pueblos de indios*, Bogotá city, and many other nuances related to sources, repositories, maps, and authors about the research. In June 26, 2019, I had the opportunity to visit her in Hannover where, once again, I was bewildered by her persistence and commitment to the topic when I was invited to one of her classes to give my opinion on her students' cartographic work at the open-topic-seminar, *Rural Urban Transformations in Bogotá*, about former *pueblos de indios* in Bogotá. It was an almost surreal experience to be in the middle of Germany, discussing *pueblos de indios* in Bogotá at *Leibniz Universität Hannover*. Alissa's doctoral research under the direction of Sophie Wolfrum (TUM) and Jörg Schröder (LUH) represent a significant contribution to the field of studies and further contribute to the regional understanding of the different forces involved in the consolidation of Bogotá and its metropolitan area.

Besides the implications of the term atlas on the title of this book, the work compiled here about the former *pueblos de indios* and their integration to the *Special District of Bogotá* in 1954, the exercise of historical cartography goes beyond map making to making sense out of the several different sources, including the author's sensory experience, maps, images, and the toponymy of present-day building, quarters, plazas, and streets. Here, the so many times employed metaphor of the palimpsest to refer to the many historical layers that are part of the urban fabric, is no longer a metaphor but a methodology. The challenge faced in terms of historical cartography, was juggle with a great variety of sources to then, synthesize those manifold views on the territory, especially the ones that have been historically silenced.

There is no doubt, historical cartography plays a critical role in revisioning history about the use of soil and its

occupation, especially by the disenfranchised and left behind by the history books. Committing to this kind of enterprise, require considering many factors but overall self-consciousness about ones' own stance, including perceptual and phenomenological experiences that converge in the process analysis and then revert somehow in the synthesis. Following Foucault, the alleged rationality and objectivity of science is just relative to its epoch, given the fact that science also respond to epistemes that correspond to a certain period and, therefore, the assumptions and possible preconceptions, need to be constantly challenged and put under the microscope. As stated by W.J.T. Mitchell (Mitchell, 2002), the landscape is not an object to be seen or read but a process in which "*social and subjective identities are formed*." Cartographical history is no longer about the officially visible but mapping the invisible.

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Why this atlas?

Alissa Diesch

Bogotá and the surrounding Sabana¹ have experienced major changes during the second half of the 20th century that continue, to a lower extent, until today, the first decades of the 21st century. This phenomena has been the strongest transformation of the area since the arrival of the Europeans and the following *conquista* and colonisation in the 16th century. Of the six Latin American mega cities Bogotá has had the highest rates of growth. However, numbers can describe this process only unsatisfactory but maps can be a helpful tool to grasp this shift. Often the urban expansion of Bogotá is referred to as a mono-centric growth and its description remains mostly abstract and with a focus to the historic centre of the colonial capital Santa Fé. The transformation of the periphery, the former villages, haciendas, settlements and rural plots has not yet gained the same interest.

The standard reference for the urban development of Bogotá and pioneer in a series of cartographic works is the *Atlas histórico de Bogotá* (Escovar, Mariño, Peña 2004). Here the conurbation process of Bogotá with its surrounding villages as a poly-centric constellation is mentioned but not represented in detail. The circumstances of the annexation of six villages to the Capital District from an urban planning perspective was first presented in *La anexión de los 6 municipios vecinos a Bogotá en 1954* (Cortés 2006) but also without providing cartographic material. An approximation to the history and heritage of the incorporated villages can be found in several studies and projects (Higuera 2012, Diesch, Riveros, Rodríguez 2017, Casasbuenas, Diesch 2017). The *Atlas Uncovering Territories of Bogotá* by presenting cartographic results of two doctoral thesis focuses on the spatial-morphological transformation of the city's context, the entire territory of the Sabana de Bogotá (Arturo Calderón Esteban), and zooms of the six former villages Usme, Bosa, Fontibón, Engativá, Suba, and Usaquén (Alissa Diesch).

The maps and essays in this atlas offer a new view on the urban expansion of Bogotá and the process of the metropolitanization of the Sabana. The understanding and representation of the Sabana de Bogotá as a historically grown, coherent territory enables new and creative visioning for the region. Reading the former villages as historic centralities facilitates a new perspective on the urbanisation process and highlights the dynamics of the poly-centric network the metropolitan region is inscribed in. It sheds light on places that are often considered peripheral and passively devoured by the expanding city, working out their individual character and formative role in the metropolitanization process and the contemporary city. Additionally, the atlas sheds light on the agency and persistence of the historically grown structures, creating a simultaneity of different times in the presence and a resource for the future.

An atlas makes "it possible to conduct transverse read-

1 The *Sabana de Bogotá* (Bogotá savannah) is the geographic region of the Capital District of Bogotá and it's surrounding municipalities

ings and to compare maps" (Cavaliere 2019, 69). Here, the metamorphosis is shown from diverse perspectives which enables comparisons of the transformation over time and at the same time establishes cross references between different places and scales. The multi-scalar structure is a rich heritage of the *Sabana* and a resilient resource for further development. This atlas intends to make visible these overlooked relations and dynamics and to show potentials of the future of Bogotá and the *Sabana*.

The zooms to the cores of the six incorporated villages link the territorial scale with a perspective of urban design. The specific architecture of the colonial plazas has proven to be a robust framework for changing realities in the last 500 years, demonstrating that "*significant places do not lose their importance. [...] squares [...] offer an open tableau for constantly changing social and urban use. They are at the same time places of conciseness and contingency*" (Wolfrum 2015, 18). The squares, originally set up in the 16th century in each *pueblo de indios* by the Spanish, have always been accompanied by a *resguardo*, common lands assigned to the village. This figure and its legacy for the current city is analysed separately. All of these places represent not only the diverse background of the Colombian capital but are still vivid sites of Bogotá that condense past and ongoing dynamics. It is a "*rediscovery of places beyond the metropolis [...] connected to the transformations of the metropolis itself*" (Schröder 2018, 13).

The maps by Arturo Calderón Esteban, created in the framework of his doctoral thesis "Territorios simultáneos" at UPC Barcelona in 2016, and Alissa Diesch, elaborated with students at the Leibniz Universität Hannover for her on-going doctoral thesis "The Rural Heritage of Bogotá" at Technical University of Munich, help to make visible the articulation and agency of the historic structures.

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Diesch, A., Riveros, M., Rodríguez, P. (2017): *El reconocimiento del patrimonio rururbano de Bogotá en los seis Núcleos fundacionales*. In: *la DESCOMMUNAL*, 3. pp. 101-119

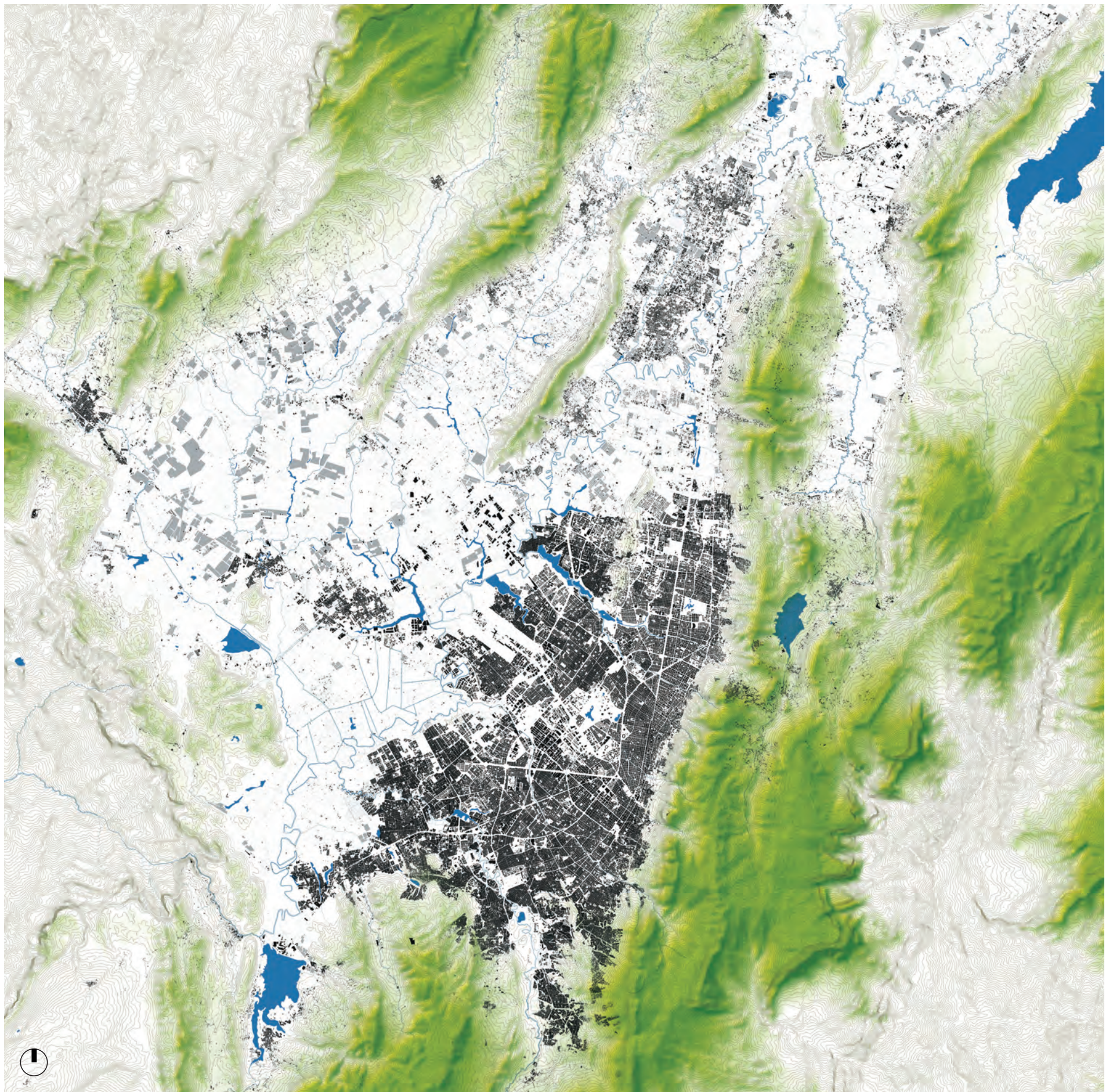
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Morphogenesis of Bogotá

*Origin and evolution of the great
metropolis of the Andes*

Arturo Calderón Esteban

We, Latin Americans, have always been told that our cities were born when the Spaniards set foot on our continent and traced on the grids of streets and blocks that today we call historic centres. They told us that from that moment on our cities grew and evolved into what they are. This theory, validated and generalized, ignores the hundreds of years of history that preceded the arrival of Europeans to our continent. As if there was nothing before.

If on a contemporary cartography of the savannah of Bogotá we locate all the urban centres founded during the Spanish colony and then draw lines following the paths that interconnect them, as a result, the original spatial structure will emerge from this drawing, that is, the structure of networks and centralities on which the Bogotá metropolis grew and evolved to this day. Now, if we look at the resulting drawing we will notice that this network of roads seems to point decisively to two centralities in the plane: Funza, located in the centre of the savannah and Zipaquirá located, in the extreme north. But the roads do not point to Bogotá, which is located at the eastern end of the savannah (Calderón 2016).

According to the chroniclers, when Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada and his men arrived at the savannah of Bogotá, from one of the high mountains that surround this great plateau, with great surprise they saw a constellation of villages that the conqueror called 'the valley of the alcázares' (Simon 1891, 139). It was the confederation of the Muisca, the society that prior to the arrival of the Europeans had made the savannah its territory. Bacatá (Bogotá) was the political capital of the confederation and was located in the centre of the savannah, right where Funza is today.¹ Zipaquirá was the economic capital of the Muisca, because there were the salt mines that at that time were the main source of wealth of the savannah. All the centralities of the confederation were interconnected by a network of roads; the one that linked Bacatá with Zipaquirá was called *Requebteba* and was possibly the most important road in the savannah at that time (Visita a Chía del Oidor Miguel de Ibarra en noviembre de 1593, Castellanos 1886, 102). Today it is known by the sabaneros as the road to Siberia. This fact explains to a large extent the reason why the network of roads responds to the hierarchy of two centralities in particular that currently have less importance than Bogotá: Funza and Zipaquirá.

After conquering the territory of the Muisca, the Europeans founded Santafé (today called Bogotá). This was the first urban center built on the savannah according to the instruction manual provided by the Spanish crown. Santafé was drawn in the same generic way that was used for the construction of hundreds of cities throughout the Americas. Its founders decided to place it at the eastern end of the savannah, at the foot of the hills, very close to the place where apparently a town of the Muisca confederation called Teusaque or Teusaquillo was locat-

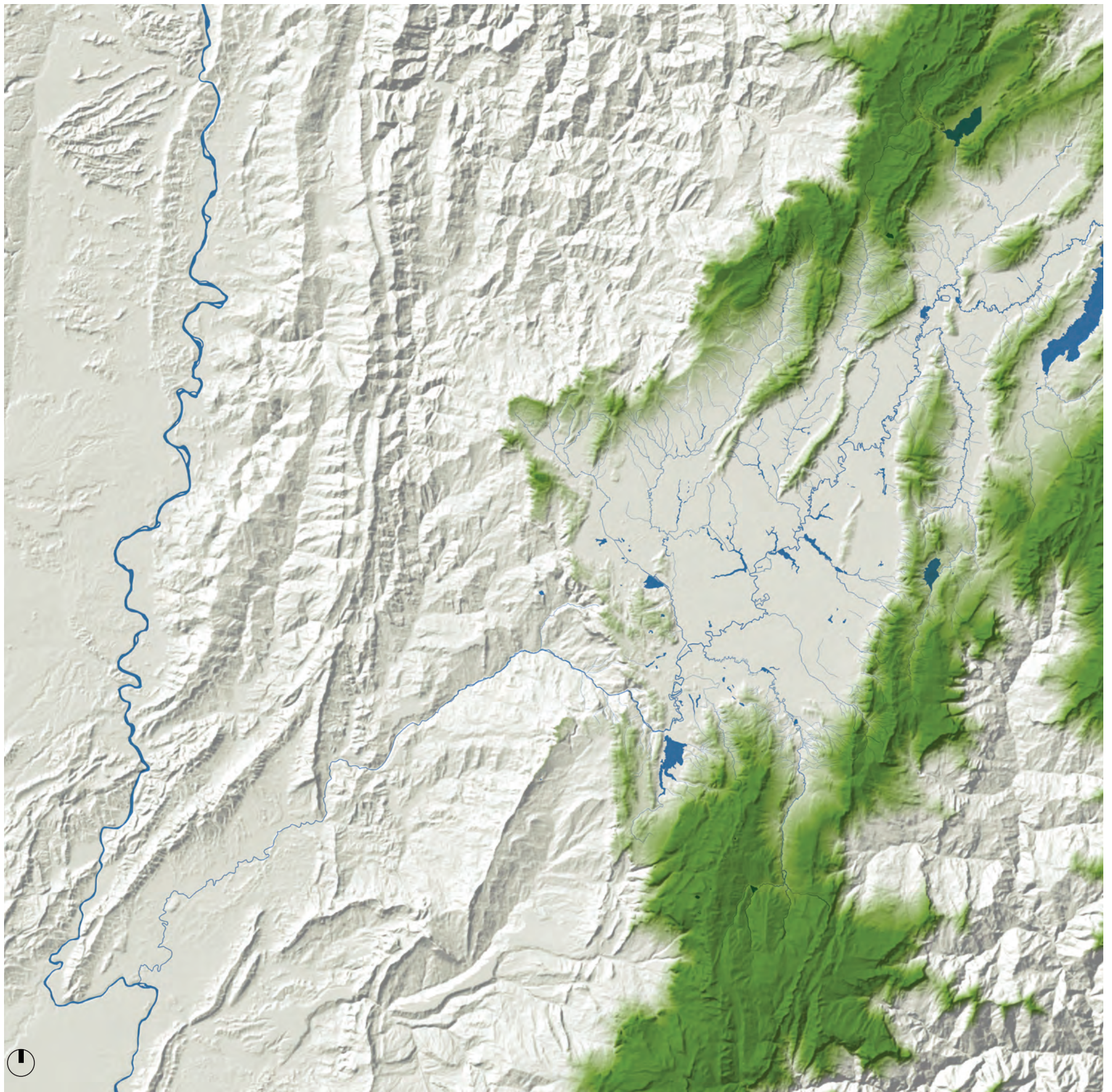
ed (Martinez 1976). It is not known very well why they chose this place for the construction of Santafé, but they probably did it because this was a slightly elevated place from where the savannah could be seen and also had two streams that ensured the water supply. Santafé became the new capital of this territory and Bacatá, the old Bogotá, was stripped of all its hierarchy.

After Santafé and following the same manual of royal instructions, more than 20 urban centres were founded in different parts of the Savannah and most of them were located in the same place or very close to where a Muisca village already existed (Calderón 2016). There was a big difference between Santafé and the other urban centres founded during the colony: Santafé was a city built to house Europeans, while the other urban centres were built exclusively for the Indians. There, except for the priest, it was forbidden for Europeans to live. The Spaniards demolished the old hamlets of the Muisca confederation and forced the natives to build their houses on these new urban grids. Around them, the Spaniards demarcated a land they called *resguardo* (reserves), while all the lands that remained outside the borders of the *resguardos* were distributed as booty among the Spanish expeditionaries. The purpose of the reserves was to achieve the subsistence of the natives thanks to the production that they themselves obtained from the work of those lands and in turn, they also had the purpose of ensuring that the natives could pay tribute to the crown (Velandia 1982, Gonzalez 1992, Herrera 2002). The combination of urban grids and reserves was a perfect machine of domination and production.

Unlike their Roman counterparts, the Spaniards did not build roads (Martinez 1967); the *cardus* and *decumanus* were not part of their instruction manual for building cities. Roads were not their priority and as they placed the urban centres on or near the towns of the Muisca confederation, they could reuse the existing network of roads. Only until the end of the colony (first decade of the nineteenth century) the Spaniards undertook the task of building new roads or rather, of making corrections to some pre-Hispanic routes. These form took place on two roads in particular: the Northern Road (today Carrera 7) and the Western Road (today Calle 13); the two main roads that connected Santafé with the outside. The Northern Road described the winding shape of the eastern edge of the mountains that confine to the Savannah. Under the pretext of making it shorter and saving travellers time, the council of Santafé decided to build a new one, which they drew in a straight line and parallel to the existing road. This route corresponds to the current "northern highway". It is known that it was not used for a long time, as it was built on swamps and was frequently flooded. Likewise, the Western Road was straightened to avoid curves, with the layout of a straight line from San Victorino to Puente Aranda. In this case, it was not a new road that was built, but the route of the existing one was changed. The two new layouts were a kind of late *cardus* and *decumanus* that seemed to invite the urban grid of streets and blocks to spread throughout the savannah. Shortly after these roads were built, the colony ended, Bolívar and his men had defeated the army of the Spanish crown.

1 On the Muisca society see:

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1:250.000

0 5 25 km

After independence the savannah seemed asleep. Santafé that now by decree was called Santafé de Bogotá did not grow and neither did the indian villages, in which the new order lifted the prohibition of whites living in them and the lands of the reservations were distributed among the natives, becoming private land. It took almost a century for visible transformations in the savannah took place. The twentieth century arrived and with electricity the train, the tram and the automobiles. It also brought with it severe economic crises, explosion of population growth, poverty and partisan violence especially in the rural areas of the country. In the midst of this scenario the great migrations from the countryside to the city began and Santafé de Bogotá became one of the main destinations. The colonial city, already aged and decadent, became the place of reception for migrants. Quickly the Spanish grid became an unhealthy, dangerous place with an extreme population density. The upper classes decided to leave the city and build urban satellites where they could resume their lives away from the chaos of the colonial urban center. First Chapinero was born and then Teusaquillo, two urban islands anchored to the Northern Road and the rectilinear layout made by the Spaniards towards the end of the colony. Later on this type of urban islands began to invade the savannah at a dizzying speed and it was no longer only sumptuous residences but also barracks and all kinds of urbanizations that only had in common the shape of their fabrics that were composed of three elements: streets, squares and blocks arranged in the form of a grid. The Spanish grid was repeated as an island over and over again ad nauseam. The city originally built by the Spaniards did not grow by the extension of its fabrics but by the juxtaposition of reticular fabrics connected in one way or another to the network of roads of the ancient Muisca confederation.

The vertiginous urban growth that characterized the twentieth century slowed down entering the twenty-first century. The islands of reticular fabrics began to be replaced by another type of urban fabrics, this time devoid of the three basic elements inherited from the Spanish colony: streets, squares and blocks. These are isolated and specialized urban pieces polarized to the main roads of the savannah (the network of pre-Hispanic roads that have become infrastructures); sometimes as packages and other times as singular elements (Romero 2020). In these new fabrics, the public space has disappeared giving way to private spaces of restricted collective use, as is the case of the residential complexes that have been located especially in the north of the savannah; or giving way to private spaces for logistical use, as is the case of the industrial parks to the north and west of the savannah. These new fabrics have low densities, consume a greater amount of land, infrastructure, resources and energy and therefore represent a great challenge in the coming years for the management and planning of the savannah.

To conclude; the origin of the great metropolis of the Andes is linked to its pre-Hispanic past and not only to its colonial past. The original structure of roads and centralities on which this metropolis was born and grew is of pre-Hispanic origin, while the form and composition of urban fabrics are colonial heritage. Although in recent decades a new

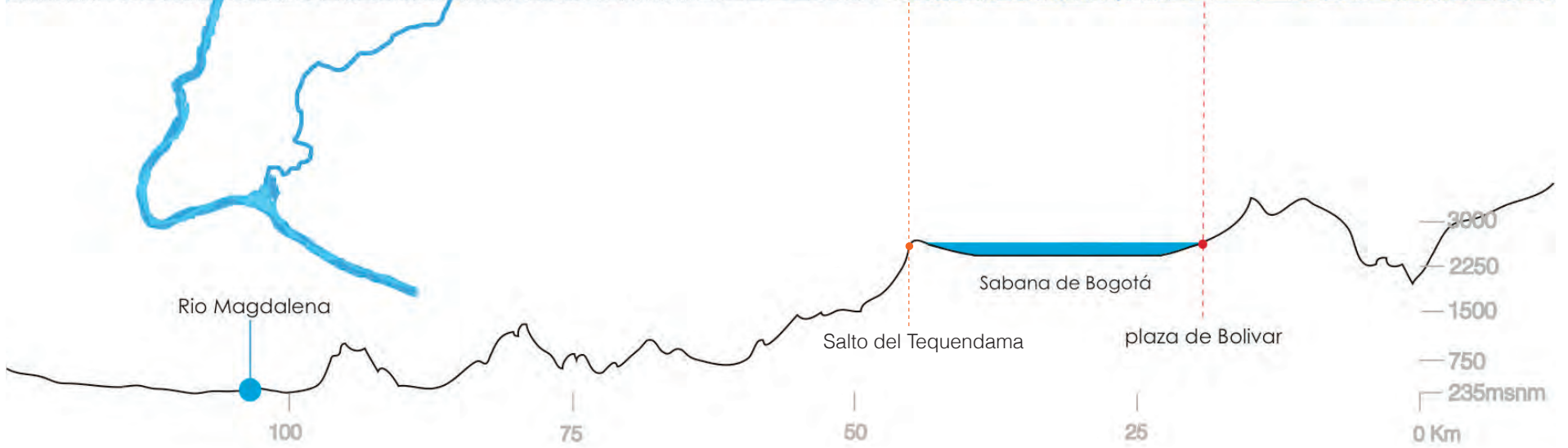
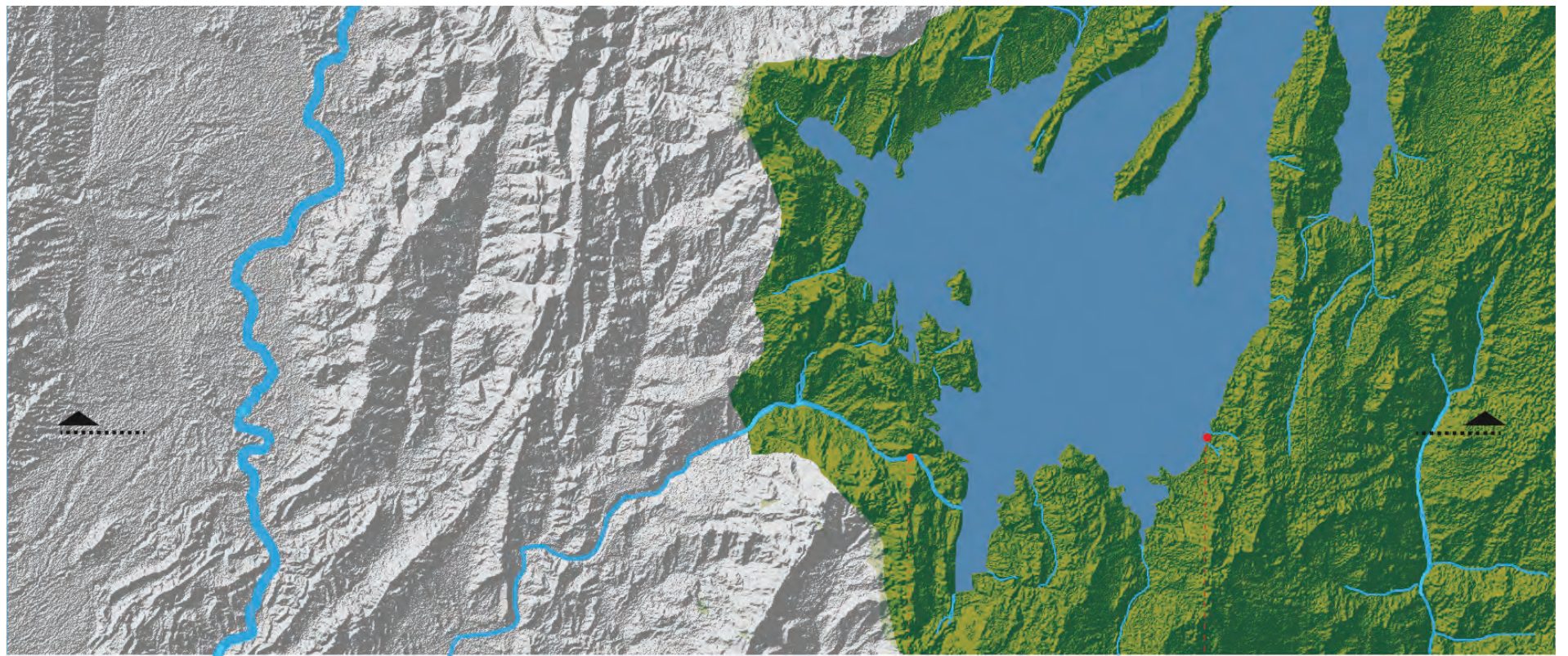
form of urbanization has emerged differing from that was induced during the colony, and its genes could be found in the economic dynamics of a global order. This new type of scattered urban pieces have similarities, although with their nuances and particularities, to those that emerged in different urban regions in the entire world.

