memory matters in transitional peru

margarita saona

Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies

The nascent field of Memory Studies emerges from contemporary trends that include a shift from concern with historical knowledge of events to that of memory, from "what we know" to "how we remember it"; changes in generational memory; the rapid advance of technologies of memory; panics over declining powers of memory, which mirror our fascination with the possibilities of memory enhancement; and the development of trauma narratives in reshaping the past.

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Memory Matters in Transitional Peru

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*To María Luisa Ugarte and to the memory of
Carlos Iván Degregori*

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Preface

I left Lima in 1991 to pursue a Ph.D. in Latin American literature in New York. Access to education and other privileges allowed me to escape the grim environment of 1990s Peru. Alberto Fujimori had been democratically elected a year earlier, but the atmosphere of oppression and corruption was already palpable. The violence generated by the conflict among the Shining Path, the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, and the armed forces, which had devastated many of the provinces since 1980, was starting to be felt in the capital through car bombings and assassinations, but I did not experience any of it first-hand. The conflict was only felt in its full force by the population of Lima in 1992, when a car bomb killed 25 people and left over 150 wounded in Calle Tarata, a central street in the middle-class district of Miraflores.

For a decade, I followed the events in my country from afar while devoting my research to other issues. When Alberto Fujimori left Peru and an interim government instituted a truth and reconciliation commission, I felt hopeful. Still, I contemplated these events with a sense of disconnect. I did not have a way to articulate my personal story and my intellectual pursuits within the terrible history of my country.

Then, in 2004 I had the opportunity to visit *Yuyanapaq* for the first time. *Yuyanapaq. Para recordar* (In order to remember) was the photo exhibit created by the CVR, the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission. I had read the abbreviated version of the CVR's report, but I was hesitant about visiting the photo exhibit. I did not want to face gruesome images. It was only after the insistence of many friends saying that I "had to see it," that I went. It might sound like a trite line, but, still, it is accurate: it was a transformative experience. I had always been interested in photographs and their relationship to memory, but I was not prepared for the way these photographs were able to establish a narrative consistent with the message of the CVR nor for the way they affected me. For the first time since I could remember, I felt that this was my story too: even if I had left the

country in the midst of this period of violence and even if neither I nor anybody close to me had been directly victimized, even if I had only witnessed all this from afar, even if I felt guilt for not knowing how to intervene, I remembered. This was part of my memory.

This story of the impact the exhibit had on me might sound a bit naïve. I am, of course, aware of the ideological manipulation of images and stories. And it is precisely because of that that I had to embark upon this quest to understand the underlying mechanisms in the connections between art and collective memory. Why was this exhibit "effective" in making me and so many others "remember" things that had not happened to us? Was it the images? Was it the space where they were set? Was it identification with the subjects in the photographs? Was it the bodily experience of a sort of walking meditation through the galleries?

My first visit to *Yuyanapaq* almost ten years ago raised the questions that this book attempts to answer and that I have tried to approach from different angles, from the historical role of truth commissions to the epistemological, ethical, and emotional implications of photo-journalism; from neuroscientific research on empathy and memory to phenomenological understandings of space; from the role of memory museums to the disembodied interfaces with online memorials.

This book centers on the upsurge of memory initiatives in the post-CVR Peru, but its desire is to provide new understandings of the cultural mechanisms that facilitate the formation of collective memory regarding a traumatic past beyond a specific national experience. Its guiding argument is that certain forms of art and culture engage feelings of empathy at the cognitive and emotional level. Our brains are able to decode what happened to others and understand, at a deep level, what it would have meant for it to have happened to us. This "as if" that we experience when we empathize with others is similar to the way we are able to reproduce something that is not happening to us right now, but that we did experience in the past. I will look at photographs and drawings, at the use of metonymic references and the use of proper names, and at the different ways that space is used to memorialize, from built environments, to places that witness tragic events, to street art, to the internet. These are only a few of the ways that collective memory is mediated. It is my hope that this book will spark more studies on how material culture makes us remember with others.

Acknowledgments

I started this project almost ten years ago. I did not realize at the time that I was writing a book. However, my inquiry into the way photographs and museums were able to elicit collective memory started in 2004 when I was able to take two consecutive trips sponsored by faculty research funds provided by the University of Illinois at Chicago. I visited Berlin as part of a Faculty Language Immersion Program only a couple of weeks before going to a conference in Lima and visiting the *Yuyanapaq* photo exhibit created by the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Seeing the way two cities had tried to deal with a violent past is what instilled in me many of the questions I raise in this book. The University of Illinois at Chicago provided me with other precious opportunities to devote time to my research through the Institute for the Humanities faculty fellowship and through a semester sabbatical. Mary Beth Rose, Linda Vavra, and Susan Levine, at different times made the Institute into a safe haven for the Humanities where scholars could take the time to ask hard questions and reconnect with the world.

If I look even further back, I realize that some of my questions came from old conversations with Betina Kaplan: her work on gender and violence in Argentina was already pushing the connections between the ethical content and the aesthetic value of literary works and her voice and her ideas often resonate in my memory as I try to understand the way that art conveys painful meaning. As if on parallel journeys, connecting with Betina at conferences or on the phone after months or even years of not seeing each other always reveals that we are still on track, reading the same books, wondering about the same issues. During these exchanges, Betina always manages to make me re-examine my intellectual and moral compass.

I want to thank my UIC colleagues for their friendship and encouragement: Rosie Hernández, John Ireland, Tatjana Gajic, Kay González Vilbazo, Luis López Carretero, Steven Marsh, Ellen McClure, Kara Morgan Short, Dianna Nieblyslki, and Amalia Pallares have often given me support and feedback. My graduate students have been

amazing interlocutors: Emilio Sauri and Susana Domingo Amestoy have seen this project grow as they were developing their own projects. Working with Eugenio DiStefano's on his dissertation on literature and human rights was an intellectual adventure that I cherish and that informed much of my understanding about the history of human rights. Mandy Faretta-Stutenberg was kind enough to read and comment the parts of this book concerned with neuroscientific studies. My research assistants, Andrés Aluma-Cazorla and Lisa James, helped me both with the preparation of the typescript and with their insight and readings of my work. Other UIC colleagues have often been generous with their time and expertise: Colin Klein allowed me to sit in his seminar and provided me with tools to examine research in neuroimaging; Blake Stimson and Aidan Gray helped me think about images and proper names, respectively.

The intellectual exchange with Mary Beth Tierney-Tello has also helped me think about the way literature, images, and art deal with the representation of reality. Ana Forcinito's invitation to contribute to special issues of *Hispanic Issues Online* and to participate in the "International Symposium: Ongoing Dialogues on Human Rights: Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula" sparked some of the writing that originated this book. I want to thank Ana Forcinito and Nicholas Spadaccini, editors of *Hispanic Issues On Line*, for providing an intellectual home for the publication of previous versions of some of the sections of chapters 2 and 3. Sharon Spellman shared with me the gripping stories of her experiences in Peru during the 1980s and her archive of documents from that period. Becky Kidd provided feedback for the Preface.

Colleagues in Dartmouth College, Illinois State University, and Northwestern University invited me to present parts of my work and gave me invaluable feedback at different stages of this project. I want to specially thank Raúl Bueno Chávez, Txetxu Aguado, Jorge Coronado, Alejandra Uslenghi, Nathalie Bouzaglo, Emily Maguire, and Rebecca Saunders, for hosting me at their institutions and for the rich intellectual exchange they provided. Rebecca Saunders was a true guide for me as I started to dwell into the area of memory studies. Her generosity as a friend and as a scholar makes me believe in the human potential of academic collaboration. I encountered this same kind of generosity in Cynthia Milton, whose work had taught me a lot already before I had the chance to meet her in person.

In Peru, my colleagues at the Pontificia Universidad Católica also provided a forum for my work. Susana Reisz, Cecilia Esparza, Gonzalo Portocarrero, and Víctor Vich have influenced my work and gave me a space to try out my ideas. I have often been inspired by Víctor's passion and insight. Susana Reisz was my first intellectual mentor and her teachings keep growing with me throughout the years.

The work of Rocío Silva Santisteban, José Luis Rénique, Jo-Marie Burt, Javier Torres Seoane, Ricardo Caro, Eduardo González Cueva, José Pablo Baraybar, and many others has taught me more than I can say. I feel grateful that technology allows me to connect with them disregarding geographical distance. A recent trip to Lima and Ayacucho brought me in contact with many people who deeply influenced my writing as I was finishing this book: Carmen de los Ríos, Rosario Narváez, Jean Pierre Crousse, Rebeca Blackwell, the members of CEAS, APRODEH, Centro Loyola de Ayacucho, the communities of Vilcashuamán, Pomatambo, and Parcco. Jorge Frisancho's readings of several drafts of my work always provided me with discerning advice regarding my ideas and my words.

I want to thank the artists who sparked the questions I raise in this book: Mayu Mohanna and Nancy Chapell who curated the *Yuyanapaq* exhibit; the photographers who made me start to wonder about the impact of images: Mariana Bazo, Domingo Giribaldi, Vera Lenz, among others. I am grateful for the energy and inspiration of Mauricio Delgado, Orestes Bermúdez, Karen Bernedo, and the Arte por la Memoria collective. Edilberto Jiménez graciously shared his drawings with me for this book, as did Mariana Bazo, Karen Bernedo, Domingo Giribaldi, Miguel Gutierrez, Luis Longhi, and Herman Schwarz with their photographs and Mauricio Delgado with his work from *Un día en la memoria.* Caroline Guindon translated the passages from Salomón Lerner's "L'expérience Peruviénne (2001–2003)."

My daughters, Lucía Frisancho and Ana Gore, inspire me with their curiosity and their determination. My husband, Jeff Gore, has not only supported and encouraged me during this long process, but has been at the same time a tough interlocutor and my most devoted fan. The rich intellectual dialogue we keep has nourished this book from its inception.

A book on collective memory requires a certain understanding of community. My Facebook people have been an invaluable resource in

this process, from keeping me connected with many of those mentioned in these acknowledgements to giving me access to materials I would not have easily found otherwise, to the simple support of all those who regularly read my postings regarding this book and asked about its progress. It also takes a village to write a book.

The other collective that has sustained me physically and emotionally for the past eight years has been Thousand Waves: its sense of community and my martial arts practice have informed my understanding of a shared past and the transmission of memory, of the connections between the mind and the body, and of the human capacity for violence and compassion. Special thanks to Sei Shihan Nancy Lanoue and Jun Shihan Sarah Ludden. Gassho!

Acronyms

ANFASEP	Asociación Nacional de Familiares de Secuestrados, Detenidos y Desaparecidos del Perú (National Association of Relatives of the Kidnapped, Detained, and Disappeared in Peru)
AP	Acción Popular (Popular Action)
APRA	Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance)
APRODEH	Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos
CEAS	Comisión Episcopal de Acción Social
CEH	Comisión para el esclarecimiento histórico (Commission for Historical Clarification)
COMISEDH	Comisión de Derechos Humanos
CONADEP	Comisión Nacional sobre la desaparición de personas (National Commission on Disappearance of Persons)
CVR	Comisión de la verdad y la reconciliación (Truth and Reconciliation Commission)
EPAF	Equipo Peruano de Antropología Forense (Peruvian Team of Forensic Anthropology)
ICTJ	International Center for Transitional Justice
MIAxM	El museo itinerante (The Itinerant Museum of Art for Memory)
MOVADEF	Movimiento por amnistía y derechos fundamentales (Movement for Amnesty and Fundamental Rights)
MRTA	Movimiento revolucionario Tupac Amaru
PCP-SL	Partido Comunista del Perú, Sendero Luminoso
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission (South African)

1
Introduction: Peruvian Memory Matters

The CVR and the mandate to remember

The transitional government of Valentín Paniagua established the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (known by the acronym CVR), after Alberto Fujimori left the country in 2001.[1] Its charge was to investigate and make public the truth regarding two decades of political violence in Peru, starting in 1980 when the Shining Path appeared on the public scene and ending with the collapse of Fujimori's regime.

Throughout its history, Peru has experienced many violent episodes: the territory that now constitutes the Republic of Peru had seen the imperial domination of the Inca over different ethnic groups, the violent conquest by the Spaniards, internal and territorial wars, and the abuse and exploitation of indigenous populations. However, in the collective memory of the nation, there has been no record of a historical period as traumatic as this one. The CVR estimated that there were over 69,000 deaths resulting from political violence. The report establishes that the number of victims of the internal armed conflict exceeds the number of deaths caused by both the wars of independence and the war against Chile, which had been considered the most violent in the country's history.[2]

The period the CVR denominates "the internal armed conflict" starts with the first public actions of the Shining Path in May 1980 – the burning of electoral ballots in a small town in Ayacucho considered by the organization the beginning of its "popular war" – and ends with the fall of Alberto Fujimori's government

in a scandal involving the corruption of the government and its relationship with paramilitary groups. The burning of ballots in Chuschi in 1980, during an electoral process marking the return to democracy after 12 years of military rule, was followed by other terrorist attacks that were mostly dismissed as "banditry" by the government during the first few months of the offensive. However, the government unleashed a counterinsurgent campaign carried out with ruthless force and a total disregard for human rights.

In his study of the Shining Path, *Qué difícil es ser Dios: El Partido Comunista del Perú – Sendero Luminoso y el conflicto armado interno en el Perú: 1980–1999,* Carlos Iván Degregori remarks that the most striking difference between the Peruvian armed conflict and similar processes in the region was the fact that both the guerrilla and the armed forces brutally targeted civilian populations, particularly indigenous peasant groups (2011, p. 90). Already in 1981 the Shining Path had established the idea of a "blood quota": in order to overthrow the establishment, its followers had to be ready to die, but especially to kill, and to do so in the most brutal ways (CVR, *Hatun Willakuy*, 2004, pp. 109–11). Death and destruction ruled both the actions of the insurgent groups and the state responses. The extent of the effects of the "internal armed conflict" was not truly brought to light until the CVR released its report, but in the last ten years human rights organizations, victims associations, and independent artists have participated in the public sphere in an attempt to carry on their mandate to remember.[3]

The purpose of my research is to elucidate the ways in which, in the Peruvian case, collective memory is elicited by works of art and other forms of intervention in the cultural arena. My guiding premise when I use the term *collective memory* is that public memorialization delivers information and activates forms of empathy even in those who might not have actual recollection of the events, but are capable of understanding and identifying with the loss experienced by victims and survivors of social trauma. The proliferation of museums, memorials, art exhibits, and websites that resulted from the publication of the report of the CVR allows us to examine the different mechanisms of memory they activate, from the idea that photographs "capture" (and are therefore able to communicate) reality to the internet's potential to send daily reminders of tragic anniversaries. My project consists of looking at diverse forms of

memorialization – photojournalism, artistic photography, artisanal paintings, public monuments, exhibits, museums, and websites – in an attempt to understand the ways that art and representations of suffering mobilize the public and inspire solidarity towards the victims of violence.

The memorialization initiatives I analyze are aligned with a notion of human rights as universal: they rely on the belief that as human beings we should identify with others and recognize their rights. This concept might be criticized for not taking sides or for de-ideologizing or de-politicizing politics. Initiatives that focus on the defense of human rights tend to concentrate on the victim and the survivors. I feel that I need to clarify this since I am centering this study on initiatives that distance themselves from heroic narratives. In the Peruvian case, in recent years the emphasis on memory has led groups such as the armed forces and the new incarnation of the Shining Path, Movement for Amnesty and Fundamental Rights (MOVADEF),[4] to create museums, websites, mural art, and so on. More than emotional identification and reflection, their goal is an explicit ideological message whereby victims become martyrs.

The memory initiatives I study are the ones that make the spectators witnesses of the witness, engaging the interactive aspects of testimony.[5] My own use of the terms *victim* and *survivor* does not assume passivity or lack of agency. It refers simply to the fact that political violence shattered the lives of human beings. Different modes of cultural expression now present themselves as testimony of this suffering. In turn, these expressions (photographs, museums, public monuments) attempt to engage the public in the works of memory, interpellating us. In his analysis of the effects of the CVR, Carlos Iván Degregori problematizes the notion of "the victim": those who presented their testimony to the CVR had access, often for the first time, to the public sphere as a "victim." However, the mere fact of speaking up was already a claim to agency. Even more, these witnesses did not limit themselves to the presentation of the abuses they had suffered: they presented their demands. They asked not only for economic reparations, but also demanded justice, education, psychological support, and so on (Degregori, 2011, pp. 282–3). "Victim" becomes, then, a legal category that asserts the subject as a citizen with undeniable rights. The CVR testimonies therefore granted the

possibility of full citizenship to thousands of individuals who had been previously ignored by the state.

According to Degregori, even when the general public's initial response to the CVR report was tepid, the photo exhibit where it presented a "visual narrative" of its findings, *Yuyanapaq. Para recordar,* achieved enormous success and sparked other events which were an undeniable sign that at least a sector of the population was willing to engage with the need to remember (Degregori, 2011, p. 286). These initiatives came to life as a result of the CVR's work and the narrative it articulated about the 20 years of terror experienced by the country, against both the will to forget that declared that the country needed to face the future and leave the past behind and a narrative that simply subscribed to the idea that the militarized, ruthless counterinsurgency had saved the country from terrorism (Degregori, p. 285). But what made the creation of the CVR possible, when the country had experienced such a long and fiercely repressive period?

Degregori explains that a particular set of circumstances enabled the formation of the CVR. At the beginning of his mandate, Alberto Fujimori achieved popular support even when he closed congress and started an authoritarian regime where freedom was seen as contrary to order and safety. Abimael Guzmán, the leader of the Shining Path, was captured, and the leaderships of his organization and of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, the other major guerrilla group in the country, were collapsing. In a narrative accepted by the majority of the population at the time, the human rights violations had been a necessary cost to regain peace. However, when in 1995 Fujimori attempted to pass an amnesty law, close to 85% of the population rejected it. For Degregori, this fact belies the image of an ingrained authoritarian nature in Peruvian culture (pp. 275–8). Organizations that had advocated for human rights since the early 1980s kept their message strong and carried out opinion polls showing a firm belief in the need for truth and a rejection of impunity. This message remained a fundamental part of the demands against the government when Fujimori's efforts to perpetuate his mandate alienated a population already distraught by the economic crisis at the end of the decade.

In the midst of a scandal involving Fujimori's main advisor, Vladimiro Montesinos, who had recorded videos of himself bribing politicians, businessmen, and even owners of TV stations, the

extent of the government's corruption led it to its demise. The demands against the corruption of the government and in favor of a representative democracy incorporated a strong protest against human rights violations (p. 278).

According to Degregori's analysis, the creation of the CVR was in part possible because the transition to democracy was not co-opted by political parties. In fact, political parties were very weak at this time, and civil society protests brought together popular sectors and the middle class. Degregori remarks that this situation was very different from transitional governments in other countries, such as Chile, where political parties had to enter into alliances to achieve governability at the cost of not addressing the human rights violations in their recent past, at least for a while. In the Peruvian case, not only the ousted Fujimori government that was indicted, but – at that time – other political parties also lacked the ability to assemble a coalition. If the Peruvian traditional parties that had governed the country during the 1980s, Acción Popular and APRA, had been in charge of the transition, the egregious human rights violations of the two previous governments would not have been scrutinized (p. 279). This allowed the CVR to investigate not only Fujimori's government, but also the crimes and abuses committed since the first public act by the Shining Path in 1980.

In the introduction to her book *Art from a Fractured Past: Memory and Truth Telling in Post-Shining Path Peru,* Cynthia Milton (2014) also explains the exceptional place the CVR held.[6] While other truth commissions had to compromise with several factions, the Peruvian CVR had more leeway:

> [...] since Shining Path and the Revolutionary Movement of Túpac Amaru [...] no longer posed a threat, the interim government did not need to negotiate with an armed movement, nor did the government need to make large concessions, such as a blanket amnesty, to the political and military elites, since they had been weakened by scandal. (p. 6)

The Peruvian CVR was also made possible by an international context in which truth commissions were emerging across the region as a consequence of investigations regarding Southern Cone dictatorships and armed conflicts in Central America. According to Amnesty International, between 1974 and 2007, 28 countries

created truth commissions, starting with a Commission of Inquiry that investigated the disappearance of people in Uganda.[7] In Latin America, Argentina pioneered the demand for truth regarding human rights abuses in 1983 with the National Commission on Disappearance of Persons (CONADEP) that investigated the crimes of the Argentinean military dictatorship of 1976–1983.

The International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) in its *Transitional Justice Handbook for Latin America* (2011) recognizes that the proliferation of truth commissions in the region is a consequence of its troubled recent history (p. 34). However, it is remarkable that such violent history resulted in "pioneering experiences seeking justice through democracy and peace restoration processes" (p. 35). The ICTJ explains that there are two kinds of violent events that have led to the creation of truth commissions during transitional governments: there are, on the one hand, crimes committed during the brutally repressive regimes of recent dictatorships and, on the other hand, there are armed, violent revolutionary movements that spread through the region with practices ranging "from guerrilla strategy to the practice of terror." While in some cases it is the state's counterinsurgency strategy that bears the greatest responsibility for the violation of human rights, in others, such as Peru and Colombia, non-state armed groups also committed atrocities against civilian populations. The peace processes, which accompanied the return to democracy in several Latin American countries, steered initiatives to confront the past, which eventually became known as truth commissions (p. 36). At the same time, the search for the "truth" was accompanied by the efforts to bring justice to the region embodied in institutions such as the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

The ICTJ in its *Handbook on Transitional Justice* explains the role of truth commissions in transitional processes:

> The recognition of the truth regarding past criminal acts and the adoption of this truth in the public sphere is the platform from which victims' demands can be made with a hope of success. Moreover, it is in the practice of truth and memory that groups of people who have been abused "discover" their status as victims, in the sense of being entitled to specific benefits from the State. (p. 40)

Transitional justice is understood as the attempt to establish sustainable peace in a society emerging from a recent violent conflict. In the words of Paul van Zyl, "Transitional justice involves prosecuting perpetrators, revealing the truth about past crimes, providing victims with reparations, reforming abusive institutions and promoting reconciliation" (ICTJ, p. 45). Although many truth commissions are not empowered to preside over the justice systems of their countries, their truth-seeking processes establish a way to acknowledge officially the brutal past. This prevents the entrenchment of revisionist positions and empowers citizens to recognize abusive practices, fostering an awareness that would hopefully avert the return of such practices (pp. 48–9).

The very title of the pioneering report – *Nunca más*, written by the CONADEP – puts forth the notion that the function of truth commissions is not only to establish the truth about past events, but that it is also a necessary step in the construction of a future where such abuses do not happen again. Truth commissions, therefore, are not only about the past. They are not just recording history. One of their primary functions is to prevent the repetition of these traumatic events. This is why they often produce memory projects as attempts to connect the past and the future. It is important to recognize, nonetheless, that prevention should not be the only goal of truth commissions, and that the vindication of victims' rights is their priority (vanZyl, p. 52).

As Rebecca Saunders and Kamran Aghaie explain, truth commissions need to balance "a formidable if not impossible array of goals, such as justice, individual and societal healing, the revelation of truth, assignation of blame, punishment, reparation, and political stability" (p. 24). Truth commissions might not live up to the expectations invested in them, but offer transitional societies certain mechanisms to recover from their violent past in ways that are more flexible than traditional judicial systems:

> [. . .] they evoke less procedurally-constrained testimony, incorporate expressions of memory and emotion regularly expunged by the rationality of the law, pursue a more expansive field of investigation, and focus more extensively on the experience of victims rather than the culpability of perpetrators.
>
> (Saunders and Aghaie, p. 24)

Eduardo González Cueva explains the evolution of truth commissions in relationship to transitional justice systems (González Cueva, 2011). According to González Cueva, truth commissions "arose in a process that combined creativity and pragmatism" in societies where the justice system was not ready to handle the prosecution of crimes committed by recent dictatorships or by parties involved in internal armed conflicts (pp. 315–16). This is seen as an early stage in the development of truth commissions that corresponds to those created in Chile, El Salvador, and Argentina. In a second stage, embodied in the Truth Commissions of Guatemala and South Africa, the value of the quest for truth as independent from the judicial process was made explicit. In Guatemala, the Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH) proposed a multidisciplinary approach that consisted in both the legal determination of the facts and an assessment of the experience of the victims. This methodology that included the experience of the victims was clearly distinct from the one used to prove facts in the courts. In South Africa, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) also underscored the value of truth as a social construction capable of healing individuals and societies, independently of the judicial aspects of the process (pp. 319–21). While the South African TRC tried to link the admission of guilt to amnesty practices, this proved difficult and controversial. Nonetheless, the CEH and the South African TRC established a legacy that influenced future truth commissions. In González Cueva's words, this led to

> [...] a greater legal acceptance of the independent value and special nature of the "right to truth" [...] one can speak of an emerging principle that recognizes the right of victims of the most serious violations to know the circumstances and to identify who holds blame for the crimes they have suffered. (p. 324)

The Peruvian CVR was extremely successful in the years after their mandate in impacting the judicial system. Jo-Marie Burt documents how Fujimori's prosecution for human rights violations established a precedent by having him brought to trial and condemned in his own country.[8] According to Burt, the Peruvian human rights movement influenced "an integral vision of transitional justice": the commissioners were not supposed to "simply investigate the horrors of the past, but also to attempt to identify those responsible and hold them

accountable, as well as to propose individual and collective reparations to victims and their family members" (Burt, 2014). Other truth commissions had renounced the quest for retributive justice because political constraints made trials impossible. Yet, following the publication of the report in Peru, the executive power and the judicial system actually responded to the CVR with what Burt calls "an accountability agenda." This was a result of the fact that the videotape scandals that brought down Fujimori's government had tarnished the image of military chiefs and there was a complete overhaul of the leadership of the armed forces. The transitional governments, first the brief interim government of Valentín Paniagua, and later the elected president Alejandro Toledo, had to respond to the pressures to eradicate corruption and to restore the credibility of judicial institutions. While in other transitional governments prosecutions had been considered an obstacle to national reconciliation, in Peru they became, at first, an essential component of the process (Burt, 2014). A political shift occurred when Alan García, who had been president between 1985 and 1990, a period of intense armed conflict and grave human rights violations, was re-elected in 2006. Burt has been tracking the deplorable change in the judicial system ever since.

However, while the impact the CVR had on bringing perpetrators before the law has been truncated by political forces, the efforts to advance restorative justice without abandoning the hope for retributive justice are still strong.[9] The CVR defended not only the need to punish perpetrators, but also a series of principles establishing that victims have the right to know the circumstances of the crimes committed against them, that they have the right to tell their stories, that relatives of the disappeared have the right to find the bodies of their loved ones, and that society at large has the right and the responsibility to find out that the truth has prevailed.

The value that is now attributed to finding the "truth" and making it known has its origin in the memory initiatives that attempt to address the collective past. The international context and the experience of previous truth commissions exerted great influence over the constitution of the CVR in Peru. We will see, particularly in the reflections of the president of the CVR, Salomón Lerner, that the commission had to establish a particular understanding of "the truth" and of their mission regarding presenting this truth to Peruvian

society (Lerner, 2009).[10] Lerner explains that investigating "the truth" in a country like Peru involved a lot more than finding facts. Those who suffered the worst human rights violations were also the ones who had no previous representation before the State and had been marginalized for centuries (p. 89).

One of the mechanisms established by the Peruvian CVR was the implementation of public hearings. According to Lerner, this had not been done before by a truth commission in Latin America, but it was assumed by the Peruvian commissioners as a moral obligation to the victims (p. 95):

> Cela se retrouva dans leur projet de travail pour une raison simple: ils étaient convaincus que leur devoir principal était d'accorder leur attention aux victimes. Ils tinrent compte du fait que celles-ci avaient souffert, non seulement d'agressions physiques, mais encore d'atteintes á leur dignité dans le silence et l'ombre, et que cela devait être reconnu en leur accordant la parole et l'écoute. (p. 96)

> [This found its way into their project for a simple reason: they were convinced that their main obligation was to pay attention to the victims. They took into account the fact that they had endured not only physical aggressions but also, in silence and darkness, violations to their dignity and that this had to be acknowledged by offering them the opportunity to talk and to be heard.][11]

Listening to the victims became central in the work of the Peruvian CVR: for the victims, being heard meant not only having their traumatic experiences acknowledged by others, but also being recognized as legitimate citizens of the State, whose rights had been violated, and with the right to reparations for their loss and suffering. The public hearings provided an audience for the victims and made the audience into active participants in the process. For the commissioners and for the general public who heard the testimonies, it meant taking part in an act of witnessing that fostered the feeling that the violence suffered by sectors of the population was in fact a trauma that affected society as a whole. This, of course, does not mean that the pain and loss experienced by the victims could be effectively shared by others. It means that a society that has allowed for such atrocities against

large sectors of its population needs to acknowledge the crimes, make reparations, and strive to change the conditions that enabled the crimes. In these processes, Peruvians who had not been necessarily victims or perpetrators were supposed to become witnesses of the witness. The communicability of the traumatic experience and the need for all of society to be receptive to the truth regarding the crimes against humanity suffered by some of their members is at the core of the memory projects that resulted from the work of the CVR.

The Peruvian CVR confirmed that the human rights violations committed by the Shining Path, other subversive organizations, such as the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, and the State security forces were not isolated cases of violence. Summary executions, torture, sexual abuse, and other atrocities were perpetrated in systematic and generalized ways and therefore constituted crimes against humanity (Lerner, 2009, p. 97). For Lerner, these atrocities were possible because of a culture of exclusion, discrimination, and racism that saw the lives of indigenous, poor, rural populations as expendable. For the country to achieve peace and democracy, it would be indispensable to transform its institutions and its civic culture (p. 97). In recognizing the status of the victims as citizens whose rights had been violated, in bearing witness to their testimonies, and in reconstructing a narrative of a collective trauma, the CVR aimed at transforming the ingrained structures of exclusion that enabled the atrocities in the first place.

The CVR in Peru functioned as a "carrier group" in the sense that Jeffrey Alexander uses the word in "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma" (2004): a group endowed with the power to make meaning in the public sphere by articulating a narrative of trauma as a shared experience (p. 11). Alexander explains the importance of a collective understanding of trauma for a society to be able to see itself as a community:

> It is by constructing cultural traumas that social groups, national societies, and sometimes even entire civilizations not only cognitively identify the existence and source of human suffering but "take on board" some significant responsibility for it. Insofar as they identify the cause of trauma, and thereby assume such moral responsibility, members of collectivities define their solidarity relationships in ways that, in principle, allow them to share

the suffering of others. Is the suffering of others also our own? In thinking that it might in fact be, societies expand the circle of the we. (p. 1)

Alexander clearly establishes that collective trauma is elaborated and that "events are one thing, representations of these events quite another" (p. 10). It is the mediation of the events that fosters an understanding of them as a collective past where those events can be seen as a threat to society as a whole. It is the representation of these events as a traumatic collective past for the group that allows society to address them as such. The members of the Peruvian CVR assumed that they needed to do more than simply establish facts. They needed to understand the origins of the violence and they needed to convey both the facts and an interpretation of them to Peruvian society at large in a way that would make it possible for its citizens to recognize this embattled recent history as a collective wound in need of repair.

    On their website, the CVR summarizes its mandate with these words: "to investigate the truth, understand the facts originating the violence, elaborate proposals for reparations and reforms to confront the consequences of the process."[12] However, Lerner problematizes the meaning of "truth" itself. Although the CVR assembled vast empirical evidence during its mandate, Lerner considers that the conclusions reached by the CVR cannot only consist of descriptions of the facts: the facts need to be interpreted. Historical truth is always presented within a discourse, and it needs to take into consideration the subjective dimension of its narrative character:

Cette dimension narrative est associé à l'idée que, sur le terrain des action humaines, et plus encore dans celui d'actions qui se trouvent dans le limite de notre "socialité", la vérité doit être productrice d'un sens qui implique le phénomène de la subjectivité: des intention propres des sujets qui se structurent au fil temps et qui apportent une présentation particulière – et ausie une certain intelligibilité—à ce qui est fait ou reste à faire. (p. 99)

[This narrative dimension is associated with the idea that in the field of human actions, and even more so in that of actions that find themselves within the limits of our "sociality,"

the truth has to produce a meaning that implies the phenomenon of subjectivity: specific intentions of subjects that structure themselves over time and that bring a particular presentation – and also a certain intelligibility – to what is done or remains to be done.]

The CVR collected 17,000 testimonies. For Lerner, the subjective aspect of the testimonies did not mean that truth was compromised. Each testimony offered a partial perspective, but collectively they allowed the CVR to reconstruct a story that, according to Lerner, belongs to all (p. 100). For Lerner, the truth uncovered by these testimonies transcends the cognitive realm to enter into the field of pragmatic ethics. In a society that is emerging from such a violent history, the CVR recognized that its presentation of the truth was meant to construct a path to peace and democracy and to generate public policy to reform the State and its institutions. In that context, Lerner finds that the truth cannot be restricted by positivist parameters. (p. 102)

Writing about testimony of trauma, Dori Laub explains the importance of the exchange produced between the victim who testifies about the traumatic events and the listener. In "Bearing Witness or the Vicissitudes of Listening" (1992), Laub discusses the arguments created by the testimony of a Holocaust survivor who "got the facts wrong" by reporting that she saw four chimneys in Auschwitz blowing up when apparently historical record showed that only one had blown up. Some historians wanted to invalidate her testimony, fearing that the inaccuracy might give arguments to Holocaust deniers. Laub defended the value of her testimony: "it was through my listening to her that I in turn came to understand not merely her subjective truth, but the very historicity of the event, in an entirely new dimension" (p. 62). This is consistent with Lerner's position, as president of the CVR, regarding its mission to uncover "the truth." He insists that this does not mean always renouncing the search for scientifically verifiable proof, but that it requires acknowledging that the concept of epistemological value is vast and complex. The work of the CVR, for Lerner, consisted in presenting the truth at which it arrived when it interpreted all the factual information it gathered (p. 102).

The historical truth presented by the Peruvian CVR also encompassed the main message of its final report. The CVR established

that the deeper causes of the violence were connected to a history of exclusion and abuse and Peruvian society required a profound institutional transformation:

> Au surplus, de tels messages, comme nous l'avons signalé, constituent une chance de projection de la vérité factuelle – celle qui était la plus intéressante pour que la justice soit rendue dans le pays, en termes de jugement pénaux et de reparations – vers une vérité socio-historique et, en fin de compte, vers le terrain du discours moral fixé dans un position d'éthique citoyenne. Ce sont de message qui, sans méconnaître les responsabilités individuelles, soulignent le fond historique de la violence et de ses prolongements. (p. 103)

> [Moreover, as we have mentioned, such messages constitute an opportunity for projecting the factual truth – the truth that was the most interesting for justice to be delivered in the country in terms of penal judgments and of reparations – towards a social-historical truth, and ultimately, towards the field of moral discourse anchored in a position of an ethics of citizenship. These are messages that, without ignoring individual responsibilities, underline the historical foundation of violence and of its ramifications.]

The CVR concluded that there are profound faults in the fabric of Peruvian society that allowed for large sectors of its elites to remain oblivious to the death and disappearance of 70,000 of the country's citizens. This conclusion led the Commission to see the dissemination of their findings as one of their main tasks. The CVR wanted to eradicate oblivion. *Hatun Willakuy,* the abbreviated version of the final report of the CVR, reports the fact that rural and indigenous populations were being devastated while the rest of the nation ignored them (*Hatun Willakuy*, p. 27). The need to represent to the country at large what had happened to these sectors of the population guided the role of the CVR as carrier group to elaborate collective trauma. According to Jeffrey Alexander, carrier groups are necessary mediators for "what might be called 'meaning making'" (2004, p. 11). In Alexander's words:

> [...] social groups can, and often do, refuse to recognize the existence of others' trauma, and because of their failure they cannot achieve a moral stance [...]. In other words, by refusing to participate in what I will describe as the process of trauma creation, social groups restrict solidarity, leaving others to suffer alone.
>
> (Alexander, p. 1)

Therefore, a group that can articulate events as a tragedy for the community as a whole is essential to bring society together. The Peruvian context reflected this generalized indifference to the suffering of the most impoverished sectors of the population, which was treated by both sides of the conflict – the subversive organizations and the armed forces – as expendable. Therefore, the Peruvian CVR understood its mission as not only identifying the perpetrators, bringing them to justice, and establishing reparations for the victims, but also as presenting the story of the violence to the nation as a collective past.

The efforts of the commissioners could be understood as a reaction to the fact that the country's middle class and its political and economic elites had not risen against the massive human rights violations suffered by tens of thousands of their fellow citizens. This indifference signaled, for them, an acquiescence to the crimes committed by the terrorist organizations and the armed forces, because the victims of these atrocities were not really recognized as rightful members of society. They were, in their majority, poor, Indian, illiterate. They did not belong in the imagined community of the nation, except as an abstract mass that could be sacrificed either to the principles of the Shining Path or to the principles that were supposed to restore national security.

This led Lerner to establish as a major task for the CVR the need to develop empathy as the capacity to imagine the pain of others:

> La commission estima que cette empathie, qui paraît être une qualité tellement étrangère à la politique, était en réalité celle qui, dans une démocratie, rendait possible que ceux qui n'ont pas été affectés par une tragédie exigent, comme faisant partie de l'image qu'ils se font du bien public, quel'on s'occupe de ceux qui ont

été touchés par elle [...] que ceux qui joissent de consideration sociale, du respect de leurs droits et the la protection de l'État, se sentient insatisfaits si les autres, ceux qu'ils ne voient pas [...] mais qu'ils considèrent comme leurs égaux, leur concitoyens, leurs prochains, n'en profitent pas. (p. 106)

[The commission reckoned that this empathy, a quality that seems so foreign to politics, was in truth the one that in a democracy, made possible for those not affected by a tragedy to demand, as part of the image that they hold of the public good, that those affected by the tragedy would be taken care of [...] Those who enjoy social consideration, whose rights are respected and who receive the protection of the State, should feel dissatisfied if the others, those they can't see but that they consider their equals, their fellow citizens, their peers, cannot take advantage of (the same rights and the same protection by the State).]

This understanding of the need to transform the imaginary of the nation, so that those who have been marginalized and abused are granted full citizenship not only by the law, but also in the minds and hearts of the most fortunate, leads the Peruvian CVR to strive not only for victims to receive reparations and perpetrators to be brought to justice, but to make its findings public. Its goal is to have the general population see its findings as the tragic recent history of the nation, and not of isolated groups of people. The will to unify the country through this narrative is reflected in many of the documents and initiatives created by the CVR. For example, the abbreviated version of its report quoted above was published under the title *Hatun Willakuy: Versión abreviada del Informe Final de la Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación* (2004). The book was widely distributed and was available in newspaper stands for a price that probably did not even cover the paper it was printed on. The Quechua words *Hatun Willakuy* mean "great narrative." Although the text itself was in Spanish, the Quechua title aims at constructing an imaginary of inclusion. The majority of Quechua speakers are illiterate. Bilingual speakers of Spanish and Quechua might receive access to Spanish literacy, but might not read and write in Quechua. The Quechua title might seem to be only a gesture with very limited reach to the Quechua speakers that the nation has marginalized for so long. But it establishes a register in the attempts of the CVR to present Peruvians with a

narrative of their collective past as a tragedy that affected the country as a nation.

Lerner recognizes that the work of the CVR, as it researched the facts, acquired a "performative" dimension: it embodied a process of vindication of the victims and a challenge for the official narratives of violence (p. 107). The CVR is aware that presenting the facts constitutes the creation of a particular discourse regarding the past and that this is in itself an action: the practice of memory, (p. 108). A violent past leaves a score of images, representations, and interpretations. It also creates practices of forgetting that condemn many stories and many perspectives to oblivion. These processes are often naturalized, viewed as a normal recollection of facts, and not as the result of social forces. In addition, certain ways of speaking about the past reinforce certain views: the need to "start a new page" in the history of the country, for example (pp. 108–9). The awareness of the power of discursive and performative practices in the presentation of the past leads the CVR to regard intentional practices of memory as an intrinsic part of its task: for Lerner, the CVR is not only waging a juridical and political battle, but is also engaged in a rhetorical struggle and a pedagogical process (p. 109).

The effort to promote the CVR's message took many forms, from its website, which includes downloadable copies of the final report, to the printed abbreviated version *Hatun Willakuy*, to educational leaflets in indigenous languages. However, the initiative that sparked the memory movement in Peru was the photo exhibit, *Yuyanapaq. Para recordar* (In order to remember). The exhibit opened in Lima in August 2003, a couple of weeks before the presentation of the CVR's final report. The exhibit is referred to as "a visual narrative" and part of a "visual legacy," and the website of the CVR explains that these images "reconstruct the history of those violent years."[13] The use of images in a country plagued by forms of cultural segregation that include high rates of illiteracy, but also linguistic discrimination against a huge sector of the population for their use of their native tongues, was a campaign by the CVR in its symbolic struggle over oblivion. A story told through images would necessarily have a larger impact than a text printed in any language.

While the CVR report underscores linguistic discrimination as one of the factors marginalizing the populations that suffered the most egregious abuses during the internal armed conflict in Peru, the essays

in the book published as a result of the exhibit do not bring up these issues when highlighting the need to use images to tell the story. In his essay "Tiempo de la memoria," Carlos Iván Degregori mentions "a visual knowledge that appeals to intuition, sensations, and feelings," that is recognized by cultures beyond the limits of "letters" or rational knowledge ("Tiempo de la memoria" *Yuyanapaq*, p. 20). In his introduction to the book, Lerner emphasizes the power of photographs to provide objective proof that something happened, while at the same time transmitting the subjective drama of those who suffered, and a moral commentary (Lerner, "Prefacio," *Yuyanapaq*, p. 18). But the Quechua word in the title stands alone as a trace of what seems to be a preoccupation of the commissioners: to bridge the divide between the cultural and political elites and the sectors of Peruvian population devastated by violence.[14] There is not much discussion about the power of images to cross linguistic barriers, and there is not currently a study tracking the impact of the exhibit versus the printed versions of the report. But there is ample evidence of the exhibit's success in reaching a wide public.

The photo exhibit opened for the first time in Casa Riva Agüero, a dilapidated mansion, property of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, in the district of Chorrillos, Lima. It was supposed to remain open for four months, but public demand kept it open for over two years. After public outcry when it closed, the Museo de la Nación opened one of its floors to the exhibit where it has remained for the past six years. It is supposed to move permanently to "El lugar de la Memoria, la tolerancia y la inclusion social," the "memory museum," currently under construction, but a new agreement has extended the exhibition at Museo de la Nación until 2026.[15] Although the main exhibit opened in Lima, there were efforts to present at least smaller versions of it in cities that were closer to the sites that had experienced most of the violence, such as Ayacucho, Huánuco, Abancay, and Cuzco. In 2009, six years after the exhibit first opened, a reporter from *La República*, one of Peru's major newspapers, recorded over 100 visitors per day for three consecutive days.[16] It is not hard to find recent blogs encouraging their readers to visit the exhibit and talking about its relevance.[17] After ten years, the exhibit has not lost its impact on the imaginary of Peruvians who approach it, and it has

transformed the cultural landscape of the nation carving a space for collective memory as a necessity.

In *The Art of Truth-Telling about Authoritarian Rule* (2005), Ksenija Bilbija, Jo Ellen Fair, Cynthia E. Milton, and Leigh A. Payne remind us that the official processes of truth-telling in countries emerging from recent violence "rarely limit themselves to factual or forensic truth. They do not simply recount, they explain. Their ultimate aim is to forge a national consensus, a shared understanding of the past designed to advance a particular vision of the nation's political future" (Bilbija et al., p. 3). *The Art of Truth-Telling* analyzes the different means by which popular understandings of the past emerge in different art forms, often in contention with an official narrative. In the Peruvian case, *Yuyanapaq* presented the official narrative of the CVR with unprecedented success. This is not to say that the Peruvian CVR, its report, and *Yuyanapaq* were not criticized. But the exhibit firmly established the need to remember. In a country with a failing state, the CVR, created by a transitional government aspiring to rebuild democracy, succeeded in creating an institutional mandate that resonated with the public: the story needed to be told, in order to remember.

The photo exhibit that started as a modest four-month project evolved in unexpected ways, finding a space in the Museo de la Nación after closing at Riva Agüero, and eventually creating enough national and international support to spark the creation of a Museo de la Memoria. Official history has often been discredited. The editors of *The Art of Truth-Telling* maintain that "Official truths appeal to the need to move forward quickly, to put the nation's difficult past behind it" (p. 4). There is distrust, particularly in countries that have experienced authoritarianism and repression, towards the discourses produced by any institution, including truth commissions. The Peruvian CVR has not yet had the desired impact in implementing reparations for the victims or in bringing perpetrators to justice, but the precept inscribed in its website – "A country that forgets its history is condemned to repeat it" – seems to echo in an important sector of the population. In Cynthia Milton's words:

The emergence of the commission signaled new opportunities to speak more openly about the past, giving important legitimacy to

previously shunned or muted experiences. That is, "truth-telling" became part of the public domain, even at times at the national level, rather than an affair of individuals or groups.

<div style="text-align: right">(Milton, 2014, p. 15)</div>

The explosion of "a culture of memory" has been criticized as being at odds with political action.[18] However, the limitations of memory projects still leave room to conceive political change, especially when there is an emphasis on the connection between the past and the future, as in Argentina's *Nunca más* and the Peruvian CVR's admonition not to repeat history. There is an imperative mandate to increase awareness against human rights abuses, which may infuse the current political struggle. The "culture of memory" resists the temptation of those who insist upon the need to "close a painful chapter" or "turn a new page" for the sake of progress.

Yuyanapaq. In order to remember, catalyzed the impulse to remember and the notion that it was possible to remember in non-linguistic ways. *Yuyanapaq* was not really the first cultural intervention in Peru aiming to memorialize the horrors of the internal conflict. But the institutional platform and the discourses surrounding the exhibit, which emphasized the power of images to communicate the truth, had an impact on the public sphere, opening it up to other memory initiatives.

Even before the creation of the CVR, independent artists had used their craft to honor the victims of violence or to express outrage at the crimes. Maria Eugenia Ulfe (2005 and 2014) has studied how political themes had become part of the traditional art form of the *retablo*, wooden portable altars that originally presented only religious scenes. Ulfe's study shows that during the last two decades of the twentieth century, memories of violence and discrimination became prevalent even in these traditional art forms. The Sarhua *Tablas pintadas*, another traditional art form influenced by the *retablos*, in a series called *Piraq Causa* notoriousl*y* narrated the violence suffered in their community in the early 1990s.[19] Young artists Eduardo Tokeshi and Jaime Higa had been presenting body-bags, shrouds, and bundles to refer to the killed and disappeared as early as the mid-1980s.[20] In 1995, the artist Ricardo Wiesse, in a performative gesture, dyed red flowers on the sands of the mountains where the bodies of nine students and a university professor

kidnapped by a paramilitary group had been found.[21] Representations of the violence generated by the internal conflict were also present in the literature of the period.[22] *Yuyachkani*, a theater collective that started in the early 1970s and became one of the most innovative forces in Latin American performance arts, carried in its Quechua name an antecedent to *Yuyanapaq*: the word *Yuyachkani* means "I'm thinking, I'm remembering." Yuyachkani not only incorporated oral tradition, popular music, and other native performative art forms into a modern theatrical concept, but they also dealt with political issues from the very beginning and later collaborated with the CVR in the creation of works addressing the findings of the report.[23]

Without diminishing the relevance of the memory initiatives that preceded *Yuyanapaq*, it is my contention that its impact opened the doors to other attempts to create "collective memory" and even to the reception of those works that had been created before the CVR, but that had not yet reached wide audiences. Although critics of the CVR and of the exhibit point to the limitations of an official narrative of the internal conflict produced by an institutional body such as the CVR, its message had enough cultural capital to engage the nation's imaginary regarding the need to remember.[24]

The demand for a museum of memory started before the publication of the CVR's report, but the concrete plan to build one only came about, as I mentioned above, as an initiative to find a permanent home for *Yuyanapaq*.[25] What is currently called "El lugar de la memoria, la tolerancia y la inclusión social" only came into existence after an international scandal that involved the donation of $2 million by the German government to build a museum that would permanently house the exhibit and Alan García's rejection of the offer. National and international pressures led to the establishment of a plan to build the museum. Many debates about what the museum should be have ensued since, but even unfinished and even among disagreements about its contents, the museum exists as a national call to remember.[26]

The creation of sites of memory in general and official museums in particular always sparks debates. Parts of the population reject the need to remember the past, and even among those who are in favor of memory initiatives, many distrust the kind of institutional version a museum normally entails. Nonetheless, many societies emerging

from transitional periods understand the need for a space to present the traumatic past in a comprehensive way.

Several Latin American countries have recognized the need to build memory museums and other sites of remembrance: Chile's "Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos" opened in 2010, two decades after the end of Pinochet's dictatorship;[27] in Argentina, several memory initiatives preceded the opening of Escuela Superior de Mecánica de la Armada (ESMA) – formerly a center of clandestine detention, as a memory site opened to the public;[28] in Uruguay, the "Museo de la memoria" opened its doors in 2007; after years of national debate, in 2012, Rigoberta Menchú announced a six-year plan for the creation of a "Museo de la memoria" in Guatemala.[29]

Yuyanapaq not only set into motion the public demand for an official space, but also generated a series of initiatives by individuals and organizations who subscribed to the notion that it was necessary to remember, not to forget, in order to move forward. *Yuyanapaq* presented what the CVR called "a visual narrative of the internal armed conflict in Peru, 1980–2000." This narrative embodied the message of the CVR, which, as I have noted, brought to the fore the idea that a large sector of the population had ignored the tragedy suffered by their fellow citizens. By "showing" the story through images, the CVR was able not only to present evidence of what had happened, but also to move the viewers. In their critique of the exhibit, Deborah Poole and Isaías Rojas Pérez (2010) formulate the CVR's intentions: "the act of looking now at photographs of the suffering caused by violence in the past will lead us to share a collective, consensual memory concerning the origins and causes of a war that must not be repeated" (Poole and Rojas, 2010). Poole and Rojas remark that the CVR "hoped that photography could lead people to reflect on the ways in which their personal 'failure to see' had contributed to *collective* moral failures in the past" and they criticize, among other things, a lack of emphasis on the responsibility of the State in human rights violations.

According to these critics, "By eliciting agreement as to the facts of suffering and war, photographs were made to speak not of specific historical 'truths,' but rather to the forms of agreement and moral community that framed the CVR's story about collective failure and what a nation should be." The points raised by Poole and Rojas are important, but taking into consideration Lerner's position, I do not

see this as a failure and much less as a deception. At that particular transitional juncture, it was important for the CVR to point at the fractures of the social fabric and to attempt to reconstruct a national imaginary. In that sense, *Yuyanapaq* was successful. Even if one disagrees with the tenor of the message of the CVR, *Yuyanapaq* made this message resonate and gave rise to other messages that were not necessarily consistent with it.

Kimberly Lanegran, who has analyzed the political issues that have encumbered truth commissions in East Timor, South Africa, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Cambodia, concludes that even if truth commissions are inadequate in addressing all of the atrocities in a nation's past, having a truth-seeking process sanctioned by the government is beneficial nonetheless since it prevents the official denial of the past, reinforces collective national identity, and is linked to "official organs that can provide legal punishment and end a culture of impunity." (Lanegran, 2005, p. 120). Lanegran is deeply concerned about how political interests co-opt truth commissions, and Jo-Marie Burt (2014) has noted how in the Peruvian case the exemplary effect that the CVR had had in bringing Fujimori and other perpetrators to justice dropped dramatically when Alan García assumed the presidency for the second time in 2006. However, the CVR's emphasis on "the mandate to remember" had a ripple effect. Lanegran's study cautions truth commissions about "presenting their findings as exhaustive and definitive" (Lanegran, 2005, p. 120) and concludes that "Memory needs to be debated and interpreted in classrooms, in art, and throughout civil society as well as in courtrooms and commission hearings" (p. 121). This is in fact what has happened in Peru as a consequence of the report of the CVR: from *Yuyanapaq* to Facebook pages, from new themes in traditional arts – like *retablos* and *tablas pintadas* – to new art forms like daily posters for blogs, from political theater to the creation of memory sites, diverse constituents of Peruvian society attempt to remember with others.

The purpose of this book is to analyze the ways in which different memory initiatives use diverse strategies to carry their messages to the public. I will look at the use of images, spaces, electronic media, and the cognitive and emotional mnemonic mechanisms they activate. In the next section, I will discuss the idea of collective memory, its connection to human capacity for empathy, and the ways in which different art forms and different media engage empathy and memory.

Remembering the pain of others: Knowing and feeling in the construction of collective memory

The Peruvian CVR established the idea that the country needed to remember following the lead of other truth commissions that understood presenting the horrors of the past as a warning for the future. The CVR's homepage opens with the motto: "Un país que olvida su historia está condenado a repetirla" (A country that forgets its history is condemned to repeat it).[30] However, the idea that a country "remembers" is not self-evident. The need felt by many societies to deal with recent traumatic history has popularized the idea of collective memory in ways perhaps unforeseen by Maurice Halbwachs when he first coined the term in *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* in 1925 and had to present strenuous arguments about using the term "memory" outside of the realm of individual psychology. Halbwachs's original claim actually had to do with individual memories, which, according to him, would not exist without a social and cultural framework. From his perspective, we are only capable of forming memories because we are immersed in social structures. It was only later on that he presented the idea of the transmission of knowledge and experiences within different generations of a social group as a practice of memory that should be distinguished from the notion of written history (Halbwachs, 1992).

Of course, the idea that a society remembers did not start with Halbwachs.[31] The idea of group memory and cultural heritage is an ancient one, and in the history of modern political thought we can recall Ernest Renan asserting that one of the conditions for a nation to exist was a shared past, "the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories" (Renan, 1990, p. 19). But the notion of social memory or cultural memory as we understand it nowadays is indebted to Halbwachs's influence on thinkers such as Paul Ricoer and Pierre Nora.[32] In *Memory, History, Forgetting* (2006) Ricoer discusses the issue of who can remember from a phenomenological perspective: our languages have no issue using verbs like *to remember*, and *to forget* in the plural, but when we try to think not only about *who* remembers but also *what* is remembered, we find the idea of transferring memories from one consciousness to another difficult to grasp. Ricoer establishes patterns that explain how the subject can attribute to

others the same "mnemonic phenomena" that can be identified in the self (ch. 3).[33]

On the other hand, Pierre Nora's monumental work on France's cultural relationship with the past stems from the idea that there is – or there used to be – a national memory as opposed to the official, written history. According to Nora, the real milieus of memory have been lost in contemporary society and what is left are sites of memory, *lieux de mémoire*, *loci*, which condense the memory of the nation into spaces, national holidays, and cultural artifacts.

In transitional societies, the notion of a collective past that either needs to be remembered or left behind is central in every aspect of life. But the fact that "remembering" or "forgetting" is attributed to a collectivity is not really contested. A subfield of memory studies has produced diverse analyses of the ways in which societies remember social trauma.[34] In Latin America, the leading scholar on cultural memory, Elizabeth Jelin, started focusing on embattled memories of the recent past in post-dictatorial societies over a decade and a half ago.[35] In one of her earlier works, Jelin addressed the issue of collectivity by emphasizing its multiplicity:[36]

> When historical memory is seen in a collective light – as a process of searching for the roots of identity – the space of memory becomes a space of political struggle. It alludes to the capacity of preserving the past, but that capacity necessarily implies participation in the struggle for giving meaning and exercising power. Collective remembrance then becomes politically relevant, as an instrument for legitimizing discourse, as tools for establishing collective identities and communities of belonging, and as justification for the activities of social movements in their struggle for greater democratization.
>
> (Jelin, 1998)

Jelin addressed the fact that there were disputes about what to forget, what to commemorate, and how to do it. These issues had to do with matters of both content and form, regarding what historical circumstances could be sanctioned as memories and how popular media could treat the social repercussions of these and related historical calamities (Jelin, 1998).[37]

However, in her more recent interventions, Jelin is concerned with issues of transmission. In her keynote speech for the tenth anniversary of the report by the Peruvian CVR, Jelin said that the emphasis in education had relied on the understanding that if youth were informed about what had happened they would identify with the "Never again!" motto and become better citizens. She believes that museums, classes, print materials, movies, and so forth are not always able to engage younger generations in the desired way.[38] For Jelin, the transmission of a narrative of the past does not work as well as training young people in the practice of understanding the context of current social issues that affect their lives and how they connect to the past.

The question that my research attempts to address regarding the construction of memories from the period studied by the Peruvian CVR has to do less with the elaboration of a coherent narrative of the past and more with the mechanisms involved in remembering collectively, in remembering with others. When individuals or groups who were normally disenfranchised suffered horrific experiences, how can those who did not go through those experiences share their memories?

I already mentioned some of the initiatives taken by the CVR to disseminate its findings: the final report can be accessed on the CVR's website, and it published an abbreviated version of the report and educational leaflets. By informing the public of the facts, the CVR attempted to build an understanding of the events of the recent past. But the decision to use photos to create a "visual narrative" responded to a particular understanding of memory. In the next chapter, I will analyze how the Peruvian CVR employed a visual construction of the internal conflict to create collective memory. In this section, I will address some of the principles that inspired the CVR to use photographs. Those principles underlie the belief in the communicability of past experiences not shared by those who are being called to remember them.