The savannah is today a large metropolitan region that must be understood and planned as a geographical and historical unit and not from the political-administrative boundaries that subdivide it. It is urgent that the planning of infrastructures, urban spaces and the protection of agricultural and natural spaces be part of the same plan in which all the social groups that cohabit in it have a place. It is important that the great metropolis of the Andes be recognized and thought of as such.

Author's Note:

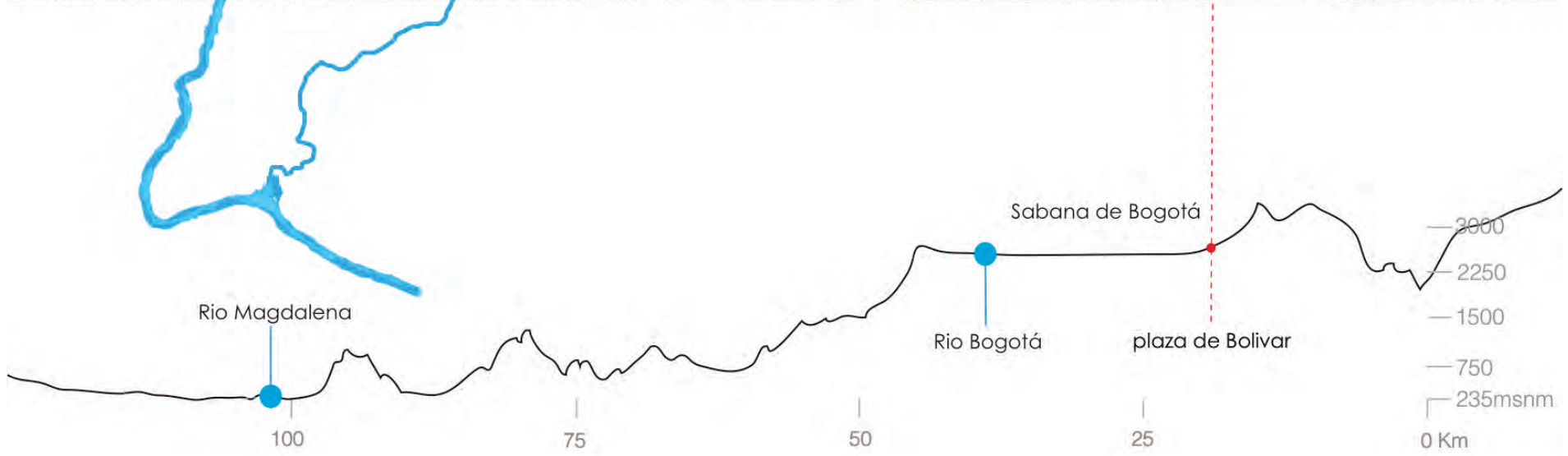
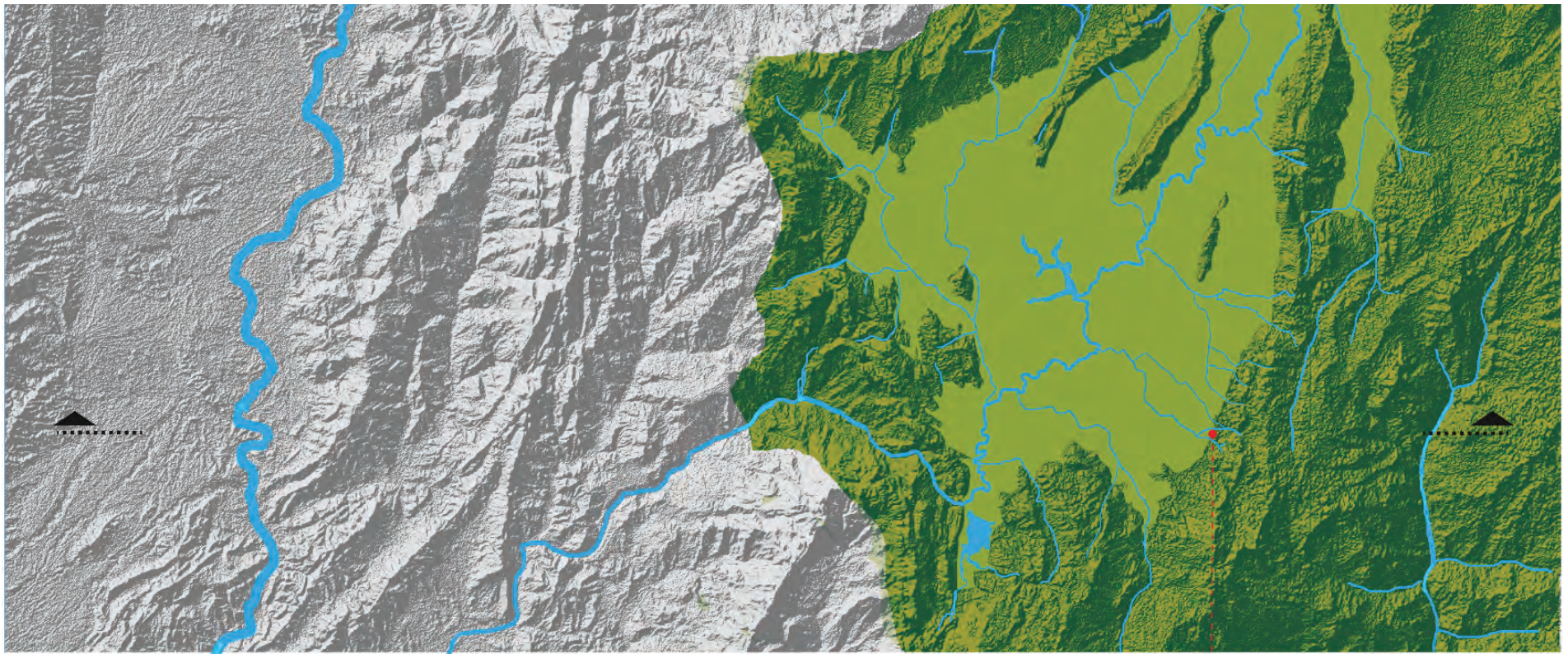
This text is based on the doctoral thesis defended by the same author at the Polytechnic University of Catalonia in 2016, entitled: *Simultaneous Territories: Forms of Territorialization of the Savannah of Bogotá*. Likewise, all the cartographic images presented here come from that same work and are of own authorship.

Arturo Calderón Esteban
Amsterdam, 2021

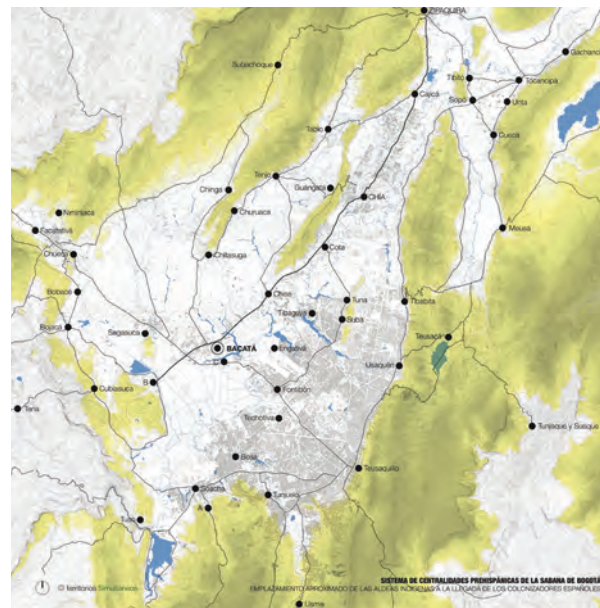


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- Castellanos, J. de. (1886) Historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada. Tomo primero. Madrid, A. Pérez Dubrull
- Gonzalez, M. (1992) El resguardo en el Nuevo Reino de Granada. Bogotá, El Ágora Editores
- Herrera, M. (2002) Ordenar para controlar. Ordenamiento espacial y control político en las llanuras y en los Andes centrales neogranadinos. Siglo XVIII". Bogotá, Bogotá Academia Colombiana de Historia/ICANH
- Martinez, C. (1967) Apuntes sobre el urbanismo en el Nuevo Reino de Granada. Bogotá, Talleres Gráficos del Banco de la República
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- Simon, P. (1891 (first published 1627)) Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales. Segunda Parte Bogotá, Medardo Rivas
- Velandia, R. (1982) Enciclopedia Histórica de Cundinamarca. In Cooperativa Nacional de artes Gráficas. Bogotá, 1979-1982. Tomo 1

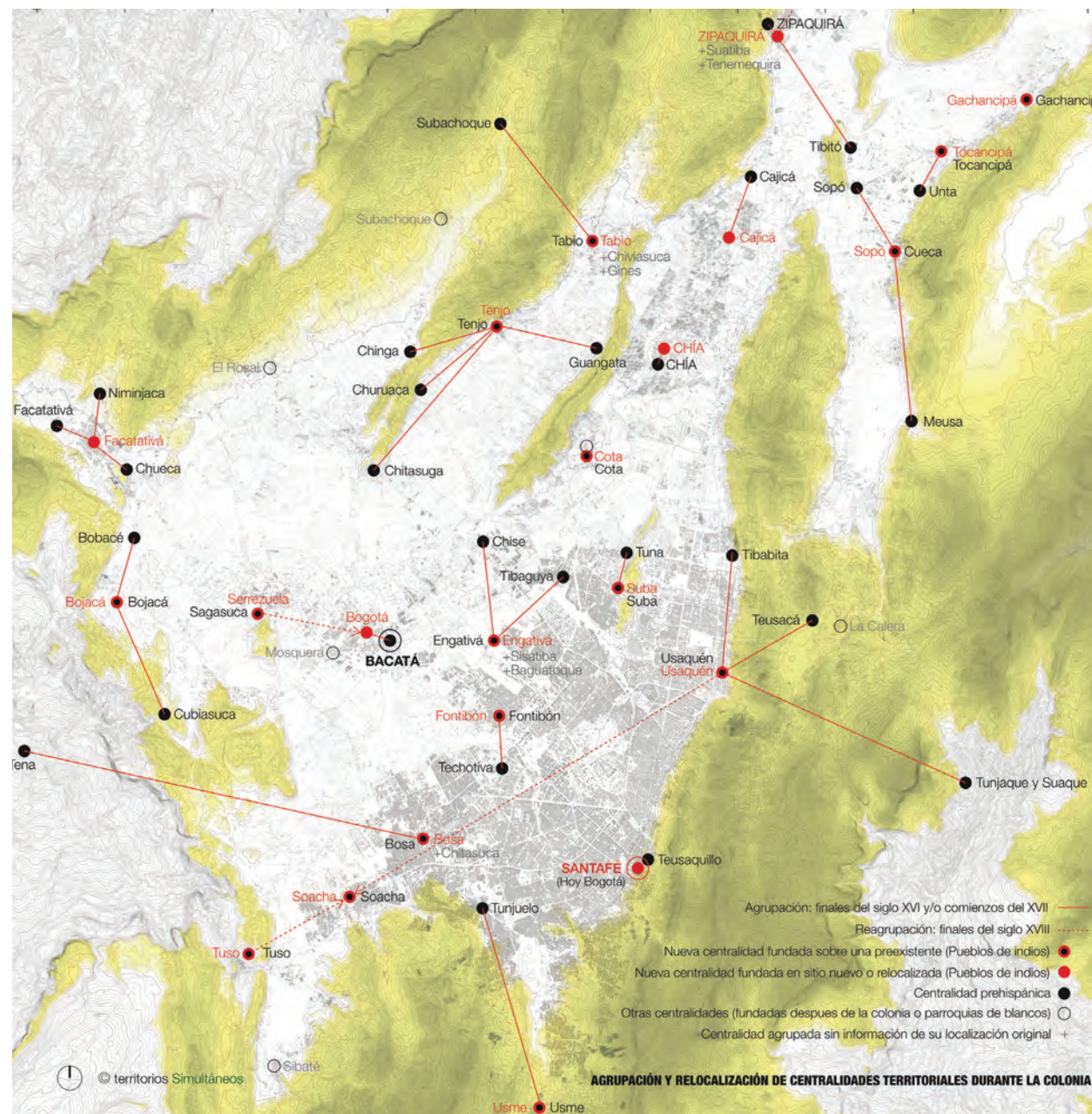
Visit to Chia of the Oidor Miguel de Ibarra in November 1593. See: General Archive of the Nation, Lands of Cundinamarca. T. 23. fl: 906 -914.

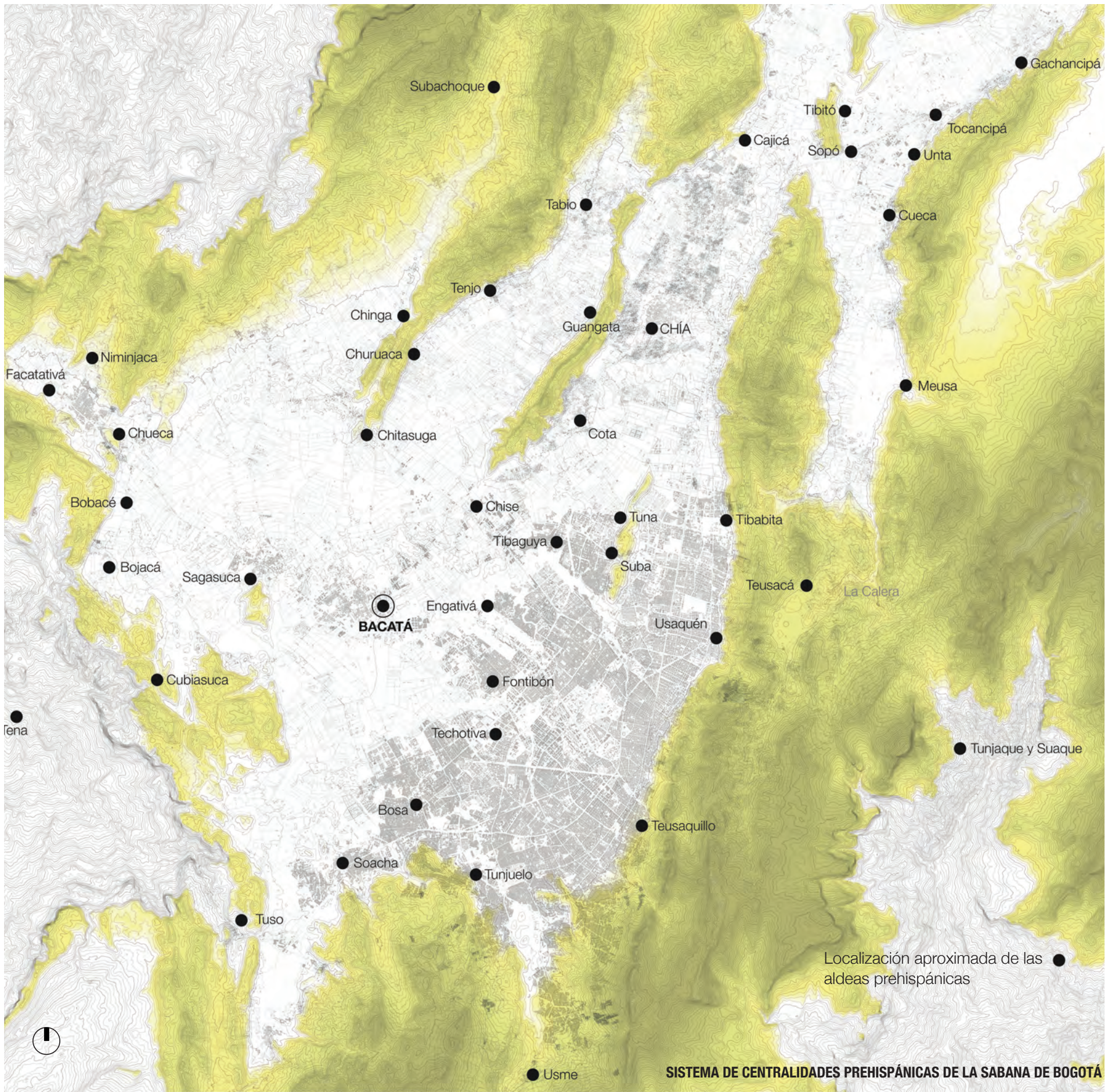


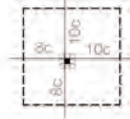
These drawings shows the way in which a large part of the different indigenous villages that existed in the Bogotá Savanna until the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century were grouped into *pueblos de indios*, as a consequence of the application of the reductionist policies promoted during the colony by the Spanish crown. The names of the original villages have been located on their approximate location, according to the descriptions found in the records of the auditors' visits, since today there is no physical trace of most of them. Likewise, the way in which the different villages were grouped has also been taken from these records (Calderón 2016, 157. Translation from Spanish by the editor).



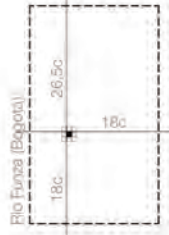
Maps of the location of the Muisca villages (opposite page), the main connections (right) before the arrival of the Europeans and the relocation and reduction during the colony (below).



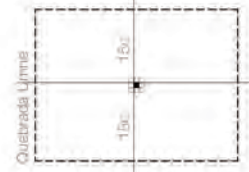




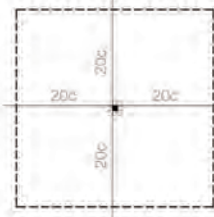
SERREZUELA (Madrid)
1594
Oidor Miguel de Ibarra



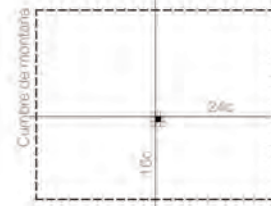
TOCANCIPÁ
1593
Oidor Miguel de Ibarra



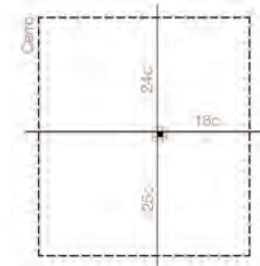
USAQUÉN
1600
Oidor Luis Enriquez



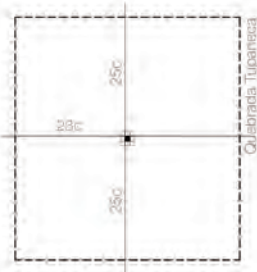
FACATATIVÁ
1594
Oidor Miguel de Ibarra



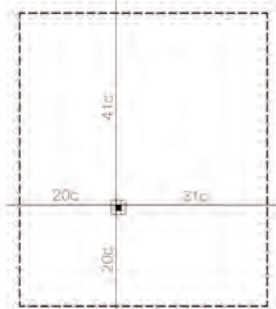
ZIPAQUIRÁ
1600
Oidor Luis Enriquez



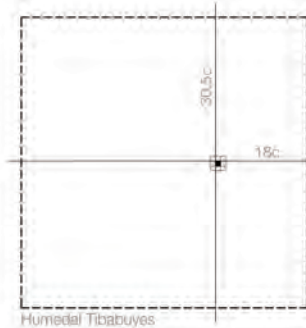
TABIO
1603
Oidor Diego Gomez de Mena



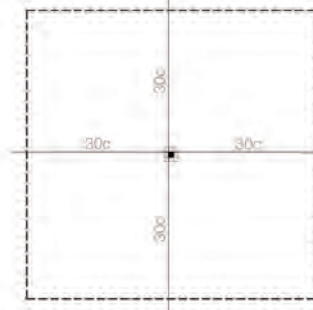
GACHANCIPÁ
1593
Oidor Miguel de Ibarra



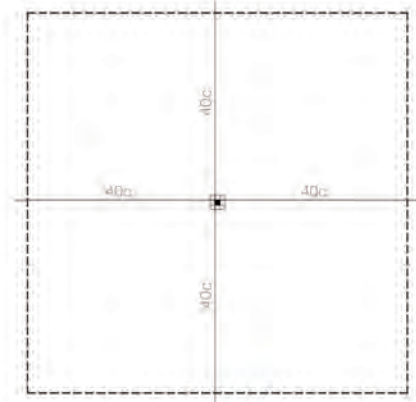
SOACHA
1600
Oidor Luis Enriquez



SUBA
1593?
Oidor Miguel de Ibarra?



BOGOTÁ (Funza)
1594
Oidor Miguel de Ibarra



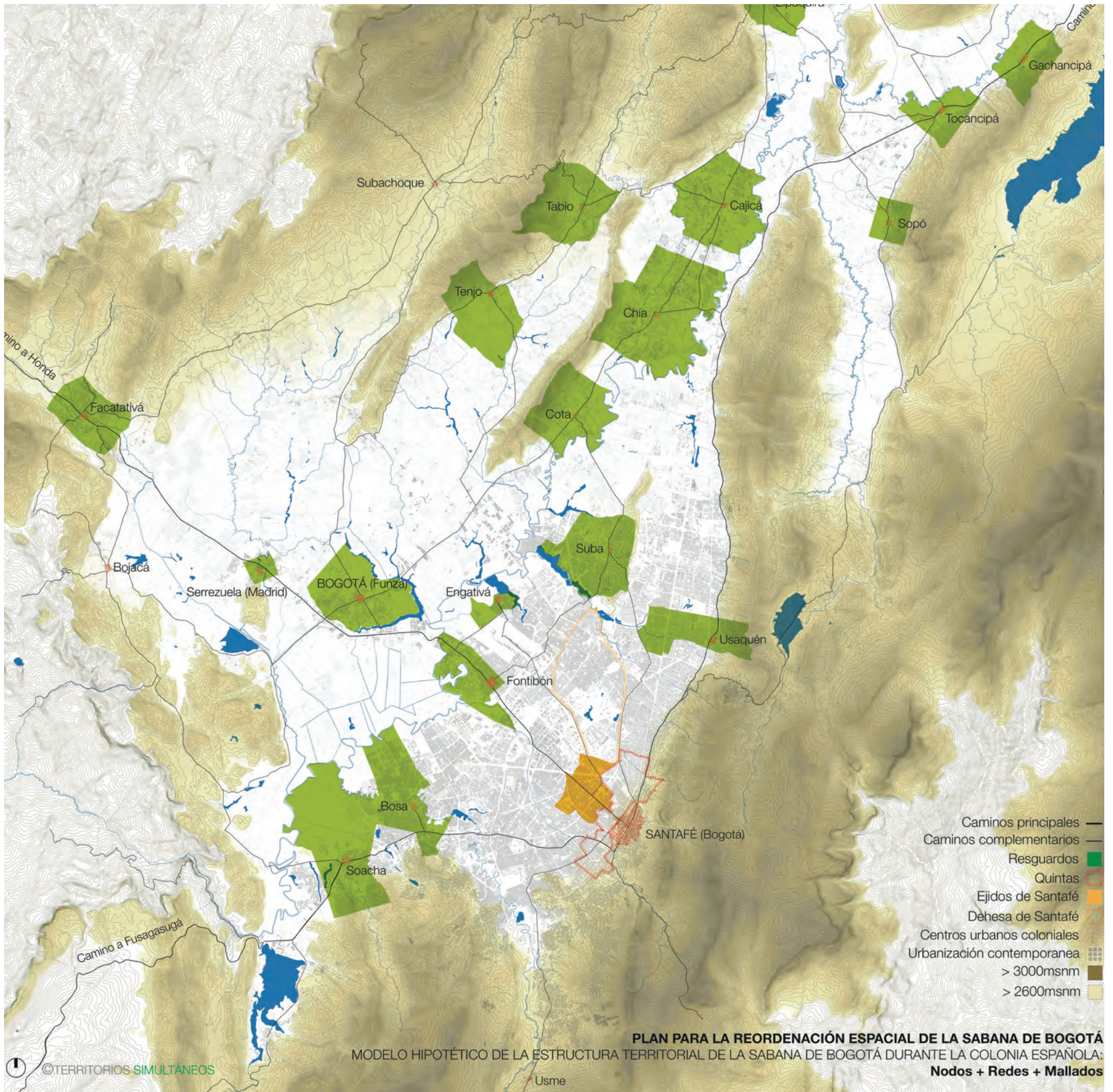
CHÍA
1593
Oidor Miguel de Ibarra

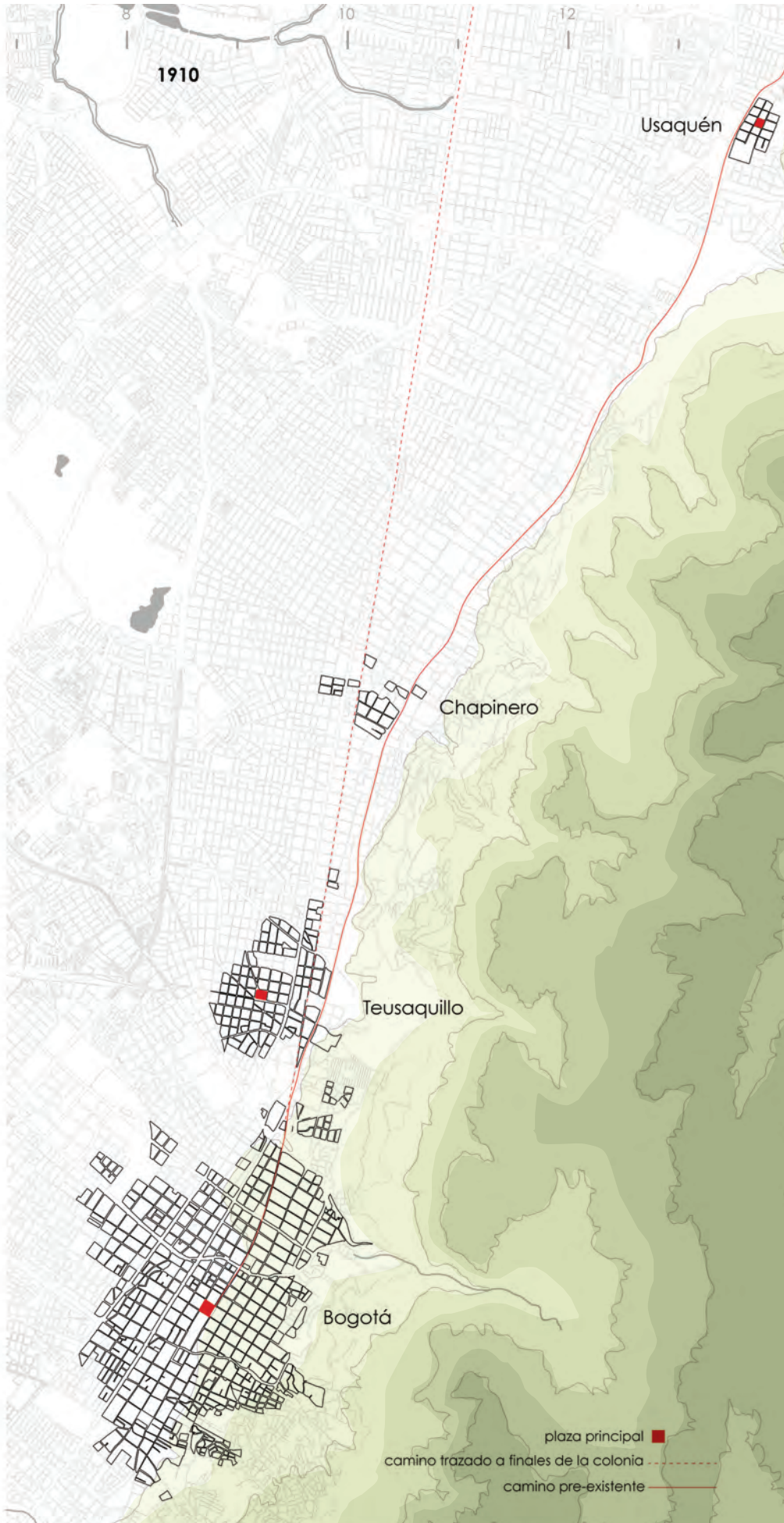
COTA
1604
Oidor Diego Gómez de Mena

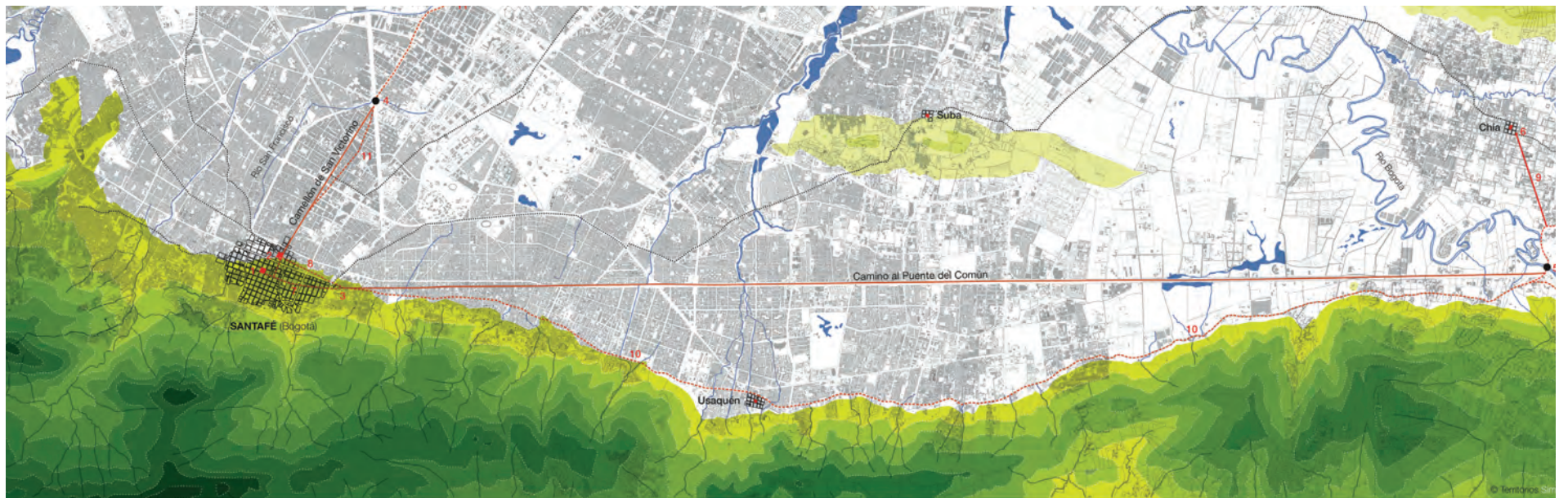
CAJICÁ
1593
Oidor Miguel de Ibarra

This drawing (opposite site) shows an approximate outline of the limits of the indigenous reservations that were formed during the Spanish colony in the Bogotá Savannah. Its intention is to explain the way in which the territory of the Savannah was configured during that period and consequently, to try to find possible relationships with the morphology of the contemporary urban territory. The map does not obey a specific date and its objective is to show the logic of reordering the space by the colonisers, based on the three basic elements of the territorial structure: centres, networks and meshes. (Calderón 2016, 201, 216. Translation from Spanish by the editor).

Models of some of the resguardos in the Bogotá Savannah (above).







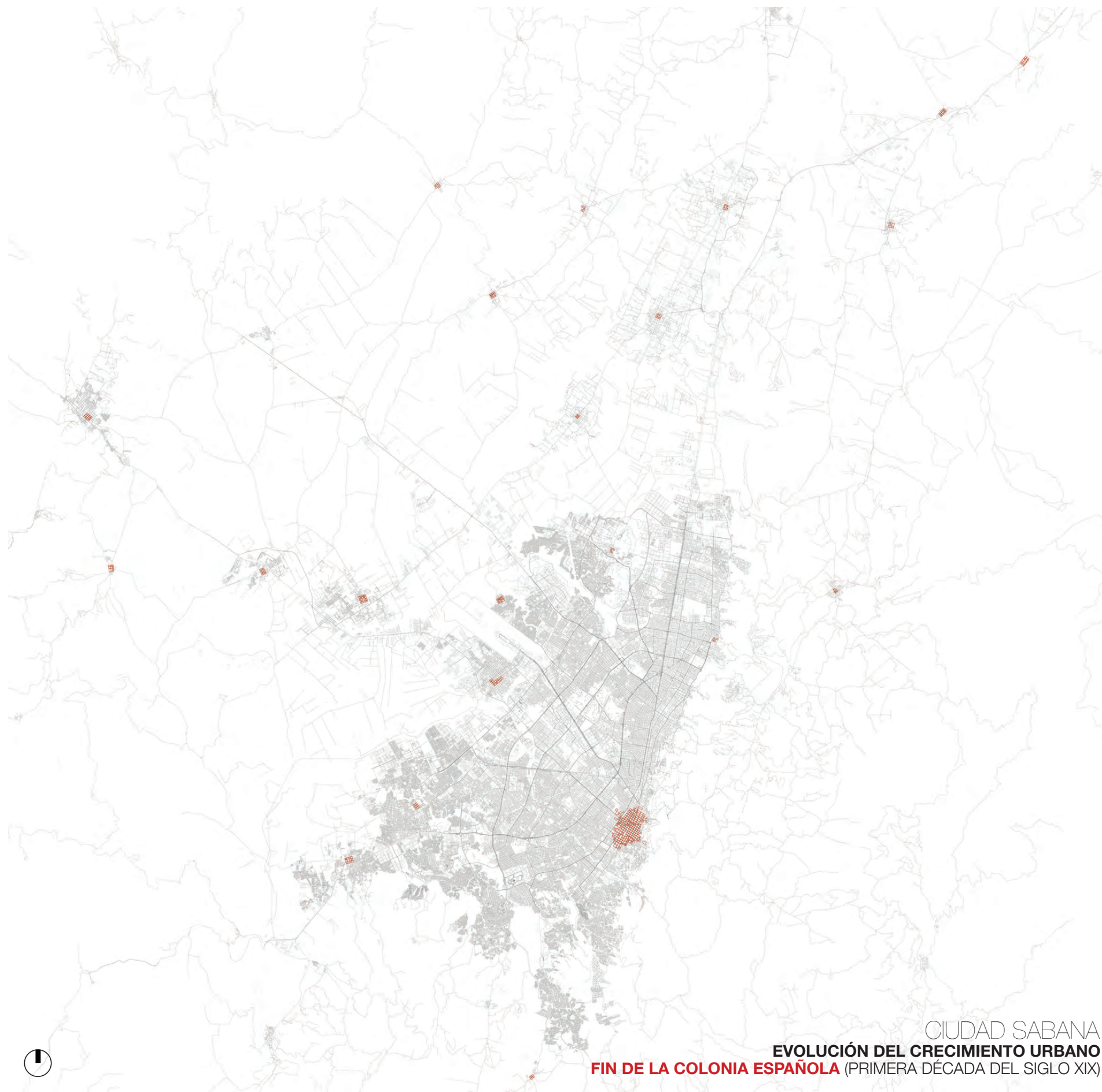
msnm

- 3500-3600
- 3400-3500
- 3300-3400
- 3200-3300
- 3100-3200
- 3000-3100
- 2900-3000
- 2800-2900
- 2700-2800
- 2600-2700
- 2600 aprox.

- Caminos rectos de finales de la colonia española
- - - Caminos sinuosos preexistentes
- Otros caminos
- Puente
- Plaza
- ▣ Tejidos urbanos a finales de la colonia española
- ▤ Urbanización contemporánea

1. Plaza de Bolívar
2. Plaza de San Victorino
3. Convento de Santo Domingo
4. Puente Aranda
5. Puente del Común
6. Parque Ospina
7. Calle Real (Actual carrera 7)
8. Alameda (Actual carrera 13)
9. Avenida Pradilla (Diagonal 13)
10. Camino a Tunja
11. Camino a Honda

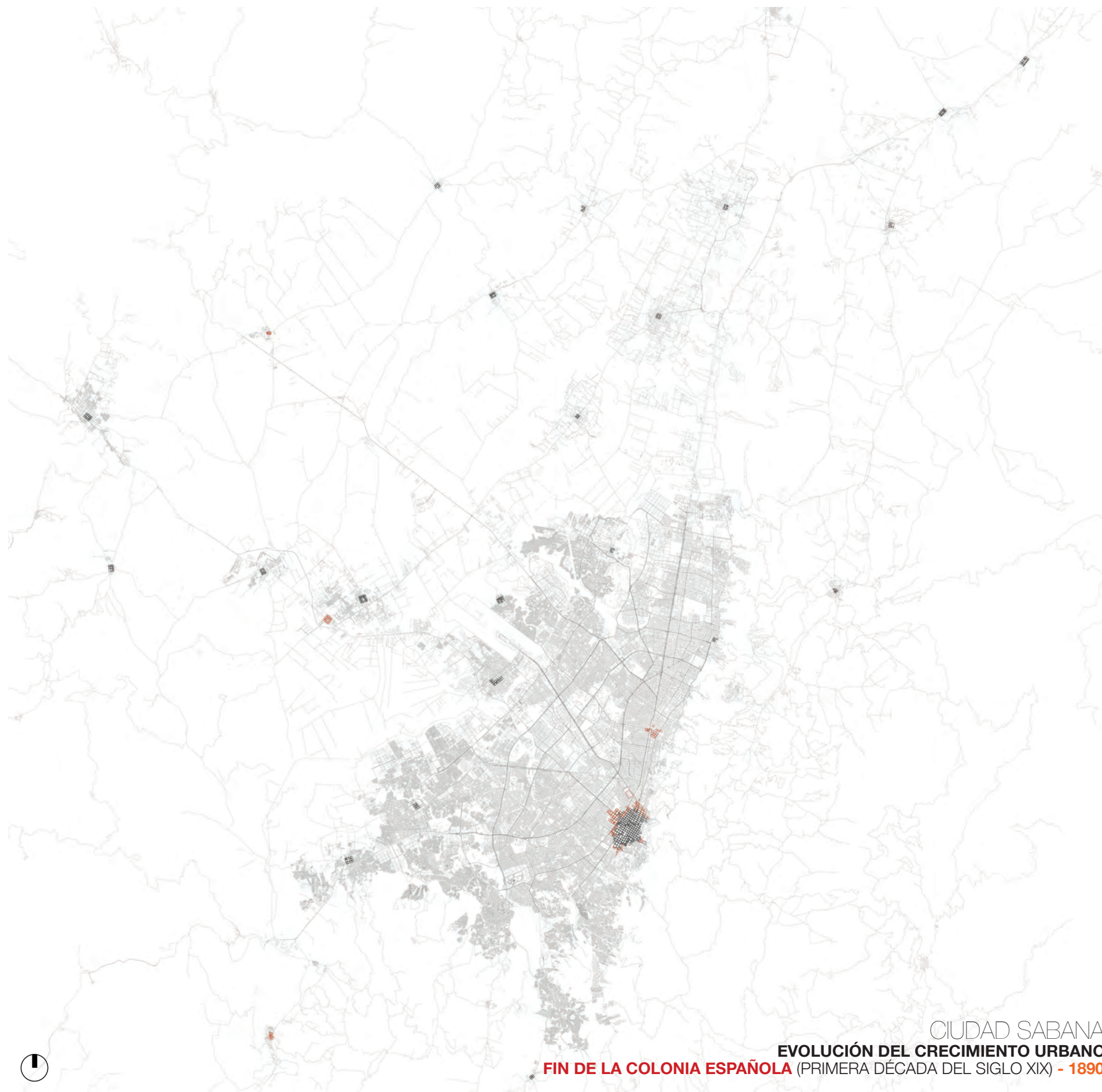
LA OBSESIÓN POR LA LÍNEA REC
Caminos rectos trazados a través de la Sabana de Bogotá a finales de la colonia españ



CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
FIN DE LA COLONIA ESPAÑOLA (PRIMERA DÉCADA DEL SIGLO XIX)