The commissioners seemed to understand that for these facts to be accepted as "collective memory," they needed to be "felt" as memories and not only presented as shared knowledge. Salomón Lerner, in his introduction to the book that documents the *Yuyanapaq* exhibit, clearly expresses how the commissioners understood the value of photographs: they provided information, but they also offered a

moral perspective and a more complete "truth" in their emotional value (Lerner, *Yuyanapaq*, pp. 18–19).

The underlying principle in the kind of memorialization that *Yuyanapaq* provided assumes that to incorporate somebody else's traumatic experience as part of a collective memory, those who did not actually experience the trauma need to be emotionally touched by it: they need to identify with the suffering of others to a certain extent to be able to remember with them. When the CVR talks about "a country that forgets its history," they do not aspire only to an archive of facts but to a shared emotional memory. This idea is also endorsed by other analysts of social trauma. This is, for example, implied in Jeffrey Alexander's idea that we need to see the suffering of others as our own to "expand the circle of the we" (p. 1). There is a reciprocal requirement connecting collective memory and community: there needs to be a common past for a community to see itself as such, and individuals need to identify with the past experiences of others to consider them part of their community. The social fabric of a nation needs a degree of identification with others and an idea of a shared past that makes us "belong."

The report of the CVR concludes that the atrocities committed against the most impoverished sectors of Peruvian population were the result of a society that did not see the victims as part of the nation. Centuries of discrimination render them invisible and, therefore, disposable. The final report takes the expression "pueblos ajenos dentro del Perú" ("alien towns inside the country") from one of the testimonies the CVR compiled to express the feeling of discrimination and isolation the victims felt in relation to the centers of power (*Hatun Willakuy,* p. 10). Salomon Lerner's reflections on the creation of empathy as a political tool echo this preoccupation with fostering a culture of inclusion in Peru.

From this perspective, empathy becomes a key concept in the creation of collective memory. The feelings of others need to become engaged in the past suffering of the victims so that the country does not "forget its history." However, empathy is a broad and debated term. In the following pages, I will explore its meaning in the context of collective memory and will analyze some of the mechanisms successfully employed in memory initiatives to create the emotional engagement of the general public.

The idea of empathy as crucial in social and political action is not universally accepted. In a recent article in *The New Yorker*, after reviewing some of the current literature on the topic, Paul Bloom warns against relying on empathy as a cure for humanity's ills. Bloom claims that empathy can be "parochial, narrow-minded, and innumerate. We're often at our best when we're smart enough not to rely on it" (Bloom, 2013). In *The Better Angels of our Nature: Why Violence has Declined* (2011), Steven Pinker makes a more nuanced analysis. In his chapter on the "Humanitarian Revolution," Pinker makes the point that some of the progress in containing violence during the Age of Reason in the seventeenth century and the Enlightenment at the end of the eighteenth century had to do with ideas and arguments against institutionalized violence. But he admits that "some of it was propelled by a change in sensibilities. People began to *sympathize* with more of their fellow humans, and were no longer indifferent to their suffering" (Pinker, ch. 4).

One of the causes of the humanitarian revolution is, for Pinker, the expansion of the printing press:

> The growth of writing and literacy strikes me as the best candidate for an exogenous change that helped set off the Humanitarian Revolution. The pokey little world of village and clan, accessible through the five senses and informed by a single content provider, the church, gave way to a phantasmagoria of people, places, cultures and ideas. And for several reasons, the expansion of people's minds could have added a dose of humanitarianism to their emotions and their beliefs. (ch. 4)

There are two issues brought up by Pinker that are relevant to the argument that empathy is central to the construction of collective memory. The first one has to do with taking up the idea that Peter Singer presents in his 1981 book, *The Expanding Circle,* that people have become consistently more inclusive in the way they value the interest of others as their own (including other non-human beings). As I noted earlier, when Jeffrey Alexander talks about cultural trauma he also highlights the importance of seeing oneself as part of a collectivity by expanding "the circle of the 'we'" (p. 1). It is much easier to remain indifferent when I can see those suffering as "other." But especially relevant for my discussion of memorialization is the role

that Pinker attributes to writing and literacy in broadening this circle, not because I deal with written works, but because of the analogy we can see between works of literature and other forms of cultural expression. Mimetic art – such as the literary works Pinker cites – can represent the reality of others so we see it as we can see our own. I will also contend that symbolic operations in forms of art that are not always mimetic can appeal to our senses and make us "feel" the way others feel.

Pinker documents ways in which, as human beings, we can be sympathetic to kin, but indifferent or cruel to those we consider strangers or alien. Reading, according to Pinker, is "a technology for perspective-taking." By getting into someone else's thoughts and feelings through reading "you are temporarily sharing his or her atti-tudes and reactions" (ch. 4). Pinker distinguishes between adopting the point of view of another person and feeling compassion for that person, but admits that one thing can lead to the other:

> Stepping into someone else's vantage point reminds you that the other fellow has a first-person, present-tense, ongoing stream of consciousness that is very much like your own but not the same as your own. It's not a big leap to suppose that the habit of reading other people's words could put one in the habit of entering other people's minds, including the pleasures and pains. (ch. 4)

Other forms of cultural representation also allow us to enter other people's minds and make it possible to analyze and explain some of the mechanisms at work in memorials that produce identification and sympathy in the viewers.

Part of the reservation Pinker expresses regarding empathy has to do with the different meanings it takes: the term is used for very different mental and emotional experiences, from sympathy, to emotional contagion, to projecting oneself into somebody else's situation, to visualizing the world from another's point of view, to "mentalizing" or figuring out what somebody else is thinking. Many of these experiences, even when they let me identify the feelings and perspectives of others, do not translate into feeling sympathy for them and much less in taking action to help them (ch. 9). Pinker makes the case that we might want to be able to guess what oth-ers feel to take advantage of them, or that our reaction to feeling

distress at someone else's suffering might create an annoyance we just want to avoid (ch. 9). But, for Pinker, even sympathy, the kind of empathy that leads us to an emotional concern for others, only works in certain circumstances and society needs other forces in place, such as reason, abstract moral argumentation, and policies and norms, to create fair and peaceful environments. It is clear that the CVR used many of these tools to raise consciousness about the past atrocities in Peru and the discriminatory practices that allow them: the report, the data, archives, statistics, the demand for reparations, the moral commentary in the pages and speeches written by the commissioners, all those things appeal to rational and legal ways of fostering peace. However, the initiatives taken by the CVR also pointed to the need to change the way people felt. In turn, this has influenced other memory initiatives in the country that appeal to empathy as a way of eliciting collective understanding of the past.

Empathy plays an important role in our ability to conceive the experiences of others as part of our common past. There are similarities in the way we "recollect" our experiences and the way we empathically understand the experiences of others. The cognitive operations that are activated by memory are not very distant from those that arouse empathy. Many researchers believe that certain kinds of brain activity account for feeling empathic identification: I can understand what somebody else feels because the parts of my brain that experience certain emotions become active when I recognize those emotions in others. Most of the current research relies on fMRI evidence that observing or imagining someone else's pain produces neural activity corresponding to the direct experience of feeling pain oneself.[39] However, as Pinker makes clear, the definition of empathy itself can be problematic: do observers feel distress for themselves, or do they actually "share" someone else's pain? There are important distinctions between, for example, cognitive and emotional empathy.[40] But even if figuring out what others feel or think does not necessarily lead to compassion, some researchers suggest that there might be interaction between different empathy systems (Shamay-Tsoory, 2010, pp. 22–3). Understanding how others feel can overlap with sharing those feelings. Cognitive empathy and emotional empathy might be activated in different ways, but sympathetic responses to the pain of others likely evoke both components,

depending on the context and the conditions that activate both systems.

I will argue that because empathy seems to imply visualizing or imagining the feelings of others, the cognitive aspects of empathy appeal at least partially to the same mechanisms that are involved in recollection. After all, memory is a kind of visualization, a kind of replaying the past in my brain, which also creates neural activity in a vicarious way: the feeling that we are "reliving" an experience is similar to the feeling of "living" someone else's experience. This also seems to be corroborated by research in neuroscience that finds evidence that a core neural network responds to processing both autobiographical memory and "theory of mind" or the capacity to understand the behavior of others and its relation to thoughts, emotions, and beliefs.[41] As Jason P. Mitchell puts it, the same network of regions (including the medial prefrontal cortex and parts of the lateral and medial parietal cortex) are involved both in making inferences about what others think or feel and in "seemingly distinct phenomena – notably, the abilities to remember the past, imagine the future and visualize spatial layouts – suggesting the existence of a common set of cognitive processes devoted to projecting oneself into worlds that differ mentally, temporally or physically from one's current experience" (Mitchell, 2009, p. 1309).

Theorists and critics of social trauma have intuitively pointed to these connections between the experience of our own memories and the ability to empathize with others. These intuitions have fueled different approaches to notions of "remembering" with others: works like Susan Sontag's last book, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003), and Marianne Hirsch's concept of "postmemory" (1997) reveal the need to conceptualize ways to address social trauma when we have not been direct victims of the events, and the guiding principle seems to be that we are capable of "remembering" the traumatic experiences of others.[42] In her book *Empathic Vision,* Jill Bennett aims at the ways contemporary art engages the memory of visual trauma (2005). In *Threshold of the Visible World* (1996) Kaja Silverman coined the term "heteropathic recollection" to talk about "implanted memories" that might allow us to participate in "the desires, struggles, and sufferings of the other" (p. 185). She writes about texts or images capable of "implanting in the viewer or reader 'synthetic' memories – libidinally saturated associative clusters which act like…mnemic

elements [...]" (p. 185). In a similar fashion, Alison Landsberg uses the term "prosthetic memory" to explain how one "sutures himself or herself into a larger history" (p. 2). These critics are careful to distance themselves from the idea of appropriating the position of the victim: it is clear that my feelings of compassion for others are not the feelings of those who have suffered atrocities themselves.[43] Nonetheless, we can say that Marianne Hirsch's intuition that "I can also 'remember' the suffering of others" (2003, p. 9) might be grounded in processes that occur in our brains.

If Pinker writes about literature's potential to engage our ability to sympathize with others, many of these critics examine how different cultural products involve the general public in sharing memories of a traumatic past we did not experience directly. In most cases the focus has been photography, film, and the visual arts in general, but Landsberg also attempts to theorize the experience of what she calls "transferential space" – where the term "space" can be used metaphorically, but can also refer to the memory spaces created by a museum (Landsberg, pp. 135–6).

In *Mourning and Memory*, Rebecca Saunders and Kamran Aghaie present a classification of memory initiatives: some, they tell us, are temporalized, meaning that they happen in time – performances, anniversaries – while others are spatialized, meaning that they become memory sites – such as monuments and museums (p. 21). The collection *The Art of Truth-Telling about Authoritarian Rule* (Bilbija et al., 2005) presents a wide variety of cultural artifacts used to construct collective memory: the editors present large categories, such as narrative, performance, and graphic and plastic arts, and essays included in the collection study particular examples of graphic political humor, the use of protest songs, or of "escraches"[44] as performance in Argentina. Some practices are very specific to a certain culture – see for example, Kimberly Wedeven Segall's article "Stories and Song in Iraq and South Africa" about the Kurdish "shiyee" that combine celebration of bravery with sorrowful mourning (Wedeven Segall, 2005, p. 140). Other forms of commemoration have spread across countries and times, like carrying blown up pictures of the disappeared in a gesture that simultaneously honors those gone and demands justice.

In Peru, the effects of the "mandate to remember" have produced a great number of initiatives in different arenas and in an incredible

variety of media and artistic genres. As I mentioned above, many artists were already appealing to collective memory before the report of the CVR and *Yuyanapaq*, but the last ten years have witnessed an explosion of spatial and temporal memorialization including the creation of memory sites, yearly vigils to demand the recovery of the bodies of the disappeared, and collective art projects. Cynthia Milton's latest book, *Art from a Fractured Past: Memory and Truth Telling in Post-Shining Path Peru* (2014), presents recent approaches to how graphic arts, performance, and literature commemorate violence in the country. The year 2013 marked the tenth anniversary of the report and the activities around it revealed not only the existence of many groups committed to the transmission of the findings of the CVR to newer generations, but also of sectors of the population who still resist the content and the language of the report.[45] However, the skepticism or negationism of some only seems to fuel the need of those who insist upon the importance of transmission to reach out to the general public.

In the chapters that follow, I will analyze the specific mechanisms of some of the Peruvian projects that succeeded in the construction of collective memory by focusing on three different kinds of initiatives: the use of photography and the visual arts, the memorials centered in metonymic activations, and the use of real and virtual spaces to create "lieux de mémoire." Far from trying to catalogue the enormous variety of memory works which have appeared in Peru in the last ten years, my aim is to understand the way a few of them are effective in making the general public remember the pain of others, thus "expanding the circle of the we."

The construction of these shared memories appeal in some cases to the more rational aspects of the public: the information, the material evidence, historical documents, and so on. We can assume that the kind of information made available by the CVR and other organizations might activate forms of "cognitive empathy." In other cases, beyond the "cold data," what we see in several forms of memorialization is an appeal to sensations, feelings, and affect.

Chapter 2, entitled "Seeing, Knowing, Feeling: Conveying Truth and Emotion through Images" explores the way photographs have been used in the memorialization of the Peruvian armed conflict, starting with the photo exhibit organized by the CVR and analyzing

the principles that guided the connections established between images and collective memory.

By using photographs, the CVR aimed to combine the idea of the photo as evidence of the facts and the emotional appeal of images. Photographs, as Roland Barthes remarked, freeze their subject in a moment in the past. What they show is always already gone (Barthes, 1981, p. 80). On the one hand, they offer testimony to the existence of what they represent. On the other hand, because of their relationship with the past, with what is no longer there, they "haunt us."[46]

These polysemic qualities of the photographic image come into play in the remembrance of social trauma. As evidence, photographs "capture" reality. The CVR used journalistic archives in its research. It also had access to photographs taken by activists as proof of the abuses committed against those they were advocating for.

The indexical character of photos, the fact that they are read as traces of the real, is also what underlies the practice whereby relatives of the disappeared carry blown up ID photos of their loved ones: the ID photo is the official proof that the person it depicts existed. The State supposedly issues those IDs as a way to identify the citizens. Confronted with these photos, the State cannot claim that the disappeared did not exist.

But photos convey meaning beyond their indexical properties and the CVR expected the public to be moved by them. The photos were called to elicit identification and compassion.

A different kind of image, the kind created by popular painters within traditional arts, was also used as an appeal to collective memory. The artists of Sarhua, a town devastated by political violence, and Edilberto Jimenez, an artist and anthropologist, who had a background in the tradition of *Retablos* (painted boxes decorated with sculpted scenes), exemplify the ways pictorial arts offer themselves as representations of reality and as a valid medium for the transmission of traumatic memory.[47]

Chapter 3, entitled "Plain Things and Names," identifies a common mechanism in memorialization: metonymy seems to be a frequent strategy in memorials that elicit empathy from the public. Collections of objects that we associate with the disappeared, or the photographic representation of those objects, come to stand for the

bodies of the victims. The list of names, often displayed in memorials of social trauma, work in a similar way: more than a sign that we directly connect with the referent, proper names in these memorials function as an attribute of personhood and make us recognize that the victim once had an identity and now is gone.

"Plain Things and Names" explores the cognitive operations that "move us" when we understand the loss by seeing an item of clothing of a victim or a long list of names on a monument. I will establish the potential of metonymy to produce empathy by analyzing photographs by Domingo Giribaldi presented as part of the exhibit "Si no vuelvo búsquenme en Putis." In these photographs, isolated items recovered from a mass grave in a town destroyed during the armed conflict come to stand for the bodies of the victims and for the capacity of their relatives to identify their remains through these items.

The idea of objects representing those who are no longer there has been used to memorialize victims of other traumatic historical events, from crosses to mark the space where somebody died, to piles of shoes in museums honoring Holocaust victims. In Peru several initiatives attempt to honor the victims by collecting objects to represent them. Perhaps the most notorious one for the controversies it caused is "El ojo que llora," a sculpture by Lika Mutal, which was surrounded by stones inscribed with the names of victims of the armed conflict. Another example of the same mechanism is "La chalina de la esperanza," a long scarf made out of segments with names of victims knitted by their relatives and friends.

The premise guiding this chapter is that things and names activate complex cognitive processes such as the decoding of metonymy and that this, in turn, arouses powerful forms of identification.

The last chapter, "Places to Remember," deals with the proliferation of "lieux de mémoire" in many of the areas most affected by the violence. It analyzes the political debates involved in the creation of these spaces, including the differences between official institutional initiatives and the spaces created by activists and independent groups. I also explain the different functions at work in public spaces: some of these spaces attempt to create a site of reflection, some appeal to a sense of aura by reminding visitors of the tragic events that took place in that site, some attempt to connect the past with a strong notion of a collective identity that needs to have a projection to the

future, and some take to the streets to bring memory into the daily lives of the citizens.

Peru awoke to the urgency to recover a sense of collective identity regarding its traumatic past at a time when the internet and electronic communication were already well established among the younger generations. Parallel to the "brick and mortar" memorials, Peruvian activists have created a large number of cybermemorials: sites, blogs, Facebook pages, to reach out to different audiences with the "mandate to remember."

In the last section of the chapter, I compare the ways in which these virtual memory sites appeal to the public with the more traditional, physical experience, of the museum. By analyzing one particular Facebook initiative, "Un día en la memoria," I demonstrate that these kinds of sites tend to focus more on cognitive forms of empathy, while traditional memorials require a bodily experience that attempts to elicit affect and emotional empathy.

By investigating the ways memorials in Peru use images, metonymic references, and real and virtual spaces I hope to shed light onto general mechanisms that activate empathy – cognitive or emotional – and by doing so promote a sense of shared experience. Art and cultural artifacts have the potential to impact the viewer with forms of understanding the experiences of others in ways that transcend the direct transmission of information. By participating in memory initiatives, the general public has many channels to access the past they did not experience firsthand and, to a certain extent, to remember the pain of others. This, in turn, can potentially create a form of national community united under the "Never Again!" motto, using the remembrance of the traumatic past as a path to secure a better future.

2
Seeing, Knowing, Feeling: Conveying Truth and Emotion through Images

Visual evidence was crucial for the transitional process in Peru. The decade-long government of Alberto Fujimori ended after a media scandal involving the release of videos in which Vladimiro Montesinos, Fujimori's chief advisor, was seen bribing politicians, judges, generals, businessmen, and owners of TV stations.[1] The revelation of the extent and depth of the government's corruption and its direct involvement in human rights violations led to the fall of Fujimori and Montesinos and to the formation of an interim government presided by Valentín Paniagua.

These videos constituted incontrovertible evidence of widespread corruption in the government; after all, the public was seeing it with their own eyes. As Earl Conee demonstrates, the use of the metaphor "seeing the truth" is deeply ingrained as a way to express what is self-evident. We tend to trust "the directness and immediacy that vision naively suggests" (Conee, 1998, p. 851). However, while the videos were presented as evidence of the crimes, they also eroded confidence not just in the corrupted government, but also in the media: the owners of four television channels were among those bribed by Montesinos in order to tightly censor the opposition. The medium used to reveal the truth also revealed its own susceptibility to manipulation: TV was far from granting direct access to the facts, even as the hard evidence displayed on these videos was the main cause for the fall of the Fujimori-Montesinos regime.

In a postmodernist version of the Liar's Paradox, the broadcasting of the Montesinos videos on Peruvian television brought forth

the idea that the medium we had trusted to record and reveal reality was actually a medium for deception. In this context, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's choice to use photojournalism as a privileged way to articulate a narrative should be analyzed as a strategy to re-establish credibility by appealing to the viewer's capacity for empathy. Apart from the frenzied television screens, still photos from journalistic archives were used as points of reference in what the CVR called "the visual narrative of the internal armed conflict." This "visual narrative" was presented through the photo exhibit and the book entitled *Yuyanapaq.*

The videos shown on TV repeated over and over the same scene with a different character: Montesinos bribing yet another government or media personality. Those images seemed to catch Peruvians in a nightmarish standstill, stuck in a primal scene, outside of history. By contrast, the still photographs the CVR used were curated in a way that showed a historical development: they tried to articulate causes and effects, they provided evidence, and they also attempted to show the human face of the war.

This chapter will deal primarily with still photographs because they figured so prominently in the CVR's articulation of its message. But the last section will also examine the way traditional pictorial art claims a stake in the representation of truth. These two very different manifestations of visuality, one that is supposed to capture reality and one that is actually a product of the artist's imagination, present themselves as effective ways to depict "real" events and to communicate facts to viewers, while also evoking an emotional response.

For the CVR, the still image became a privileged instrument for shared memories that contrasted with the videos. This seems to correspond to the specificity of the photographic image as understood by Susan Sontag in *Regarding the Pain of Others*:

> Nonstop imagery (television, streaming video, movies) is our surround, but when it comes to remembering, the photograph has the deeper bite. Memory freeze-frames; its basic unit is the single image. In an era of information overload, the photograph provides a quick way of apprehending something and a compact form for memorizing it [...] Each of us mentally stocks hundreds of photographs, subject to instant recall.
>
> (Sontag, 2003, p. 22)

Research in visual perception and attention seems to confirm Sontag's intuition. Jeremy Wolfe and Yoana I. Kuzmova from the Visual Attention Lab at Harvard University attest that "a few seconds of exposure to a picture of a scene or an object is adequate to create a durable memory for that picture [...]. Literally thousands of images can be coded into memory and retained for extended periods at high levels of accuracy (Wolfe, 2009, p. 469)." By using archival photographs, the CVR was appealing to the generations of Peruvians who had seen those images in the past to both recall them and connect them to the history of violence the Commission was trying to articulate. It was also building up new memories in those who were looking at the photographs for the first time, engraving those images as a history that needed to be written, told, and remembered. The story of the *Yuyanapaq*, *In order to remember* photo exhibit is at the center of the prevalent role of images in the aftermath of the CVR's report.

The *Yuyanapaq* images were used not only to establish "the truth," but also to act as memory markers, to commemorate events, and to generate an emotional response from the viewer. These photographs presented Peruvian society with a particular understanding of the relationship between images, the representation of reality, and collective memory. *Yuyanapaq* will provide a starting point for us to reflect on the visual aspects in the construction of memory of social trauma.

Yuyanapaq: Using images in order to remember

The Quechua word *Yuyanapaq* was chosen as the title of the photo exhibit that resulted from the investigation of the CVR. The use of a Quechua word in the title of the exhibit might suggest that the victims of the internal war and their relatives – the great majority of whom were Quechua speakers – were its intended audience. *Yuyanapaq* was translated into Spanish as "Para recordar" – in order to remember – but in his speech during the exhibit's inauguration, CVR president Salomón Lerner Febres remarked that the word could also be translated as "despertarse" or "waking up." Lerner, a philosopher and former president of the Universidad Católica, insisted on the fact that to remember and to wake up were two forms of gaining consciousness, awareness, and control over our circumstances, past and present.[2]

In his inaugural speech for the photo exhibit, published in the CVR's website, Lerner presented these photographs as an appeal to

"the nation," to "its capacity to understand and reflect, but at the same time [. . .][to] invoke its senses and its feelings, its moral sensibility[. . . .]" (Lerner, 2003) (My translation). The differences between the two ways of gaining consciousness he mentions, though, are very significant. While the visual input of photographs could cue memories of past experiences for those who suffered them, Lerner's appeal to the nation and his emphasis on "waking up," reveal that it is the nation that remained oblivious to the violence, the one that needs to become aware of this terrible past and memorialize it.

In the title of the exhibit and in Lerner's speech, we can already glimpse some of the deep issues that the CVR was trying to address. The subtitle of the exhibit, "A Visual Narrative of the Internal Conflict in Peru," explicitly stated the purpose of showcasing these photographs: to tell the CVR's story using pictures. The CVR constituted a "carrier group" in the sense that Jeffrey C. Alexander gives to that expression: a group capable of articulating certain events in a community's history in the form of a narrative which helps restore collective memory.[3] However, for the Peruvian CVR, establishing the collective itself was part of the problem: how to address, as a nation and in the same narrative, those who had been the victims of the cruelest of violence at the hand of the State that was supposed to represent them and those who had remained oblivious to the disappearance of thousands of their fellow citizens? While the Quechua title seems to target those who are not Spanish speakers and who constituted the majority of the victims, the subtitles and the presentation, with its appeal to a nation with the rational and emotional capacity to confront these images, seem to be directed to the part of the population who did not have a direct experience of this history of violence. The CVR is in fact trying to construct "collective memory" to unify a nation, but the issue of "memory" was complicated by the fact that victims and perpetrators remembered events to which the most privileged sectors of society had remained oblivious.

The mandate of the Peruvian CVR was not only to investigate the truth concerning the period of political violence the country had suffered, but also to make it public (Comisión de la verdad y reconciliación, *Hatun Willakuy*, 2004, p. 9). Salomón Lerner Febres, the president of the CVR, tried repeatedly to express his horror when delivering the results of the commission's investigation: the

number is both overwhelming and insufficient to explain the dimensions of the tragedy (pp. 9–10).[4] The reports and discourses of the CVR once and again reveal the difficulty of conveying their terrible findings. Lerner does not question the possibility of establishing the facts, but two things seem to stun him: the enormity of the losses is one of them, but as appalling as the sheer number of atrocities for him is the fact that so many Peruvians seemed oblivious to this:

> This report presents, then, a double scandal: the scandal of assassination, disappearances, massive torture, and the scandal of indolence, ineptitude and indifference of those who could have stopped this human catastrophe and didn't. (p. 9)

Although the CVR's documents detail their methods for establishing the facts, these documents also reveal an anxiety about how to communicate these facts. There is awareness in the language used by the CVR of its role as a "carrier group" in charge of articulating the history of trauma experienced by Peruvian society. In Lerner's words, "it was the CVR's role to become an institutional voice to give testimony of what had happened" (Lerner, *Yuyanapaq*, 2003, p. 18). The CVR needed to disseminate its findings in ways that would communicate both the scope of the violence and the circumstances that enabled it, and also to reach out to different sectors of Peruvian society in an effort to end repression and oblivion. Achieving this implied a series of aesthetic choices that gave photojournalism a central role in the way memory was to be articulated after the CVR's report.

In his introduction to the *Yuyanapaq* book, Lerner talks about the ways the CVR sought to establish the facts and the importance public audiences and oral testimonies had in the process of reconstructing the history of violence in Peru. And while he stresses the importance of having the voices of the victims heard, he also explains that photographic archives were an invaluable resource in the CVR's efforts because images "apprehend and preserve visual history" (Comisión de la verdad y reconciliación, *Yuyanapaq*, 2003, p. 18). This emphasizes the idea of photography as a trace of reality. Photographic images are understood as marks of an external reality that can be saved for future retrieval.

Commissioner Carlos Iván Degregori, in a speech also included in the book, lists some of the methods used by the CVR to search for the truth:

> In order to fulfill their mandate, the CVR collected thousands of testimonies, conducted countless interviews, consulted different libraries and archives. But truth does not only come out through written and oral discourses [...]images "speak." At a certain level, they illustrate. The visual support, in this case, complements written discourse [...] they can also be considered vehicles for the transmission of meaning.
>
> (Comisión de la verdad y reconciliación,
> *Yuyanapaq*, 2003, p. 21)

Degregori's words point to a supplemental quality of the images. They do more than simply illustrate the words. They add something that language cannot provide.

The official web page of the CVR contains a section entitled "The Visual Legacy" and explains the extent of the use of photographs in its work:

> The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR), through a recent effort to recover images from the period 1980–2000, has investigated almost 80 photographic archives countrywide, among them those of private collections, the press, news agencies, the Armed Forces, the Police, human rights institutions, vicariates and family photo albums.[5]

Photographic archives are sought as a source of data to reconstruct past events. But the commissioners will insist on an added dimension in the value of photographic images. Lerner, for example, explains that for the CVR photos were from the very beginning not just "helpful in the instrumental sense of the term, but also a constant inspiration" (Comisión de la verdad y reconciliación, *Yuyanapaq*, 2003, p. 18). In both Lerner's and Degregori's discourses, photography provides something that goes beyond simply corroborating the information already acquired with images that provided material evidence: when Degregori speaks about photographs as vehicles for meaning, he implies that this meaning is not just the record

of facts, but something else. "The visual documents presented here [...] condense pain, loneliness, uprooting; but also a capacity to respond to violence: courage, resilience, solidarity" (Comisión de la verdad y reconciliación, *Yuyanapaq*, 2003, p. 21). Photographs are seen, thus, as evidence or proof that something happened, but also as a supplementary vehicle for affects that also constitute "the truth."