1:250.000



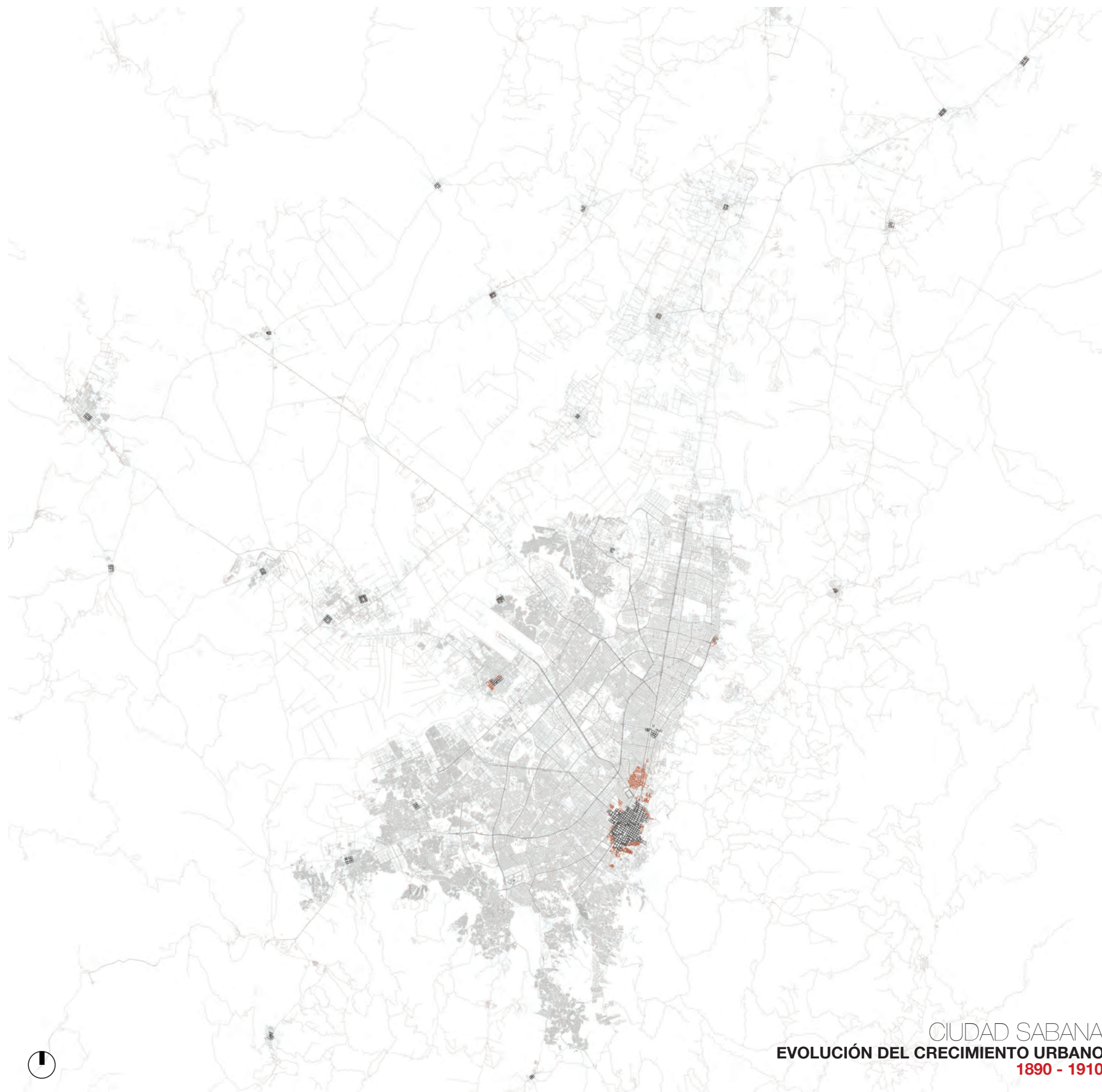


CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
FIN DE LA COLONIA ESPAÑOLA (PRIMERA DÉCADA DEL SIGLO XIX) - 1890



1:250.000

0 5 25 km

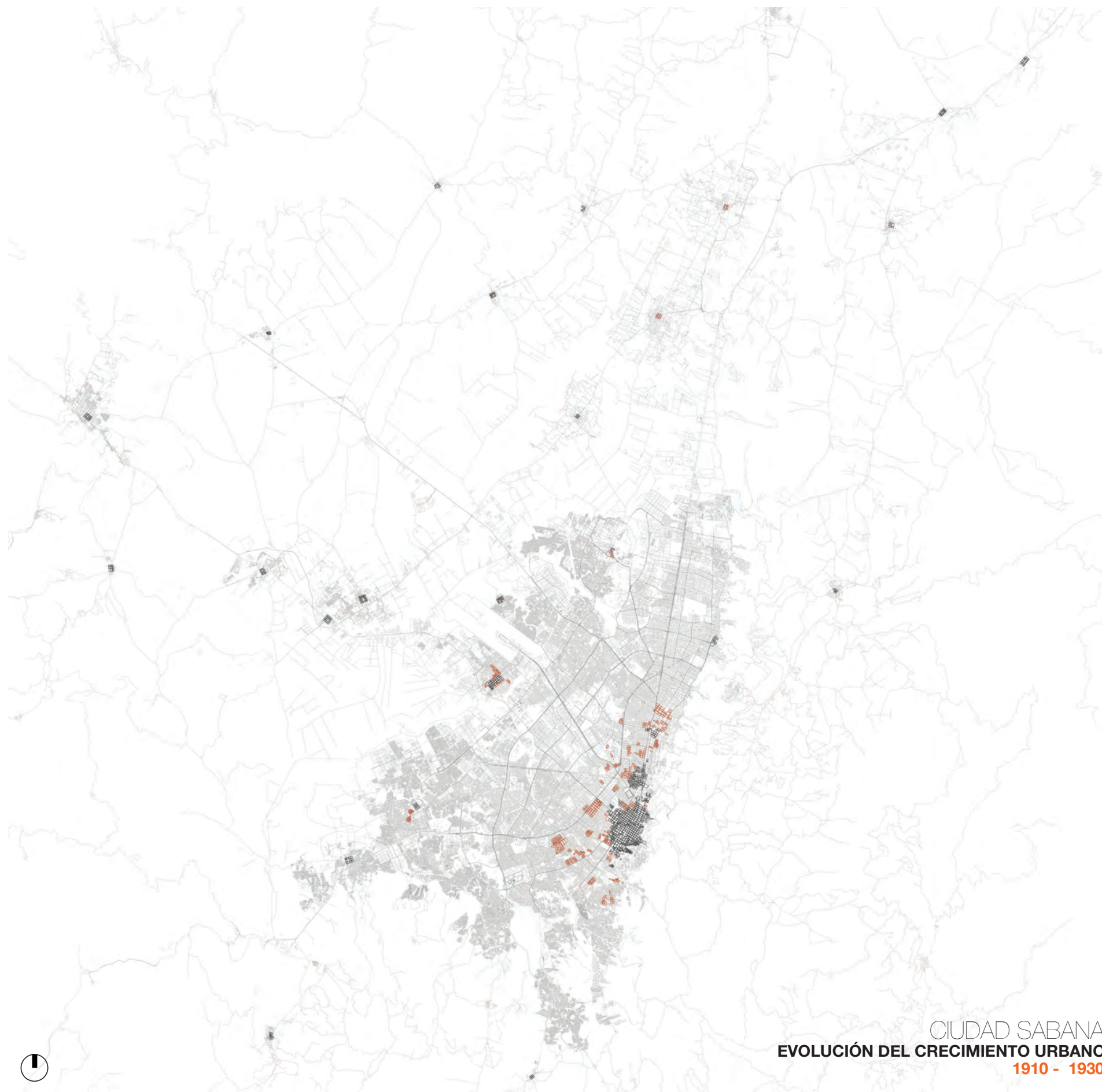


CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
1890 - 1910



1:250.000



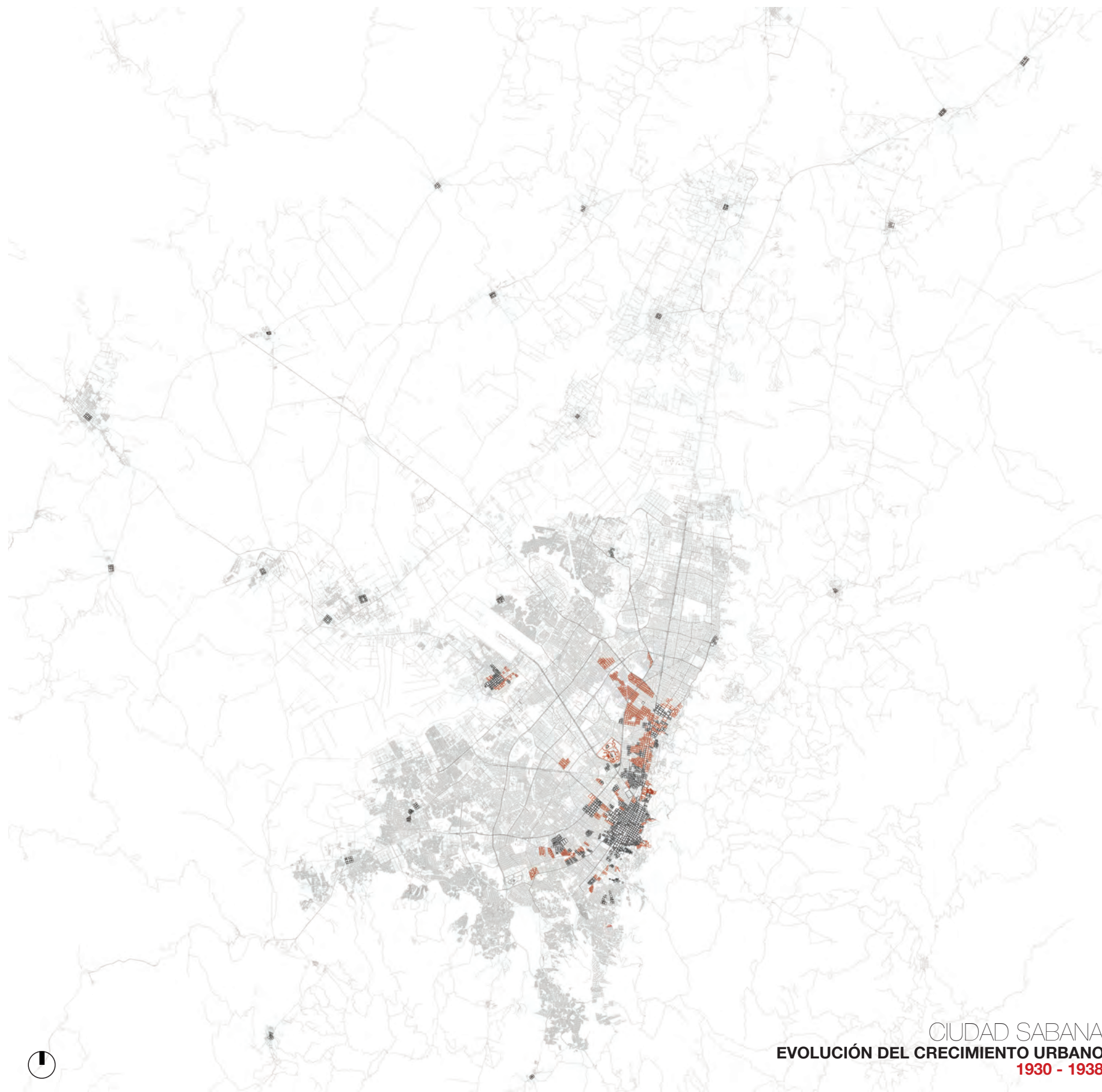


CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
1910 - 1930



1:250.000



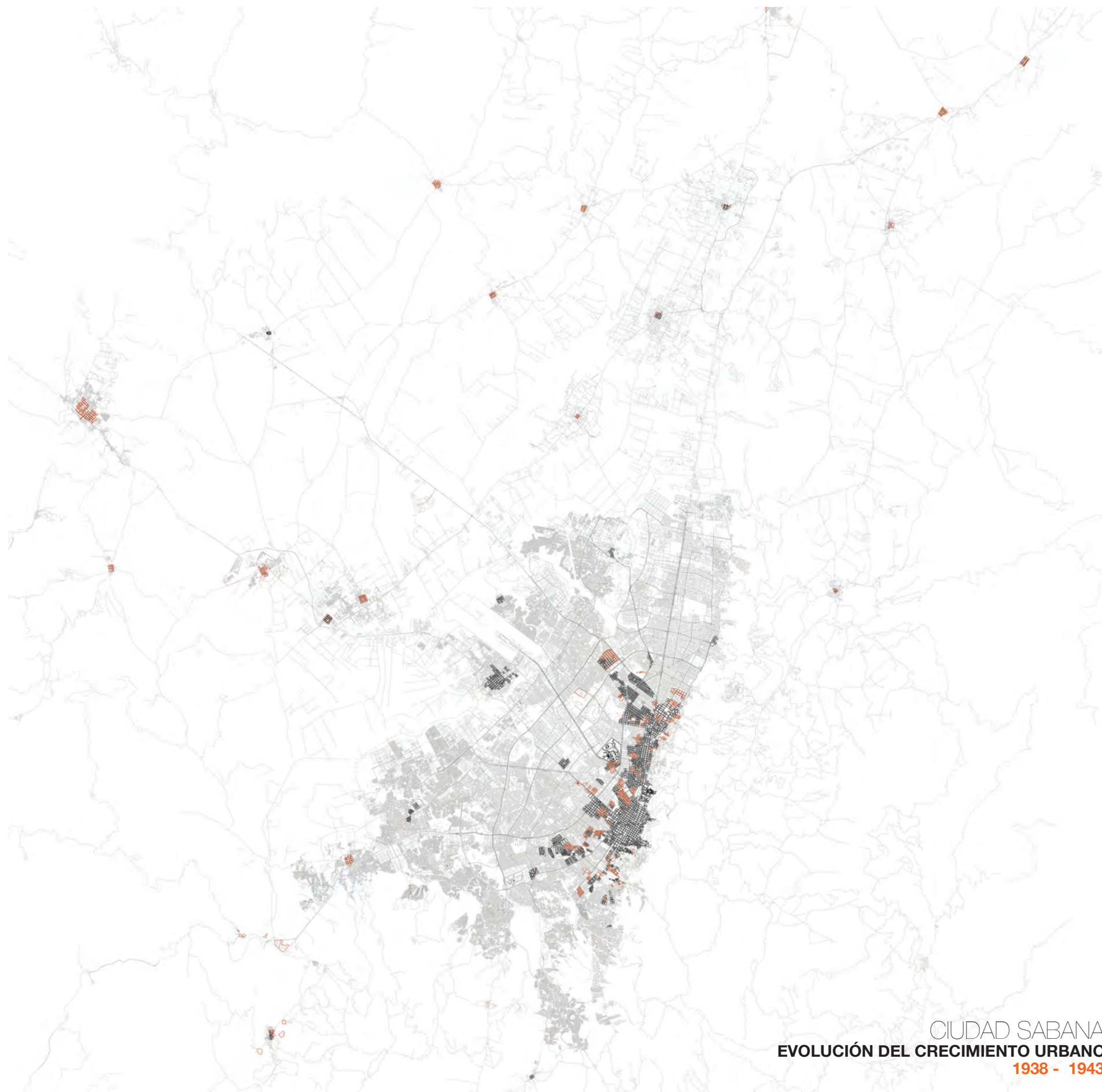


CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
1930 - 1938

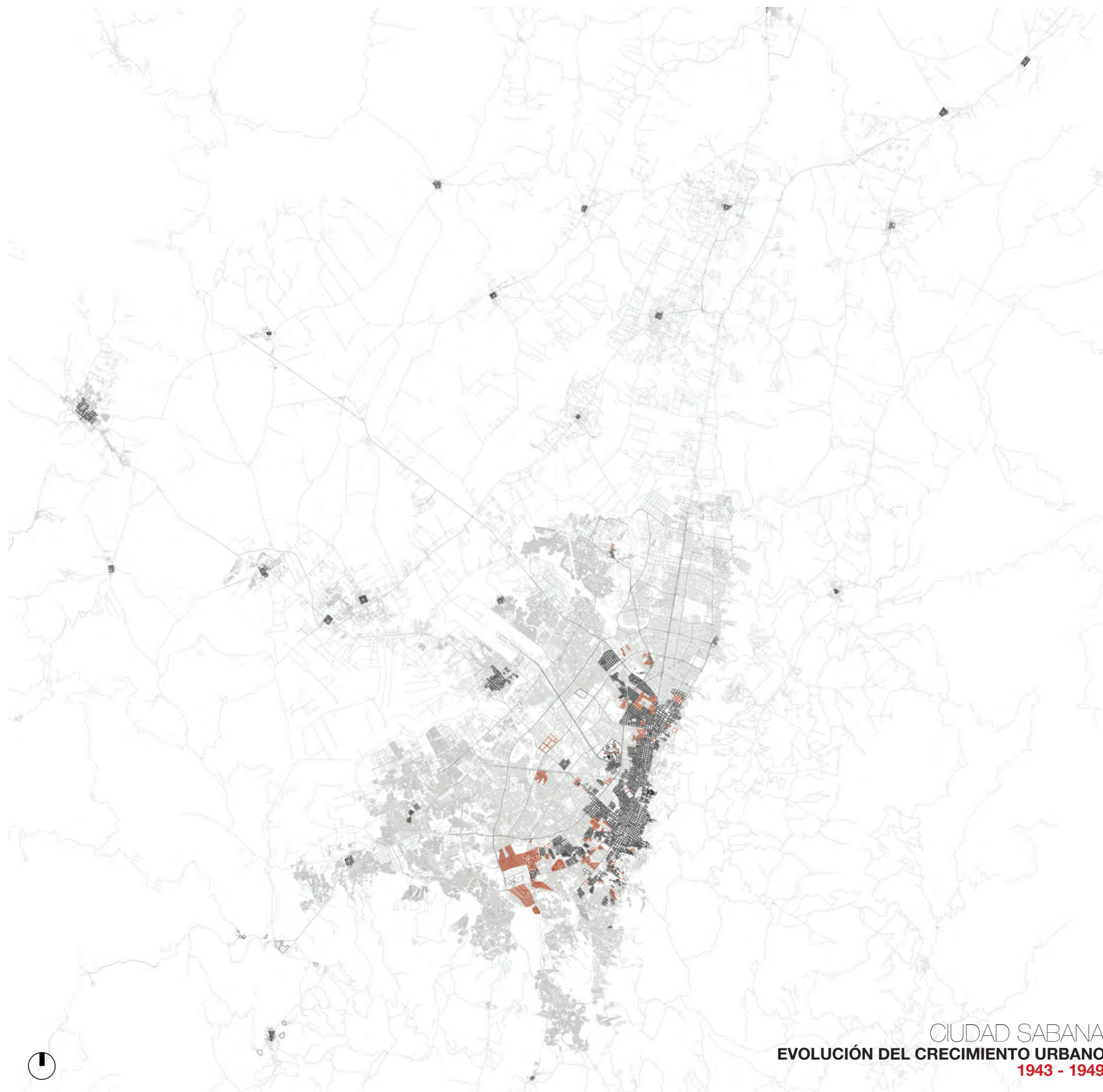


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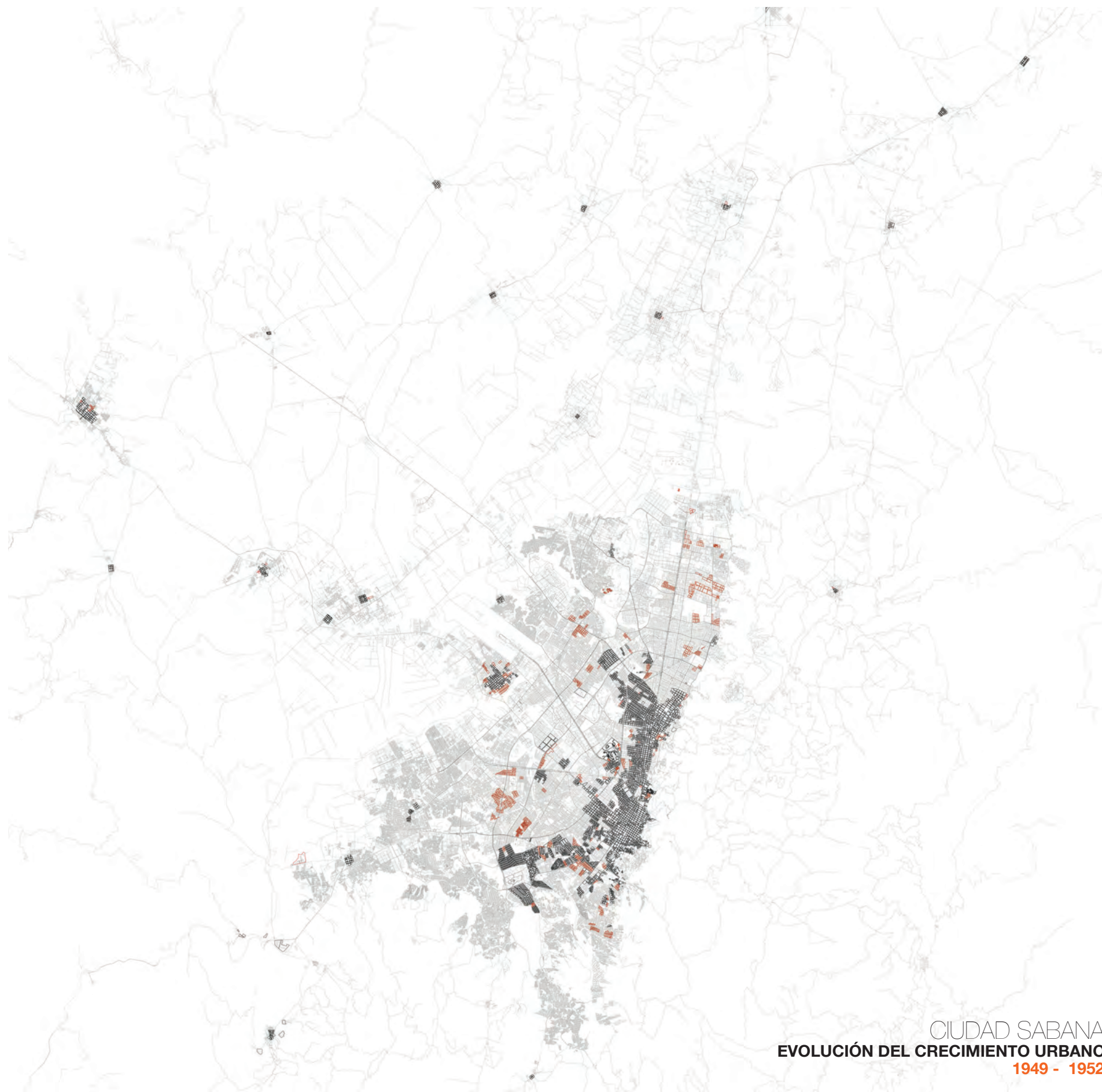
CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
1938 - 1943



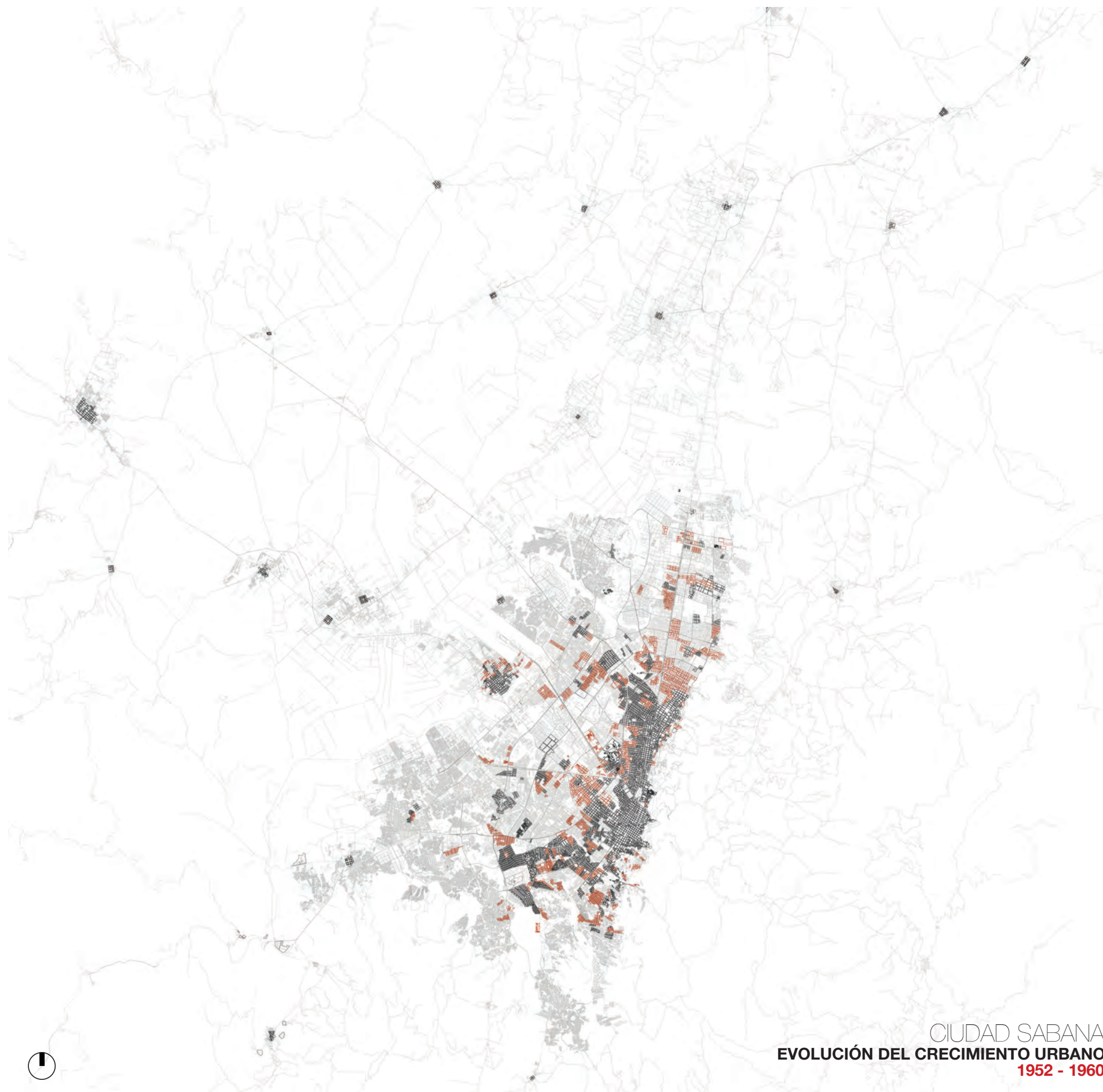
CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
1943 - 1949

1:250.000

0 5 25 km



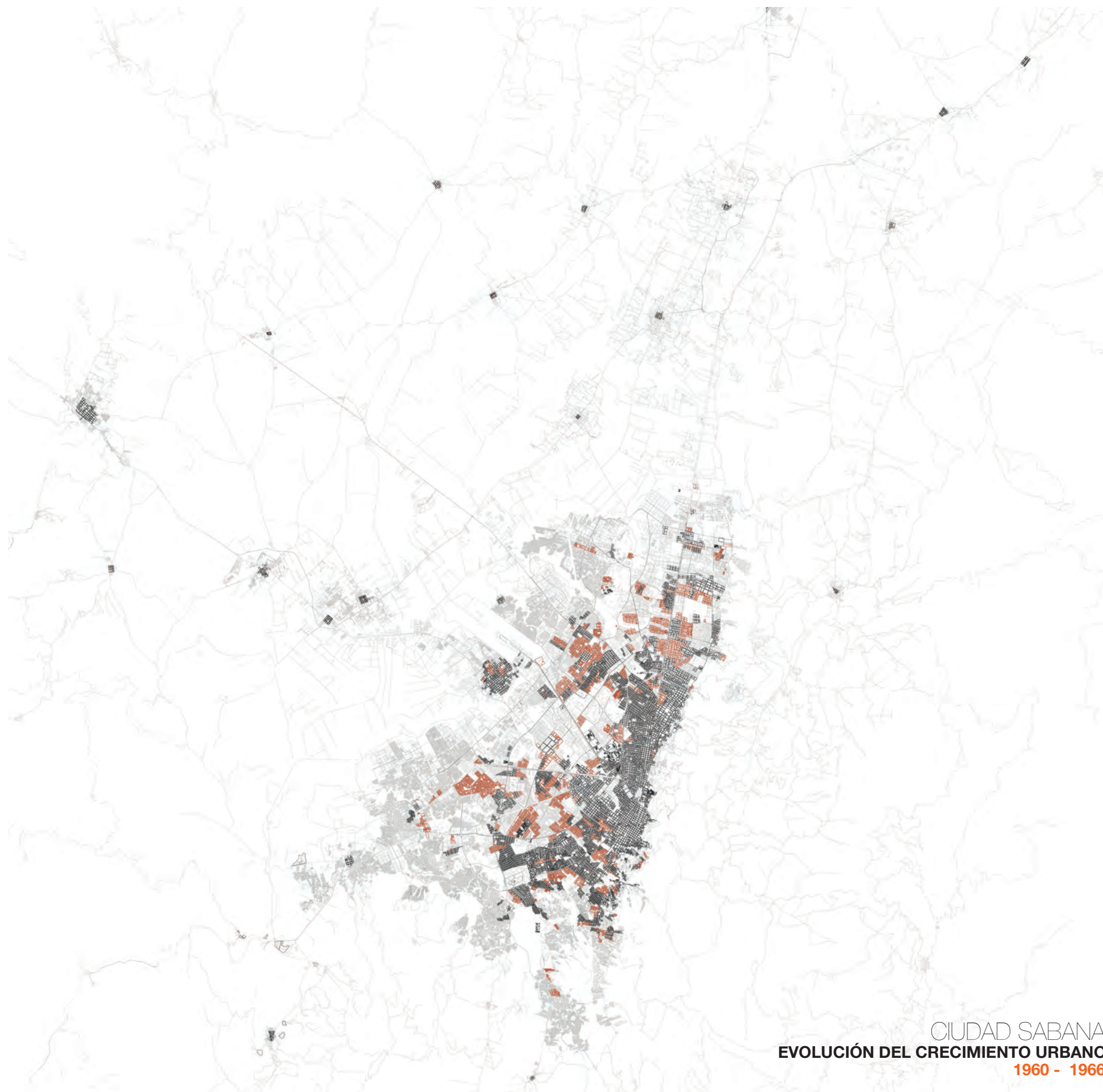
CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
1949 - 1952



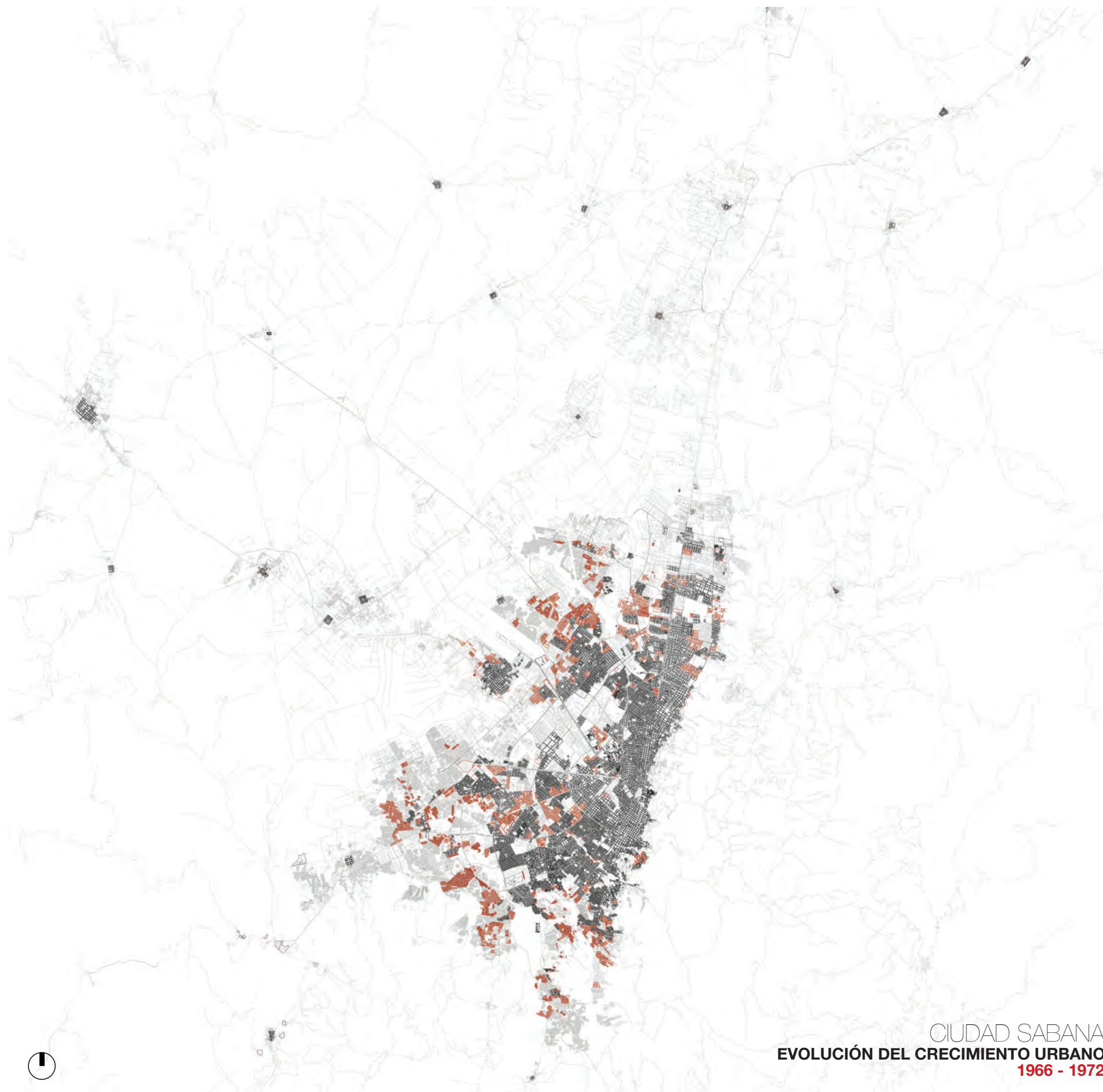
CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
1952 - 1960

1:250.000

0 5 25 km



CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
1960 - 1966

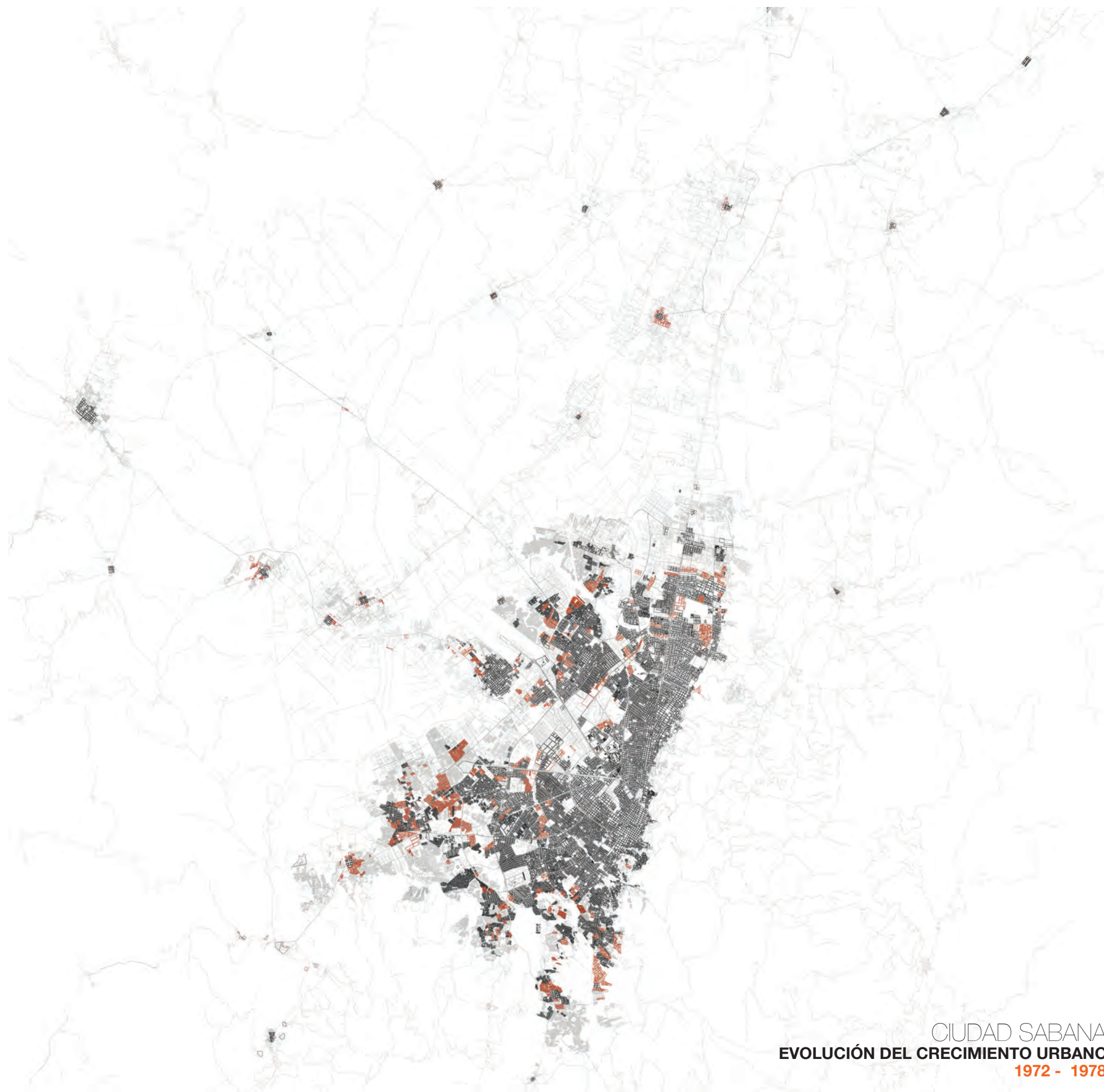


CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
1966 - 1972

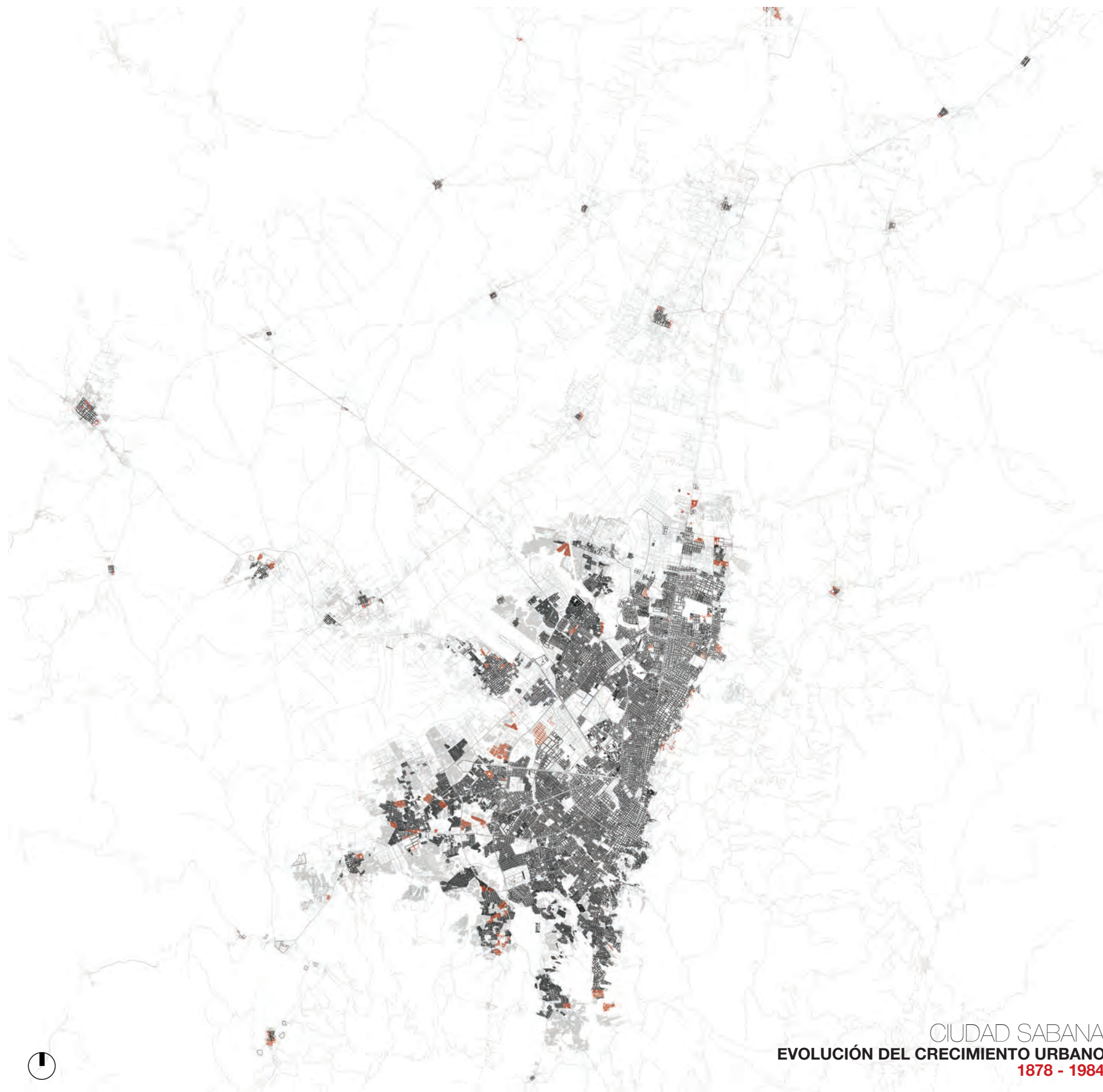


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CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
1972 - 1978

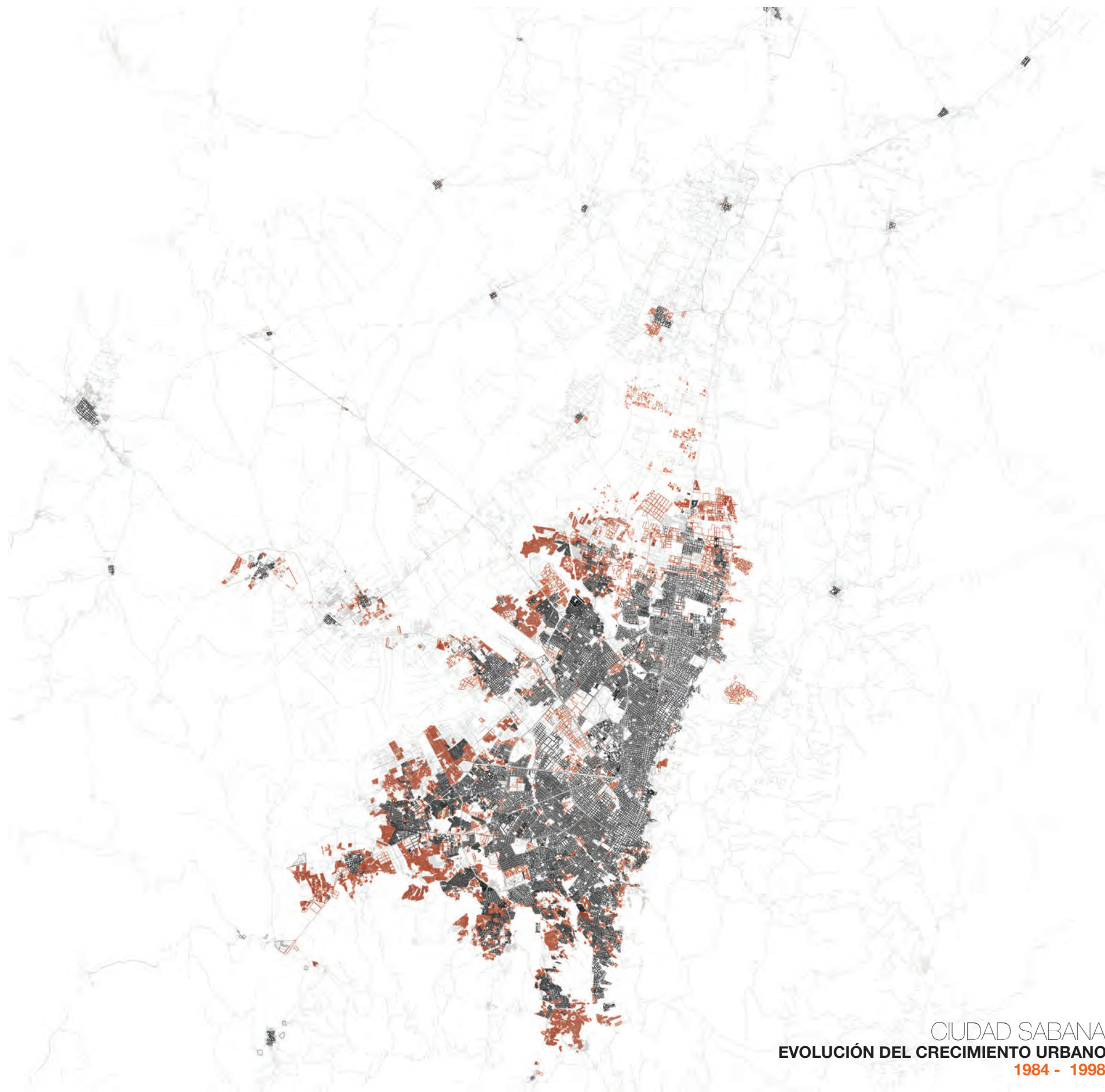


CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
1878 - 1984

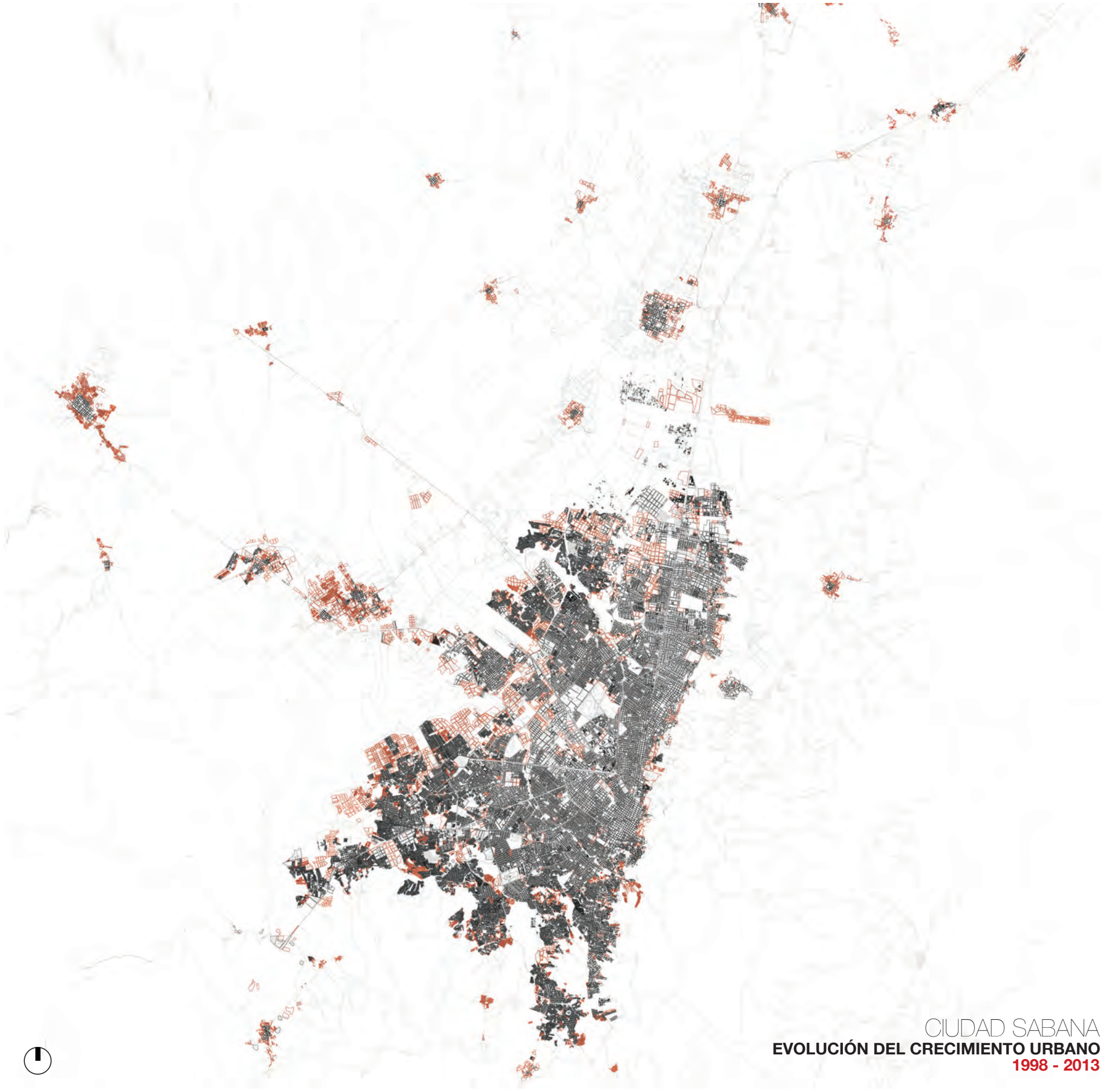


1:250.000





CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
1984 - 1998

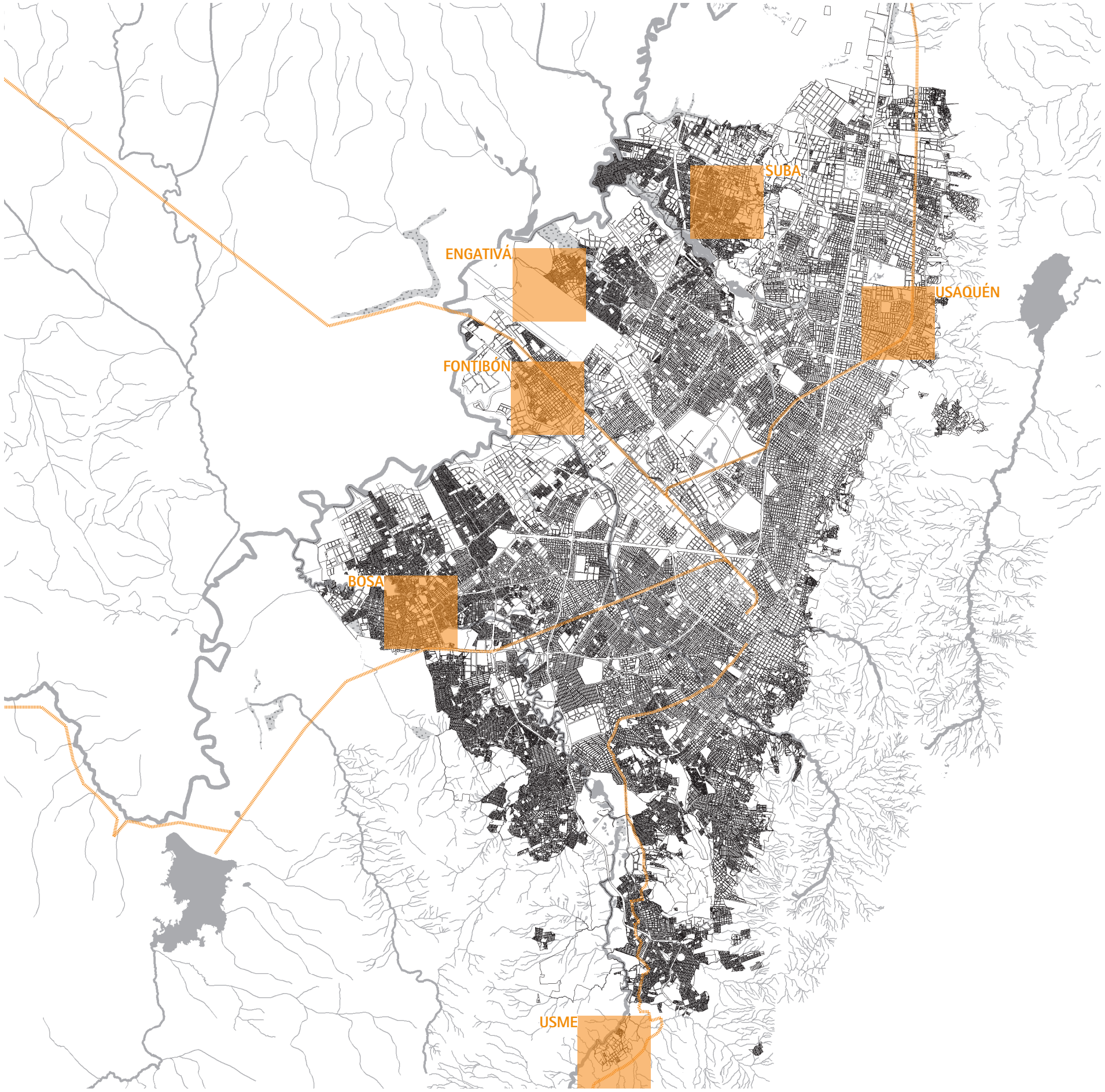


CIUDAD SABANA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL CRECIMIENTO URBANO
1998 - 2013



1:250.000





ENGATIVÁ

SUBA

USAQUÉN

FONTIBÓN

BOSCA

USME



Critical Cartography

*Mapping of six Villages
becoming Part of a Mega-City*

Alissa Diesch

Today's city districts Usme, Bosa, Fontibón, Engativá, Suba, and Usaquén have been indigenous settlements since pre-Hispanic times. They were reshaped as colonial pueblos de indios by the Spaniards and during the 20th century administratively and morphologically connected to the Capital District of Bogotá. Up to the 1940s, the former villages can be clearly recognised in the landscape because of their independent, concise urban layout. Yet before the administrative annexation in 1954 indications of the incipient transformation can be found. Today, connected to the city by a continuous urban fabric, they are centralities within the capital's complex periphery. The indigenous, colonial and rural origin can be traced back in architecture and urban patterns. Geographic features, the connection to trading routes, property structures, as well as the introduction of metropolitan infrastructure and different types of urban growth have further on shaped a wide array of different settlement structures as part of the metropolitanization. Today, in spite of the same descent, the former rural sub-centralities have become very dissimilar parts of the contemporary city. All these dynamics are not yet understood sufficiently nor the capacity of these places for future developments, the atlas may support this process as "*mappings discover new worlds within past and present ones; they inaugurate new grounds upon the hidden traces of a living context*" (Corner 1999, 214). Procuring, analysing and representing the cartographic bases for the six villages in different moments of the 20th and 21st century has been a challenging endeavour and is part of the analysis and interpretation of the material that made visible changing initiators, agents and techniques behind every map. Critical cartography includes the context of creation for interpretation of the matter and characterises maps as revealing "*specific relations of power [and understands maps] not as neutral scientific documents*" (Crampton, Krygier 2005, 12). Result of this effort are therefore on the one hand consistent drawings of six places in three different moments in time in a graphically uniformed style that facilitate a new and coherent reading of the spatial-material shift of former villages to become part of a mega-city and on the other hand an understanding of the driving forces and intentions behind the mapping and representing of the changing scene. Both aspects cannot be understood independently and mutually support their comprehension, together they can reveal a lot about the principals and agencies that have formed the morphology of Bogotá. Furthermore, these new maps "*make reality as much as they represent it*" (Crampton, Krygier 2005, p. 15) by putting them side by side they remind the reader of the same origin of the unlike city parts, by revealing patterns and logics while simultaneously making visible forces of actors and agents in the process of urbanisation, they open up a "*working table for identifying and reworking polyvalent conditions*" (Corner 1999, 225). The '*dance*' (Solà-Morales 1997) of the rapid rural-urban transformation is made visible by maps in the scale of 1:10.000. The represented elements are parcelling, infrastructure and the modification of geographical features, as well as the built structure. According to Solà Morales these spatial aspects also need to be analysed in a temporal dimension to understand the rhythm of the urban

project, that's why each site is shown in three moments, the years 1940, 1980 and 2020 to represent successive phases. This offers the possibility of comparisons of the mutation of each place but also a parallel temporal reading of different places at the same moment in time.

Principals of urbanisation

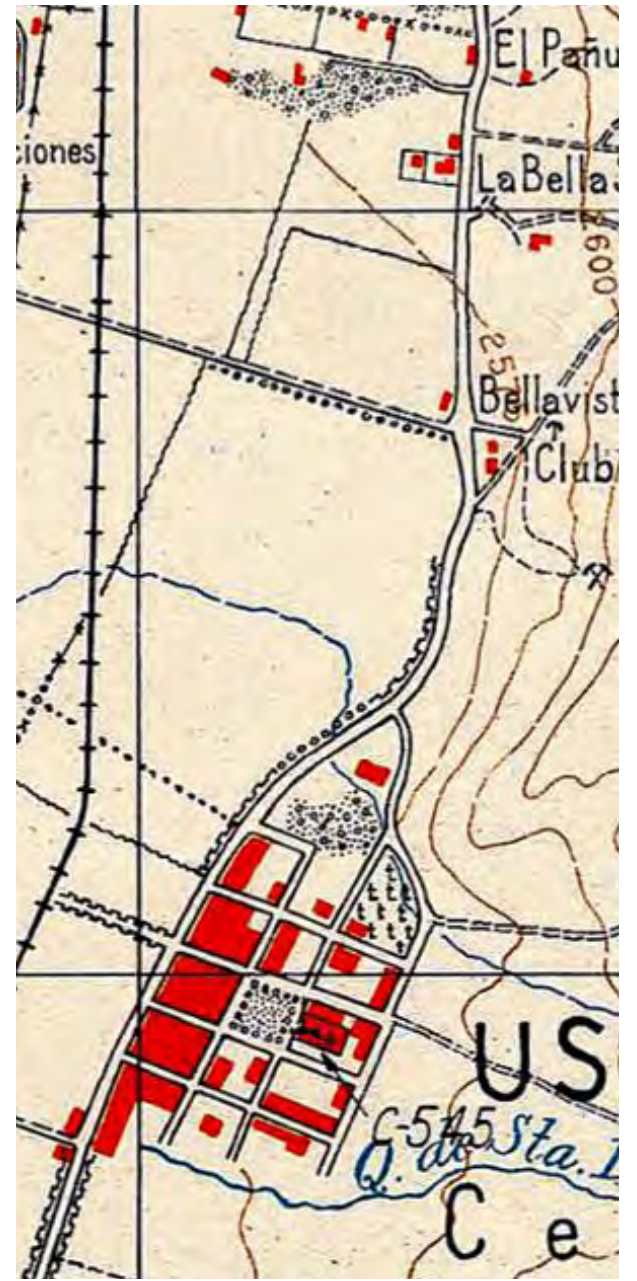
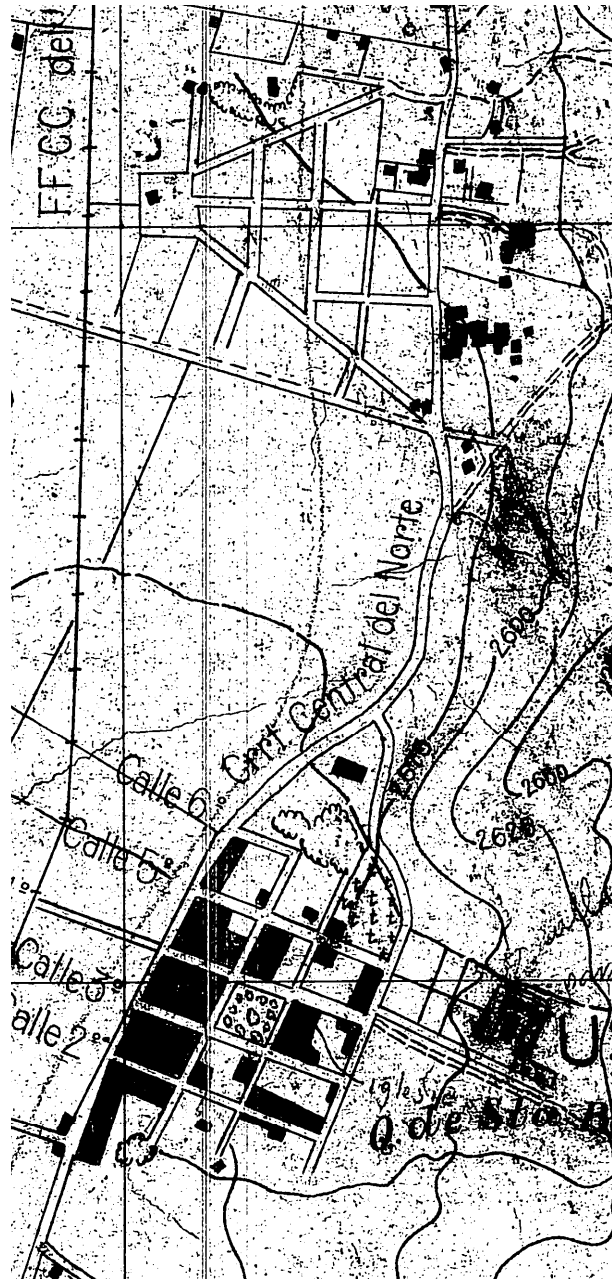
In the maps of the villages in the 1940s the most apparent feature of the sites is the reiterating, generic spatial configuration of each plaza with its surrounding blocks (Calderon 2016). This proves the colonial origin of the villages and links them to the central plaza of (Santa Fé de) Bogotá, as all of them were erected in the same era¹ and according to principles that were later taken down in the *Leyes de Indias* (Salcedo 1996). Almost 400 years after the foundation of the pueblos de indios on or close to sites of existing indigenous settlements of the Muisca², the imported planning principals still stand out. In built reality, however, their adaption and application are not uniform. In some cases, the surrounding blocks are densely built and even surpass the block structure of the first eight cuadras, in other cases, blocks are lacking to complete the "ideal" form of a nine-grid-square and the existing blocks only host single buildings. The villages were positioned strategically, this can be comprehended by their natural environment as many show a close proximity to water bodies, probably a legacy of the initial indigenous location. The regular square plaza in five of the six villages hosts the church on the eastern side with the main façade facing the square, a configuration known as "*traza limeña*" (Salcedo 1996, 66). This permits the orientation of the sacred building according to Christian tradition towards the east and – likely a reason for the positioning of the village core – on elevated ground in some cases as an architectural strategy to stage the church building and integrate the plaza in its architecture. The same configuration of making use of the terrain is also applied to the central plaza of Bogotá and many villages and towns of the region, probably introduced by Sebastián de Belalcázar, the founder of Quito, Popayan and Cali. All the villages have an independent cemetery, Bosa, Fontibón, Usme and Usaquén additionally a train station close to their plaza, both are features from the 19th and early 20th century. In direct proximity to the central blocks, some villages show buildings of post-colonial powerful actors like a single hacienda building in Usaquén or monastery buildings of the beginning 20th century in Bosa and Suba. The parcelling (Calderon 2016) as well as scattered buildings on former resguardo territory indicate the presence of traditional indigenous settlement patterns on areas related to the village cores. First tracings of new urban grids in garden-city-like style in Usaquén give a hint about a future role of