This supplement is seen as pivotal in the work of the CVR. For the commissioners to grasp "the truth" and to communicate it was not an easy task. They felt that presenting the facts in terms of hard data was not enough. In Lerner's words:

> Soon we discovered that truth – a polyhedral reality, irreducible to a single dimension – needs to be recovered not just in a discursive, intelligible dimension, but also in its demonstrative strength, in aspects that talk to our emotions and our sensibility and that cannot be exhausted in a reconstructed history, since it continues in human suffering and in the testimony of this suffering – past, but simultaneously alive – as it is preserved in the images of violence and human resistance.
>
> (Comisión de la verdad y reconciliación,
> *Yuyanapaq*, 2003, p. 17)

In their introduction to *Mourning and Memory*, Rebecca Saunders and Kamran Aghaie argue that in dealing with a nation's trauma there is a need for *affective* integration as much as a narrative or cognitive one (Saunders and Aghaie, 2005, pp. 21–2).[6] We can see this need to appeal to affect in Lerner's discourse. For Lerner, images seem to give testimony in two ways: they have a demonstrative, indexical function that presents evidence; but they also appeal to our emotions by representing suffering and resistance, and this aspect of their testimony is no less important than the former. In his prologue Lerner recalls the role that public hearings had in the CVR's work, reminding his readers that the oral testimony of witnesses was vital for the Commission. However, when he ponders the CVR's duty to communicate its findings to the Peruvian people, he expresses the need to create a truthful portrait: "It had to be a portrait charged with symbolic density in order to restore the subjective drama lived by the victims of violence; it had to present the facts, but at the same time,

it had to offer a moral commentary about them" (Comisión de la verdad y reconciliación, *Yuyanapaq*, 2003, p. 18).

For the commissioners, photographs are invested with the capacity to affect viewers on the cognitive and emotional level. For Lerner, the photo archives provide an "invaluable source of information," and at the same time they allow for reflection on pain and hope. He ascribes to photographs a twofold nature: they present evidence, and therefore have a truth-value, and they also "move" us, and therefore have an emotional value. The potential of photographs to act at these two levels will be at the core of all CVR documents related to its "visual legacy."

The way the commissioners link photography to truth and knowledge carries a specific understanding of cognition that allows for a connection between the sensory and the emotional. An anthropologist by training, Degregori attempts to bridge the distance between "learned societies" and indigenous peoples, by acknowledging the role of vision in the ways we apprehend the world:[7]

Among the Yagua people of the Amazon Jungle, knowledge (ndatará) is first obtained visually. To know things, one has to see them in dreams or during a trance through which the shaman enters the spirit world to consult the spirits about the enigmas of the case he is handling. In learned societies, it is no longer through these means that knowledge is obtained. However, in recent decades, the rapid development of audiovisual media has obliged us to reconsider the relationship among seeing, knowledge and power. Knowledge that comes from seeing is primarily related to intuition, sensations, and sentiments, which are not necessarily irrational or unscientific, and can actually expand the scope of our knowledge.[8]

Degregori stresses the idea that knowledge is not just about apprehending the world in a rational way. He insists that images do not just provide information about the world: they affect us; they appeal to our emotions.

Rolando Ames Cobián, another member of the CVR who gives a historic overview of the 20 years of violence in his prologue to *Yuyanapaq*, calls the collection of images "a visual and spiritual journey," painful but necessary in order to defeat oblivion (Comisión de

la verdad y reconciliación, *Yuyanapaq*, 2003, p. 25). All commissioners refer to the twofold nature of the photographs, the visual and the spiritual: they depict the facts and appeal to the moral imperative, they inform us and they move us. In her last book, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003), Susan Sontag explains this dual perspective by reflecting on framing and point of view. Here, Sontag revises her own distrust of images as formulated in her 1977 essay *On Photography*. Photographs not only provide a record, they also imply the witness, the photographer: "This sleight of hand allows photographs to be both objective record and personal testimony, both a faithful copy or transcription of an actual moment of reality and an interpretation of that reality – a feat literature has long aspired to, but could never attain in this literal sense" (Sontag, 2003, p. 26).

The CVR's approach to photography relied primarily on the assumption that photographic images represent reality. The fact that they also have an emotional appeal actually seems to stem from the fact that there are actual objects, people, and situations depicted in photographs. This is not a naïve position. While the distrust of images and the representation of reality permeated postmodern theory during a good part of the twentieth century, the analysis of the photographic image is now recovering the ties between reality and its representation. As Sontag noted in the passage quoted above, the actual record of an "objective" reality gains value, as it is inseparable from the perspective of the photographer. Not only did the "real thing" exist, but there was also a witness documenting it. The photograph's message is not only "this happened" but also "this is how I saw it."

The CVR commissioners show their awareness of the dangers implied in the use of images. But the choice to create a "visual legacy" assumes at least some degree of transparency in photography's power to represent reality.

Images, photography, and truth

In "The Ethics of Seeing," Marc Furstenau (2007) analyzes the ways postmodern theories understand visual culture as "a mere construct, as unreliable as any other medium" (p. 91). Terms such as *simulacrum, hyperreality,* and *spectacle* assume that representation of reality is impossible, illusory. However, drawing on Sontag's own revision of

her skeptical position from the seventies and on W. J. T. Mitchell's ideas on visual culture, Furstenau concludes that one of the most important functions of the photograph is to witness.

The witnessing power of photographs was at the origin of the role they had for the CVR. Photographic archives were incorporated into the CVR's investigations not because the commissioners were planning on using images in their report, but because photographs were seen from the beginning as a source to "apprehend and preserve history" (Comisión de la verdad y reconciliación, *Yuyanapaq*, 2003, p. 18). This trust in the photograph as evidence and in the camera as an undeniable witness grounded many of the archives maintained by churches, vicariates, and other allies of the victims. While Nancy Chappell and Mayu Mohanna, the curators of the *Yuyanapaq* exhibit, explained their care in constructing a specific narrative of the years of violence through museographic work and the selection and disposition of images, they were working with documents intended as a trace of the events, as a record of reality. In an interview with Elena Goday, Nancy Chappell remembers that many of the archives they researched while working with the CVR included crude pictures of the dead and the wounded: "lo que habían hecho era fotografiar para denunciar [. . .]: 'mira, a mi hijo le partieron la cara'" (Goday, 2011, p. 106). ["They had taken pictures to denounce [. . .] 'look, they broke my son's face.'"] The photo stands as a record of the event. In Furstenau's words, "photographs have not distanced us from reality. They have, quite the contrary, enlarged and expanded our sense of reality, and at the same time, they have contributed to the production of a complex and subtle context within which we have to make judgments and determinations about that reality" (Furstenau, "The Ethics of Seeing," 2007, p. 100).

Whereas framing, point of view, context, and even the possibility of alterations need to be considered when looking at photographs as representations or reality, in our daily practices we still rely on photographic images as evidence. The widespread use of camera phones, for example, attests to the fact that even digital photos are presented as evidence: I was there, this really happened, and I can prove it. In the case of the Abu Ghraib scandal, horrifying pictures circulated among friends opened the world's eyes to the abuses perpetrated by the U.S. military in Iraq. As Sontag noted in her *New York Times* article "Regarding the Torture of Others," the Bush administration initially

appealed to the supposed distance between reality and representation by saying "that the president was shocked and disgusted by the photographs – as if the fault or horror lay in the images, not in what they depict."[9] The administration's comments reveal a postmodern sense of distance from reality that would be questioned by the testimonial power most of the public attributed to the pictures. Those images became hard evidence that discredited the U.S. military in an unprecedented way.

Photographs derive their truth-value from their indexical quality. Analog photographs, in particular, are seen as a trace of the real: the chemical imprint of light on film that is only produced because there was a real object in front of the camera. In their book *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*, media scholars Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright claim that the advent of digital photography has changed our relationship to photographic images: the value of digital images seems to rest in their accessibility and malleability, rather than in being a unique record of reality (Sturken, 2001, p. 139). Sturken and Cartwright argue that the proliferation of digital and virtual images has created an inflationary effect, producing anxiety regarding the epistemological value of all photographs. However, they recognize that "it has always been possible to 'fake' realism in photographs" (Sturken, 2001, p. 139). The ambivalence we feel towards photographs is actually more complex than the fear that they might have been altered and it is derived, precisely, from the high expectations we place on them to register reality.

Georges Didi-Huberman deals with this dual nature in our relationship to images in his *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz*. In his words, "we ask too much or too little of the image" (Huberman, 2008, p. 33). On the one hand, we expect photographic images to reveal the truth and therefore become frustrated when we feel that what they show is less than what we know of the event. On the other hand, we might dismiss images as simulacrum, because we assume that reality is too big to be subsumed in an image. The photographs discussed by Didi-Huberman, taken by members of the *Sonderkommando* and smuggled out of Auschwitz, are extreme cases in the midst of the debate about the possibility of imagining and attributing images to the most horrific events in history.

For Martine Joly, our conflictive relationship to images is related to the expectations of the visibility of truth. While we speak of "seeing

the truth," we also tend to say that "what is essential is invisible to the eye" (Joly, 2002, p. 129). From a platonic perspective, images can turn us away from a metaphysical, transcendental truth; and images can be seen as deceitful. But, Joly explains, there are different kinds of truth that we can attribute to images: on the one hand, we can value them because of their indexical nature: they act as traces of something that existed in reality; on the other hand, we might see the image as an icon, as something that represents reality based on the way it resembles something in it. This seems to be the same kind of objection Didi-Huberman had to face: an image is something too reduced and trivial to represent the horror of the Holocaust. Put another way, the images do not really show what happened. If they are seen as representative of the Holocaust, as icons, they are blamed for trivializing an event considered too horrific to "imagine."[10] If they are seen as indexical, a trace of actual events, they "fail" because they do not show the actual event (presumably the act of dying in the gas chambers).[11] This issue, the link between representation (in both the indexical and iconic sense) and reality in photographs, is one of the objections photography faces.

The other objection to the testimonial value of photographs has to do with the issue of reception. Photography seems to lose its testimonial value not because photos can be altered and edited. As Marc Furstenau explains, what critics find disturbing is the proliferation of images that can be endlessly reproduced, generating copies that are more and more removed from the actual event they are supposed to depict. While Furstenau concerns himself with Sontag and recent theories on photography, this argument also recalls Walter Benjamin's claim that in the age of mechanical reproduction the work of art is removed from the spectator and therefore the viewer cannot experience its aura.[12] Mechanical reproduction increases the possibility of widely disseminating the work of art, but it loses the potential to generate a unique experience, the feeling of a direct connection with the artistic process. The discussion shifts from photography as a recording tool, to the reception end of the problem of representation. What do we see when we see the images in the photos? Separated from their original context, photos might lose their meaning.

An added problem, and one that the members of the CVR and the curators of *Yuyanapaq* were keenly aware of, was the notion that images of traumatic events lose their potential to affect the viewer,

that viewers become desensitized before the proliferation of images. Carlos Iván Degregori, for example, speaks about the way the images had become "invisible" (Comisión de la verdad y reconciliación, *Yuyanapaq*, 2003, p. 20) in the sense that the public did not pay attention to them. This concern was very much on Sontag's mind when she wrote *On Photography* in 1977. She saw the proliferation of images as a form of "mental pollution" (Sontag, 1977, p. 24). Sontag complained that "By furnishing this already crowded world with a duplicate one of images, photography makes us feel that the world is more available than it really is" (Sontag, 1977, p. 24) and she felt that "The attempts by photographers to bolster up a depleted sense of reality contribute to the depletion" (p. 179). In other words, Sontag feared what many others feared too: numbness to the things images are supposed to portray. In her 2003 *Regarding the Pain of Others,* Sontag revises her previous argument that our emotional and ethical senses are overwhelmed by appalling images, and considers her own previous position a conservative one: "I call this argument conservative because it is the sense of reality that is eroded. There is still a reality that exists independent of the attempts to weaken its authority" (Sontag, 2003, p. 108). Now Sontag wants to reflect on the fact that reality is not a product of its representation (or of the media). In her last book, Sontag finds that the position that conflates reality and spectacle "suggests, perversely, unseriously, that there is no real suffering in the world" (Sontag, 1977, p. 110). Thus, *Regarding the Pain of Others* deals with the way we look at photographs when we invest them with the power of representation. Images are an attempt to represent a reality beyond them. Furstenau, Sontag, and the world's reaction to the photos of Abu Ghraib confirm that we actually believe in what we see.

We not only attribute this power to photographs. Visual images have long been used to represent reality and viewers have applied notions of verisimilitude to them. In the Peruvian case, the most interesting analysis of the relationship between non-photographic images and the reconstruction of a community's violent past is presented by Olga M. González in her book *Unveiling Secrets of War in the Peruvian Andes* (2011).[13] González explores the way scenes of violence are depicted in the board paintings of Sarhua, a small town in Ayacucho, the region of the country with the highest concentration of victims during the armed conflict. González studies how

a traditional art form was adapted to create a narrative about the way the community experienced the war. González's careful analysis demonstrates the mechanisms employed in the paintings to convey a story.[14] Even as artists depict events "differently" by condensing several events into one scene or by accentuating an aspect of the story through its repeated representation, viewers in the community expected to find correspondence between the representation and their recollection of the events. González even refers to "traces of the real" using Roland Barthes' ideas on photography. However, while for Barthes photography carries a trace of the real because it is supposed to necessarily record what has been there, for González a drawing or painting could create a signifier and a referent for something that was not. This is different from what Roland Barthes calls "photographic referent"[15]:

> Not the optionally real thing to which an image or a sign refers but the necessarily real thing which has been placed before the lens, without which there would be no photograph. Painting can feign reality without having seen it. Discourse combines signs which have referents, of course, but these referents can be and are most often "chimeras." Contrary to these imitations, in Photography I can never deny that *the thing has been there*.
>
> (Barthes, 1981, p. 76)

That essential trust permeates encounters with photographic images. However, González sees the traces of the real in the paintings through apparently trivial or secondary elements that allow the artists and their community to recognize people and places involved in the events they are trying to represent. Many of the things represented in the paintings might be "chimeras," but the artists used references to identifiable elements to anchor the representation in reality. In one example, the fact that an execution was represented in front of a statue that the guerrilla had later destroyed "constituted a trace of the real that overshadowed other more precise or imprecise aspects of the painting" (González, 2007, p. 93). This is, of course, very different from what Barthes meant when speaking of the traces of the real in photographs. From an anthropological perspective, however, the images created by the artists of Sarhua were engaged in debates about the construction of the "truth." Although González points out

the ways in which the paintings did not always correspond to the facts, she deals with the expectation of verisimilitude on the part of the viewers.

Images become a preferred form of testimonial, of truth-telling, because they seem to force the viewer to adopt the perspective of the eyewitness. Seeing the representation of the event forces me to assume a certain point of view. In "Standards of Truth: The Arrested Image and the Moving Eye," E. H. Gombrich explores the way we rely on the eyewitness principle: the visual image seems to turn the beholder into a vicarious participant of an event (Gombrich, 2004, p. 209). This brings us back to the emotional and ethical aspects of spectatorship. Gombrich argues for the dramatic effect behind the eyewitness principle. He compares the imaginary eyewitness behind a mosaic depicting the victory of Alexander the Great over Darius with the precise photographic shot of a war photographer:

> In conveying the experience of the eye-witness the image serves a dual purpose – it shows us what happened out there but also by implication what would have happened to us, both physically and emotionally. We understand, without much reflection, where we are supposed to stand in relation to the event depicted and what moment we are made to share vicariously with the eye-witness. (p. 191)

In González's discussion of the Sarhua paintings, we can see a complicated relationship between the images and the eyewitness account (González, 2007, pp. 85–7). However, the artists believe that the images will convey the truth of the community's traumatic experiences to the viewers. In the words of one of the artists interviewed by González: "Whoever sees this has to feel touched by the *tabla,* and that is what we are looking for, that whoever sees this can feel the people's suffering and the injustice committed against poor innocent peasants" (González, 2007, p. 98). The truth-effect in these cases combines references to elements that can be identified as part of the real event plus an emotional effect that moves the viewers into identifying with the suffering of others.

The material aspects of photography only increase this potential for identification. We do assume the reality of the referent. We trust that mechanical, chemical, and now digital processes "capture" an

image of something that is real. Barthes' "photographic referent" produces an essential trust that permeates our encounters with photographic images. In 1977 Sontag couldn't help but acknowledge, "Photographs furnish evidence [...] A photograph passes for incontrovertible proof that a given thing happened. The picture may distort; but there is always a presumption that something exists, or did exist, which is like what's in the picture" (Sontag, 1977, p. 5). And it was precisely because of that that she wanted to make people reflect on the limitations and dangers or photographic images. However, in 2003 her perspective had changed to the point of inviting the interpellation of images: "Even if they are only tokens, and cannot possibly encompass most of the reality to which they refer, they still perform a vital function. The images say [...] Don't forget" (Sontag, 2003, p. 115).

Photography, memory, and the ethics and aesthetics of witnessing

When Walter Benjamin stated that "In photography, exhibition value begins to displace cult value all along the line," he immediately re-examined his own premise: "The cult of remembrance of loved ones, absent or dead, offers a last refuge for the cult value of the picture. For the last time the aura emanates from the early photographs in the fleeting expression of a human face. This is what constitutes their melancholy, incomparable beauty" (Benjamin, 1988, p. 224). Even if Benjamin wanted to reserve the auratic power of photographs to portraits, the idea that photographs show us what is already gone, directly refers to their power to activate memories.

Photographs not only give testimony by offering proof that something happened. They also appeal to our emotions in documenting the passing of time. In Roland Barthes *Camera Lucida*, photographs are always, to a certain extent, *memento mori*: on the one hand, they extend "a sort of umbilical cord [that] links the body of the photographed thing to my gaze" (Barthes, 1981, p. 80); on the other hand, in freezing the subject of the photograph in an instant in the past, the photographic images attest to what is already gone: "Whether or not the subject is dead, every photograph is this catastrophe" (p. 96).[16] Benjamin, Sontag, and Barthes, among others, refer to the ways in which photographic images "haunt us."

Survivors of political violence in Peru, as in other places, have confronted the authorities and the general public with images of the dead and the disappeared. The Argentinean Mothers of Plaza de Mayo became an icon with the blown up ID pictures of their disappeared sons and daughters, and relatives of the victims of political violence have repeated this gesture around the globe. Their use of the photo ID was recognized early on as confronting a State that claims not to have proof of the existence of the disappeared by using the one document supposedly recognized by the State. In *The Archive and the Repertoire* (2003), Diana Taylor stresses the fact that in the Argentinean case the military had destroyed archives containing the official documents of the disappeared and raided their houses to steal photographs too. Taylor reads this strategy as "the negative image" of Barthes' "special credibility of the photograph": while in Barthes, the photograph is supposed to somehow prove the existence of what it depicts – Argentinean military wanted to erase the existence of real individuals by destroying their photos. In Taylor's analysis, the Argentinean case shows that photographic representation has a double-sided relationship with reality: if you see the picture, you cannot deny the existence of what it represents; if you do not see the picture, you cannot prove it existed. The mothers responded to the military's destruction of the archives by bringing them to the public space and turning their own bodies into performative archives (Taylor, 2003, p. 178). Both the military and the mothers used ID photos as proof and in doing so "enact – in their own ways – the faith in photography as one particular type of evidence" (Taylor, 2003, p. 177). The photo ID became "witness" and proof of the existence of the disappeared.

In the Peruvian case, ID photos were also used extensively, first by the relatives of the disappeared and then by several of the memory projects which sprouted as responses to the CVR's report, from *Yuyanapaq* featuring Vera Lenz's striking image of a woman's hands holding a tiny, faded ID photo, to new initiatives such as "La Chalina de la esperanza." However, the CVR's use of photojournalism brings up specific questions about the ethical aspects of witnessing and the aesthetic choices of a memorial of social trauma.

In her 1977 essay, Susan Sontag bluntly referred to photojournalism as a practice of non-intervention in which, given the choice, a photographer would choose to take a picture instead of choosing to

save a life (Sontag, 1977, pp. 9–10). But this is also the position she most dramatically revises in *Regarding the Pain of Others.* In this essay, photographer and spectator ceased being voyeurs and became witnesses, and witnessing became a moral mandate. In her analysis of Sontag's last book, Judith Butler sees an increasing frustration, and believes that Sontag would like to bridge the gap between outrage and action upon seeing harrowing images. Sontag's words recognize the limitations of photographs: "Such images cannot be more than an invitation to pay attention, to reflect, to learn, to examine the rationalizations for mass suffering offered by established powers" (Sontag, 2003, p. 117). However, she sees a new value in photography's ability to make us feel and think:

> It is felt that there is something morally wrong with the abstract reality offered by photography; that one has no right to experience the suffering of others at a distance, denuded of its raw power; that we pay too high a human (or moral) price for those hitherto admired qualities of vision – the standing back from the aggressiveness of the world which frees us for observation and for elective attention. But this is only to describe the function of the mind itself.
>
> There is nothing wrong with standing back and thinking. To paraphrase several sages: "Nobody can think and hit someone at the same time."
>
> (Sontag, 2003, p. 118)

Even if Sontag expresses frustration that photography "arouses our moral sentiments at the same time that it confirms our political paralysis" (Butler, 2005, p. 825), she also recognizes that seeing is connected to thinking, to reflecting about the violence depicted in images of war.

   In her book *The Cruel Radiance: Photography and Political Violence* (2010), Susie Linfield documents the distrust engendered by photography from its early critics to postmodern theorists. Such criticism is especially virulent when it comes to documenting political violence: the images are deemed useless, narcissistic, leading the viewer to self-conscious helplessness or a feeling of moral inadequacy, but not to action. Some claim that photographing those who suffer only

subjects them to another layer of victimization. Linfield turns some of these arguments around:

> In approaching photographs with relentless suspicion, critics have made it easy for us to deconstruct images but almost impossible to see them; they have crippled our capacity to grasp what John Berger called "the thereness of the world." And it is just that – the texture, the fullness of the world outside ourselves – into which we need to delve.
>
> <div align="right">(Linfield, 2010, p. 30)</div>

Linfield returns to the fact that there is a "real object" represented in the photograph and that the focus on the medium and on the role of the photographer has obscured photography's power of representation.

Among all the objections to photojournalism, the two major ones are that the public becomes desensitized to the pain the images show, and that, as a consequence, in response to an ever-growing hunger for shocking images, photographers end up playing a predatory role. Perhaps the most tragic example of the complex position of the photographer who is trying to convey a terrible story through an image is Kevin Carter's Pulitzer Prize-winning picture of a starving child being stalked by a vulture. In the huge controversy that ensued, it was suggested that, as a human being, Carter should have been more concerned with saving the child's life than with getting his shot. Carter committed suicide only a couple of months after receiving the prize.[17] The photo's power to make us reflect, recognized by Sontag in her last book, seems to be lost here: for the critics, the moral imperative seems to be to act, not to make the violence visible, even if this visibility may result in a call to action for others. While such reservations about photography's power to depict reality deal with epistemological questions, the photographer's role and his or her relationship to violence as the object of representation, present an ethical dilemma.

These reservations about the depiction of violence are clearly expressed in the discourse of the CVR and of the curators of the photo exhibit. But, like Sontag, they find an ethical value in these images. Salomón Lerner recognizes that during the violent period examined by the CVR some media did attempt to profit from horrific images.

However, he believes that the images chosen by the CVR reveal the professionalism of people who approached the victims with compassion, and who understood that their role was to denounce the tragedy the country was experiencing (CVR, 2003, Yuyanapaq, p. 19).

The work of photojournalists and reporters was not taken lightly by the CVR, especially as a number of journalists had been victims of the most horrifying violence in the early 1980s. The work of the CVR produced discussions and roundtables about the implications of witnessing and reporting. They organized a conference entitled "Witnesses of the Truth: Visual Memory of Political Violence" with the participation of photographers, directors of news organizations, psychoanalysts, and art curators.[18]

The CVR seems to weigh two possible outcomes of the use of photojournalism, a negative one versus a positive one: the dangers implied in looking at violent images, versus the potential of the images to ignite a cathartic process. Among the dangers, we can recall those that Susie Linfield challenges: to become inured to the myriad of images of suffering, to experience reality as mediated by the image, to dehumanize the subjects of the photographs as mere objects of consumption, to experience outrage that results in feelings of impotence in the face of a tragedy that overwhelms us. But the decision of the CVR to implement the visual project relies on the belief that, in the right context, such images will become part of a healing process. As Linfield says regarding pictures of the Holocaust, "the reasons for looking at these images vastly outweigh the objections of the rejectionists" (Linfield, 2010, p. 97). One of these reasons, for Linfield, is to overcome the secrecy at the center of the Holocaust and its program to obliterate every Jew, and this fight against secrecy and oblivion is precisely one of the CVR's main motivations in using photographs: to make the violence visible and to use that visibility to create awareness.

However, the CVR wanted to create visibility while staying away from the shock value of photographs.[19] The selection process of the photos used in *Yuyanapaq* was meticulous and exhaustive, and it filtered out the most gruesome and gory images. This is not necessarily the choice of all visual testimonials, as we shall see when we examine the art of Sarhua artists, or Edilberto Jiménez, who sometimes represent in explicit paintings and drawings the most heinous acts (Figures 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3). Nancy Chappell and Mayu Mohanna, the

Figure 2.1   Asesinato de niños en Huertahuaycco, by Edilberto Jiménez

Figure 2.2   Murieron todos, solo se salvó mi hijita, by Edilberto Jiménez

Figure 2.3   Lirio Qaqa, profundo abismo, by Edilberto Jiménez

curators of *Yuyanapaq*, chose to give a specific aesthetic answer to a question of ethics:

> How could we create a visual remembrance of the war without fostering more bitterness among this traumatized and wounded population? Peru did not need a photographic chamber of horrors, but a sanctuary of truth. Paradoxically, such a place would have to be both a repository of pain and a place that could attract visitors and sustain them during their confrontation with the terrors of the past. The situation called for art to serve as a palliative against pain; aesthetics and history would be combined to evoke a response of compassion, solidarity, and reconstruction. We felt that all this could be accomplished through the language of photography.
>
> (Chappell and Mohanna, 2006, p. 54)

Chappell and Mohanna are not only clearly aware of the difficulties that arise from the use of violent images, but they also have faith in an aesthetic solution: for the Casa Riva Agüero exhibit, they created a sanctuary in which the blighted building contained the painful Peruvian history of the last two decades of the century. That context provided new meaning for the images, and context might well account for the interpretation that many critics of photography claim should always accompany such images (David Levi Strauss, Judith Butler, Susan Sontag). In an interview with Elena Goday Lucas, Mayu Mohanna spelled out the ways in which the images acquired an aesthetic potential[20]: the spectators were not "assaulted" by the images, because they made the conscious choice to visit the exhibit; but perhaps even more importantly in her description are the curator's aesthetic choices: the original setting of the exhibit, Casa Riva Agüero, provided a beautiful space and was outfitted with direct and indirect lights so that the "theatrical staging" would emotionally "sustain" the spectator during the visit to the exhibit (Goday Lucas, 2011, p. 112). (Figures 2.4 and 2 5.) Mohanna speaks of the need for sublimation and distance from the horrific violence in order to look at the war as a historical process. This is consistent with the CVR's mission: the construction of a narrative in which Peruvians can see themselves as a nation. In the same interview, Mohanna explains how out of the nearly 300 images that comprised the exhibit, only

Figure 2.4 *Yuyanapaq* installation in Casa Riva Agüero [Arq. Luis Longhi]

Figure 2.5 *Yuyanapaq* installation Museo de la Nación [Arq. Luis Longui]

six are explicit depictions of death. In her interview with the same author, Nancy Chappell remembers how hard it was to confront some of the images that had been assembled as "proof" (Goday Lucas, 2011, p. 106). Although the oral testimonies the CVR collected were explicit in nature, the images of *Yuyanapaq* were not. Mohanna even remembers the father of one of the journalists who had suffered one of the cruelest deaths documented in the process, saying that he wanted the exhibit to show explicit images, so that the world would know what his son had been through (Goday Lucas, 2011, p. 113). Again, in these interviews we find the curators struggling with the objections that photographs can show too much (shocking images that simply disturb the viewer) or too little (not really tell "what actually happened"). Thus, *Yuyanapaq* reveals itself as a staged narrative of the story that the CVR is constructing. This does not mean that the images are less powerful or less truthful, but that we need to consider where this power and this truthfulness come from. As I mentioned above, this narrative created to sustain the spectator is very different from the impulse to give a graphic testimony of the atrocities that we find in other artists and that should be examined as a distinct genre.