1 As the villages were founded and sometimes refounded, the dates fluctuate, these dates can often be found in literature: Santa Fé de Bogotá (1538), Bosa (1539), Engativá (1536), Fontibón (1537), Suba (1550), Usaquén (1539), Usme (1560)

2 The Muisca are an indigenous people, that have been inhabiting the region of Bogotá and beyond since pre-hispanic times

Usaquén. Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: 228-III-A-43 Copia de los originales No 67-141-210-67A-217 [1940], scale 1:10.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Usaquén. Instituto Geográfico Militar y Catastral/ Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público: 228-III-A, 1940, scale 1:10.000 (retrieved from <http://cartografia.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>)



the former villages in the urbanisation process. In the 1980s, the maps show the dynamic and complex process of the urbanisation at its peak around most of the former villages. The conurbation has not followed the same scheme in the different cases, some of the sites at that period are still independent centralities, in Fontibón even showing a centrifugal growth similar to an independent small town, while others seem to be devoured or soon to be eaten up by the rapidly expanding city. The different time of conurbation, the size and character of the village in the moment of connection as well as the use and morphological patterns and (non-)formality of the linking barrios show a huge variety (Cortés Díaz 2006). Fragments of diverse housing neighbourhoods pop up next to huge areas used for metropolitan infrastructure bordering plots still in use of agriculture or traditional rural settlement structures, as can be observed in Bosa, Suba and Usaquén. Densities of the connecting neighbourhoods differ between the cases, yet all the residential areas are composed of one- to two storey buildings, detached upper-class villas as well as progressively growing, self-constructed row houses on informally subdivided and urbanised plots (Yunda, Montenegro 2019). Also the character of the uses of bigger buildings and open spaces vary considerably between the analysed sites, all of this expressing the goals and possibilities of the heterogeneous actors and the weak influence of official urban planning. Property structure and pathway-relations prove to be more decisive factors than urbanistic plans, so can many mono-functional, often subdivided fragments be traced back to former rural plots, and streets follow the track of former roads. Mining on the hillsides, drainage of swamplands, rectification and channelling of rivers have also transformed the surrounding landscape. The former interrelation of settlement and use patterns, making use and regarding geographic and hydrologic settings, thereby representing a "*cultural aspect of the village system*" (Reichenbach-Klinke 2010, 303), is vanishing in many places in this period. The current situation (data of 2019) of the analysed places show in general a further densification of the areas. Sites that had not yet been (fully) connected to the city before, are now mostly part of the dense urban tissue, as can be seen in Fontibón and Engativá. The geographical limits for constructions have been pushed further in all sites, buildings can now be found on former floodplains, wetlands and on the hills. In all cases apart from Usme remaining open spaces have been filled up with different typologies, all of them clearly denser than in the previous phases. The new configurations for residential use on formerly vacant plots are more compact on the ground but also higher in the built structure, new typologies like closely packed multistorey buildings often erected as gated blocks up to high-rise constructions conquer the scene. In the new neighbourhoods of self-constructed buildings, the plots are now significantly smaller than before, as can be seen in Engativá. In Suba and Bosa the small scaled parcels of indigenous peasants are now fully urbanised, showing a more irregular occupation pattern than the subdivided bigger plots of former haciendas. Also existing structures have been even more condensed: in barrios of self-construction the buildings have grown progressively

up to four storeys high, in the former garden-city-like areas houses were torn down and replaced by multifamily complexes. Remaining visible open areas do either have a specific urban use as for transport, most notably the airport in Engativá, leisure, for example the private clubs in Usaquén and Suba, other infrastructural use like the cemetery in Bosa, are protected as conservation areas in the case of wetlands in Fontibón, Engativá and Suba or the mountain chain in Usaquén or do have ongoing development plans as can be seen in Usme and Bosa.

Critical Cartography

Assuming that maps are never neutral representations of a territory, but that "*they exercise power and they can be a powerful means of promoting social change*" (Crampton, Krygier 2005, 15), the question why and in which representation one can find complete map material of the examined zones of the Bogotá area in these moments, is crucial. Enquiries concerning the authorship of the maps give further information about agents, plans and intentions for the city and its environment.

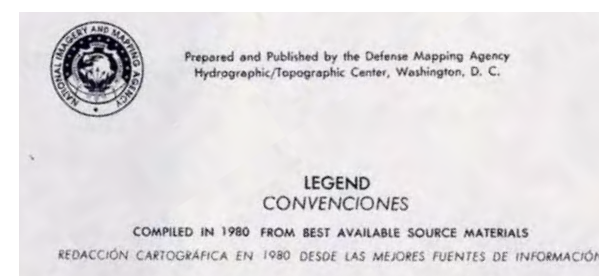
The precise and uniform mapping in the 1940s of the area of the Sabana de Bogotá, most likely had the implication to provide a cartographic base for the decision making before the formation of the Capital District of Bogotá. Several proposals of converting the capital into a special district had been discussed since the beginning of the 20th century (Cortés Díaz 2006). These maps in the scale of 1:10.000 were created by the Instituto Geográfico Militar y Catastral during the 1940s and are the most precise depiction of the Sabana de Bogotá ever made (Calderón 2016). Even though they still represent some of the local toponomies, these maps eagerly attempt to represent the territory as a modern, technically up to date area, showcasing the existing and planned transportation network, public, educational and leisure facilities as well as mining areas and fresh water supply structures. These features are barely present in the maps only a few decades before that rather focus on soil quality and even depict former resguardo territory (Carta militar de Colombia, around 1915). Undoubtedly, Le Corbusier also had access to these maps as a basis for his proposal of the "Plan Piloto" for Bogotá in 1951, a plan that was never carried out, but includes a regional strategy for some of the circumjacent village cores as "*grupos satélites*" (Le Corbusier 1950, III-I). In fact, the political-administrative annexation was executed during the dictatorship like governance of General Rojas Pinilla in 1954, disregarding Le Corbusier's recommendations but following the increasing pressure of the emerging construction company lobby for more building land in the area of the surrounding municipalities (Cortés Díaz 2006). Understanding map-making as a base for strategic plan-making clearly comes to light here.

The plan material around the year 1980 is not homogeneous at all and reflects the often perceived as chaotic peak phase of Bogotá's hyper-urbanisation. The creation dates of the maps commissioned by the Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público and elaborated by the local Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi (IGAC) fluctuate between 1978 and 1982. These maps do not entirely cover the analysed areas and are presented in different styles

Fontibón. Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano de Bogotá D.E., Plancha 36, 1982, scale 1:5.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Suba. Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano de Bogotá D.E.: E-40, 1981, scale 1:2.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Bosa. Defense Mapping Agency Hydrographic/ Topographic Center, Washington, 1980, scale 1:25.000 (retrieved from <http://cartografia.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>)



and scales (1:2.000 and 1:5.000). To complement the gaps, a city map scale 1:25.000, "compiled in 1980 from best available source material" by the US American Defense Mapping Agency and in one case by an aerial photo were used as a base for elaborating the here presented drawings. One can interpret this (non)availability of maps as an advanced de-territorialisation or as a vanishing coherence of the relation to the former villages to Bogotá, as in this phase the former villages are mostly not traditional rural settlements anymore but in different stages of becoming part of the city. While the maps of the IGAC can be interpreted as desperate attempts to fully represent the ongoing urbanisation processes in a detailed manner, the motivation behind the backing of the US American institution is probably based on international support for city planning and reflects a pragmatic leap of dimension to represent the actual city as a whole. The remarkable contrast of scales and representation of urban details is symptomatic for the divide of the period between abstract city planning and urgent need to intervene the concrete changing urban structure (Cortes Solano 2007). While Fontibón, Engativá and Usaquén are represented in maps of 1:5000 with the villages' cores centred, Bosa and Suba lack representation of the traditional scattered settlements and their ongoing transformation even close to the core in the 1:2000 maps. This most likely reflects the given attention to infrastructure of national interest, like the airport right between Fontibón and Engativá, and the formal urban planning of Fontibón, at that time functionally still a growing town characterized by its middle class, and Usaquén, which had become an attractive and growing suburb district for the upper class. Both cases either following clearly the traditional colonial logic of growth or the principals of a modernist city. In Bosa, the growing urban settlements based on land occupation or subdivided rural plots without professional planning are depicted in detail, however, the close by transformation of formerly rural settlements can only be seen in the 1:25.000 map. Suba is similar, where the transformation of the village core and direct surroundings is shown clearly but the conversion of former rural settlements are not represented in-depth. It's not clear if these parts were not considered a priority for the geographic and planning institution of Bogotá or if the unclear property and legal status hindered an official representation as well. Finally, Usme is literally "off the map" as no cartographic base can be found of that era, reflecting its presumable unimportance for official entities; instead an aerial photo was used for the mapping here.

The current maps, based on datasets for GIS programs freely available and updated quarterly, include the formal transformation and most of the informal settlements in a handy and well elaborated form. Here the technical progress in cartography is undoubtedly notable and offers professionals and interested public the spatial information exactly how they need it. Though, the provision of this information sticks strictly to the limits of the Capital District of Bogotá and presents the administrative unit without connection to the surrounding territory. Continuing landscape features, infrastructures and settlement fabric to neighbouring communities are cut off and left as white

spots on the map. The cartographic data of the municipalities around the capital needs to be requested separately in each of the administrations, without using a common and easy to merge (digital) system. The apparent precision of the data sets is strongly contrasted by the lacking connectivity to the administrative boundaries, that are spatially and functionally connected to the city in countless ways. This does not render the existing maps useless but represents the existing challenge of a missing regional, integrational planning. Arturo Calderon's maps (2016) are therefore an invaluable piece of work and so much more than a compilation of data but a "founding [of] new projects" (Corner 1999, 224).

Alissa Diesch is an architect and urban designer. Currently she is lecturer and researcher at Leibniz Universität Hannover and writing her Doctoral Thesis about the Rural Heritage of Bogotá

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Engativá. IDEACA GeoDataBase Versión 06.19, 2019, (retrieved from: <https://datosabiertos.bogota.gov.co/dataset/mapa-de-referencia>)

Usme. Vuelo C-1738/83, Aerial Picture, 1977, (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)



Usaquén, probably meaning "sun [or] moon rise", is located at the foot of the mountain range north of Santa Fé de Bogotá. In pre-Hispanic times it was only sparsely populated and agriculturally not very productive. Its position was rather of strategic importance, representing the northern limits of the area of the Zipa's influence and lying on the trading route to the salt mines of Nemocón and Zipaquirá. The significance of this route along the mountain range has remained throughout the history of colonialization until today.

The exact location and date of the foundation of the first *pueblo de indios* in Usaquén is not entirely clear, it probably was set a bit south-west of its current position (Zambrano et al. 2000). It is mentioned since the 1530s and conflicts about the indigenous living outside the village are documented since the 1570s. A *resguardo* is acknowledged since 1593. In 1600 the village was re-established at its current position with an integration of earlier concentrations of Choachí, la Calera and Chía; also, the limits of the *resguardo* were reaffirmed. Already in that early stage of colony the relation of European and indigenous inhabitants was particular, as the former group was growing quickly, claiming land and the workforce of the inhabitants of the *resguardo* (Zambrano et al. 2000). The conflict between the rising number of non-indigenous inhabitants in the area, mainly dedicated to cattle farming, and the declining numbers of Muisca became increasingly apparent at the end of the 18th century. The unchanged size of the *resguardo* had led to informal leases of land between natives and *vecinos* until in the 1770s the remaining indigenous were relocated to Soacha. This paved the path for the establishment of an ideal "Spanish" village, according to concept of the local landowners. This entire process is well documented (Moreno y Escandon 1779, Zambrano et al. 2000) and proofs how the uneven legal basis of the colonial system and the power of the church could be used by the aspiring class of criollos and mestizos to defeat the concerns of the natives in order to enforce their economic and cultural interests. Apart from the demand for property the criollo community had been dissatisfied with the fact that their social and cultural centre - the church - was situated at the central plaza of the *pueblo de indios* amid the *resguardo*. The wish of this group was to create a rural public centrality, dominated and controlled by a community that defined themselves as "European".

After the expulsion of the Muisca in 1777 the church and plaza were renovated and the land of the *resguardo* was redistributed. The sale of the plots was announced in Usaquén as well as in Santa Fé and heavily disputed (Zambrano et al. 2000). The property size and ownership stayed dynamic throughout the following decades reflecting the increasing land speculation. At the same time, the village core itself remained rather small, being more a symbolic centrality while the surrounding hacienda estates gained importance as places of social and political encounters. The significance can also be seen in their role during the war in the middle of the 19th century when opposing parties strategically stayed at different haciendas. Between 1793 and 1866 a new road was built, improving the connections of Usaquén towards Santa Fé and the northern territories (Zambrano et al. 2000). In the same period

many families of national importance settled in the area, reinforcing the societal and economic value of the location. Agriculture or the more common cattle farming were not the driving force of the village, its character as an idyllic and exclusive hideaway for the economic and political ruling class of the new republic close to the capital have been more decisive. The construction of the railway, first with a distant stop in 1890 and later with a stop close to the village in 1926, consolidated the trend of more and more families moving to Usaquén for permanent living, escaping the increasingly crowded city.

The acquisition of the most central and important haciendas S. Barbara, S. Ana and el Chicó around the beginning of the 20th century by businessman Pepe Sierra centralised the land property of the village core in a few hands. There, new administrative and educational buildings emerged in the 1930s and the Eudist order, arriving in 1914 to the village, changed the appearance of the church and amplified it by establishing a cloister between the 1930s-50s (Zambrano et al. 2000). In this period around the village prestigious and innovative institutions of national importance in the field of military, leisure and education established. At the same time, the urbanisation process of Bogotá made profitable the extraction of sand and limestone. Therefore, a cable car in proximity to the village was built and the labour possibility attracted many unskilled workers from the countryside who later turned the depleted quarries along the mountain range into their home. Together with new upper and middle class suburban typologies these settlements contributed to the rapid growth of population in the 1950s-60s. The character as a place of leisure was further coined by several clubs and restaurants along the *cra. 7ma*. Urbanisation in the 1970s continued formally and informally, converting former haciendas and quarries into housing areas, complemented by features like Colombia's first shopping mall in 1976. Today many international headquarters and embassies are located around the former village core that is marked by offers for gastronomy and shopping.

Moreno y Escandón, F. (1779 [1985]) *Indios y mestizos de la Nueva Granada a finales del siglo XVIII*. Bogotá, Biblioteca Banco Popular

Zambrano, F. et al. (2000) *Comunidades y Territorios. Reconstrucción Histórica de Usaquén*. Bogotá, Impresol

USAQUÉN

Usaquén

around 1940

Cartographic Base:

*Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: 228-III-A-43
Copia de los originales No 67-141-67A-217 [1940], scale
1:10.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín
Codazzi)*

Drawing by:

Giulia Burci, Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Usaquén

around 1980

Cartographic Base:

Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano de Bogotá D.E., Plancha 31, 1982, scale 1:5.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)
Defense Mapping Agency Hydrographic/Topographic Center, Washington, 1980, scale 1:25.000 (obtained from <http://cartografia.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>)

Drawing by:

Giulia Burci, Alissa Diesch



1:10.000

0 250 1.000 m

Usaquén

2019

Cartographic Base:
IDEACA GeoDataBase Versión 06.19, 2019,
(retrieved from: <https://datosabiertos.bogota.gov.co/dataset/mapa-de-referencia>)

Drawing by:
Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Suba, meaning "sun seeds", is located between the river Bogotá, wetlands and the hills of Suba. The advantageous geographical situation with fertile land close to the water bodies and the strategic observatory of the hills made it a well populated place since pre-Hispanic times, constantly inhabited by the Muisca until today. Parts of the extensive system of camellones (raised beds with water canals) created before the arrival of the Europeans can still be detected (Boada 2006). Further resources like clay and hot springs at the hillside have complemented the richness of Suba's territory and influenced the way it has been inhabited.

The Spanish arrived to Suba in 1537, setting up the *pueblo de indios* in 1550 and later a *resguardo*. The village was positioned at the foot of the mountain with an incomplete urban layout of 8 blocks. Its position on the important pre-Hispanic trading route between Bacatá and Zipaquirá was strategically adopted by the Europeans, as well as the close relations to Chía and Cota. The political and economic relation to Santa Fé de Bogotá was introduced in that time. The wide-ranging territory was dominated during the colony by huge hacienda estates run until 1767 by the Jesuits and a stable *resguardo* (Higuera 2012). Historic documents prove a low but almost balanced population of indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants at the end of the colony (Moreno y Escandon 1779). In the first century of independence the village core is described as abandoned and poorly communicated to Bogotá, its inhabitants as peaceful but intimidated indigenous. At the same time a cemetery, a school, and a town hall are documented and a regular market was held (Gutierrez 1887). The late dissolution of the *resguardo* in 1888 (Cabildo Muisca 2019) and the role of the Hacienda estates as places of societal life of the *criollos* (Higuera 2012) had basically maintained a colonial social constellation throughout the 19th century. The Order of Augustinian Recollects arriving to Suba in 1906 tackled the modernisation process of the village, installing a modern freshwater system (DADP), pushing education and health care (Laury 1998). Photographs by Horst Martin dating from the 1930s show a rural and calm plaza. In that time the transport link and telecommunication got improved and the church and its installations were renovated, also a club with swimming pool was opened in 1937, taking advantage of and privatising the hot springs on the Suba hills. All of this paved the path for wealthy families from Bogotá to move to Suba, often installing the new residences on the hills. However, until the 1960s the indigenous population continued a rural lifestyle of subsistence farming, selling agrarian products to Bogotá and baking bricks from the close by clay pits (Hernandez 1957, Laury 1998). The *Sociedad Vecinal de Suba*, a charitable organisation founded in 1952 by wealthy citizens, played an important role in the modernisation process by installing infrastructure like transport, education and health services, taking into consideration also needs of the indigenous community. They also were a point of reference for studies of the territory in the 1950s/60s which draw a picture of a local rural society, a growing interest of urban actors in the territory and a rising pollution of water and land (Hernandez 1957, Universidad Tadeo 1964). In the

1970s the rapid transformation of the territory gathered pace and the land of the former haciendas and rural plots of the Muisca community quickly turned into urban neighbourhoods of formal and informal character (Laury 1998, Niviayo 2017). At the same time, on the hills, villas were built and the area steadily turned into privately controlled communities, blocking traditional paths and connections. The rapid shift from rural to urban and the consequent land speculation overstrained many locals who sold their land below market prices, losing thereby also their basis of existence. However, the majority of the traditional community remained living on the same plots with their internal social bonds and the longstanding connection to the territory, while the urbanisation changed the environment and professions (Niviayo 2017). The former fields were subdivided into parcels, where people of the rising working class of Bogotá built up their home, usually organised in community work and the *Juntas de Acción Comunal* (JAC). The struggle for fresh water and transport services as well as the installation of churches, schools and markets marked this period of the urbanisation and, hence, created a tight and vivid community life (Laury 1998). As the connection to Bogotá since colonial times had been complicated due to the hills and wetlands, the upgrading of existing roads in the 1980s/90s and the introduction of a *transmilenio* rapid bus line in the 2000s were further important steps in the process of metropolitanisation. Traditional local elements, especially the cemetery and its relation to the plaza suffered from these interventions.

Since 1991 the Muisca community is a recognized *Cabildo*, representing its more than 5000 members, rooted in its local traditions and creating future for next generations, challenging and refreshing outdated views of indigenous life in Colombia. Their office is at the central plaza where many traditional and new actors like schools, a library, the administration, the church and cultural centres are present, reaffirming this historic place.

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Moreno y Escandón, F. (1779 [1985]) *Indios y mestizos de la Nueva Granada a finales del siglo XVIII.* Bogotá, Biblioteca Banco Popular

Niviayo, I. (2017) *El rostro, la tierra y la ciudad: reflexiones sobre la etnicidad de los muyscas de Suba.* In: Gómez, P., Reyes, F. (eds.) *Territorios y memorias culturales muiscas: Etnografías, cartografías y arqueologías.* Bogotá, usta

Universidad Tadeo (1964) *Estudios sobre la comunidad de Suba.* revista economía colombiana. Bogotá, Universidad Tadeo

SUBA

Suba

around 1940

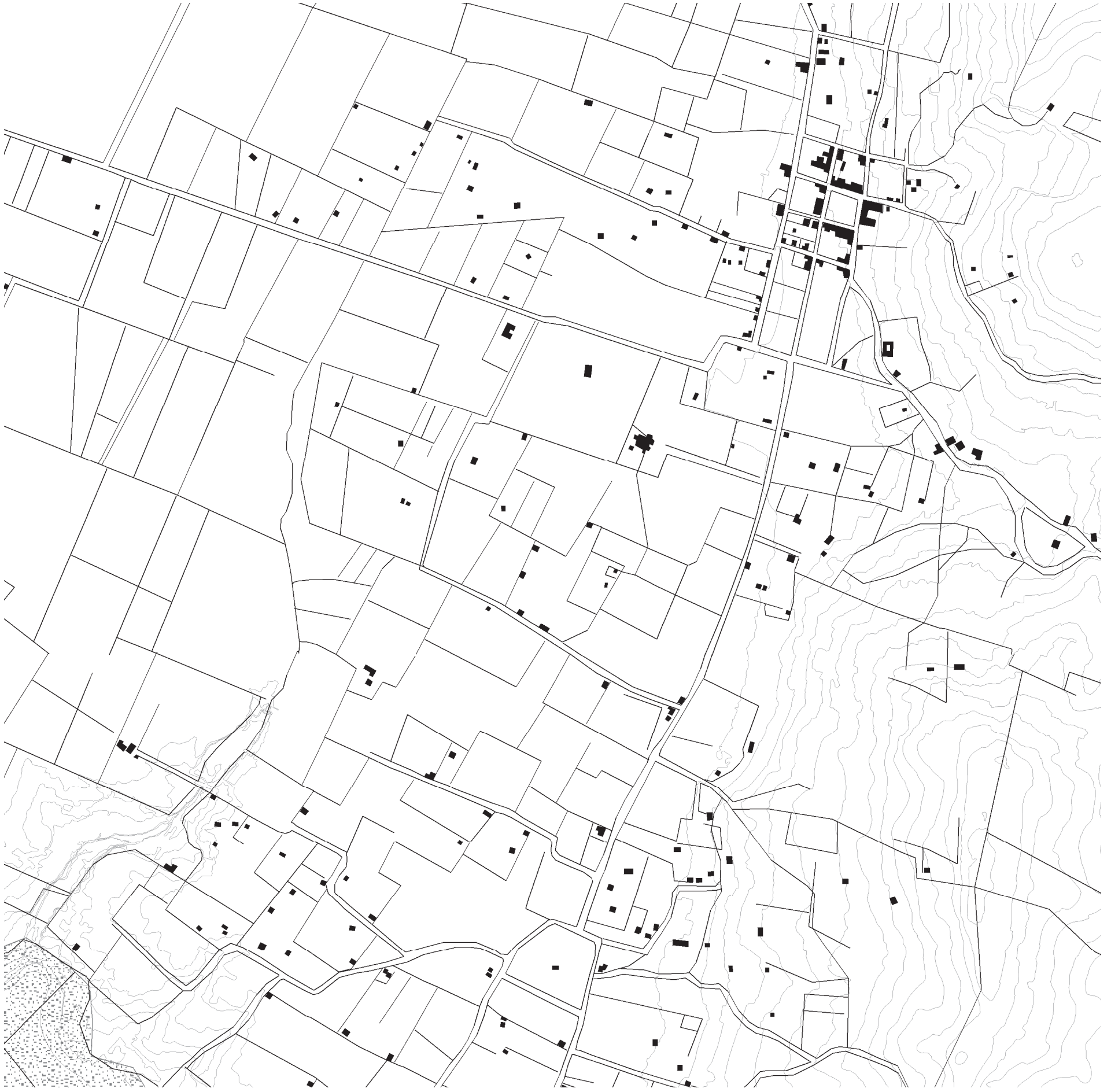
Cartographic Base:

Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: 227-IV-B-2 Copia de los originales No 67-59 [1940], scale 1:10.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Instituto Geográfico Militar y Catastral/ Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público: 227-IV-B, 1940, scale 1:10.000 (retrieved from <http://cartografia.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>)

Drawing by:

Giulia Burci, Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Suba

around 1980

Cartographic Base:

Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano Aerofotogrametrico de Bogotá D.E., E-29, 1981, scale 1:2.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano Aerofotogrametrico de Bogotá D.E., E-30, 1981, scale 1:2.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano Aerofotogrametrico de Bogotá D.E., E-38, 1981, scale 1:2.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano Aerofotogrametrico de Bogotá D.E., E-39, 1981, scale 1:2.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano Aerofotogrametrico de Bogotá D.E., E-40, 1981, scale 1:2.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano Aerofotogrametrico de Bogotá D.E., E-48, 1981, scale 1:2.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano Aerofotogrametrico de Bogotá D.E., E-49, 1981, scale 1:2.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano Aerofotogrametrico de Bogotá D.E., E-50, 1981, scale 1:2.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Defense Mapping Agency Hydrographic/Topographic Center, Washington, 1980, scale 1:25.000 (obtained from <http://cartografia.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>)

Drawing by:

Giulia Burci, Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Suba 2019

Cartographic Base:
IDEACA GeoDataBase Versión 06.19, 2019,
(retrieved from: <https://datosabiertos.bogota.gov.co/dataset/mapa-de-referencia>)

Drawing by:
Alissa Diesch



1:10.000

0 250 1.000 m

Engativá, meaning “lord of the pleasant” is located close to the river Bogotá, surrounded by wetlands. The information about the pre-hispanic Engativá is scarce, however, it can be assumed that the site was of high significance. Historic documents about pre-hispanic meaning (Gutierrez 1887), archaeological findings of astronomic-ritual purpose in the close by wetlands (Muñoz 2014) and the unusual big core of the Spanish foundation, with sixteen instead of the typical nine blocks, indicate a meaningful past.