Underlying the CVR's trust in the power of the images of *Yuyanapaq* is the belief that "the knowledge that comes from seeing" allows us to connect to something beyond our own experience. When the CVR chooses the Quechua word *yuyanapaq* – in order to remember – for the title of the photo exhibit, the intention is to foster collective memory. Carlos Iván Degregori addresses the fact that the images had been trivialized or overlooked in the past, and sees the visual project of the CVR as a way to appeal to memory (Degregori, 2003, p. 20). But his use of the term "memory" connects the recollection of those who had first-hand experience of the events, with the transmission of that knowledge to newer generations (Degregori, 2003, p. 21). The visual material would allow for identification and compassion. In Salomon Lerner's discourse it is clear that the CVR wants "memory" not just for future generations, but for those who were not direct victims of the violence and whose oblivion prevented them from seeing what was going on in their own country.

The CVR's project seems to aim at what Kaja Silverman calls "heteropathic recollection": "implanted" memories through which "we might be given the psychic wherewithal to participate in the desires, struggles, and sufferings of the other, and to do so in a way

which redounds to his or her, rather than to our own, 'credit' "
(Silverman, 1996, p. 185). Silverman's concept has been incorpo-
rated into theories of loss and mourning through Marianne Hirsch's
reflections on photograph and "postmemory."

Hirsch, like many of those concerned with memorials of social
trauma, tries to theorize the effects of that trauma in the gen-
erations that did not experience it directly, but grew up in its
shadow. The insistence of the CVR on words like "memory," "remem-
brance," and "legacy" indicates this preoccupation too. Hirsch
defines postmemory as

> a powerful and very particular form of memory precisely because
> its connection to its object or source is mediated not through
> recollection but through an imaginative investment and creation
> [...] Postmemory characterizes the experience of those who grow
> up dominated by narratives that precede their birth, ... stories of
> the previous generation shaped by traumatic events that can be
> neither understood nor recreated.
>
>   (Hirsch, 1997, p. 22)

In a later essay, dealing specifically with photographs, Hirsch speaks
not only of identification with the suffering of one's parents or grand-
parents, but of ways in which "I can also 'remember' the suffering of
others" (Hirsch, 1999, p. 9).

Hirsch points at forms of identification that do not necessarily
interiorize the other within the self but that dislocates the self to
a certain extent. These are forms of identification that take the self
out of its own cultural norms, displacing it, to align it with another:
"Heteropathic memory (feeling and suffering with the other) means,
as I understand it, the ability to say, 'It could have been me; it was me,
also,' and, at the same time, 'but it was not me' " (Hirsch, 1999, p. 9).
Hirsch then goes beyond the idea of postmemory in which there is a
temporal distance, but at the same time a close familial or communal
connection, to the more inclusive idea of "heteropathic memory" in
which the imagination needs to bridge a distance – temporal, spatial,
or cultural – with the suffering of others (Hirsch, 1999, p. 9).

Still photographs are in Hirsch's words "stubborn survivors of
death" (Hirsch, 1999, p. 10). And this is where Hirsch finds the eth-
ical dimension of still photographs. The fact that we look always

in the present at something that represents what is always in the past, always already lost, gives photographs the potential to displace the self, "to enter the image, to imagine the disaster" without an over-appropriative identification.

The CVR demanded reparations for the victims. But beyond the idea of reparations, in the discourse of reconciliation and recovery, the need to build a successful imagined community seemed to underlie the CVR's efforts. The scandal of the indifference of those who were not directly affected by the violence permeated the commissioners' work, and one of their goals seemed to be to raise consciousness among Peruvians of the suffering experienced by their fellow citizens. The CVR presents the photos as a way to create heteropathic memory, a way for all Peruvians to identify with the suffering of others.

The CVR's use of photojournalistic archives is an attempt to create a portrait or a mirror and to say: "this is who we are." In Chapell's and Mohanna's words: "The exhibition helped to redefine and construct a common, shared memory that would motivate the Peruvian society to confront and talk about its past" (Chapell and Mohanna, 2006, p. 60). In the documentary *State of Fear* by Peter Kinoy, Pamela Yates and Paco de Onís, we see the photographer Vera Lentz return to Ayacucho after 20 years to show her pictures to those who were in them. This is an extraordinarily moving scene. It is also true that *Yuyanapaq* had regional exhibits in places that were central foci of violence like Huamanga, Huancayo, and Abancay. However, the intention of the CVR is to create a collective consciousness that reaches out to those who did not experience the traumatic events themselves so that they will identify with the victims instead of seeing them as Other.[21]

The tragic irony of *Yuyanapaq* is that its portrait of Peru is not that of an imagined community, but its opposite. The social, racial, and regional divide becomes explicit in images in which, with few exceptions, the victims are indigenous and poor, the soldiers are young and dark-skinned, the authorities are always light-skinned and seem to belong to a different universe. The crisis of the state that led to unjustifiable levels of death and destruction is visible in national symbols like flags or uniforms that seem absurd and useless when juxtaposed against the extreme poverty and despair shown alongside them. However ironic, the visual evidence of this divide, the confrontation with this uncomfortable image, is presented to Peruvians with the hope

that they will acknowledge the part they play in this community. The terms themselves are problematic: the report is presented to the nation, but because the nation is not a unified community, the report itself should work as a medium to construct it. The photographs are "us": "we" are part of this history, with its racism and its violence, with its incongruities, with its poverty, with losses that might never be recovered. Still, this is Peru.

The testimonies left by those who visited *Yuyanapaq* clearly speak of an eye-opening experience.[22] Over and over, visitors wrote things like "Where was I?" or "Was it that I didn't care because the victims were *serranos* (Indians)?" or "From now on I look at my country with new eyes." The CVR's visual narrative successfully presented Peru a portrait of itself. Salomon Lerner said that the CVR not only wanted to present a truth that needed to be acknowledged and understood, but a truth that had to be felt as our own truth in order to build a more peaceful and humane country. The knowledge that came from seeing the suffering of others taught many Peruvians a truth about themselves.

However, the mirror offered by photojournalism in the carefully curated narrative of *Yuyanapaq* was not the only way in which the memories of the war were to be set into images. Away from the trace-of-reality effect attributed to journalistic photography, many visual artists produced works that attempted to give visibility to the traumatic events the country had been through. Pictorial traditional arts offer an interesting contrast to the reality effect provided by journalistic photography because they attempt to reconstruct events after the fact, but still claim a testimonial role in the production of collective memory.

Imagining the memories of others

There is a paradox in the relationship between photojournalism and the event. While the photographer is considered a witness and we attribute truth value to the photograph assuming that what is represented was actually in front of the lens when the photograph was taken, this same fact, the fact that the photographer can only capture what was actually in front of him or her, results in a limitation of the kinds of images we get. Rarely is the photographer present at the time of an explosion. What she photographs is the result of this explosion.

Of course, there are exceptions, and given the omnipresence of camera phones in the twenty-first century we are getting more of these snapshots of the events as they happen. But this was not the case during the twentieth century: cameras capturing terrible events as they happened were rare, but memorable: one of the most haunting images of the twentieth century shows nine-year-old Phan Thi Kim Phúc as she was running away from the napalm bomb which had burned the clothes off her body. In the Peruvian case, a notoriously horrific example is the shots taken in Uchuraccay by the journalists who were being attacked. These shots actually give testimony to their lynching, which took place in the summer of 1983.

Other forms of visual representation, including, but not limited to, artistic photography, may create images to elicit collective memory in a variety of ways removed from the indexical quality attributed to journalistic photographs. Some of these pictures imagine the way things happened, some of them try to give form to oral testimonies, some appeal to non-iconic ways of depicting the world. While artistic photographers chose ways of symbolization to express loss and mourning,[23] the popular painters of Sarhua and other artists embraced a form of pictorial testimony: to put into drawings and paintings the horrors described by survivors of the most violent acts. In sharp contrast with the aesthetic and ethical principles that guided the curators of *Yuyanapaq*, some of the pictorial images the Sarhua artists created "in order to remember" are explicitly gruesome. There is a complex understanding of "taste" that accompanies the guiding principles followed by the curators of *Yuyanapaq*. The need to appeal to a general public who, for the most part, had turned their back and their consciousness to the horror experienced by disenfranchised sectors of the population produced a visual narrative that organized events in a chronological and thematic way and that was meant to "sustain" the spectators visiting the exhibit.

The *Yuyanapaq* images created by photojournalists promoted empathy and a cognitive and emotional understanding of the events. However, the forms of popular paintings and drawings that attempt to represent the violence depict literally the most violent acts: torture, rape, and dismemberments. Artists like Edilberto Jiménez or the Sarhua painters transcribe oral testimonies into images, creating pictures that are shocking in the attempt to realistically reproduce a horrific experience.

I will focus on two projects by artists who come from traditional artisanal backgrounds. Each of the projects presents pictorial representations of the horrors experienced by small towns in Ayacucho, the region of Peru where the violence of the period was at its worst. *Piraq Causa* ("Who is still to blame?") is the series of paintings depicting Sarhua's experience and was created by the collective called ADAPS (Asociación de artistas populares de Sarhua). *Trazos de memoria,* by contrast, is the work of a single artist, Edilberto Jiménez, who made drawings of the most traumatic events experienced by the people of Chungui. Both *Piraq Causa* and *Trazos de memoria* present a stark contrast with the aesthetic choices set forth by *Yuyanapaq.* These artists opt for the bare and brutal representation of torture, rape, and mutilations using modern versions of traditional popular art in Peru. The "tablas pintadas" is a tradition from the Sarhua region: a painted board or panel that traditionally recorded important events in family life. Edilberto Jiménez comes from a family of "retablo" artists and his drawings look like sketches for possible retablos (some of which he actually developed). Retablos had their origin as portable altars made on wooden boxes with figurines depicting religious scenes. It seems that it was actually the fact that retablo artists had started incorporating themes of the war in their art that to a certain extent inspired Sarhua artists to include them in their "tablas" too (González, 2007, p. 2). Jiménez and the Sarhua artists chose to represent scenes denouncing human rights violations as reported by the victims, and their representations confront the viewers with graphic images of brutal violence.

Jiménez and the Sarhua painters explain that they want the public to see what happened in these communities. But these images developed in a complex environment and respond not only to the intention of the artist, but to the way pictorial and plastic traditions evolved, to political and social demands, and other factors. Olga M. González describes these works as "arts of the contact zone." Following Mary Louise Pratt's definition of this term, González examines the tablas as an artistic product that presents forms of transculturation in which marginal groups appropriate and reshape elements from the dominant culture, responding or entering into a dialogue with it (González, 2007, p. 6).

In telling the story of *Piraq Causa,* Olga M. González also reveals the link between Edilberto Jiménez and the "tablas." González explains

that while the tablas were once gifts among families to establish genealogies and remember events related to family history, the introduction of political topics was part of a larger trend that can be traced to what was happening with retablo artists.

The Jiménez family, traditional "retablo" artists, initiated a new thematic line on political violence when they created a retablo about the killing of eight Peruvian journalists in Uchuraccay (Gonzalez, 2007, p. 2). By the 1970s, Florentino Jiménez, father of Edilberto, had already expanded the topics represented in the retablos to include historical and political themes. But the "Martyrs of Uchuraccay" retablo became an inspiration to create "images depicting the violence and bearing witness to traumatic events" (González, 2007, p. 2). The thematization of the internal armed conflict became part of the language of the traditional popular arts and it was appropriated by the Sarhua artists.

These artists express their understanding of their work as a form of testimony: they say they want to protest, denounce, and testify about the terrible experiences lived by their community (González, 2007, p. 85). In Felipe Degregori's documentary about his work, Edilberto Jiménez declares that he had to tell these stories through his work "a todo el que quisiera ver, a todo el que se atreviera a ver" [to anybody willing to see, to anybody who dared to see]. In the context of analyzing the way collective memory is constructed through images, these pictorial works raise important questions about the relationship between the representation of violence, the historical events, and the impact of political art.

While González's study of the Sarhua paintings reveals the ways in which the narrative constructed by the paintings actually concealed some of the events that took place in the community, I want to focus in the "truth effect" they produce. Thorough ethnographic work allowed González to uncover stories that differ from the ones the tablas seemed to present at face value. But that arduous, detailed work was necessary precisely because images – even the ones painted in a "naïve" style – carry the power to represent reality and convey a sense of truth. Part of González's work has been to analyze the semiotic resources employed by the painters to produce this "truth effect."

González identifies three different mechanisms used by the Sarhua artists that complicate the referential value of the

paintings: condensation, exaggerations, and accentuation. Condensation is used to illustrate the recurrence of events. For example, one board contains different kinds of punishment inflicted on members of the community by the Shining Path. The individuals who were punished can be identified in the painting and the scenes are presented as simultaneous, although they had occurred in different occasions (González, 2007, p. 97). Many members of the community also perceived exaggerations in the paintings or their captions: a caption might read "hundreds of guerrillas were killed" when the number was actually 60 or the painting might show helicopters and bombs when eyewitnesses only recall machine guns and grenades. However, these eyewitnesses declared that "Although it did not happen exactly as it appears in the picture, it was similar [. . .]" (p. 98). Accentuation, in González's analysis refers to themes underscored by the repetition of images or details from one painting in another one. González emphasizes how the pictures "ring true" for the members of the community even when they recognize inaccuracies. According to her, these semiotic resources were meant to "help communicate the devastating emotional impact certain events had had on the artists and on the eyewitnesses who had recounted them" (González, 2007, p. 100).

Edilberto Jiménez talks about his experience creating these drawings both in the book *Violencia y trazos de memoria* (2009), and in the documentary by Felipe Degregori, *Chungui: Horror sin lágrimas* (2010). As he was working with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, collecting testimonies of victims, he felt the need to not just record the words of the testimonies, but to tell the stories in his drawings. Jiménez declares that he started many of the sketches as the informants were telling him their stories, sometimes even getting feedback from them on the accuracy of the representation of the event (Jiménez, 2009, p. 22). Carlos Iván Degregori, in his introduction to the collection of drawings in book format, explains that they constitute a new "site of vision" – playing on the anthropological concept of "site of enunciation" – that provides expression to the content of the testimonies (Jiménez, 2009, p. 22). The support Jiménez's book received by the Commission for Human Rights and other organizations is a sign that there is a particular interest in his work as a form of "collaborative ethnography" capable of providing new ways of reconstructing memory.

Carlos Iván Degregori concludes his introduction presenting *Trazos de memoria* as a way to carry and improve the legacy of the CVR, implying that the drawings open the door to alternatives ways to reconstruct the truth. This is consistent with what was earlier said about the use of photography by the CVR: the images are not simply illustrating what the words said. They add a layer of signification that is non-verbal.

Jiménez's work as presented in both the book and the documentary combines oral testimonies (or their transcription) with the images. The result is extremely disturbing. The drawings are printed in the page opposite to the testimony and both words and images are explicit: "Reunían a los pobladores, nos hacían agarrar perros y nos obligaban a matarlos. Luego a cada uno de nosotros nos hacían comer sus partes y con su sangre bañaban nuestras caras" (Jiménez, 2009, p. 165). [They would gather us and make us get our dogs and kill them. Then we had to eat parts of their bodies and wash our faces in their blood.] The drawing that accompanies the testimony shows a group of people gathered by a few armed men in fatigues. There are a couple of dogs with their stomachs cut open and one of the men in fatigues is stuffing a dog's leg into someone's mouth while the rest watch with sad faces. The gruesome details of the drawings contrast with the apparent naïveté of the style.

Edilberto Jiménez has claimed for himself the legacy of Guamán Poma de Ayala, as have the Sarhua artists and the young artists from Museo Itinerante Arte por la Memoria, whose work I will discuss in the last chapter. Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala was a sixteenth-century Quechua native who sent a letter to the Spanish king denouncing the ill treatment of the people of the Andean region after the conquest. The letter consists of a document of over 1000 pages in which the description of native traditions tries to put into context the abuses of the Spaniards, and both, traditions and abuses, are illustrated with unique pictures by the author. It is not clear to what extent it is possible to trace an artistic tradition between contemporary Andean artists and Guamán Poma. Olga González, following Manuel Burga, speaks of the "invention of tradition" (González, 2007, p. 78). For González, the fact that Peruvian scholars have pointed out similarities between the use of image/text in the sixteenth-century chronicler and in the artists of Sarhua provides their work an aura of intellectual authority that they embrace,

but she expresses doubts about any direct influence. On the other hand, Jiménez, who attended the University, has a degree in anthropology, and can be assumed to have had an early, direct, exposure to the chronicler's work, claims Guamán Poma as a predecessor. In any case, in the Peruvian cultural imaginary, denouncing injustice with images is necessarily linked to Guamán Poma's drawings.

Carlos Iván Degregori takes up this idea of Guamán Poma's legacy in Jiménez's work:

> Jiménez ha elaborado una nueva carta, dirigida ya no a un rey inexistente, sino al Estado peruano, a los partidos políticos, a la sociedad ayacuchana y nacional y, en estos tiempos globalizados, a todos aquellos que en cualquier parte del planeta se preocupen por la vida, la paz, la democracia y el respeto a los Derechos Humanos.
>
> [Jiménez has created a new letter addressed not to an imaginary king, but to the Peruvian State, the political parties, Ayacucho, the nation, and, in these globalized times, to all those who anywhere in the planet care about life, peace, democracy and respect for Human Rights.]
>
> (Jiménez, 2009, p. 35)

The discourse of testimony, of "witnessing," as a moral imperative, gives meaning to the images. The representation of atrocities in these cases prescribes a moral reading.[24] While Jiménez talks about the way the terrible stories told by survivors gave him nightmarish dreams, the artwork he created as the result is not explained simply as a personal way of exorcising his own pain as the recipient of these stories: he feels he needs to present the drawings for others to see. His statements in the documentary and in the book also seek to contextualize the horror and, stress, on the one hand, the fact that the people of Chungui had survived these traumatic events and were still able to celebrate life in their traditional holidays; and, on the other hand, that by calling attention to the suffering of the town the drawings might have some impact on the State and public opinion, and perhaps provide some relief for the current needs of Chungui. The next to last drawing, called "Concertación," shows a triumphant march of people carrying signs demanding the end of oblivion and illiteracy. The text that accompanies this drawing reads:

Después del conflicto armado interno, las comunidades campesinas siguen en la marginación y el olvido por parte del Estado. Por ello el dibujo refleja que las autoridades y las poblaciones deben concertar para erradicar la pobreza, el analfabetismo, las enfermedades, el atraso, y lograr el desarrollo de sus pueblos.

<div align="right">(Jiménez, 2009, p. 315)</div>

[After the internal armed conflict, peasant communities are still marginalized and the State continues to be oblivious to them. That is why the drawing shows the need for the authorities and the people to come together to eradicate poverty, illiteracy, illness, backwardness, and achieve the development of these towns.]

Similar concerns are expressed by the artists of Sarhua. Evanán, one of the artists quoted by González, declares: "No one cares about our village, no journalists go there! To whom can we complain about the violence that Sarhuinos have suffered? There are no human rights for us! At least with our paintings we bear witness to what has happened in our community" (González, 2007, p. 85).The idea of "bearing witness" becomes conflated with the artists becoming spokesmen for the needs of the community. "Showing" the most horrific war crimes through images is understood as a way to call attention to the fact that the sectors of Peruvian society not directly affected by violence remained oblivious to what was going on in Ayacucho and that that indifference is, for the most part, still in place.

But the way drawings and paintings "witness" is necessarily different from the effects created by photography. Photographic aura still emanates from our understanding that what the photo shows has an indexical value, a trace of reality. Pictorial art, on the contrary, can create things out of nothing, can represent imaginary beings, imaginary scenes, events that never took place. To complicate the act of "witnessing" further, we need to consider the fact that the artists, Jiménez and the ADAPS members, were not really eyewitnesses to all they represent, but they nonetheless want to invest their work with testimonial power.

In *Regarding the Pain of Others* Susan Sontag writes about Francisco de Goya's *Disasters of War* as setting "a new standard for responsiveness to suffering" in the arts (Sontag, 2003, p. 45). She sees Goya's etchings as "an assault in the sensibility of the viewer" (Sontag, 2003,

p. 45). However, she also deals with the fact that the drawings could not claim to be capturing reality the same way that photographs can. Even when issues of framing and editing make obvious the fact that photographs are not transparent, "photographs, unlike hand-made images, can count as evidence" (Sontag, 2003, p. 47). This is why Sontag emphasizes the role of the captions in Goya's *Disasters of war*. The first-person voice of the artist claims: "Yo lo vi" [I saw it] or "Esto es verdadero" [This is the truth]. Those kinds of claims are considered unnecessary when it comes to photographs, but Goya seems to have felt the need to stress the fact that he is depicting real events. Goya's biographer, Robert Hughes, credited him with inventing "a kind of illusion in the service of truth: the illusion of being there when dreadful things happen" (Hugues, 2003, p. 272). These images created, according to Hughes, a form of "vivid, camera-can't-lie pictorial journalism long before the invention of the camera, of art devoted to reportage, claiming its power as propaganda from its immediacy as an act of witnessing" (Hugues, 2003, p. 272).

Piraq Causa and *Trazos de memoria* create the illusion that the images are what an eyewitness would see and that seeing them would, in turn, make us, the spectators, into eyewitnesses too. The images offer a bridge between the oral/written testimonies and the experience: they make us "see" what "actually happened."

The use of text – captions on the Sarhua boards and full-fledged testimonies side by side Jiménez's drawings – establishes "the facts," while the images provide a kind of supplementary cognitive and affective knowledge: that is what happened, now look at it. Issues of memory, testimony, and truth are still at stake.[25] Olga González reports that from the beginning the artists told her "We paint what we see" (González, 2007, p. 86). She explains that "seeing" was presented as "evidence."[26] "The emphasis on 'seeing' was meant to stress their authoritative role as eyewitness and create the 'effect of truth'" (González, 2007, p. 86). When the artists themselves had not been present at the events, they relied on the accounts of other Sarhuino eyewitnesses (González, 2007, pp. 87–8).

A very interesting phenomenon observed by González was that there was a tension when the town's people looked at the "tablas," because they felt pressured to find "truth" in the paintings. They would acknowledge discrepancies, but only after corroborating the

way the painting reflected their version of the truth (González, 2007, p. 86). González adds:

> Interestingly, despite competing memories and representations among Sarhuinos, the tendency in the end was not to invalidate the *Piraq Causa* series altogether. Instead, they saw its value as a historical document or a book . . . to teach future generations about an important though painful historical period.
>
> (pp. 89–90)

In González's account, it is evident that Sarhuinos expected accuracy and realism from the paintings. If they disagreed with something on the painting, they reacted as if they were dealing with staged photographs (González, 2007, pp. 88–9). However, she found that "many viewers found these paintings comparable to photography because they portrayed a reality they had seen with their 'own eyes' " (González, 2007, p. 89). The artists of Sarhua chose to create narratives of the horrors lived by the town to be able to show them to outsiders – "no journalist comes here" – but there seems to be a validation of these depictions of "truth" by members of the community even as González uncovers what they conceal. González is careful to clarify that her study does not try to expose "false memories" as others have done with *testimonio*, but rather understand how events are remembered and forgotten and the role of secrecy in a community devastated by war (González, 2007, p. 9).

Edilberto Jiménez case is different because he presents himself as an ethnographer consigning the testimonies of others. We could say that the texts accompanying the drawings "objectively" record the stories told by victims and witnesses. In the documentary, Jiménez also seeks to establish validation by the people of Chungui and reports that they would say things like "así como estás dibujando, así ocurrió" ["the way you are drawing it, that's how it was"]. Jiménez's art testifies to his own need not to limit the records of atrocities to the word. Images seem to have a power that goes beyond simply establishing the facts, both in their capacity to communicate instantly, and because they create a sense of immediacy that transforms the viewers ["those who dare to see"] into witnesses.

When Susan Sontag dealt with the fact that we cannot trust that the images of Goya's *Disasters* exactly depict what happened as it

happened, she says that the claim is that "things *like* this happened. In contrast, a single photograph or filmstrip claims to represent exactly what was before the camera's lens. A photograph is supposed not to evoke but to show" (Sontag, 2003, p. 47). However, many of the photographs chosen by the curators of *Yuyanapaq* evoke more than they show. Of course they show what was in front of the camera, but many of these images are particularly evocative: worn hands holding a worn-out Id picture of a disappeared relative, a humble man writing a letter in front of a jail cell. It was not only that in most cases the photographers were not present as the terrible events occurred. The curators chose not to display images of violence in an effort to present a narrative that could be embraced by sectors of the nation who had remained oblivious to a tragedy not seen as their own.

The drawings by Edilberto Jiménez and the Sarhua painters, in contrast, choose to show in the most explicit ways the most horrendous crimes committed in these small towns in Ayacucho. Pictorial artists do not need to have been there as the crime occurred: they can reproduce it with their imagination and thus present their own memories and the memories of others as they were reported to them. There seems to be a moral imperative guiding this need to make others see the horror and confront it "with their own eyes" to make it their own. What Jiménez and the Sarhua artists choose to communicate is almost the opposite of what *Yuyanapaq* chooses, except in one respect: the narrative all these pictures construct is concerned mostly with the point of view of the victim; they avoid "taking sides" or presenting a strong ideological position. Crimes were perpetrated by both the armed forces and the guerrilla groups. The images want us to identify with the victims and to react to the fact that these horrors occurred while the rest of society remained oblivious.

But even if that message is consistent with the story told by the CVR, the effort to present memories in alternative ways opens the door to other narratives; and images play a defining role in the way these narratives are established and in the emotional impact they create in the public.

3
Plain Things and Names

A plain old thing: a ponytail-holder or a little boy's hat; a shoe; a sweater with a ribbon that must have been red or pink at a time.[1] Rounded stones with names on them, thousands of them, surrounding a sculpture: these are examples from two of the memory initiatives that have impacted Peruvians in recent years. Both appeal to the viewers' emotional reactions: reading those names, one after the other, or paying attention to the photograph of an isolated everyday object, such as a sweater or a ponytail-holder, suddenly gives these viewers an understanding of the loss caused by the violence of the Peruvian armed conflict.

The images of objects come from Domingo Giribaldi's photo exhibit "Si no vuelvo búsquenme en Putis" (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). The names on the rocks, from Lika Mutal's sculpture "El ojo que llora" (Figures 3.3 and 3.4). Visitors to both Giribaldi's exhibit and Mutal's memorial are moved by an affective understanding of loss. These two memorials activate metonymic mechanisms that make the public grasp the humanity of the victims, either by recognizing a plain object that evokes its owner or by the awareness we have of names as a marker of identity. The things left behind by victims and the roll call of those gone are two frequent ways of invoking collective loss. By examining the aesthetic choices made in the memorials created by Giribaldi and Mutal, I hope to shed some light on how those choices reflect mnemic mechanisms, the processes by which we recognize and remember actual experiences. I will also examine the political context in which these works are created and the repercussions of the debates that surround them.

Figure 3.1   Chompita de Lazo Rojo. *Si no vuelvo, búsquenme en Putis*, by Domingo Giribaldi

These kinds of interventions produce vicarious memories in the viewers by appealing to empathic responses to certain forms of representation. In Chapter 1, I presented some of the current research on neuroimaging and empathy that shows that empathy happens in our brains in ways that are similar to the ways memory happens in our brains. In this chapter, I want to analyze the materiality of works of art that trigger these responses by looking primarily at these two examples of the use of names and plain things.

When Steven Pinker used the popularization of novels as a possible explanation of the rise of empathy during the Humanitarian Revolution, he presented reading as "a technology of perspective-taking" (Pinker, ch. 4). By reading about somebody else's experiences or thoughts, we are temporarily seeing the world through their eyes. In Chapter 2, I examined the ways in which the narrative of the CVR was presented through photographs in *Yuyanapaq*, and how other visual representations of the traumatic past appropriated the idea of the image as the embodiment of witnessing. In the current chapter, I want to propose that complex aesthetic mechanisms of signification

Figure 3.2 Pili-Mili. *Si no vuelvo, búsquenme en Putis*, by Domingo Giribaldi

Figure 3.3   Ojo que llora. Photo Margarita Saona

impact the viewer with empathic reactions that are different from narrative perspective taking and from seeing images as reflections of reality.

The forms of empathy that result from art that is not strictly mimetic might be activated by cognitive processes that imply a form of recognition and identification even when we do not learn all the facts. Memorials such as those created by Giribaldi and Mutal do not reconstruct a complete narrative of how violence impacted the victims, but they appeal to an understanding of symbols that can be just as powerful. Cognitive and emotional empathy can be aroused by forms of art that appeal to complex symbolic forms, beyond the direct representation of suffering.

The word "empathy" itself entered the language of psychology through Edward B. Titchener's interpretation of Theodor Lipps's use of the German word "Einfühlung." Lipps was in turn elaborating on Robert Vischer's aesthetic theories.[2] This etymology might not be relevant for the current understanding of "empathy" and might even contradict the emphasis that Pinker gives to "sympathy" as the kind

Figure 3.4   Ojo que llora. Photo Margarita Saona

of empathy that we are really concerned about when we discuss the decline of violence (Pinker, ch. 4). For theories of aesthetics, empathy explained the way in which the spectator related to the work of art. Those relationships were described in different ways, from the notion

of mystical union of human experience through the experience of the object, to the idea that spectators project their own feelings onto an object, and that these manifestations of empathy were not always seen as the desirable outcome of the aesthetic experience.[3] I am not going to discuss here the debates about empathy and aesthetics, but I want to call attention to the fact that our understanding of feeling with and for others has been long connected with our experience of art and to the psychological and cognitive effects of works of art.

Many of the theorists of memory who have attempted to explain the idea of remembering the experiences of others – Susan Sontag, Marianne Hirsh, Kaja Silverman, Jill Bennet, among others – have done so by analyzing the impact of photographs and other visual arts in arousing empathic feelings. The two examples I am discussing in this chapter could be examined in their visual dimension, but they also present an element of symbolization that is central to the way they activate an empathic reaction that we can interpret as remembering or understanding the feeling of loss. The list of proper names and the representation of the belongings of the disappeared use the name or the image of the object as a cue to refer to something else: the body of the person that is no more and the injustice of their disappearance.

In her book *Memory in Literature: From Rousseau to Neuroscience*, Suzanne Nalbatian (2003) writes that autobiographical memories are rich in associations to the context, place or environment and are activated by "retrival cues" (Nalbatian, p. 137). She adds: "this type of long-term episodic memory is characterized by a richness of phenomenological detail, a sense of reliving the experience, a sense of a travel through time, and a feeling of exact reproduction of the past" (Nalbatian, p. 137). In 1996, Edmund Rolles suggested that a partial memory cue can contribute to the formation of long-term episodic memories in the auto-associative network of the hippocampus. I imagine that this as a synecdoche in the brain: a part stands in for the whole, a cue for the experience it evokes in the web of associations it sets in motion. If we accept that when we imagine the experiences of others our brains reproduce patterns of activity that are similar to those activated when we remember our own experiences, we can conceive how a work of art can provide a cue to trigger these memory-like empathic reactions.

Imagining a cue or a partial cue as a synecdoche for the experience that is remembered helps us see that what is usually defined as a "figure of speech" is actually a cognitive mechanism. In a similar way, we can see a metonymic process activated by the fact that the image of a child's hat recovered from a mass grave makes us "remember" a child we never met and produces some form of feeling and understanding of the loss caused by his or her violent death.

Each of the stones in Mutal's sculpture and each of the items depicted in Giribaldi's photos stand for a life lost to violence during the internal armed conflict and it is this "standing for" that impacts the viewer. In what follows, I explore the reach of metonymy as a cognitive way to generate a "memory-like" experience of empathy, before I go on to a more detailed analysis of these works and their reception.

The American Heritage Dictionary defines *metonymy* as "A figure of speech in which one word or phrase is substituted for another with which it is closely associated, as in the use of *Washington* for *the United States government* or of *the sword* for *military power*."[4] A word stands for another word. However, even those who try to explain metonymy as a literary trope or as a linguistic phenomenon end up facing the fact that we are dealing with an extralinguistic reality. Hugh Bredin (1984) accepts that "we need to assume that metonymical relations are relations between things, not between words" (p. 52). Anna Papafragou (1996) comes to a similar conclusion when trying to explain the way metonymy works: "I take it that metonymy is grounded in a more general human cognitive tendency, according to which an individual or object in the world may be identified through one salient property it possesses" (p. 181). We see the substitution of a word for another word, but we establish a referent through a signifier that normally is not associated to that referent thanks to the fact that the latter has a particular relationship to the object normally associated to that signifier. In memorials of social trauma, objects that have become relics present themselves as signifiers for that which has been lost and is hard to name.

Roman Jakobson's classic paper on aphasia becomes particularly relevant when trying to understand the way that objects fulfill a metonymic relationship to loss in the cases I am considering. Jakobson (2002) notes that some aphasics could produce grammatically correct sentences, but were unable to select the right word, and

would instead say, for example, *glass* for *window*, or *heaven* for god. He called this disturbance a "similarity disorder" in opposition to a "contiguity disorder," organizing aphasia around a metaphoric pole and a metonymic pole. Metonymical responses, Jakobson discovered, "combined and contrast the positional similarity with semantic contiguity" (p. 91). When the "right word" cannot be uttered, another word – one that might be used in a sentence with the missing word – is used instead. But, even then, Jakobson was not only talking about words but about representation in general. Jakobson himself established, for example, a link between his discoveries on these processes and psychoanalysis: for him, Freud's understanding of displacement and condensation in the interpretation of dreams reveals metonymic processes of symbolization, while identification and symbolism are manifestations of a metaphoric pole (p. 95).

When we talk about metonymy, we are using a linguistic mechanism to describe a very general way of representing and understanding the world. Perhaps we learn to represent like this because it is engrained in the faculty of language. Or perhaps it is the other way around: this is a linguistic mechanism, because language takes mechanisms that are common to a general human way of understanding reality. Recent studies in neural processing of language show that "solving" metonymies seem to integrate semantic language comprehension with "world knowledge" (A. M. Rapp et al., p. 203). When a little hat evokes a dead child, and we understand loss and grief, we are experiencing a metonymic process that, in turn, activates a "memory-like" effect. The hat stands – metonymically – for the person who wore it and works as a memory cue not just for the person, but for the loss, for the absence of the body.

A similarly powerful evocation happens when we see the written names of those disappeared. The names on the rocks of "El ojo que llora" repeat a gesture made in other memorials of collective loss: the *Vietnam War memorial* in Washington, D.C., the wall with names of the victims of Argentina's Dirty War in *El parque de la memoria*, and many others. How do these names stimulate memory-like experiences? How do they work for those who knew the person designated by that name and how do they work for those who did not know that person?

Each of the names inscribed in the stones memorializes an individual. For those who knew him or her, the name – like the little hat

for the relatives of the disappeared child who wore it – immediately brings recollections of that person. However, those who did not know the person whose name they read can also understand the "meaning" of the name. As with the materiality of the objects photographed by Giribaldi, the names become signifiers capable of evoking the lost person.

Proper names are a special kind of sign.[5] Philosopher Robin Jeshion (2009) explains the way we understand names by studying "singular thought." According to Jeshion "Without any knowledge of a particular name's referent, and just in virtue of taking a term as a name, we are cognitively attuned to take the name's referent as an individual accorded significance" (p. 374). I do not need to know the person the name refers to, I only need to know that it is a name to give it significance, to understand that it designates a person: "a competent user of a name may associate no semantic content at all with the name, but competence does require that the user of 'N' knows that it names the individual that is called, or named, 'N'" (p. 375). If we know that a name is a name, we know that it identifies a person, that it is a unique sign that allows us to immediately refer to him or her, even if we do not know the person.

Jeshion believes, following John Macnamara (1982), that there is cognitive development in humans that determines their capacity to recognize that certain "objects" are important as "individuals" and that our languages create proper names for those objects. Young children rapidly learn the particularities of proper names. Jeshion reviews different theories of the way that names signify: there is an "acquaintance theory" that assumes that we need to know the named individual to be able to "think singularly" about them or at least we need to be connected to a chain of acquaintances – to know somebody who knows somebody who … – another theory, which she calls "Semantic Instrumentalism," suggests that we can think of an individual even if we are not acquainted with him or her by using descriptions (p. 387). However, Jeshion thinks that there is a cognitive a priori understanding of names as a way to apprehend the individuality they designate:

> I believe that a hearer's recognition of a speaker's utterance as containing a proper name causes her to accord significance, *prima facie,* to the referent, or the supposed referent, of the proper

name. Taking the referent, or supposed referent, to have significance, *prima facie,* causes the hearer to form a mental file on that individual. (p. 396)

When we hear (or read) proper names, we know that those names "refer" and "because being a referring expression (having a bearer) is psychologically associated with singular thinking about those bearers, the hearer forms a singular thought about the name's bearer" (p. 399). In other words, even if I never met the person I conceive him or her as a person. We attribute "personhood," or to use Jeshion's philosophical terms, "singular thought" and "significance." The transfer of singular thought (getting the individuality of a person) in the use of proper names is, according to Jeshion, privileged and automatic:

> We do not need to know whom the name names. We do not need contextual supplementation [...] utterances with proper names straightaway cause us to accord significance, *prima facie,* to the referent (or supposed referent) of the proper name, and taking that individual to have significance causes us to form a name-labeled mental file. (p. 400)

Once I hear (or read) a name, I am ready to learn things about that person. The names of those disappeared are the most immediate form to invoke them, to call the memories of who they were, even for those who did not know them in real life.

But of course, who they were in life is what matters. And "El ojo que llora" has probably been the most controversial memorial in the aftermath of the CVR's report precisely because of the names it included and how the inclusion of names was linked to debates of who is a victim, who is an innocent victim, and who has the right to be memorialized.

Naming the victims: The controversies surrounding "El ojo que llora"

"El ojo que llora" has been probably the most controversial memorial in the aftermath of the Peruvian CVR. The sculptor, Dutch-born Lika Mutal, was inspired to create a space to commemorate the victims

of the armed conflict and to foster awareness and reflection about Peru's violent past after visiting the *Yuyanapaq* exhibit. The debates found wide press coverage in Peru and abroad and also spawned a number of academic articles about the politics of memorialization.[6] The controversies were fierce at times, but several years later, as part of the tenth anniversary of the report of the CVR, the monument has been recognized as "national patrimony," as a legacy that should be protected.[7]

I will briefly summarize the facts and the main points of the debate to then focus on issues regarding the aesthetic choices employed to remember the disappeared. Katherine Hite documents the origins of the sculpture: Mutal began to work on the sculpture shortly after visiting *Yuyanapaq* with the intention of creating a space for healing and introspection (Hite, pp. 121–2). She chose to represent Mother Earth, the Inca goddess Pachamama, through a large stone in the center of the sculpture. This large stone had a smaller embedded one in the guise of an eye, trickling water as if crying and mourning the violence. Encircling this stone, there is a path made of thousands of small rounded rocks with the names of the disappeared. Mutal's conception of the sculpture is charged with symbolism and mystical meanings: the central stone came from an area known as a pre-Hispanic cemetery; the labyrinth created by the other stones simulate a pilgrimage in which visitors should reconcile with themselves and others (Hite, p. 122). (See Figure 3.3.) Mutal had the support of several organizations and of the neighborhood of Jesús María, where Campo de Marte, the park where the sculpture was built, is located. But this was a private initiative (Milton, 2011, pp. 195–6). The sculpture came to the forefront of the Peruvian memory struggles when the Inter-American Court of Human Rights declared that the Peruvian Government was guilty of torturing and killing prisoners of the Castro Castro prison in 1992. Among the court's ruling was a stipulation that the names of those killed in Castro Castro should be inscribed in "El ojo que llora" (Hite, pp. 108–10). This created an outcry from the media, because the prisoners in Castro Castro were identified as Shining Path militants. In Hite's words: "Peruvian politicians charged that the Inter-American Court could not somehow equate the *Sendero* militants' deaths with those of tens of thousands of innocent victims, even if the government had violated human rights laws" (p. 110).

Another major twist to the debate came when it was made public that some of the names of the Castro Castro prisoners killed by the government were already among those inscribed in "El ojo que llora." When interrogated about this, Lika Mutal declared that she was not aware that there were names of Shining Path members among the names in the sculpture. She had simply used a list provided to her by the CVR and the Human Rights Ombudsman (Drinot, p. 23). This created a major outrage and controversy about what to do with the names: some wanted to destroy the sculpture (and it was vandalized by supporters of Fujimori on more than one occasion); some wanted the names of those affiliated to the Shining Path to be removed; Mario Vargas Llosa suggested a compromise of putting the stones with the names of *senderistas* upside down. However, what Paulo Drinot insightfully proposes in "For Whom the Eye Cries: Memory, Monumentality, and the Ontologies of Violence in Peru" is that the dispute about the names actually brings up an ontological discrepancy about the understanding of the term victim, making clear that there were two irreconcilable positions regarding the responsibility for violence in Peru and the relationship between victims and victimizers.

The problem that Drinot unravels in his article is this: "under what circumstances could victimizers be considered victims?" (p. 23). If "El ojo que llora" memorializes victims and those dead in the Castro Castro incident were killed by the government forces, can they be considered victims and thus included in the monument, even if they, in turn, had perpetrated violence against others?

According to Drinot, the understanding of who is a victim of the Peruvian armed conflict has to do with the interpretation of the causes of "the violence" in Peru. Some believe that this violence sprouted because of the attacks initiated by the Shining Path and that, therefore, all the violent acts are a response to that. Another interpretation, however, sees the violence as a consequence of the brutal conditions of inequality in Peruvian society. For this interpretation, the structural conditions of Peru were favorable to a violent order. The two interpretations result in different understandings regarding responsibility for the violence. For the first interpretation, the Shining Path is solely responsible. Even if the State killed some innocent people in this context, still the Shining Path is to blame, as this would not have happened without them starting an armed

struggle. Innocent civilians are victims, but so are non-*senderista* violent actors ("the forces of order").

The second interpretation, on the contrary, assumes that, given that the violence was the result of structural problems in Peruvian society, the responsibility is shared by society at large. This makes the post-violent scenario more complicated:

> [. . .] on the one hand, all violent actors who perpetrated forms of non-legitimate violence must be subjected to judicial and moral punishment. But since the violence according to this second interpretation cannot be reduced to the violence of the violent actors, then it befalls upon the whole of society to take part, first, in a collective process of atonement, and second, in the development of a non-violent grammar to articulate Peruvian society.
>
> (Drinot, p. 26)

Katherine Hite, who interviewed Mutal and the relatives of two of the victims memorialized in the monument, also documents the sides of this dilemma. According to Hite, Mutal felt uncomfortable with the idea that "terrorists can live side by side with the innocents" (p. 123). But at the same time, the relatives of those killed are deeply invested in having a place where they can mourn their loved-ones. Both the wife of a union leader and the father of a student activist defend "El ojo que llora": those disappeared deserve to be memorialized, regardless of their role in the incidents (pp. 123–4).

Mutal's desire for a space of reflection seems to be influenced by Buddhist philosophical traditions, a search for consciousness, which is also a search for compassion (Hite, p. 125). In an interview with Hite, Mutal said that she hoped that visitors to the memorial would experience how "everything becomes now – no memory, only consciousness" (p. 125). However, the choice of names, as we saw earlier in this chapter, calls for an individuation, a personalization, that might not be compatible with this form of consciousness. Hite sees in "El ojo que llora" an artistic attempt to memorialize without the "literal" representations of trauma, but the monument steered these controversies precisely because the names it inscribed brought back the violence that those who carried those names had confronted when they were alive.

Paulo Drinot has noted that "El ojo que llora" invites "both a collective memory and an individuated memory as part of, but not subsumed within the collective" (p. 17). All the memorials of social trauma that record the long list of victims have this double effect: the accumulation of names overwhelms us with the enormity of the loss; the singularity of each name moves us to think of the individual. Drinot, however, makes another observation about Mutal's sculpture: "The pebbles inscribed with the names of the victims of the violence both help remember (in a cognitive sense) those who died but also help re-member (in an embodied sense) those whose bodies were dis-membered by the violence" (p. 17). The monument inscribes in the materiality of the land (its pebbles) the names of those erased from it by violence (p. 17). Drinot remembers the paradox that others, like Carlos Iván Degregori, had noted before him: that in Peru the status of victim gave visibility to those who had been ignored. Being recognized as victim was, to a certain extent, to be recognized as a citizen for the first time (p. 18).

The name, equated with the individual, recognizes him or her as a person and as a citizen before the State. Mutal invites the identification of the individual. In the vast pathways of rocks and names, there are occasional private tributes to one of them: a relative or a friend marks a name with a flower. (Figure 3.4) To those for whom the name refers to a loved one, it probably invokes precise episodic memories. The dates of birth and death inscribed by the names invite those who did not know the person to wonder about their life, their age when they died, and the circumstances that led to their death. A name, in this context, is enough to make us understand that a person existed who died in violent circumstances, a life was interrupted, and his or her loved ones miss him or her.

However, as we have seen through the polemic unbound by this monument, this remembrance of the victims of violence, particularly when their names are displayed, get tangled in the memory battles about innocence and responsibility. Those who have studied the communities who have suffered the most in the armed conflict know that categorizing victims and perpetrators is a complex issue. Olga González, in studying Sarhua, found out that the reconstruction of the past also involved concealing part of it, because bringing back the past could incriminate important members of the community or rekindle old hatreds. Kimberly Theidon (2009) emphasizes the

fratricidal nature of the conflict and the fact that many of the communities affected by the conflict harbored Shining Path members, sympathizers, widows, orphans (Theidon, p. 20). The research findings compiled in *Jamás tan cerca arremetió lo lejos: Memoria y violencia política en el Perú*, edited by Carlos Iván Degregori (2003), also show the complexities of sorting out the past when one or one's loved ones might have been involved in violent acts.[8] In Katherine Hite's words, "Victims, perpetrators, resisters, and survivors come from many sides of the conflict and can often be read as all of the above and more" (p. 128). The paths made of names created by Mutal to help visitors reflect, mourn, and give materiality to a tragic death toll do not take into consideration whether those fallen were agents of violence or not. A monument conceived as a symbol for peace revealed how truth and reconciliation are not achieved by decree. The names on the stones bring together the innocent ones and the ones who were agents of violence, and this, in fact, might lead its visitors to reexamine the past.

The things they carried: Embodied evocation in Si no vuelvo búsquenme en Putis

Unlike the names that are tied to individual identity, the objects photographed by Domingo Giribaldi identify the owner of the object only to those closest to him or her. Nonetheless, they also convey the lost body in its materiality to anybody who sees them. We are thus moved because we can metonymically perceive the little body who used to wear that hat or that shoe. The issue of agency with regards to violence gets swept away, in no small part because many of the objects photographed by Giribaldi belonged to children: a ponytail holder, little shoes, small hats, a sweater with a ribbon. (See Figures 2.5 and 3.1.) There are other pictures in Giribaldi's exhibit. Some of them deal with empty spaces of what looks like the Andean version of a ghost town, which I will examine in the next chapter. But the pictures of the isolated personal belongings of children recovered from a mass grave hold a particularly strong evocative power.

While the victim status of the names of the Shining Path members inscribed in "El ojo que llora" seems to be tarnished by the fact that they refer to adults who had themselves engaged in violent acts, the metonymic invocation of a child's body constitutes an

unobstructed appeal to compassion. As I said, these are not the only images included in Giribaldi's exhibit. But they become emblematic. There is an urgency in the appeal to empathetic feelings, still consistent with the message of the CVR, but this time carried even further by other organizations.

I believe that Giribaldi's aesthetic choices are influenced by the ethical stance taken by the Peruvian Team of Forensic Anthropology [Equipo Peruano de Antropología Forense] (EPAF), the organization that invited him to take the pictures of the recovered remains. This stance is articulated under the metaphor of a "humanitarian umbrella," a form of advocacy for the right to truth above the right to justice, and to restorative justice above retributive justice. José Pablo Baraybar, the director of EPAF, believes that it is imperative to search for the disappeared, to find the truth about their deaths, and to be able to inform the families, and possibly return the remains to them, so they can have a proper burial.[9] In Baraybar's argument, the truth that the judicial system looks for takes too long, investigates the victims as evidence for their cases, and disregards the human tragedy of those who need to mourn. It is important to punish those who are guilty of crimes, but it is even more important to let the families of the missing have closure. In an interview with Paola Ugaz (2009), Baraybar gives the following definition of the "humanitarian umbrella":

> El paraguas humanitario es un mecanismo por el cual se prioriza la recuperación y restitución de los restos mortales a sus familiares mientras que la justicia avanza en sus propios tiempos. La restitución es un elemento complementario e indisoluble a cualquier proceso reparatorio.

> [The humanitarian umbrella is a mechanism that prioritizes the recuperation and restitution of the mortal remains to their families while justice moves at its own pace. Restitution is a complimentary and indissoluble element of any process of restoration.]
>
> (My translation)

The message emphasizes the need to search for the disappeared, to identify remains found in mass graves, and give closure to families. In order to achieve these goals, EPAF stresses the need for the community at large to understand the stakes, which is why part of its

activities focus on memory initiatives to move the public in favor of this cause. It not only participates in ceremonies to return mortal remains to the families, but creates short videos for internet programs, organizes vigils, as well as sponsors Giribaldi's exhibit among other art projects. It understands the need to create awareness and move the general public to align themselves with the plight of the victims. Giribaldi's images activate a metonymic understanding of loss that has the potential to move those not directly affected by the death of a loved one.

Giribaldi was invited to take pictures of the remains exhumed from the mass grave in Putis. In June of 2008, EPAF recovered 92 bodies of people killed in Putis during a massacre that took place in 1984. Baraybar's text published with the photo essay testifies to the metonymic effect the recovered objects had on the relatives of the victims: "They caress their clothes, those they once made, washed and ironed. The threads whisper in their ears, the strands, the weave, the yarn, the stitches and the seams" (EPAF, pdf file).[10] The materiality of the remains and their potential to activate the memories of the relatives, which Baraybar first observed when EPAF had them identify the recovered bodies, are reflected in the images captured by Giribaldi: a little shoe worn not by having been used, but by the dirt that weathered it for over two decades, the colors and the designs on a little hat, the ribbon in the little sweater.

The title of Giribaldi's exhibit "Si no vuelvo, búsquenme en Putis," "If I don't come back, look for me in Putis," and the title of one of his pictures, "Putis es el Perú," "Putis is Perú," both activate metonymic processes and empathic identification: the first person presents itself as a potential victim of the massacre, what happened to others could happen to me. The "I" as a human being joins the chain of potential victims: one person can metonymically represent the human race, even if one is not a native of the affected community. At the same time, the synecdoche expressed in "Putis is Peru" aims to foster the idea that the nation is no better or bigger than any of its towns and that the violence experienced there is a tragedy for the whole country.

Another memory initiative inspired by EPAF combined the use of names and the materiality of an object to commemorate the missing: "la chalina de la esperanza" or "the scarf of hope," made by stitching together pieces knitted by relatives of the missing and other members of the community. "The scarf of hope" was created by a group

Figure 3.5 Paths of names, Ojo que llora. Photo Margarita Saona

called Desvela.[11] Each of the segments of the scarf had the name of one of the 15,000 disappeared for whom EPAF advocates. The idea of knitting was inspired by the way in which the relatives of those identified as victims of the Putis massacre recognize the designs, stitching, and colors of the clothes of their loved ones. An article about the scarf published by *BBC World* explains the importance of the material identification of the remains: "Imagínese un lugar donde no sirven los carnés de identidad para identificar los restos de un familiar, porque no existen. Ni las pruebas de ADN, porque están demasiado lejos de todo. ¿Qué se hace para reconocer a los muertos? Tocar la lana y reconocerla."[12] [Imagine a place where ID cards cannot be used to identify the remains of a relative, because they do not exist. DNA cannot be used either, because this place is too far away. What do you do to identify the dead? Touch the wool and recognize it] (my translation). However, this initiative suffered censorship when it was being exhibited at a municipal gallery in Lima.[13]

As with "El ojo que llora," the segments of the scarf with the names on them, each made by a different person honoring a different victim, puts together individual mourning and collective memory. The name identifies a person and at the same time links that person to the other 14,999 disappeared. The viewer is impacted both by the understanding of personal loss and by the extension of the scarf that multiplies that loss so many times.

Mutal, Giribaldi, and the members of the *Desvela* collective who conceived the scarf of hope created aesthetic mechanisms to arouse empathic responses in the public. These aesthetic mechanisms give the public immediate understanding of the loss experienced by the relatives of the disappeared. When the identity of the disappeared is invoked by the name and the names refer to agents of violence, this triggers ideological battles regarding the notion of innocent victim. The pieces of clothing photographed by Giribaldi, on the other hand, avoid the issue of responsibility, particularly when they highlight the presence of children among the bodies recovered from the mass grave. But the basic mechanisms are the same: names and objects act as cues that cognitively make us invoke the loss.

4
Places to Remember

In the final report, the CVR prescribed the establishment of memory sites to commemorate the victims and to foster remembrance (CVR IX, pp. 166–7). According to the CVR, these sites should be created as officially recognized spaces in the capital of the country and in the capitals of the different regions affected by the violence. The commissioners recommended the inscription of a commemorative plaque in the Plaza de Armas in Lima and other plaques in the buildings that house the different branches of government: Palacio de Gobierno, Palacio Legislativo, and Palacio de Justicia. They also recommended the construction of a monument in Lima and other monuments in regional capitals so that future generations will learn about this national tragedy (p. 167). They proposed that the national museum, "El Museo de la Nación," offer a permanent space for the *Yuyanapaq* exhibit, which was at that time being shown at Casa Riva Agüero in Chorrillos. Memory sites are presented by the report as a necessary form of symbolic reparation.

As a matter of fact, memory sites have sprouted in Peru since the publication of the final report. An interactive map in "Sitios de Memoria" shows the concentration of sites mainly in Lima and in Ayacucho, but registers many throughout the entirety of the national territory, from cemeteries, to monuments and plates remembering victims or advocating peace: http://espaciosdememoria.pe/index2.html. Other alternative websites also record memory initiatives throughout the country. Among the most thorough ones are www.arteporlasmemorias.pe created by Karen Bernedo, Museo Virtual de Memoria, www.mvp.pe, and www.memora.pe.

However, ten years after the publication of the report, the role that memory sites play in the national imaginary is still uncertain. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze some of the major memory sites, those officially sanctioned by certain institutions, and those that have resulted from private initiatives. I want to examine the aesthetic mechanisms activated in these sites and possibly establish the impact they have on visitors. I also want to compare the "brick and mortar" memory sites with the possibilities offered by itinerant art exhibits and by the internet as a disembodied space of remembrance.

From a socio-political perspective, many negotiations need to occur for a space to be transformed into a site of memory. Often the institution of the site and its maintenance are problematic, and it is important to understand the politics of space that determine the success or failure of memory sites. Elizabeth Jelin (2007) explains the different dimensions of the debates around memory sites:

> Struggles over monuments, museums and memorials are plentiful all over the world. They are attempts to make statements and affirmations; they are facts and gestures, a materiality with a political, collective, public meaning. [. . .] They are political in at least two senses: their installation is always the result of political struggles and conflicts, and their existence is a physical reminder of a conflictive political past, which may spark new rounds of conflict over meaning in each new historical period or generation. (p. 147)

The case of "El lugar de la memoria" is an example of a common phenomenon: there is, first, the struggle between those who want to establish a form of remembrance of the violent past and those who want to deny it or to reframe this violence as a form of patriotism, necessary for restoring peace in the nation (Jelin, p. 147).[1] However, there are subsequent struggles even when the site is established. There are debates about what to include and how to do it, but also, as Jelin reminds us, the use of the museum or monument will generate a dynamic not necessarily intended by its creators:

> Introducing a consideration of human agency and will, both at the time of the determination to install the marker and inscribe its message and later on, when the site is visited, used and taken up by others, implies that even when memory entrepreneurs attempt

to fix a certain message, meaning is never crystallized, carved out or inscribed in the stone of a monument or in the engraving of a plaque. (p. 147)

The meanings might be transformed as survivors, human rights organizations, different protagonists of the conflict, and new generations look into the past in order to project their desires or their future agendas (p. 148). The debates around sites of memorialization try to control the representation of the past, but as Jelin notes, the life the site takes cannot be totally predicted, and revisions and new interpretations often emerge (p. 149).

The major initiative in Peru is called "El lugar de la memoria, la tolerancia y la inclusión social" [The Place of Memory, Tolerance and Social Inclusion] and is currently under construction. Its website presents a brief history of the project:

El Lugar de la Memoria nace del deber ciudadano de desagraviar simbólicamente a las víctimas de la violencia política, de explicar al país la verdad del conflicto armado interno padecido entre 1980 y 2000 y de educar a las jóvenes generaciones en los valores de la cultura democrática.[2]

[The Place of Memory originates out of the civil duty to symbolically redress the victims of political violence, to explain to the country the truth about the internal armed conflict, which took place between 1980 and 2000, and to inculcate in younger generations the values of a democratic culture.]

(My translation)

The website also explains that in 2008 the German minister of economic development and cooperation, Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, visited Peru and offered a donation of two million Euros from the German government to build a Memory Museum to house *Yuyanapaq*. However, the website does not report the debates that this donation created. Then president Alan García initially rejected the donation, arguing that the country had more pressing needs. This opened up a series of heated arguments regarding the purpose of a museum of memory. The pressure of public opinion at the national and international level created enough consensus to establish the

necessity of the museum to foster a peaceful future for the country.[3] While the museum is still under construction, the debates about what should be memorialized and how to do it have not yet been settled. These debates still involve questions about what, how, why, and where social trauma should be commemorated.