The pueblo de indios was founded in 1536 and an extensive resguardo was established several decades later, also a priest is documented in 1556 (Gutierrez 1887). The shift in agriculture towards cattle farming on the surrounding hacienda estates entailed a transformation of the landscape and many swamps were drained already in that period. Apparently, the population of the formerly important Engativá reduced considerably during the colony, as in the 18th century the resguardo is described as small and unproductive and an aggregation to the resguardo of Fontibón is proposed (Moreno y Escandon 1779). Even before the end of the colony in the beginning of the 19th century the resguardo was partially dissolved and sold to finance a new construction of the church (Jaramillo 1998) that had been constantly damaged, most likely due to the wet soil and frequent earthquakes. The final dissolution of the resguardo is well documented and was concluded in the 1850s (Jaramillo 1998). The end of the resguardo turned many indigenous into landless peasants and implied the transformation of the pueblo de indios into a village of mestizos. Following this shift, urban institutions like a new church, a cemetery and a school were set up in the 1860s, however it was claimed that the school was not running at that time and no regular market was held (Gutierrez 1887). The tight relations to close-by Fontibón, already established during colonial times, were strengthened in the 19th and 20th century. Most of the resguardo of Engativá had stretched towards Fontibón, too. Modern infrastructure like the remote rail road station established in 1882 (Ojeda 2007) and a radio station that can be seen on the map in 1940 are oriented in that direction.

In the beginning of the 20th century Engativá is described as a solitary village but famous for its religious parties, including bullfights and durations of several days, gathering many people from the villages around (Alcaldía 2004, Jiménez 2009). In the 1930s a low consumption of beer but a remarkable use of chicha is documented (Jaramillo 1998), stressing the rural character of the village and its gatherings. Photos of the same time by German Horst Martin reinforce the impression of a calm village of farmers and fishermen around a partially constructed plaza. On these pictures a dominant eucalyptus tree in the centre of the plaza, still existing today, can be seen. This tree is protagonist in many local legends (Jiménez 2009, Higuera 2012). The surrounding water bodies were providing the village with freshwater and fish, including the typical pez capitán (Higuera 2012).

The accelerating urbanisation process of Bogotá affected the village mainly indirectly. 1954 Minuto de Dios, a new settlement organised by a catholic congregation, was built in the municipality of Engativá but in six-kilometre

distance to the village. As the settlement design, based on the idea of forming community, includes several social, educational and religious installations the new centrality quickly became an attractor to the new inhabitants settling in the municipality of Engativá. The core of the old village at that time was poorly connected to Bogotá by a sparsely frequented bus service (Higuera 2012) and the faraway railway station. Moreover, the capital's new airport El Dorado, inaugurated in 1959, provided the city with a modern transport infrastructure but cut of the connection of Engativá to Fontibón and its train station. In summary, the big urbanisation projects did not integrate or modernise Engativá, but isolated it even more. Consequently, the political and ecclesiastical administration left the village in that period, too. The old church building was torn down and a new church was built on another side of the plaza, so the village today is the only one of the here presented without a town hall and a colonial style church. The modernisation of the village concerning schools and health services as well as the connectivity to electricity, sewage and the road connection towards Bogotá were carried out in the 1960s by the community, above all the Juntas de Acción Comunal (JAC) (Jiménez 2009). A densification of the urban fabric around the village core, intensifying the pressure on the plaza and pushing the shift from rural to urban activities in the village, can be observed in the 1980s and 1990s. In that period also the unleashed traditional parties were abolished. In the early 2000s formal infrastructure improved the supply and connectivity situation of the village. During the construction of a sewage plant and cycle paths in the wetlands, pre-hispanic monoliths were discovered. However, the meaning of these findings, the vanishing traditions of gatherings and persisting rural activities (Cavelier 2019) linking the village to its rural and indigenous past and the surrounding territory are not sufficiently recognized.

Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá D.C Secretaría de Hacienda (2004)

Recorriendo Engativá: diagnóstico físico y socioeconómico de las localidades de Bogotá, D.C. Bogotá, DAPD

Gutierrez, R. (1887 [1920]) Monografías. Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, vol XXVIII. Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional

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Moreno y Escandón, F. (1779 [1985]) Indios y mestizos de la Nueva Granada a finales del siglo XVIII. Bogotá, Biblioteca Banco Popular

Muñoz, J. (2004) Humedal Jaboque, Evolución Geomorfológica y Geológica; y su Relación con las Culturas Prehispánicas. Thesis. Bogotá, Universidad Nacional de Colombia

Ojeda, N. (2007) El ferrocarril y la estructura lineal, Bogotá, 1889-1938. Bogotá, Revista de Arquitectura, 9(1), 13-17.

ENGATIVÁ

Engativá

around 1940

Cartographic Base:

Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: 227-IV-B-4 Copia de los originales No 67-141 [1940], scale 1:10.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: 227-IV-D-2 Copia de los originales No 141-11A [1940], scale 1:10.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Drawing by:

Giulia Burci, Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Engativá

around 1980

Cartographic Base:
Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano de Bogotá D.E., Plancha 27, 1982, scale 1:5.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Drawing by:
Giulia Burci, Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Engativá

2019

Cartographic Base:
IDEACA GeoDataBase Versión 06.19, 2019,
(retrieved from: <https://datosabiertos.bogota.gov.co/dataset/mapa-de-referencia>)

Drawing by:
Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Fontibón, meaning “powerful commander”, is located in a river delta of several streams flowing into the river Bogotá and its related wetlands. Its position close to the Muisca capital Bacatá (today Funza) across the river had made it a strategic and heavily populated place since pre-Hispanic times. While rulers and centrality changed with the Spanish conquest, the connecting road system persisted, adapting to the new flows (Peña 2003). Colony shifted the position of the centre of power towards the foot of the mountains, however, Fontibón remained important, now as a necessary stopover between the colonial capital and the motherland.

From the beginning of the colonial project on, this position distinguished Fontibón, founded as a *pueblo de indios* in 1554, from the other indigenous villages controlled by the Spanish. First it was directly mandated by Jiménez de Quesada, the founder of Santa Fé, but quickly became a village of the Spanish crown (Velandia 1983). To connect the colonial capital to Europe a long track crossing the high plain of Bogotá, descending the Andes to Honda, the river port of the Magdalena stream, and then continuing by water to the Caribbean harbour had to be passed. Consequently, Fontibón from the middle of the 16th century on had been both: a *pueblo de indios* and a reception hall for the colonial capital. The colonial concept of separated spaces for indigenous and European settlers was never put into practice here. Already in the 16th century European settlers are documented within the village, with continuously increasing numbers throughout the 250 years of colony (Velandia 1983). At the same time, due to its prominent position and high population, local representatives of church and politics showed their ambitions to convert Fontibón into an indigenous village of model character.

From the 17th century on, the Jesuits built a representative church including a bamboo organ in 1632 after the first chapel had burnt down, established a renowned school of music for the indigenous and a rectory to host the many notable travellers stopping on the way to Santa Fé (Peña 2003, SLCF 2004). The layout of the village and the distribution of the *resguardo* are well documented (Peña 2003) compared to other cases and reflect its striking size and importance. The Jesuits created a catechism in muisca language and also used music and architecture to evangelize the natives: the plaza equipped with additional chapels (*ermitas* or *capillas posas*), a sacred outdoor space, as preferred by the indigenous, processions and musical accompaniment were integrated in the doctrine (Peña 2003). Accordingly, the large Muisca community culturally transformed: if in the 16th century big indigenous celebrations were still documented (SLCF 2004), in the 17th century pre-Hispanic rituals are only mentioned sporadically (Peña 2003) while the indigenous were described as Catholics (SLCF 2004). Spanish became the dominant language in the 18th century and the resisting indigenous were considered offensive and at the limits of society (Peña 2003, SLCF 2004). The official number of natives declined while the presence of mestizo and European settlers increased (Moreno y Escandon 1779).

During the 17th and 18th century the route between Santa Fé and Europe was improved with a subsequent reinforce-

ment of Fontibón's significance. The wet surroundings of the village with regular floodings made necessary the upgrading of several bridges of this track, in 1667 over the river Bogotá and crossing smaller streams during the reign of Viceroy Solís 1754-1761 (Velandia 1983, Peña 2003). Many opulent receptions of viceroys, lasting several days, are documented as well as the stays of scientists like Mutis (1783) and Humboldt (1801). A guest house (*casa del forastero*), today converted into a public *casa de la cultura*, can be traced back to that time (SLCF 2004). Simultaneously, the plaza was also scenario for popular parties and religious festivities. Political and technical modernisations after independence turned Fontibón into a growing little town: the dissolution of the remnants of the *resguardo* (1859) manifested a population of mestizo farmers and hacienda owners (SLCF 2004) and its well-connected character was up-dated by a train station in 1882.

In the early 20th century notable families clustered around the transforming core supporting its urban, mestizo and simultaneously cosmopolitan character. The local administration and the church were the driving force of further improvements of infrastructure, schools and religious installations. The strong independent development of size and urban structure was remarkable when Fontibón became adjacent to Bogotá in 1954. The following construction of the airport in 1959 functionally reaffirmed Fontibón's character as place of reception but also cut off links to Engativá, existing since pre-Hispanic times. Until the 1980s further strong residential and industrial growth as well as densification and transformation of its historic core diversified the character of Fontibón that was then still perceived as an autonomous town (Velandia 1983). Today the morphological annexation to Bogotá, the concentration of logistic enterprises and the free trade area mark Fontibón as a centrality within the bigger metropolitan area. Culturally, a strong own identity is unbroken until today with a notable concentration of cultural places in the centre, like the *casa de la cultura Cacique Hyntiba* (SLCF 2004).

- Moreno y Escandón, F. (1779 [1985]) *Indios y mestizos de la Nueva Granada a finales del siglo XVIII*. Bogotá, Biblioteca Banco Popular
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- Velandia, R. (1983) *Fontibón. Pueblo de la Real Corona*. Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional

FONTIBÓN

Fontibón

around 1940

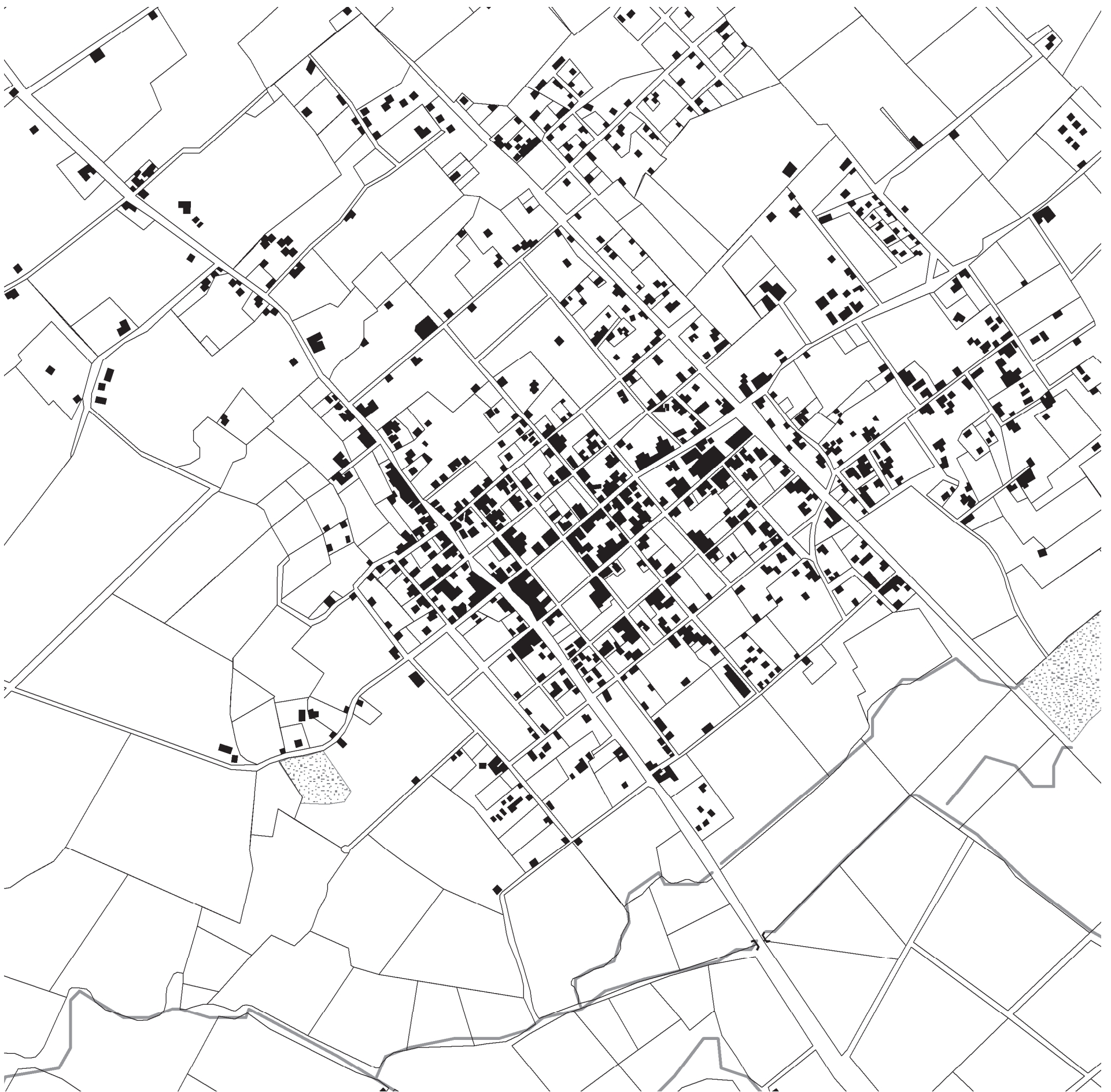
Cartographic Base:

Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: 227-IV-D-1 Copia de los originales No 141 [1940], scale 1:10.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: 227-IV-D-2 Copia de los originales No 141-11A [1940], scale 1:10.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Drawing by:

Santiago Guerrero, Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Fontibón

around 1980

Cartographic Base:
Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano de Bogotá D.E., Plancha 36, 1982, scale 1:5.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Drawing by:
Santiago Guerrero, Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Fontibón

2019

Cartographic Base:
IDEACA GeoDataBase Versión 06.19, 2019,
(retrieved from: <https://datosabiertos.bogota.gov.co/dataset/mapa-de-referencia>)

Drawing by:
Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Bosa, meaning "two", is located next to the river Tunjuelo, close to its confluence with the river Bogotá. The river and its surrounding wetlands have been an important part of the self-conception of the local Muisca families. The bond to the territory and the traditional land uses penetrate identity building, space making and participation until the present day (Durán 2004, Martínez et al. 2007).

In the beginning of the Spanish conquest Bosa is said to be a place of encounter and treaty between the European conquerors and Muisca groups, the *pueblo de indios* was set up in 1540 (Higuera 2012). At the end of the 18th century the indigenous community was still very strong and collaborative agriculture was documented until the middle of the 18th century, too, however first marriages between indigenous and mestizos also appeared at that time (Moreno y Escandón 1779). The dissolution of the *resguardo* was executed between the 1850s and 1880s, leaving many indigenous landless and causing a change in the appropriation of the central plaza at the end of the 19th, beginning of the 20th century: the owners of the surrounding hacienda estates were becoming the dominant group (Durán 2004). In that time also the cemetery and train station were set up close the plaza, marking the shift of the dominant social group and highlighting the relation to Bogotá. Compared to the other villages this shift is quite explicitly documented and happened rather late.

Around 1920 two catholic orders, the female *Claustro de la Visitación de María* and the male *Claretianos* established around the central plaza, as well as in 1938 a public school. Especially the *Claretianos* have been closely linked to the community and transformations of Bosa since then. Due to the train station and being on the way to the famous *Tequendama* cascade, Bosa and its surroundings were also a place of day trips from Bogotá in that period, documented by images by Horst Martin. In the 1940s, when the *las Americas* highway was built (and the train station closed), first self-constructed working-class neighbourhoods appeared in spatial relation to the plaza. Especially in the first decades of this new dynamic a close relation to the village core is evident, which then got the notion of a receiving pole in the urbanisation process of Bogotá (Rosero, Gomez 1983). In the 1950s also some factories settle around Bosa, mainly attracted by cheap land prices. The informal parcelling of former hacienda plots with subsequent incremental self-construction accelerated during the 1960s/70s. The urbanisation process in that period was almost completely informal and characterised by a strong community sense organised mainly by the *Juntas de Acción Comunal (JAC)* (Rosero, Gomez 1983). More educational infrastructure set up and run by the local religious orders and the community itself developed in direct proximity to the plaza. Meanwhile, the indigenous community clustering around the river had been maintaining a traditional lifestyle including farming and tight relations between territory and identity (Durán 2004, Martínez et al. 2007). The continuous urbanisation process affected them on several levels: the informality of the land sale and spontaneous occupations step by step ruled out agriculture, the straightening and contamination of the Tunjuelo impaired the traditional land use and the meaningful relation to the river and

the social and numerical domination of non-indigenous, urban communities in the village highlighted the cultural and ethnic differences (Durán 2004). While in the 1980s the urbanised part of Bosa continued growing unchecked, densifying the urban tissue, also areas inhabited by the Muisca received this pressure and the indigenous community passed through a process of self-recognition and conscious identity building (Durán 2004). The new national constitution from 1991 made possible a recognition of ethnical groups and special rights related to the inhabited territory. However, it was around 2000 the formal intervention of *Metrovivienda*, the city's housing association, acquiring land traditionally populated by the Muisca that accelerated the process of formalising and strengthening the construction of a *Cabildo* (indigenous council): the now formal land purchase requested titles of land tenure which turned out to be the historic legal documents of the dissolution and privatisation of the *resguardo*, linking the present residents to the historic Muisca community (Durán 2004, Martínez et al. 2007). This has entailed ongoing legal, social and cultural processes forming the community of the *Cabildo* and its representation in several spheres in the now completely urbanised Bosa. Today the community runs a kindergarten and community centre in the river area, while also having a representation building in the central plaza participating in political and cultural life. Their activities comprise internal cultural and social work but also participation in urban planning activities, claiming and exercising their right to participate in urban design (Castaño 2014). Also, the communities originating from the (self-constructed) urbanisation process are representing their identity and culture as well as shaping the urban space: schools (*Maestros por el territorio* 2005), autonomous social and cultural centres for instance at the plaza (Aguilar 2017) and many collectives like *Movimiento Quinoa* claim recognition and participation while continuously creating the city and urban community.

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- Durán, C. (2004) *El Cabildo Muisca de Bosa: el discurso de un nuevo movimiento social, étnico y urbano*. Thesis. Bogotá, U. de los Andes
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BOSA

Bosa

around 1940

Cartographic Base:
*Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: 227-IV-D-3 Copia
de los originales No 141-146 [1940], scale 1:10.000
(obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)*

Drawing by:
Andrea Umaña, Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Bosa

around 1980

Cartographic Base:

Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano de Bogotá D.E., H-82, 1978, scale 1:2.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano de Bogotá D.E. H-83, 1978, scale 1:2.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano de Bogotá D.E. H-92, 1978, scale 1:2.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público/ Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: Plano de Bogotá D.E. H-93, 1978, scale 1:2.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Defense Mapping Agency Hydrographic/Topographic Center, Washington, 1980, scale 1:25.000 (obtained from <http://cartografia.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>)

Drawing by:
Andrea Umaña, Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Bosa

2019

Cartographic Base:
IDEACA GeoDataBase Versión 06.19, 2019,
(retrieved from: <https://datosabiertos.bogota.gov.co/dataset/mapa-de-referencia>)
Otofotomosaico Bogotá D Año 2017 (retrieved
from: <https://mapas.bogota.gov.co/#>)

Drawing by:
Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Usme, meaning „nest“, is located at the boarder of the high plain to the Páramo area in the valley of the river Tunjuelo that narrows there. It has always been a place of transition and gathering as also many large distance routes pass the area. For several centuries a huge necropolis that was discovered in 2007 had been in use in Usme until the arrival of the Europeans. Historic documents as well as the architecture and the urban layout of the plaza proof the foundation of a *pueblo de indios*.

The foundation and the set-up of the built structures dates back to the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century (Gutierrez 1887, Urrea 2011) and included a resguardo whose limits are not known exactly. The late foundation, the reduced urban core comprising only six, instead of the more common nine blocks, including the plaza, as well as the robust and barly decorated architecture of the church indicate a rather minor political importance of the village during colony. The fertile land facilitated the establishment of big hacienda estates and the settling of small scale finca farmsteads by criollos of European origin during colonial times. The haciendas also became places of social encounters of the ruling class. The frequent stays of Viceroy Solís (1753-1761) in the area contribute to many local legends: his lover Marichuela is said to be a local maid and many places today bear their names. The little information about the resguardo and missing documents about its dissolution at the end of the colonial era indicate an early establishment of a local mestizo culture. This is supported by a document of the 18th century that claims a remarkable population of *vecinos* (non-indigenous inhabitants) besides the indigenous resguardo (Moreno y Escandon 1779). After independence at the beginning of the 19th century, further elements like a cemetery, a town hall, a school and a prison were built in proximity to the plaza during the 19th century. At that time the transfer of many agrarian products to Bogotá is documented (Gutierrez 1887) and the expropriation and transformation of former monasteries to commercial haciendas boosted the agricultural output, complemented then by cattle farming (Urrea 2011). Conflicts between the big landowners and landless farm workers erupted in the beginning of the 20th century when the free *Colonia Agrícola de Sumapaz* was established (Urrea 2011). The conflict continues and marks the entire area to this day.

In the 1920s a fresh water reservoir for Bogotá was built in the area of Usme and many workers involved in the construction settled and stayed as peasants around the village (Santafe 1998). A train track that was built for this construction was immediately dismantled after completion, however, two station buildings remain until today. Formal and informal clay and gravel mining between Bogotá and Usme from the 1940s on provided labour for many internally displaced people from all over Colombia who also started settling there. In the 1940/50s the brickyard *Ladrillera Santa Fe*, a military base and a prison were placed in that area, too. According to formal planning this zone was not marked as urbanisation area until the 2000s, however, many people created their homes there throughout the 1970s and 1980s, struggling for recognition and infrastructure, while the village core remained rural, claiming access to infrastructure, too (Urrea 2011). Local in-

frastructure in the urban part, like electricity, sewages, paving streets, building and running schools were organised by the community itself, mainly as Juntas de Acción Comunal (JAC) (Santafe 1998). Since the 2000s these areas are formally recognized and large-scale infrastructure for transport, freshwater and a landfill were installed. In parallel, *Metrovivienda*, the city's housing association acquired land around the village to develop a 53.000-unit housing project. During the construction work the indigenous necropolis was discovered and the findings triggered massive protests among and beyond local organisations. Recognizing the multi-layered heritage since then became a driving force for many initiatives like *Mesa de Patroimonio Usmka* or the *Corporación Mujer y Tierra* promoting an alternative development. Maria Buenaventura's project *El territorio no está en venta*¹ is an example of artistic and social reaction beyond the local scale. Today the housing project is partly realized and the further execution of the city expansion is a discussed topic.

1 See: <https://mariabuenaventura.com/portfolio/el-territorio-no-esta-en-venta/>

Gutierrez, R. (1887 [1920]) Monografías. Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, vol XXVIII. Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional

Moreno y Escandón, F. (1779 [1985]) Indios y mestizos de la Nueva Granada a finales del siglo XVIII. Bogotá, Biblioteca Banco Popular

Santafe, G. (1998) Usme y su historia. Bogotá, no publisher

Urrea, T. (2011) Usme; historia de un territorio. Bogotá, Metrovivienda.