Pierre Nora reflected on the fact that societies create "lieux de mémoire" because they are disconnected from their history:

> *Lieux de mémoire* originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organize celebrations, pronounce eulogies, and notarize bills because such activities no longer occur naturally [. . .] without commemorative vigilance, history would soon sweep [lieux de mémoire] away.
>
> (1989, p. 12)

Nora is not necessarily referring to transitional societies. In fact, he is just reflecting on the effects of modernization and how societies get disconnected from their past and lose their traditional forms of memory transmission. But the intentional character that Nora attributes to sites of memory becomes not only intentional but also contentious when the past that needs to be remembered refers to traumatic events. The creation of sites, their content, and the aesthetic choices adopted for the site reflect specific perspectives that, as we saw in the case of "El ojo que llora," often cannot be reconciled. Sites are created so memories are neither swept away by the passing of time nor by those interested in forgetting, or on presenting a different version of this past.

Although Nora's sites of memory are not necessarily territorial, but also symbolic markers like anniversaries and archives, in this chapter I want to deal specifically with the creation of places to foster commemoration. The way we relate to space is part of our experience and, therefore, has an impact on what and how we remember. Our memories are linked to our relationship with space. We see this connection between recollection and space from different cultural and scientific perspectives, from the story of Simonides, retold by Frances Yates (2000), in which the bodies of the guests who had been killed at a banquet after the collapse of a building were identified only because the poet remembered where they were sitting,

to phenomenological approaches to memory to research from the last couple of decades on the relationship between cognition and space. From a phenomenological perspective, Edward S. Casey (2000) presents this reflection:

> Only consider how often a memory is either of a place itself (e.g., of one's childhood home) or of an event or person in a place; and, conversely, how unusual it is to remember a placeless person or an event not stationed in some specific locale. To be placeless in one's remembering is not only to be disoriented; it is to be decidedly disadvantaged with regard to what a more complete mnemonic experience might deliver. Place serves to *situate* one's memorial life, to give it a name and a local habitation. (p. 184)

I will come back to Casey to consider the relevance of memorial sites for those displaced by violence and for the relatives of the disappeared, who lacking a body to bury also lack a place to mourn. From a philosophical perspective, the fact that we experience the world through our bodies and that this necessarily happens in a specific space inevitably links the recollection of our experiences to the way they were experienced in that specific space. As Jeff Malpas remarks:

> The binding of memory to place, and so to particular places, can itself be seen as a function of the way in which subjectivity is necessarily embedded in place, and in spatialized embodied activity [...] it is only within the overarching structure of place as such that subjectivity as such is possible.
>
> (Malpas, 1999, p. 176)

In addition, focusing on the disquieting or melancholic effect places can provoke, Dylan Trigg (2012) insists that "Not only do places hold memories in a material sense – as the archive of our experiences – but those same places crystallize the experiences that occurred there" (Trigg, 2012, Kindle).

This connection between space and memory is being studied in our brains as well. For example, Edmund T. Rolls, Simon M. Stringer, and Tomas P. Trappenberg (2002) established that a single network of neurons needs to be activated to store information regarding spatial patterns and events (Rolls et al., 2002, p. 1087). Their experiments

demonstrate that "place can be used as a retrieval cue to recall the object at that place; and that the object can be used as a retrieval cue to recall the place of the object (p. 1087)." Neil Burgess, Eleanor A. Maguire, and John O'Keefe (2002) also attempt to establish how the spatial role of the hippocampus relates to its role in recalling episodic memories.[4] This spatial nature of memory of events will manifest itself in different ways when a place is designated as a memory site. As Dylan Trigg notes, there is a difference between being able to establish the role of the memory of place in the individual and places of memory that are to be experienced collectively (2012). My intention is to explore the ways spaces that are turned into sites of memory can activate "memory-like" associations both in environments designed for that purpose and in spaces where the events that are commemorated actually took place.[5]

The creation of sites is sometimes the result of official initiatives, and at other times, as we saw with "El ojo que llora," they are created by individuals who might gather support and recognition from human rights organizations and other groups that validate the site as a place of remembrance. But the spaces need to be significant, they need to convey an *aura* in the sense of the presence of the aesthetic experience. To a certain extent, the spectator needs to be *there* to then be *transported* to a state of reflection. The site needs to take the spectator to a place of reminiscence. Such sites can certainly be "artificially" created: a space can be designated as a memory site. Its design, the architecture, the use of the landscape, or the design of a monument, are all elements which can certainly foster reflection. The first *Yuyanapaq* exhibit, "El ojo que llora," and the design of "El lugar de la memoria" are all examples in which these tools are used to create in the spectator a sense of a reflective journey through the past. These spaces need the spectator to be present to experience the connection to the past. However, the notion of *aura* is a lot clearer when the space chosen for the site is where the traumatic events took place. These places already have an established meaning for survivors of violence or for relatives of the victims. In those places, spectators can even imagine the place as being haunted by the past. But it is also often the case that traumatic events took place in spaces that continue to be inhabited and used in many ways by the community. Some may remember what happened there, but, without memorialization, the space is simply reconfigured according to its daily use and the current needs of the community.

When the forces that would benefit from oblivion prevail, the spaces where traumatic events took place are erased, destroyed, or covered by new buildings that prevent any connection between the current establishment and the past.[6] Sometimes, the memory site is even reconfigured by the community itself. The thorough analyses of memory sites realized by Felix Reátegui, Rafael Barrantes, and Jesús Peña (2010) show that museums of memory in towns that have been devastated by violence want not only to register the horrific events, but to present an image of a community that needs to be proud of its traditions as well.[7] In the case of "El Museo de la Memoria de Putacca," for example, there are pictures of the victims of the conflict, but the majority of the museum does not refer to the times of violence. The text that accompanies the exhibit explains the need to value old traditions and to reinforce communal identity (Reátegui, 2010, p. 35). There are also murals in the central plaza, and although the original idea was to represent scenes from the armed conflict, only 9 out of 52 paintings are concerned with them. The rest depict daily life in the community, the landscape, the local fauna, and so forth (Reátegui, p. 36). The stories represented to tell the history of the community are not restricted by the dates investigated by the CVR, but establish a background and a context. Reátegui and his team see some of these initiatives as forms of memory that seek to establish recognition and development beyond the commemoration of the victims (p. 39). Cultural, collective memory seems to prevail in this case as a form of transmission of culture, not as a reminder of the horrific past.

The new name for the National Museum of Memory, "El lugar de la memoria, la tolerancia y la inclusión social," also seems to steer away from the strict commemoration of social trauma. If we frame this new title in the discourse of the CVR, it is possible to understand the need for tolerance and social inclusion as a response to some of the social ailments that according to the final report allowed for the egregious crimes committed by the actors of the conflict: hatred and discrimination.[8] However, the longer title shifts the focus from memory and commemoration towards a sort of educational mission.

What this chapter wants to elucidate goes back to the question of collective memory, not in the sense of cultural heritage or general civic engagement but in the sense of having the general public "remember" what happened to others. I want to look at intentional

design of memory spaces, as in "El ojo que llora," the two incar-
nations of *Yuyanapaq* in Lima, and the plans for "El lugar de la
memoria," and contrast their potential with memory sites built on
the actual places where violence took place. I also want to exam-
ine initiatives that de-territorialize memory and re-territorialize it
such as those created by the collective "Museo Itinerante Arte por
la Memoria," "the Traveling Museum: Art for the Sake of Memory,"
which takes exhibits to the streets and community centers around the
country. Finally, I want to reflect on the potential impact of inter-
net memory sites, which are not bound by space, but by access to
technology.

Creating sites of memory

The first and most successful incarnation of the CVR's recommen-
dations regarding the creation of sites of memory was *Yuyanapaq.*
As I mentioned above, the final report of the CVR recommended the
creation of memory sites as part of the program of symbolic repara-
tions to the victims of violence: from special places in the cemeteries,
to the constructions of monuments, memorials, and commemora-
tive plates. The *Yuyanapaq* exhibit had already opened when these
recommendations were written, and the CVR advised the creation
of a permanent space for the exhibit in the "Museo de la Nación"
(CVR, 2003, p. 167). The first version of *Yuyanapaq* firmly established
itself as a successful memorial that carried the message of the CVR.
Reviewers, both in the national and international press, praised the
exhibit and stressed not only the impact of the photographs, but
the spatial design of the exhibit. *Yuyanapaq* opened to the public for
the first time in a ruined mansion in a diverse district of Lima. Juan
Forero, writing for the New York Times, commends Mayu Mohanna,
one of the creators of the memorial, saying that "While another cura-
tor might have seen an architectural calamity, she saw opportunity in
rooms reeking of history" (Forero, 2004). In the same article, Forero
describes the exhibit by focusing on the architectural characteristics
of the space:

> The back of the house, with its adobe walls and dirt floors, was
> ideal for vivid black-and-white photographs capturing the con-
> flict in the Andean highlands, where homes are made of mud

> and the people are Quechua or Aymara Indians. The elegant front, overlooking the coast, was perfect for exhibits on the car bombings and assassinations Shining Path carried out in Lima late in the war.
>
> (Forero, 2004)

Forero called *Yuyanapaq* "an important model for how once-convulsed countries should remember their dark past" and his enthusiasm echoes other reports of this exhibit.[9] The reviewers commend the power of the images and the careful curatorship, but all of them are struck by the use of the architectural space that was designated for the exhibit. (See Figure 2.4.)

The building that housed *Yuyanapaq* between 2003 and 2005 is known as Casa Riva Agüero in the district of Chorrillos. At the beginning of the twentieth century, it had been a summer mansion that belonged to one of the most important conservative figures in Peru. As an important part of his estate, the property now belongs to the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. The University loaned the building to the CVR to exhibit the photographs for a few months. Public demand kept *Yuyanapaq* going a lot longer than originally planned until it was finally transferred to the Museo de la Nación.

In an article about the exhibit published in *Aperture*, the curators Mayu Mohanna and Nancy Chappell explain that they wanted a place that would give all Peruvians access to the exhibit (2006, p. 59). They felt that the district of Chorrillos, once an elegant seaside resort, now a diverse, crowded part of Lima, contained at the same time middle-class, popular, and proletarian spaces and also exclusive, affluent elements. It is important to remark on the fact that the internal migration towards Lima grew exponentially as an effect of the violence that razed towns and villages in the country's provinces during the 1980s and early 1990s and, therefore, the transformation of the district of Chorrillos is part of the consequences of the war. They also thought that the ruined state of the building was appropriate to what they wanted to show: "The destroyed parts of the house became a metaphorical backdrop to the photographs, creating parallels between the past and the present, destruction and healing" (Chapell and Mohanna, 2006, p. 60).

Chappell and Mohanna also explain the way the 27 interconnected rooms of the house were appropriate to establish a route that took

visitors on a journey through the timeline established by the CVR: there were five periods that the CVR identified as distinct (beginning of the violence, militarization process, expansion of violence, subversive offensive and state counteroffensive in crisis, decline of subversive violence, rise of authoritarianism and corruption). There were also thematic rooms: widows and orphans, specific cases – a massacre in Barrios Altos, for example – and a final room with photos and audio testimonies of victims. The exhibit forced visitors to enter through the back door, from a small, back street, not from the majestic front. In a certain sense, the exhibit took visitors on a pilgrimage that confronted them with the recent history of violence and corruption and suggested that traveling through these images would contribute to a form of redemptive collective memory. The *Aperture* article quotes psychoanalyst Jorge Bruce defining the word "catharsis" after visiting *Yuyanapaq* as "a purification of the grieving soul through remembering and understanding" (Chappell and Mohanna, 2006, p. 60).

   Not everybody agrees that a memory site should foster redemption: an exhibit such as this might be seen as an effort to appease the conscience of those sectors of society that were spared from experiencing violence themselves. However, Chappell and Mohanna believed that the aesthetic quality of the exhibit could, at the same time, tell the history of violence Peruvians needed to remember, and do it in a way that would allow spectators to apprehend it and not turn away from it:

> How could we create a visual remembrance of the war without fostering more bitterness among this traumatized and wounded population? Peru did not need a photographic chamber of horrors, but a sanctuary of truth. Paradoxically, such a place would have to be both a repository for pain and a place that could attract visitors and sustain them during their confrontation with the terrors of the past. The situation called for art to serve as palliative against pain; aesthetics and history would be combined to evoke a response of compassion, solidarity, and reconstruction.
>
> (Chappell and Mohanna, 2006, p. 54)

The exhibition was subtitled "Relato visual del conflicto armado interno en el Perú, 1980–2000" [Visual narrative of the internal

armed conflict in Peru, 1980–2000] and it is clear that it incarnated the message of the CVR, emphasizing the need for empathy and solidarity to foster a common national imaginary. While there was a need to confront the public with the horrific history of the past two decades, the exhibit relies on the hope that collective remembrance can prevent new horrors in the future.

That message is, to some, disingenuous. However, it is not rare for memorials to face criticism on different fronts. The way that memorial spaces attempt to affect viewers prompts radical disagreements. In a recent article in the issue of the *Harvard Review of Latin America, ReVista* devoted to the topic of memory in the continent, Doris Sommer questions the effectiveness of a negative focus on the Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Santiago, Chile:

> The Museum of Memory makes no mention of the country's admirable heritage. It has nothing to remind visitors of the positive reasons to take pride in the country as a collective political patrimony, one that could help to rebuild a common sense (in Kant's meaning of shared subjectivity). The museum misses a cue for inclusion, I fear [...]. The laser focus on shame – without framing the longer view – has the unfortunate effect of cutting out the public's cause for pride, the reason why Chile's citizens might be invited to care so intimately about democracy.
>
> (Sommer, 2013, p. 57)

Sommer is not suggesting to gloss over what she calls "the horror of Pinochet's assault on citizens" (Sommer, 2013, p. 56), but she wonders if providing visitors with a story of Chile's accomplishments along with the nation's shameful history might be able to present "a heritage worthy of the struggle against forgetfulness" (p. 57). Sommer's account of her visit to the Chilean museum emphasizes the harshness of the experience of a "bunker-like museum building," (p. 57) of "a wall so enormous the collective calamity exceeds the span of your vision," of "repeated emptiness," and of "endless loops of testimonies" (p. 56). There is, in her report, a sense of physical oppression in the presentation of the exhibits. She suggests editing the contents, but there is also a sense that she was affected by the illumination of the exhibits and the disposition of the halls. When

Mohanna and Chappell talk about sustaining the visitors, they might be referring to the selection of the images in the exhibit but it is clear that the architectural design created in Casa Riva Agüero by architect Luis Longhi was also vital in providing a safe space for the horrific story that had to be told. On his website, Luis Longhi talks about the responsibility of design towards nature, and how looking at Inca architecture he discovered the importance of letting the sun come into the buildings. The illumination is one among many aspects of *Yuyanapaq* that helped "sustain" the visitors.

   Luis Longhi designed the architectural setting for both versions of *Yuyanapaq*, the original one in the Casa Riva Agüero, and the second one, still open at Museo de la Nación.[10] In both cases Longhi was working with spaces that were already built, but *Yuyanapaq* made use of their features in a way that the buildings themselves became part of the story. In the Casa Riva Agüero, the architect had to work with a building that was being restored but the choice made by the museographic team was to use the building in that semi-ruined state. Juan Solano, editor of the magazine published by the Escuela de Arquitectos del Perú, writes in a note on *ARQ* that there was an analogy between the house and the country, both destroyed, but on a path towards recovery (Longhi, 2005). Solano also talks about the materials used by Longhi to set the exhibit and pays special attention to the white cloth that covered some of the walls, reflecting the light:

> Estas telas aluden a vendas; cubren partes laceradas de la casa. Vistas a contraluz son una bruma que envuelve de un tono inmaterial los objetos colocados detrás de ellas, los sitúan en una suerte de realidad alterna. Difuminan el hecho, no lo borran, así como lo hace el tiempo con los recuerdos dolorosos.
>
> (Solano on Longhi, 2005)

> The cloth alludes to bandages; the cover lacerated parts of the house. Viewed against the light, they are a mist that surrounds the objects behind them with an intangible tone and places them in a sort of alternative reality. They blur the fact, but they do not erase it, the same way time blurs painful memories.
>
> (My translation)

The need to present the facts, but to soften the potential brutality of the violence they revealed, guided the careful museography of the exhibit. The need to heal, to recover, is present in both the discourse of the CVR and the exhibit. In that same note published in *ARQ (Santiago)*, Longhi writes about the exhibit as a "balm" for the violent arguments around the terror the country had experience (2005).

The idea that spaces can heal, that they can have a positive effect in the physical and emotional wellbeing of people, is not new, but it has been gaining a new impetus thanks to the collaboration of architects and neuroscientists. Design principles that have guided built environments for centuries, such as the height of the ceilings, the position of windows, the reduction of noise, the balance of privacy and accessibility, the use of fractals in design, are now being studied for their effects on the brain.[11] The way *Yuyanapaq* used mostly black and white photographs and whitewashed walls combined with exposed adobe and dirt floors gave the exhibit a zen quality, an environment which helped viewers absorb the history of violence without overwhelming their senses. Even the halls that retain features of the house's former splendor were aesthetically austere: two-toned tiles in regular patterns, unfinished wood, unadorned columns. The disposition of the rooms took visitors through a presentation of the history of the 20 years studied by the CVR, including a timeline of events, as if guiding them through a labyrinth that would eventually direct them to the exit of the building. The walk through a building in which destruction had been halted to expose this violent past was a sort of pilgrimage, and like a pilgrimage, it had a redeeming quality.

Lika Mutal declared that after visiting *Yuyanapaq* she wanted to create "an alternative space for healing and introspection" (Hite, 2007, p. 121). Mutal's sculpture materializes in a more explicit way the meditative practice of the labyrinth that was already implicit in the architecture of the photo exhibit (Figure 4.1). Katherine Hite (2007) reports that Mutal drew the labyrinth concept from the one in Chartres, France, and that she was influenced by Lauren Artress's writings on labyrinths and spirituality.[12] There is a tradition that connects the labyrinth with walking meditation practices. Esther Sternberg (2009) explains the therapeutic effect of labyrinths:

> A labyrinth draws you in and leads you on a single, gentle, calming path. It is calming because it forces you to focus your attention

Figure 4.1   Ojo que llora. Photo Margarita Saona. (Labyrinth)

step by step on the way in front of you and on your inner thoughts, and drains your mind of all else. It makes you walk slowly as you wend your way around [...] Walking a labyrinth makes you breathe slowly in rhythm with your pace.

> Slow, steady breathing is a very effective way to manage the stress response. This is because it activates the vagus nerve that counters the adrenalin-like sympathetic nervous-system response.
>
> (Sternberg, 2009, Kindle)

"El ojo que llora" abstracts the historical contextualization of *Yuyanapaq* and fosters a kind of walking meditation centered on the names of the victims and their human condition. It is interesting to consider that the designs created by the stones in "El ojo que llora" evoke natural fractals, another design element described by Sternberg as effective against stress. The controversies that surrounded Mutal's sculpture demonstrate that in contemporary Peru the memory of those killed during the years of violence could not be separated from contemporary politics, but the artist's intention was, according to Hite, to create a path that was "also a pilgrimage, in which visitors walk 'in search of forgiveness, cleansing, and reconciliation within themselves and with others'" (Hite, 2007, p. 122).

Luis Longhi and Lika Mutal were collaborating in a project to build a memorial complex that would include *Yuyanapaq* and "El ojo que llora" in a circuit called "Alameda de la memoria," or "The boulevard of memory," in Campo de Marte, the park that contains "El ojo que llora." "La alameda de la memoria" remained as a project and was eventually replaced by the museum which is currently under construction, "El lugar de la memoria, la tolerancia y la inclusión social."

The current project, designed by architects Jean Paul Crousse and Sandra Barclay, also attempts to promote a healing process.[13] The link to the architecture of the space in the page of "El lugar de la memoria, la tolerancia y la inclusión social" proclaims that the project seeks to "dignify human kind and to harmoniously insert itself in the geographic and urban context" (http://lugardelamemoria. org/arquitectura.htm). In a personal communication, Crousse spoke about how this project wanted to produce a public space where people could interact with the past, but not be oppressed by it.[14] Crousse made a brief mention of the way he hopes the building will have an uplifting quality, different from some of the choices made by Daniel Libeskind in his memorial buildings. It is well known that Libeskind's intention is to provoke empathy with the experience of others through the physical interaction with the space. Examples of

this can be found in his designs for the Jewish Museum in Berlin, where the Garden of Exile's website, explains: "the whole garden is on a 12˚ gradient and disorients visitors, giving them a sense of the total instability and lack of orientation experienced by those driven out of Germany" (www.jmberlin.de/main/EN/04-About-The-Museum/01-Architecture/01-libeskind-Building.php). In an extremely critical essay, Brian Hanson and Nikos Salingaros (2003) describe Libeskind's work in the Jewish Museum in Berlin with these words:

> It is a testament to Libeskind's achievement that he reproduces the visceral revulsion of the Extermination Camps – not by copying their insipid, industrial Bauhaus style, but by using high-tech materials to define a specific geometry. This geometry succeeds in making us anxious and physically ill, and recreates the terrible purpose behind the camps – a rekindling of unspeakable evil, the human spirit's darkest and most horrible forces – by triggering our memory and senses strictly through form, space, and surface.
> (Hanson and Salingaros, 2003, http://archrecord.construction.com/inTheCause/0203Libeskind/libeskind-2.asp)

Hanson and Salingaros recognize that Libeskind succeeds in creating an experiential architecture, but they criticize the geometry of his works, which for them seems oppressive not just in his evocations of the Holocaust and the Diaspora as in the previous example, but also in projects where he claims to celebrate life. These debates about architectural form in memorials are not rare. The difficulty of expressing social trauma and of communicating it to future generations creates harsh disagreements and radical proposals. Among the generators of these, there are activists and artists that confront the issue with the idea of counter-memory, like Horst Hoheisel. Hoheisel was already well known for his negative-form monuments, when, in 1995, his response to a memorial competition in Germany was a project that included blowing up the *Brandenburger Tor*, a national symbol for many Germans. What guides many of Hoheisel projects is the fact that monuments often displace memory and that sometimes a "negative – form," a form representing lack or void – might be more effective in calling attention to what has been lost (Young).[15]

The official projects derived from the message of the CVR like *Yuyanapaq*, "El ojo que llora," and "El lugar de la memoria, la

tolerancia y la inclusión social" seem to foster the redemptive qualities of spatial design. Even in the installation of *Yuyanapaq* in Museo de la Nación, Luis Longhi used light to soften the harsh characteristics of the building, an example of the brutalism of the 1970s.[16] The project of "El lugar de la memoria" also attempts to engage different aspects of historical, collective, and individual memory: the exposed cliff on the side of the building not only creates a fractured gorge, but also shows rounded stones like the ones used by Mutal in her sculpture, and the cliff itself represents the geological history of the Peruvian coast; on the other side of the building, native vegetation grows in "andenes," the kind of agricultural platforms developed by Inca engineering; the exit to the exhibit opens up to the view of the ocean and a space where visitors can add comments about their experience. The museum expects to connect to sites of memory in other parts of the country through computer terminals opened to the public.

However, the memory of the traumatic history studied by the CVR is not easily reconciled and the ways to represent it manifest these irreconcilable differences. The spaces that seek to articulate the national memory in Lima do not reflect the conflicts presented by local memories and we can see the complex problematic in some of the cases in Félix Reátegui's study (2010).[17] The character of some memory sites differs dramatically from the aesthetic healing quality offered by the examples I discussed above.

The Asociación Nacional de Familiares de Secuestrados, Detenidos y Desaparecidos del Perú [National Association of Relatives of the Kidnapped, Detained, and Disappeared in Peru] (ANFASEP) Memory Museum in Ayacucho is an example of how the need to remember in a community might differ radically from the national project of remembrance presented by "El lugar de la memoria." ANFASEP was originated in 1983 by a group of mothers who travelled to Lima to denounce the disappearance of their loved ones.[18] The museum opened in 2005, in the space the organization had used as a soup kitchen to support children of the disappeared and their relatives during the 1980s and 1990s. The official name of the museum is Museo de la memoria: "Para que no se repita," "so it doesn't happen again." The nature of the exhibit is a lot more explicit than the images displayed in *Yuyanapaq*: there is a reproduction of the oven where bodies were burned at the military base of Los Cabitos, another

one of a clandestine grave with exposed bodies, there are pieces of clothing recovered from the bodies of the victims. The raw nature of the violence confronts the visitor. There is also the narrative of the heroic resistance of these women and their allies, but the message is not one of reconciliation: one of the motto's of the organization is "We won't forget until there is justice" (http://anfasep.org.pe/index. php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=38:murales-de-anfasep) and it is evident that this history is not a finished process when thousands of victims have not yet been accounted for.

Here

Different from spaces specially designed for remembrance, some places become memory sites because they "witness" the traumatic events. In Peru, the crimes that lead to 70,000 dead and disappeared took "place": they happened in specific spaces where bodies were brutalized or abandoned. Only a few of those spaces are recognized as memory sites. Some have received official recognition, some have been marked by relatives of the victims or by artists and activists involved in memory projects, some are the center of controversies regarding their designation as memory sites. Many more places are probably clandestine and might never be recognized as memory sites.[19]

While in built environments created as memorials the design aims at generating an experience of space that will foster empathy, or despair, or healing, the spaces where traumatic events took place hold a peculiar aura. They are, in a legal sense, crime scenes. However, from a different perspective, we can say that these spaces are what connect us with the past events: had we been here then, we would have witnessed the crimes, or, even worse, we could have been part of the scene. The space, in its continuity, in its permanence, brings to the present the horrific events even if time provides some distance. "This happened here," "here" people were killed, "here" people were tortured, bodies were abandoned "here," and suddenly, the place is haunted. Place "updates" the events, makes them current, even if they are long gone. From a phenomenological perspective, Triggs (2012) says that "the environment establishes a portal between the past and the present" (Kindle). Dealing with spaces where traumatic events took place, Triggs explains that what is blocked from a

conventional narrative and interpretation displaces the certainty of self, memory, and place:

> Whereas the term "place" attests to the desire to orient ourselves in an environment, the incursion of "site" disrupts that desire, leading to a hybrid between the two dimensions. In this way, the ruins of trauma do not redeem time and experience from annihilation and rupture, but help us to understand the structure of "unclaimed experience" by mirroring our own attempts at giving presence to a place that refuses all evidence of presence.
>
> (Trigg, 2012, Kindle)

That connection to traumatic past events through the continuity of space in the present is what I will call "auratic presence." It is, in a sense, a presence that is no longer there, and, nevertheless, persists.

One of the most recent debates regarding a site charged with this auratic presence involves a place called "La Hoyada," where hundreds of bodies were buried during the 1980s after prisoners had been tortured and killed at the military training center of Los Cabitos, near Huamanga, Ayacucho.[20] For the last several years, human rights organizations have been demanding that the ground used as a clandestine cemetery be transformed into a sanctuary to commemorate the victims. As I am completing this manuscript, the regional government of Ayacucho has finally made a commitment to protect and preserve the land for a "Sanctuary of Memory" honoring those disappeared and killed in Ayacucho.[21] (Figures 4.2 and 4.3.)

La Hoyada extends for approximately ten acres. The furnaces where bodies were cremated are gone, but the gas repository that fueled them is still there. One single white cross marks the area. On the cross, one can read the following words: "En memoria de las víctimas de la violencia, 1980–2000. La Hoyada, santuario por la memoria. Entre 1983 y 1985 cientos de personas fueron asesinadas, enterradas e incineradas clandestinamente en este lugar" [In memory of the victims of violence, 1980–2000. La Hoyada, sanctuary of memory. Between 1983 and 1985 hundreds of people were clandestinely killed, buried, and cremated in this place]. The ground of the ten acres is dug up in a grid from excavations made to exhume the bodies. Other than the cross, there is no other formal monument in sight, but the scarred ground and the expansive area marked by the grid impose a sense of

Figure 4.2 Cruz de la La Hoyada. Photo Margarita Saona

grief. People were killed here. Their bodies remained there and then many were burned. Decades later some remains were recovered. It is that auratic presence that relatives and human rights organizations want to honor and preserve.

Figure 4.3   Excavación de La Hoyada. Photo Margarita Saona

   And, still, traumatic events not only occurred in places that could be designated as memory sites. Many towns experienced the violence within their quotidian spaces. The palimpsests of memory, to paraphrase Andreas Huyssen (2003), force communities to go on living in the spaces that witness horrible crimes. I recently had the opportunity to join human rights organizations accompanying relatives of victims of the military in a small town in Ayacucho. The remains of 12 victims killed 27 years ago were going to be buried in the town's cemetery. A man who had survived the massacre as a little boy gave his testimony and in it he expressed his ambivalence towards coming back after such a long time and not having seen what used to be his house. At the same time, he remembered that the place that now was a little store used to be his kitchen and that there he saw his 12-year-old sister being stabbed. The plaza where the community had gathered that day to listen to his testimony was the place the bodies had been lined up. It was as if time had layered up on that space so people could live in the present, but it had not yet deleted the memory of the violence.