USME

Usme

around 1940

Cartographic Base:

Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi: 246-II-D-2 Copia de los originales No 181-187-189-224-221 [1940], scale 1:10.000 (obtained from Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)

Instituto Geográfico Militar y Catastral/ Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público: 246-II-D, 1940, scale 1:10.000 (retrieved from <http://cartografía.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>)

Drawing by:

Giulia Burci, Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Usme

around 1980

Cartographic Base:
*Vuelo C-1738/83, Aerial Picture, 1977 (obtained from
Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi)*

Drawing by:
Giulia Burci, Alissa Diesch



1:10.000



Usme

2019

Cartographic Base:
IDEACA GeoDataBase Versión 06.19, 2019,
(retrieved from: <https://datosabiertos.bogota.gov.co/dataset/mapa-de-referencia>)

Drawing by:
Alissa Diesch

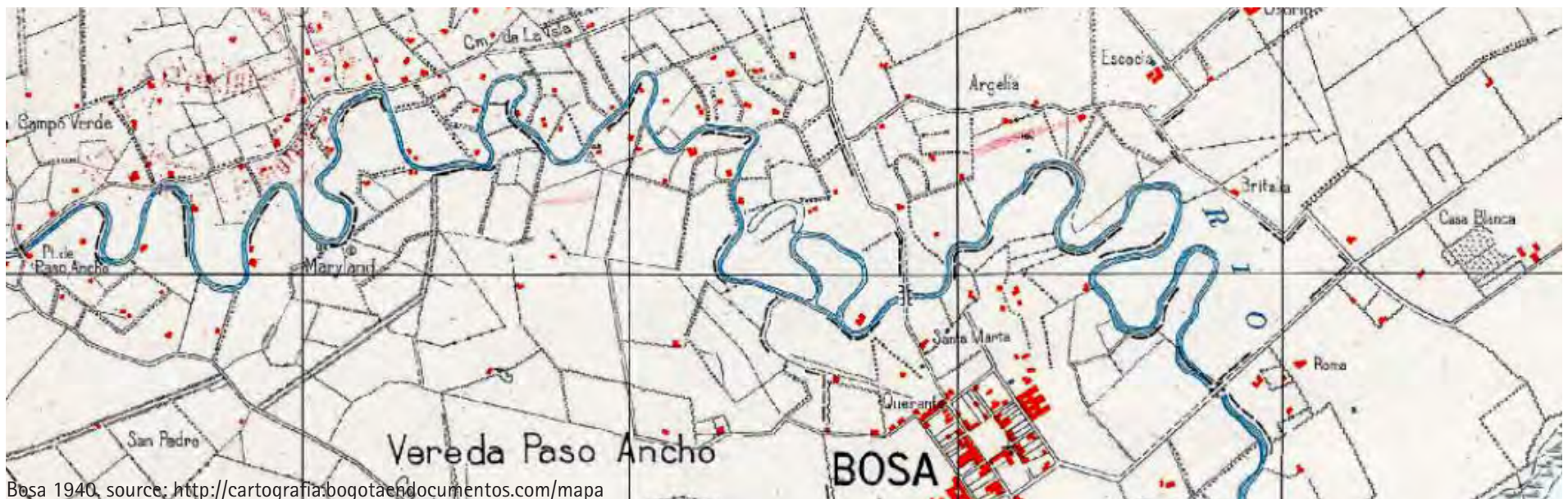


1:10.000





Bosa 1915. fuente: <http://cartografia.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>



Bosa 1940. source: <http://cartografia.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>



Mapa de georeferenciación de población del Cabildo Indígena Muisca de Bosa según censo interno 2006. fuente: Martínez, et al., 2007

Spatiality as a Means of Resistance

Indigenous Spaces in the City

Alissa Diesch

In the maps of the villages from the 1940s, the most evident characteristic is the reiterated and generic spatial configuration of the plaza with its surrounding blocks. This proves the colonial origin of the villages and links them ideologically to the central plaza of (Santa Fé de) Bogotá, as they were all erected at the same period during the 16th century, and also in accordance with the principles that were later collected in the *Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias of 1680* (Salcedo 1996). Almost 400 years after the foundation of the *pueblos de indios* on the sites of existing Muisca settlements, the principles of the European imported planning are still visible and these village cores are recognised today as *componentes del patrimonio construido* (Decree 190 (2004), art. 125). The implementation of these patterns was a spatial manifestation of the conquerors' power that aimed at the concentration of the natives in defined and reduced points on the territory. It was the ideology of the colonisers to create perfectly separate worlds in ethnically, socially and spatially segregated places between the European city and the native village (King 2009, del Castillo 2019); a hierarchical dichotomy expressed in the Spanish centre (Santa Fé) and the indigenous periphery of the Sabana de Bogotá (*the pueblos de indios*). To mark the new order, the colonisers used a strong and generic architectural code to reconfigure the centralities (Calderón 2016): the urbanistic structure of a square plaza at the centre of a regular chessboard layout with eight surrounding blocks with the most important buildings representing religion and administration facing the plaza.

This marks an extreme contrast to the spatial organisation of pre-European Muisca settlements. Information on these villages is scarce; it is assumed that there were enclosed places that were centres of worship, political and economic power in many cases where *pueblos de indios* were later established (Herrera 1998, Calderón 2016). Housing was predominantly organised in scattered settlements (Herrera 1998, Urrea 2011) and in close proximity to the farmland, which was often used in a form of large-scale crop rotation (Peña 2003).

For the Muisca, water has a special significance (Carrillo 1997, Martínez et al. 2007). In mythology Bachué, mother of the Muisca, represents the relationship of water with the feminine and fertility. Therefore, on a tangible level, rivers, lakes and wetlands are key spaces in the traditional relationship of the inhabitants with their territory. They are sacred and pilgrimage sites and also the centre of food production. The relationship of water with the female body is also reflected in toponymy (Cabildo Indígena Muisca de Suba 2015): *fucha*, the name of several streams, means woman. The word for the female nipple is *chupqua*, which also means wetland, which is where crops, fish and game are grown – where mother earth provides food. Today *chucua* is still the name of many swampy areas. The close relationship between the territory and the (female) body is also evident in customs that have been practised until the 20th century in the Muisca communities of Bosa and Suba, such as burying the placenta in the plot where one is born, representing an eternal bond with the native territory (Martínez et al. 2007, Fernández 2014, Niviayo 2017). *Sunas* or *camellones* cultivation systems could be

found in wetlands and river banks, as is traditional in several regions of South America (Denevan 2006) and was practised in this way until the middle of the 20th century in some parts of the Bogotá savannah (Cavelier 2006). *Camellones* are a system of canals and raised crop beds in wetlands that allow for more intensive agriculture on the soil. These practices and meanings explain why many pre-Hispanic Muisca settlements were located in swampy areas (Boada 2006, Rodríguez 2019).

In this perspective, especially the 1940 maps of Bosa and Suba suggest that patterns of pre-Hispanic settlement have continued: in Bosa along the river several houses in small plots can be seen on both banks of the river (p. 96), while in Suba these buildings and plots appear along the road leading from the central square to the wetland and its shore in the south (Diesch 2020). But also in Usme and Engativá dispersed typologies can be seen.

During the colonial period, the *pueblos de indios*, as concentration points, were combined with common farming land assigned to the indigenous communities – *resguardos* – that surrounded these sites (Herrera 1998). If the village cores had the function of control over the inhabitants and their evangelisation, the function of the *resguardo* was to appropriate the indigenous lands by the new sovereigns. This process occurred some 30 years later and in the case of the Sabana de Bogotá, the establishment of the *resguardo* in the 16th century legitimised the dispossession of approximately 95% of the indigenous' ancestral land (Herrera 1998) and could be read as the transition from conquest to colony. The *resguardos* can be analysed politically as direct dependence of their inhabitants on their Spanish *encomenderos*; economically, for the indigenous, it meant forced labour; and also spatially, it reveals the asymmetrical power relations of the colony. Just like the ideal architecture of the *pueblos de indios*, the *resguardos* followed an abstract logic (c.f. first column right page) that served as a basis for allocating lands around the villages that were later adjusted according to local characteristics and were barely enough for self-sufficiency. These lands were of collective character and allowed the community to continue traditional cultivation (Diesch 2020). The boundaries of each *resguardo* were defined and controlled by the *oidores*, and the records show that this was a conflictive process. Several researchers (Carasquilla 1979, Peña 2003, Calderón 2016), graphically mapped these originally written sources of the *resguardos* around Bogotá. The resulting cartographies reveal a vivid spatial dynamic of the Sabana de Bogotá during the colony, which has been in permanent transformation, and are a fundamental basis for understanding the following transformations. During the colony the *resguardos* were diminished, in some cases closed and in other cases they seem to have been converted into mixed villages of indigenous and *mestizo* inhabitants.

In the case of Suba, Bosa, Fontibón and Engativá at the end of the colonial period the villages still had active *resguardos* according to the documentation of the 19th century. Usaquén's *resguardo* officially had been dissolved in 1774, before independence, and the indigenous had been relocated to Soacha (Zambrano et al. 2000). About Usme no documentation is available stating the dissolution and

Usaquén

resguardo during colony >
approximate outline of the limits of the resguardo formed during the colony according to Calderón (see p. 21)

village core and marked area in 1915 >>
grid of the foundational core and hatched area as marked in maps from 1915, showing possibly active remains of the resguardos (source: <http://cartografia.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>)

settlement structure 1940//1980//2020 >>>
(see maps p. 53ff)

Suba

resguardo during colony >
approximate outline of the limits of the resguardo formed during the colony according to Calderón (see p. 21)

village core and marked area in 1915 >>
grid of the foundational core and hatched area as marked in maps from 1915, showing possibly active remains of the resguardos (source: <http://cartografia.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>)

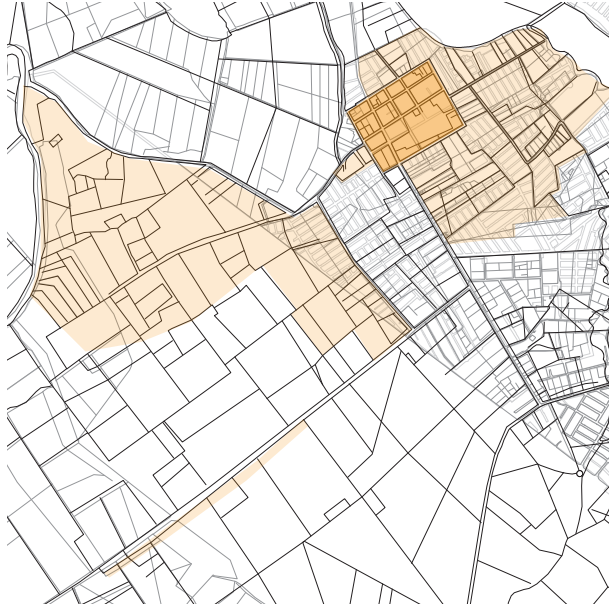
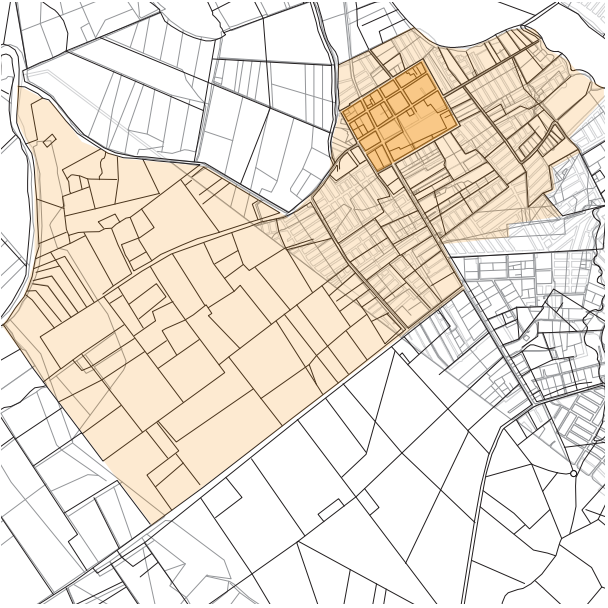
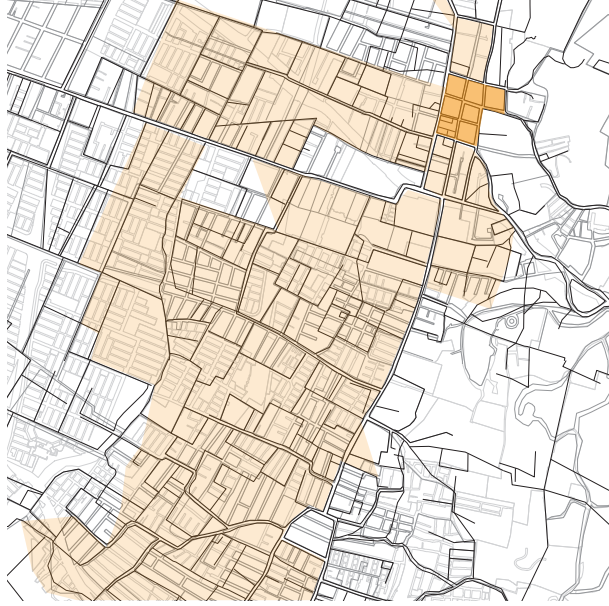
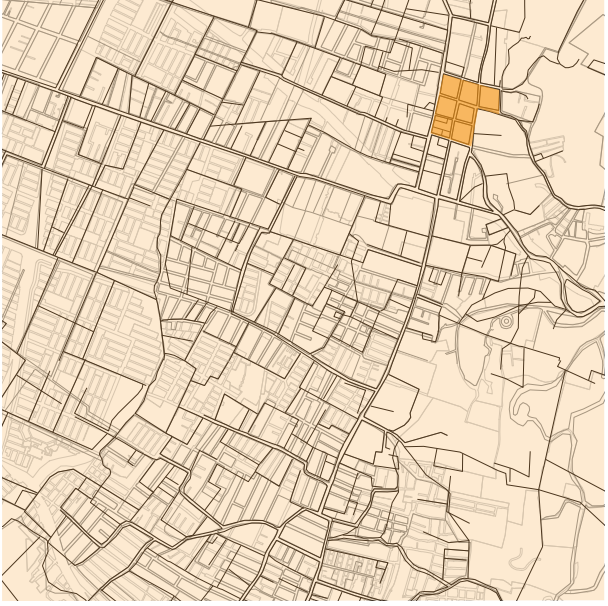
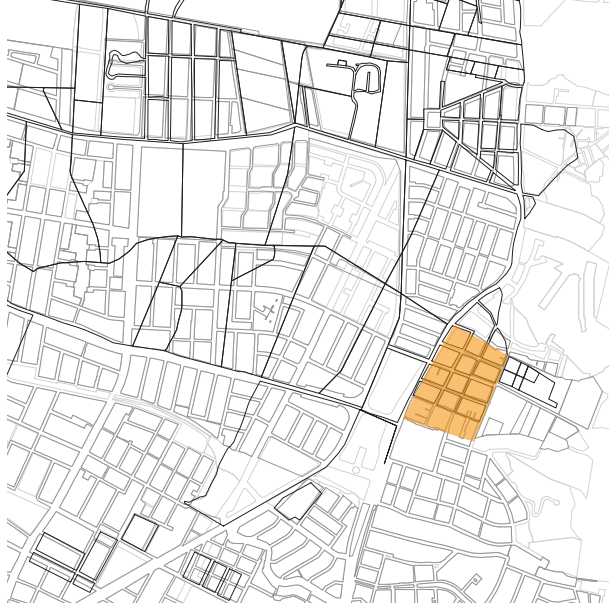
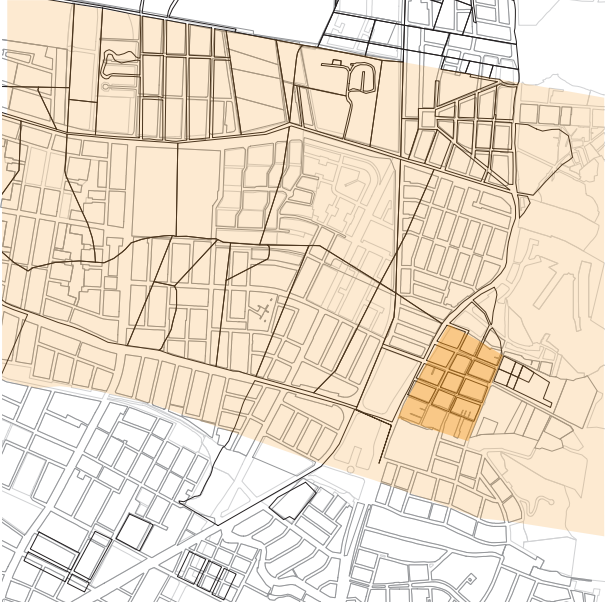
settlement structure 1940//1980//2020 >>>
(see maps p. 61ff)

Engativá

resguardo during colony >
approximate outline of the limits of the resguardo formed during the colony according to Calderón (see p. 21)

village core and marked area in 1915 >>
grid of the foundational core and hatched area as marked in maps from 1915, showing possibly active remains of the resguardos (source: <http://cartografia.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>)

settlement structure 1940//1980//2020 >>>
(see maps p. 59ff)



the village already during the colony is described as mixed village (Moreno y Escandon 1779). After independence and the implementation of new political and societal rules, declaring all inhabitants of the nation to free Colombians regardless of race and origin, the logic of the *resguardo* had lost its *raison d'être*, and the land was divided into plots in order to turn its "indio" inhabitants into „Colombian peasants" with individual private property. This process was not in the interest of many of its inhabitants, who preferred collective property and feared losing land, and therefore, until the 1890s, lawsuits continued to be filed over this figure (del Castillo 2019). However, despite this opposition, the *resguardos* were divided into plots, and in the process of surveying and distribution, many indigenous lost a lot of territory for payments (Durán 2004, Niviayo 2017, del Castillo 2019). Despite this, maps from 1915 show a continuous hatching in the areas around or close to the all the villages (c.f. middle column right page), apart from Usaquén that did not have a *resguardo* any more at the moment of independence. Especially in Bosa (see also p. 96) and Suba, but also in Fontibón and Engativá, in the 1940s dispersed settlements on small plots of land can be identified particularly in the marked areas, which suggests that in practice these sectors were still areas of collective use. This indicates the lack of implementation of the legal frameworks of dissolution and practically means that at the beginning of the 20th century the (ex)*resguardos* were still recognised and represented as coherent areas in the official cartography. Today, censuses and maps of the members of the Muisca Cabildos in Bosa and Suba show that the Muisca families continue to live predominantly in the same areas as at the time of the dissolution of the *resguardos* (Diesch 2020).

The described historical persistence of the indigenous to return to their homes amid the agricultural fields since the first phase of the conquest (Herrera 1998) seems to have stayed in force for centuries, despite the great effort of the colonisers to change the daily life of the natives completely. The repeated burning of the dispersed micro farmsteads in order to force the natives to live in the "urban" centre (Herrera 1998, Peña 2003) and integrate them into the logic of the Spanish colony was not entirely successful. The act of continuing to live and cultivate in the native way, of (re)creating "indigenous spaces", can be read as energetic resistance, using spatiality as a means of power (Diesch 2020). It was only the moment of urbanisation of these areas that settlement typologies and many aspects of everyday life changed, hence the metropolitanization of Bogotá can be considered the second distinctive socio-spatial shift for these places after the foundation of the *pueblos de indios*. However, the continuity and adaptation of cultural patterns related to the place and territory is remarkable, proves the agency of the pluricultural origin of Colombia as stated in the constitution (art. 7) and states the polyvalent character of the territory of Bogotá. More research about architecture, settlement structure and space making, both with historic sources and on site in collaboration with the communities is necessary to reveal in detail relations between built environment, everyday practices, hidden cultural continuities and conscious relation to the territory. Though, it is clear that in and

around the former *pueblos de indios* and *resguardos* exists a "simultaneity of different historical periods in urban space, as a product of pre-colonial, colonial and modern city foundations and the overlapping of their spatial articulations" (Huffs Schmid, Wildner 2013) that powerfully shape and influence the contemporary metropolis.

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Fontibón

resguardo during colony >

approximate outline of the limits of the resguardo formed during the colony according to Calderón (see p. 21)

village core and marked area in 1915 >>

grid of the foundational core and hatched area as marked in maps from 1915, showing possibly active remains of the resguardos (source: <http://cartografia.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>)

settlement structure 1940//1980//2020 >>>

(see maps p. 75ff)

Bosa

resguardo during colony >

approximate outline of the limits of the resguardo formed during the colony according to Calderón (see p. 21)

village core and marked area in 1915 >>

grid of the foundational core and hatched area as marked in maps from 1915, showing possibly active remains of the resguardos (source: <http://cartografia.bogotaendocumentos.com/mapa>)

settlement structure 1940//1980//2020 >>>

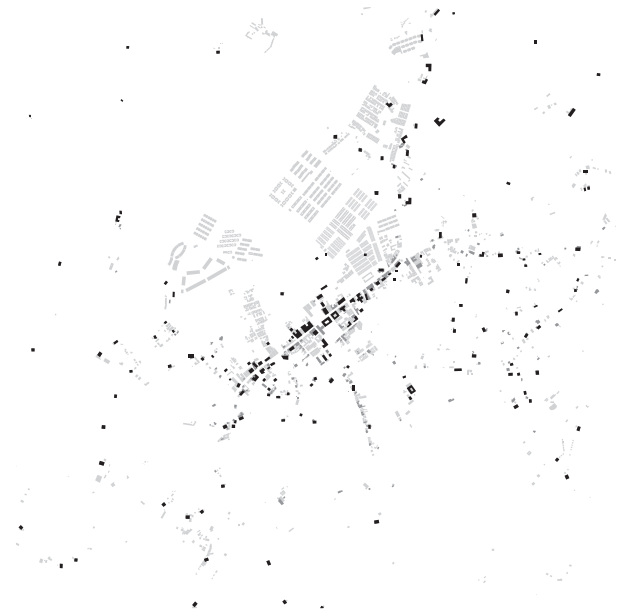
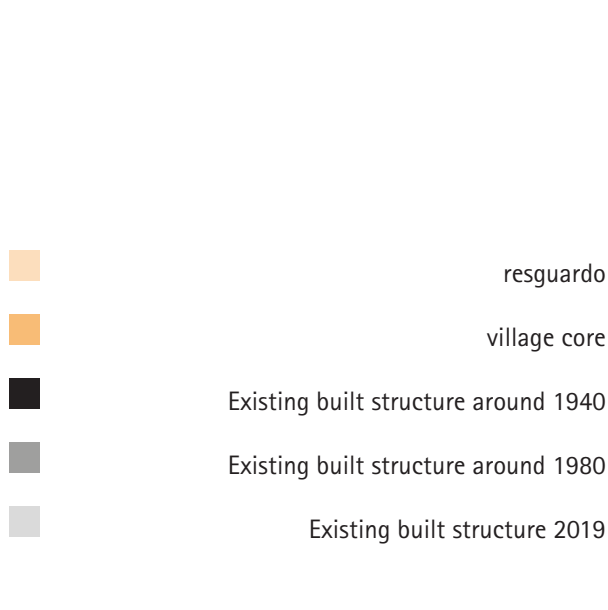
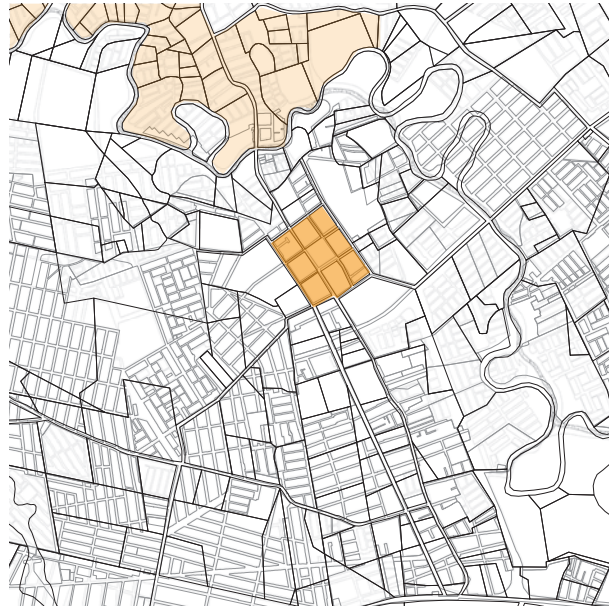
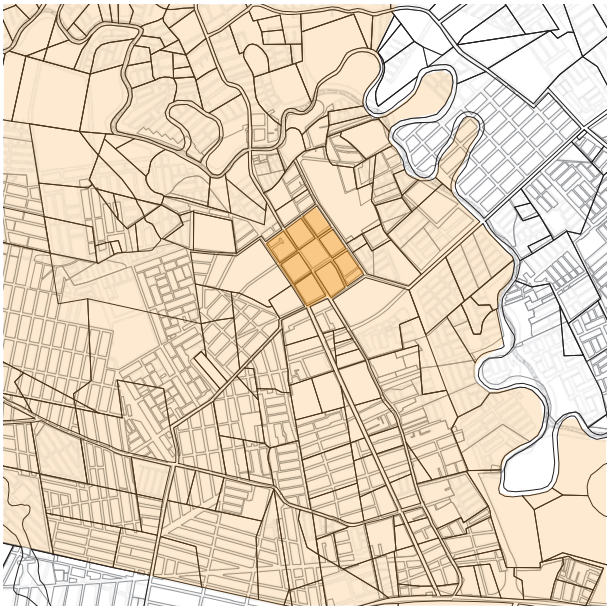
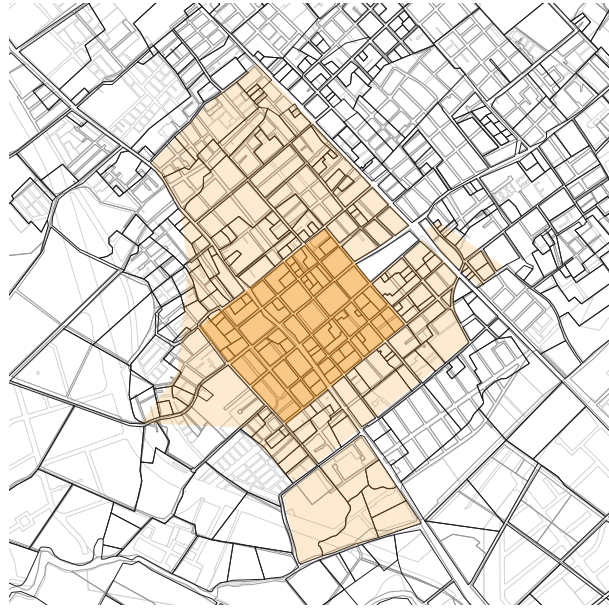
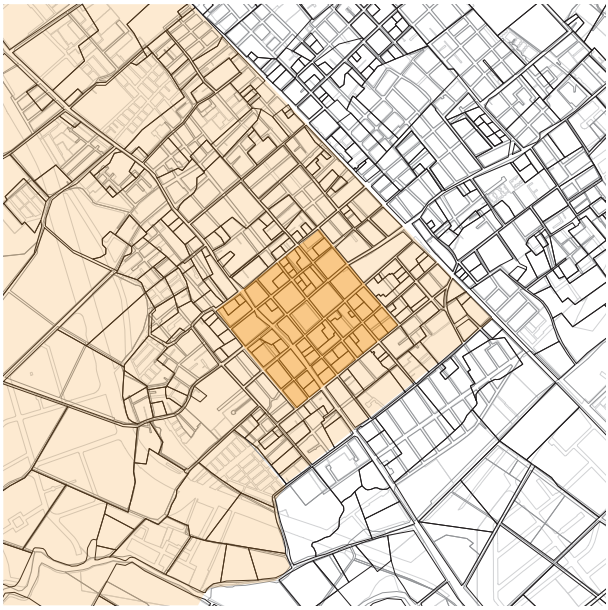
(see maps p. 85ff)

Usme

village core >>

settlement structure 1940//1980//2020 >>>

(see maps p. 93ff)



- resguardo
- village core
- Existing built structure around 1940
- Existing built structure around 1980
- Existing built structure 2019

ATLAS UNCOVERING TERRITORIES IN BOGOTÁ

Edited by Alissa Diesch

Maps and Essays by
Arturo Calderón Esteban
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