During this trip I witnessed how being in the places where the crimes had taken place activated painful images, especially for those who were returning to the town after many years. Next to the cemetery, pointing to the narrow dirt path that connected to the town, a woman told me "This is where my father had to walk, naked and barefoot, all the way from Pomatambo, when they brought him here. Imagine walking here barefoot." Those who had to go on living in the spaces where the war had taken place had to recover them in their daily routines, but the ceremonies that accompanied the return of the remains to their towns of origin allowed for the performative acts which recovered the memories.

Horst Hoheisel (2010), in his interview with *Noticias Ser* recognized the need for rituals: without a performative event that invokes memory, the monument loses its meaning. That is why his own memorials attempt to disrupt the concept of the monument. He also advocates for exhibits which include talks, discussions, and change. Static monuments freeze memory. In the district of Miraflores, in Lima, an upper-middle-class neighborhood, where the biggest terrorist attack in the capital was perpetrated in 1992, there is a monument to commemorate the victims, but also, the local council has celebrated annual ceremonies for the past 21 years.[22] The monument simulates a cracked building, but the inscription in it reads: "Paseo de la solidaridad: Aquí nació un Perú unido y solidario por la paz. Miraflores, 16 de Julio, 1994." [Solidarity promenade: A solidary and united Peru was born here. Miraflores, July 16, 1994.] Inaugurated only two years after the tragedy, the space had not only recovered from the material damage it suffered, but claimed a role in rebuilding the nation. In the centralized imaginary of the nation, this attack on Calle Tarata in Miraflores had finally brought the reality of the war to the capital. The street, now closed to traffic, recovered a routine of stores and cafés, but the monument and the annual ceremonies present the centrality of the district, not only in memorializing the victims, but in asserting its role in the nation.

Sometimes without institutional initiatives to mark sites of memory, artists and activists intervene in an area to demand attention for the victims. One of the most striking artistic interventions of the "crime scenes" of the Peruvian internal conflict was Ricardo Wiesse's *Cantuta. Cieneguilla – 27 junio 1995*. Wiesse's work was only exhibited

many years after the fact, thanks to the work of *Micromuseo* ("al fondo hay sitio"). The results of the exhibit were published along with essays by Víctor Vich, Gustavo Buntinx, and others (Wiesse, 2010). In July 1992, a paramilitary group kidnapped and killed nine students and a professor from "la Cantuta," a public university in the outskirts of Lima. La Cantuta is the name of the area where the university is located, but the word refers to a red flower common in the area. The bodies were found a year later in a desert area close to the city: the hills of Cieneguilla. However, in 1995, the government approved an amnesty law exonerating all military members implicated in cases of human rights violations.

   Wiesse's response was to intervene in the site where the bodies had been found by dyeing the sand in the hills with red pigments in the shape of ten large cantuta flowers (Figure 4.4). The process was recorded on video by Augusto Rebagliati and photographed by Herman Schwarz. For Víctor Vich (2010), Wiesse's actions revealed the sacred dimension of the site. The pigments marked the places that had been graves, thus honoring the dead that the government was dismissing with the amnesty law:

Figure 4.4   Cantuta. Ricardo Wiesse. Photo Herman Schwarz

[...]ante el horror de la violencia, estas cantutas fueron el intento de producir una representación basada en un código mucho más radical. Se trató, en efecto, de introducir el color en la aridez, de hacer visible lo invisible y de reintroducir la belleza como un dispositivo capaz de restaurar el vínculo social en el medio de la degradación estatal y ciudadana.

(Vich, 2010, p. 10)

[...] confronted with the horror of violence, these cantuta flowers were an attempt to produce a representation based on a more radical code. The attempt was to introduce color in the desert, to make visible what was invisible and to reintroduce beauty as a mechanism capable of restoring the social bond in the midst of the degradation of the state and its citizenship.

Marking what had been clandestine graves, the artist recovered the site and its aura. The pigments of his intervention lost their shape exposed to time and the elements, but thanks to the photographs and videos recorded it is possible to, borrowing Triggs words, say that Wiesse's art gives "presence to a place that refuses all evidence of presence" (Tiggs, Kindle).

The idea that photographs can also intervene in shaping memory sites where traumatic events took place seems counterintuitive. Mechanically reproducing an image necessarily establishes a distance from "its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be" (Benjamin, 1988). However, as we saw in Chapter 2, the photographic image is haunting because of the way it freezes time, and this, in turn, reveals its inexorable passing. In capturing images of spaces where horrific events took place, photographs may raise awareness about the layers of time over space, the palimpsests of memory, that necessarily inhabit sites of trauma.

Another example in which art reconfigures sites of memory are Domingo Giribaldi's photographs of Putis, where abandoned spaces eloquently present the devastation of the town. In the previous chapter, I focused on the metonymic representation of loss generated by Giribaldi's photographs of objects recovered from a mass grave. But his exhibit on Putis included this other form of embodied memory: the representation of spaces that were once inhabited, but now were empty.

The massacre in Putis was one of the most shocking events of the war. The members of the community were gathered, and men were ordered to dig a hole in the ground, supposedly to build a fish farm. According to testimonies, the members of the military base gathered the people of the community and killed them. Apparently, the reason for exterminating the people of the town was to steal their livestock.[23] Before September 1984, the town had around 150 families and a population of about 800. After the massacre, all the survivors fled. By 2001, only about ten families had come back. Giribaldi's photos present a first-person perspective on the abandoned town. From the title of the exhibit – Si no vuelvo, búsquenme en Putis [If I don't come back, look for me in Putis] – to the title of some of the photos – Washicha, Mi casita [My home], or Mi puerta [My door] – the photographer himself becomes a ghost returning to his haunts. To the trauma of the violent deaths to the painful displacement, the images layer up the harrowing history of the town. (Figures 4.5 and 4.6.)

If the district of Miraflores signals its site of trauma as the birthplace of a new solidary nation, Domingo Giribaldi's Putis also reclaims its

Figure 4.5   El juego de la vida. *Si no vuelvo, búsquenme en Putis*, by Domingo Giribaldi

Figure 4.6   La salida, *Si no vuelvo, búsquenme en Putis*, by Domingo Giribaldi

citizenship and shows the viewers that the country is contained in the trauma of the town. What happened in Putis happened to the country and it happened because of the country's history of oblivion towards its rural populations. The opening photo shows a panoramic view of the town. This bird's-eye shot creates an effect in which the roads around the town and the silhouettes of the mountains delineate the map of the Peruvian territory. The photo's title is "Putis is Peru." The other images of the town all speak of desolation: a precarious door held by a cheap lock, an empty hearth, a lonely room that once was the community center, a barren space once used as a soccer field. The use of the first person in the title of the exhibit invites identification: I too could have been killed in Putis, my body too could have been among the ones recovered from the mass graves, I too could go there and not come back, and even as an outsider, after seeing Putis, physically or metaphorically, I cannot come back. I cannot be the one I once was.

The places where terrible events took place, even if reconfigured for new daily routines, even if only depicted in photographs, retain an aura, that, as Trigg says, cannot be reconstructed in a conventional narrative: "Instead, the place of trauma vibrates with an indirect

language, blocked from interpretation and displacing the certainty of self, memory, and place" (Trigg, 2012, Kindle). This is why, as Victor Vich's analysis of Wiese's *Cantuta* shows, aesthetic interventions are attempts to give visibility to the trauma.

Dislocating memory

Memory sites designate spaces to remember. They respond to our understanding of the way the environment impacts memory, cognition, and reflection. When it comes to built environments, as we saw in the discussion of *Yuyanapaq*, "El ojo que llora," and "El lugar de la memoria, la tolerancia y la inclusión social" the architecture and the design of the space might try to foster a meditative state, or somehow influence our perception of what is being presented to us. When a place where tragic events took place is designated as a memory site, it is easier to experience its aura, as we are aware that there is a continuity in space even when time separates us from traumatic history: today we live differently than 20 years ago, but it was here, in this same place, where these events happened. When these places are captured in photography, still, the demand on the viewer is for him or her to position him or herself on site. However, several initiatives attempt to break away from location and bring memory to the public in different spaces.[24] This is the purpose of "El museo itinerante: Arte por la memoria."

"El museo itinerante" is the creation of a group of activists and artists committed to bringing memorials into different spaces. Distancing themselves from the idea of the museum as a venue that the public visits, "El museo itinerante" takes its exhibits to the public. Their website (http://arteporlamemoria.wordpress.com/%C2%BFque-somos/) explains that interdisciplinary and intercultural art may serve as the foundation of a democratic, inclusive, national project. They organize traveling exhibits dealing with the period of violence investigated by the CVR. In "The Museum is in the Streets: The Itinerant Museum of Art for Memory," Mauricio Delgado, one of the founding members of "El museo itinerante," designated by the Spanish acronym MIAxM, writes about the origins and the mission of the group (Delgado, 2013):

> The MIAxM's art exhibition is made up of works that have thematized the internal armed conflict, with a museological script

that seeks to explain the process of the civil war through a chrono-logical arrangement of the facts. The Museum wanders. It does not wait for visitors to come to it, rather it moves to greet its visitors.

I recently had the opportunity to interview Mauricio Delgado and Orestes Bermúdez, another member of MIAxM, about the central role of the public space in their work.[25] They believe that it is impera-tive to take the topic of political violence during the internal armed conflict to the streets. According to the artists, public policy and the government do not want to deal with this topic, and when they do, it is presented as a unified memory. Yet, when you present these issues in public spaces, one can see that memories diverge.

Some of their most interesting experiences happened in spaces not designated for public speech, such as Parque de la muralla, in Lima, where the space they were given was next to a kids' carnival and other entertainment options. They report that it is common for the pub-lic to approach them as they install the exhibit. Sometimes they are harassed by members of MOVADEF, who claim that the Shining Path did not commit the crimes the CVR consigns in its report. Sometimes, they are accused of being sell-outs or of trafficking with memory. Occasionally, they are approached by somebody whose case was not reported during the investigations by the CVR, but now wants to present information to the authorities. Orestes Bermúdez recalls a woman in her mid-forties horrified about the things she was see-ing in the exhibit regarding the number of deaths and disappeared cases. Asking where this took place, she appeared to be completely in shock because, she claimed, she had no idea these events had occurred. Yet, given her age, it was hard for Bermúdez to believe that she did not know that this had happened. This ratified for the artists the importance of their work.

The exhibit is not a finished product. When it travels outside of Lima, it incorporates the work of local artists. The scaffolding not only allows changing the layout and the path of the pieces, but also "is an ideal metaphor for something that is under construc-tion, only halfway complete, and which is still being assembled" (Delgado, 2013). (See Figure 4.7.) Often relatives of victims add their own photos to the exhibit, sometimes without even consulting with the artists. For Delgado this is crucial: "Although the works function as a repository of memory, the 'performative' experience of audience interaction turns the Itinerant Museum into a practice of memory

Figure 4.7   Museo Itinerante Arte por la Memoria, Miguel Gutiérrez

in itself. That is, the fundamental fact in each presentation of the museum is the act of memory itself" (Delgado, 2013).

One of the difficulties that MIAxM experiences is that in the artists' view, public spaces in Peru are no longer public. Especially in Lima, everything is privatized and guards might intervene even if you are just photographing a site. This feels like an effect of the rampant neoliberal politics of the last couple of decades. However, particularly in Lima, this is not a new phenomenon. According to Natalia Majluf (1994), the projects to "beautify" the city in the mid-nineteenth century responded to ways of appropriating the streets for a state that only represented the elite. Often, boulevards and parks were surrounded by gates. The installation of benches meant that people were no longer allowed to sit freely on other surfaces. For Majluf, the public spaces mirrored the Peruvian public sphere in which there was no real space for public debate, only for the imposition of a cultural model (1994, p. 17).

The lack of access to public spaces is visible in the difficulties to maintain "El ojo que llora" as an open space. Delgado and Bermúdez explain that MIAxM is possible thanks to allies from many organizations that help obtain permits for different spaces. In

addition, it is also invited to bring its exhibit into private institutions, colleges, and community organizations.

In a reterritorializing move, MIAxM not only takes the memorial into the streets, but also marks the sites of memory that are not officially recognized. One of its initiatives entitled "Lugares de memoria," ["Memory sites,"] uses signs that appropriate the aesthetic of traffic signals to call attention to places where crimes against humanity were committed by terrorist organizations and by the State.[26] Their signs return the aura to spaces in which the connection to the traumatic past had been erased. The inscriptions force the public to become aware of that past and that awareness brings the crimes to the present. They can no longer be repressed or denied. (See Figure 4.8.)

The work of MIAxM takes the memorial out of the already consecrated spaces and in doing so it intervenes in the national debates about memory in the hope that they will be pluralistic and inclusive. But MIAxM also breaks with the "brick and mortar" museum through

Figure 4.8   Lugar de Memorias, Karen Bernedo

its intervention in blogs and social networks. Many museums, including "El lugar de la memoria" currently under construction, have websites, Facebook pages, and even blogs. However, the nomadic and ephemeral nature of the kind of work MIAxM performs, benefits even more than traditional museums from the sharing possibilities of digital media.

The impact of digital media on collective memory evolves as rapidly as technology. José Van Dijck (2007) has noted that "Media technologies and objects, far from being external instruments for 'holding' versions of the past, help constitute a sense of past [...] their mediation intrinsically shapes the way we build up and retain a sense of individuality and community, of identity and history" (Van Dijck, 2007, ch. 2). In the case of MIAxM, its almost 5000 Facebook followers constitute a core of supporters that gives an online validation to the work it performs on the streets. In his article for *Global Studies Review*, Mauricio Delgado establishes the link between the work of MIAxM and the role of the media in current political struggles, Peruvians make their voices heard: "Through the use of social networking sites or through innovative communication media, people are engaging in memory exercises that link the past with the present" (Delgado, 2013).

Cultural and political activism and collective memory are constructed at a rapid pace through social media and the phrase "Facebook revolution" attests to the impact of virtual networks in political upheaval.[27] Anna Reading (2011) has studied the dynamics that impact how digital media creates and disseminates "memory." By comparing how the news of the Battle of Waterloo were reported in 1815 with the circulation of media regarding the death of a young Iranian activist, Neda Agha Soltan, in 2009, Reading lays out the ways witnessing and collective memory are being transformed: the witnessing is immediately documented and adapted to different media, digitalized, and shared. The reproduction of the information happens through different assemblages, networked through different modalities, and it is connected to other events (Reading, 2001, pp. 248–50). Immediacy, broadened scope, diverse audiences, and malleability of the message have radically transformed how we inform ourselves and how we remember information.

Facebook has been playing an important role in Peruvian politics in the last few years, from campaigns against Fujimori's daughter

presidential candidacy to calls for rallies protesting against human rights abuses.[28] Mauricio Delgado used the Facebook platform to disseminate his visual blog, *Un día en la memoria*.[29] In doing so, he generated a virtual memory site that not only acquired the fluidity Reading observes in what she calls the "Globital (global and digital) memory field" (2011), but he also created an archive that, as Amit Pinchevski (2011) remarks, is no longer a repository of memory but a mechanism that feeds into the social practice of memory. Mauricio Delgado's project consisted in uploading a daily creation of a poster commemorating a case investigated by the CVR during a whole year. The posters reflect different aesthetic influences, such as "chicha" music advertisement and black-light graphic art from the 1970s, but Delgado, like Edilberto Jiménez in his drawings, claims the influence of Guamán Poma for the format he uses: a title, a large image, and text. Each poster has the title "Un día como hoy" ["A day like today"] in colorful large letters at the top, then the date, and image, and a text that recalls the case. (See Figure 4.9.) The text for November 8, 1983 recounts how members of "Los Cabitos" military base in Huamanga entered Alejandro Noa Yupanqui's house and kidnapped him. It includes Felix Maurelio Palomino Yupanqui's testimony recalling how they found his body a week later on a rubbish dump and cites its source: CVR VII 2.9. The information about the cases is documented discretely on the side of the poster. It comes mostly from the final report of the CVR, but some of the posters include information from newspapers and magazines or cases reported by human rights organizations such as Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos (APRODEH). The information is conveyed through factual language: the names, places, dates, actions; no adjectives or adverbs. For example, the poster for October 16, 1991 reads "Antonio Huacachi Chávez, 29 años, presidente del Centro Federado de Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad Nacional San Cristobal de Huamanga, fue asesinado por miembros de las Fuerzas Armadas en Ayacucho" ["Antonio Huacachi Chávez, 29, president of the Student Federation of Social Sciences of the National University San Cristóbal de Huamanga, was killed by members of the Armed Forces in Ayacucho"]. The poster for November 17, 1988, reads "En Cerro de Pasco es asesinado por Sendero Luminoso, el jefe de la microregión y Secretario Departamental de Organización del PAP; Rafael Antonio Muñoz Jáuregui" ["In Cerro de Pasco, Rafael

Figure 4.9 Un día en la Memoria. Mauricio Delgado

Antonio Muñoz Jáuregui, head of the microregion and Secretary of the Department of Cerro de Pasco's PAP organization, was killed by the Shining Path"]. The presentation of facts is imposed upon striking images on vibrant colors, often reworking photographs that were used by *Yuyanapaq* or that appeared on the media. Human figures often appear as shadows, either as victims or as perpetrators. When they are victims, their faces are often scratched or painted over as if violence attempted to obliterate their identities.

According to Delgado (Bermúdez and Delgado, 2013), the combination of text and image appeals simultaneously to thoughts and feelings, reason and emotions. However, the emotions that are stirred by the posters of "Un día en la memoria" are different from those that spatial memory sites invoke. In both built environments of remembrance and sites where tragic events took place, the public is required to inhabit the space, to experience some sort of presence. The feelings produced by those environments can vary, from the peaceful reflection that "El ojo que llora" seeks, to the oppressive emotion that Doris Sommer reported for the Chilean Museum of Memory, but they all rely on a physical interaction with the space. "Un día en la memoria" de-territorializes memory and forces it into people's daily lives. It creates a mnemonic interface, an instantaneous encounter between the daily routines of the public and a reminder that traumatic events do not remain in the past. Mauricio Delgado's postings create an encounter with the past that does not happen at a memory spatial site: they create a temporal site instead, while at the same time they constitute an archive of memory.

Alison Landsbergh (2004) used the term "prosthetic memory" to refer to ways in which technology of mass communication can bridge time and space to create connections. While our traditional communities and methods of memory transmission have been disrupted, new technologies appear to suture the gaps in our experience of cultural and collective memory. For Landsbergh, films and museums are ways in which the public can be transported to different times and be moved by the experiences of others (p. 2). In a global society, Delgado's project has the capacity to galvanize different communities that get articulated through their interaction with "Un día en la memoria": Peruvians in the country and abroad, but also different groups and individuals around the world concerned with issues of justice and human rights. Following Arjun Appadurai (2003),

Amit Pinchevski believes that we are entering a stage in which collective memory and the archive influence each other (Pinchevski, 2011, p. 256). In Pinchevski's words: "It is in this respect that the technologically mediated archive occasions the return of collective memory to its original sense as intended by Maurice Halbwachs (1980 [1950]) – to the remembering community and to the collective will to remember" (p. 256).

In a previous article I described the interface produced between Delgado's postings and the Facebook users as a "poke," a function that has now fallen out of favor by most of the public, but that just served to notify a "friend" that you had "poked" him or her (Saona, 2012). From a communicative perspective, the "poke" simply served the phatic function, keeping the channels of exchange open, letting the other person know that you are interested in maintaining contact.[30] However, Delgado not only "pokes" to keep the digital conversation going, because his "pokes" carry information and content as well as build an active archive of memory. In our conversation with Orestes Bermúdez (2013), Mauricio Delgado said: " 'Un día en la memoria' era eso, interrumpir la tranquilidad, la comodidad de la gente en el amplio sentido de la palabra" ["That was the purpose of 'Un día en la memoria': to interrupt the tranquility and comfort of people, in the broad sense"]. His posts poked his audience, interrupted their interaction with friends, news, and trivia normally associated with Facebook, and captured their attention with the striking graphics and the harrowing reports of human rights violations that had taken place "on a day like today." But in inserting a traumatic piece of the past in the present time of his audience, he created an active archive, an archive that not only stores the information, but that generates memory that is, in Pinchevski's words, accessible and shareable (2011, p. 255). Electronic audiovisual technologies in new media become a participatory social practice (p. 256).

During our interview, Delgado talked about the "afterlife" of "Un día en la memoria": the blog was only intended to last for a year, but people keep using it years after his project concluded. It has remained, he says, as a sort of database where people come to look for the posters and share them on their sites. Sometimes people use his art with or without his authorization. For example, the relatives of one of the victims, Melissa Alfaro Méndez, killed on October 10,

1991, asked his permission to print cards as mementos, adding text about her life on the back. But he has also found stickers on public transportation that reproduced his artwork from certain dates and he was never consulted about this. For Delgado, those are legitimate uses. He does not believe these are works of art to be protected. The blog asks people to share, and he says he believes in "copy-left." The only occasion when he felt that his art had been used in an abusive way was when one of his pieces had been altered and posted on a website of Fujimori's supporters. In that case, he demanded that they withdraw his poster from their website and they did. But if the content is respected in the reproduction, he believes it fulfills its intended role: to be a tool for collective memory.

As a technologically reproducible artifact, Delgado's posters activate a traumatic archive in a fashion similar to the one explored by Pinchevski: a deep memory interrupts the here-and-now, "the past returns to puncture the present by means of technological mediation" (2011, p. 259). Through this kind of archive, Pinchevski believes we can find "new constellations of communities of memory, brought together by the wish and will to remember" (p. 263). While it is possible to say that Mauricio Delgado's project to de-territorialize memory had some natural limitations such as the lack of internet access of a large sector of Peru's population, or the fact that one had to "like" his page or subscribe to his blog to get the daily posting, its influence actually exceeds those limits through the print reproductions that circulate without his authorization and the viral nature of the internet, where repostings of the artwork will reach people who never subscribed to the blog in the first place.

The kind of work that Mauricio Delgado and the other members of MIAxM do dislocates memory in the sense that they not only remove it from fixed locations, but they also open it up to a plurality of discourses, unlike the narrative necessarily presented as unified by a "brick and mortar" museum. The acts of exhibiting their work in the streets or in community centers as well as posting it as blogs on the internet create a myriad of possible interfaces of the public with recollections of the past. Unlike the museum or the monument, their work invokes memory in unexpected ways, at unexpected places, next to an amusement park, as a sticker on the bus, on the Facebook wall of a friend. The reactions to these memories generate memories and discourses of their own.

As Edward S. Casey (2000) explained, memories are tied to places: we remember the place itself or, when we remember a person or an event, we locate this person or event at a place (p. 184). From built environments that attempt to foster memory, to places marked by tragedies themselves, to memories that erupt during a commute in public transportation or while we are browsing social networks, the painful past still materializes in Peru. The hope underlying the cultural initiatives that promote these memories is that the CVR's motto "A country that forgets its history is condemned to repeat it" fulfills its counterpart: that a country that remembers its history will not repeat it.

Notes

1 Introduction: Peruvian Memory Matters

1. I will use the Spanish acronym CVR throughout this work. It stands for "Comisión de la verdad y la reconciliación," or Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The South African truth commission is often referred to by the TRC acronym.
2. This information is posted in the CVR's official website: www.cverdad. org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php June 5, 2013.
3. "A country that forgets its history is condemned to repeat it" is the CVR's motto and appears on its website and on its documents. www.cverdad. org.pe/ingles/pagina01.php, June 6, 2013.
   Many did not accept the report of the CVR, criticizing the statistic method used to estimate the number of victims, the fact that they used the term "political party" to refer to the Shining Path, the need to remember – as opposed to "moving on" –, or the fact that its recommendations were ineffectual. Some of these criticisms can be found in Raul Villanueva Pasquale, "La CVR en salmuera" (Globedia, 2012). *Globedia* Publicada el September 14, 2012 18:52, http://globedia.com/la-cvr-en-salmuera, June 6, 2013.
4. The acronym MOVADEF stands for *Movimiento por Amnistía y Derechos Fundamentales*. The group presents itself as a human rights organization. However, its use of the discourse of reconciliation aims at the liberation of Abimael Guzmán, leader of the Shining Path. It denies its affiliation with the Shining Path, but enters into contradictions when it endorses the teachings of Guzmán and justifies the atrocities committed by his followers during the 80s and 90s presenting them as a "popular uprising." See Leonidas Ramos, "MOVADEF por dentro." www.losandes. com.pe/Politica/20120120/60141.html. For direct access to MOVADEF's discourse, see its official blog: http://movamnsitiayderfundamentales. blogspot.com/
5. Elizabeth Jelin elaborates on Dori Laub's idea that the passing of time allows for people who did not experience the traumatic events to become witnesses of testimony, "which implies the social ability to listen and give meaning to the narrative of survivors" (Jelin, 2003, p. 64). Dori Laub (1992) developed this idea of a dialogic testimonial in "Bearing Witness or the Vicissitudes of Listening." In *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History.*
6. This new edited collection presents the work of Milton on pictorial art along with studies on other memory initiatives, some of which I also analyze in this book. It is an essential referent for understanding the variety of approaches to the representation of Peru's violent history (Milton, 2014).

 7. Information from Amnesty International's website on Truth Commissions. June 13, 2013. www.amnesty.org/en/international-justice/issues/truth-commissions.
 8. Jo-Marie Burt (forthcoming) has been following transitional justice in Peru from the Fujimori trial (2009) to the dwindling down of prosecutions to scandalously low levels. She also keeps a blog about human rights trials in Peru: www.rightsperu.net.
 9. See, for example, José Pablo Baraybar's presentation "The Humanitarian Umbrella: Restorative Justice in the Search for the Missing." www.youtube.com/watch?v=uEE5y5mK1do.
10. Lerner has written extensively about the Peruvian CVR and about defining its role. I am quoting from one of his latest essays on the topic published under the title "L'expérience Péruvienne (2001–2003)" (Lerner, 2009). Among all his writings this one expresses more forcefully the struggle to define the "truth" and the need for empathy.
11. All the translations of "L'expérience Péruvienne" are by Caroline Guindon.
12. Balance, CVR www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/lacomision/balance/index.php July 3, 2012. My translation.
13. www.cverdad.org.pe/apublicas/p-fotografico/index.php July 9, 2013.
14. Chapter 2, which discusses the use of images, analyzes the way photos are portrayed by the commissioners of the CVR as a medium that presents objective proof and that elicits empathy at the same time.
15. The announcement of the extension of the exhibit was published on December 11, 2013. See "Muestra 'Yuyanapaq, para recordar' se expondrá hasta 2026 en el Museo de la Nación." December 11, 2013, http://laprensa.pe/espectaculos/noticia-muestra-yuyanapaq-recordar-se-expondra-hasta-2026-museo-nacion-17077 (December 16, 2013). For updates on the progress of "El lugar de la memoria," visit its website: http://lugardelamemoria.org/index.php July 9, 2013.
16. Maria Elena Castillo, "Yuyanapaq: retrato de la verdad" (2009). *La República*. www.larepublica.pe/05-03-2009/yuyanapaq-retrato-de-la-verdad-0 July 9, 2013.
17. Among somewhat recent reviews, you can find Daniel Chero's "Yuyanapaq: Espacio necesario para encontrar la verdad." *Letras al Mango.* www.letrasalmango.com/yuyanapaq-espacio-necesario-para-encontrar-la-verdad-y-empezar-una-lenta-reconciliacion/ July 9, 2013; and Erica Robles, "Sitio que debe ser visitado por todos los peruanos." *Redacción USMP* http://redaccionusmp.wordpress.com/2012/02/13/mensajes-para-la-sociedad-de-hoy-sobre-yuyanapaq/ July 9, 2013.
18. See Tzvetan Todorov (1996), Sussanah Radstone (2008), among others.
19. I will examine the visual representation of violence in the *tablas* in more detail when I examine the use of images to elicit memory.
20. Gustavo Buntix, Víctor Vich, and others have studied in depth the political intervention of Peruvian plastic artists. See, for example, *Anamnesia: retornos fantasmáticos de la violencia* (Buntix and Vich, 2012).

21. A printed book version of the photo recordings of the performance was edited by Gustavo Buntix and Víctor Vich in 2010 under the title *Cantuta: Cieneguilla – 27 junio 1995* (Wiesse, 2010).
22. Among the anthologies on the topic I recommend Gustavo Faverón Patriau's *Toda la sangre: Antología de cuentos peruanos sobre la violencia política* (2006).
23. See, for example, Francine A'ness's article "Resisting Amnesia: Yuyachkani, Performance, and the Postwar Reconstruction of Peru" (2004). About their more recent work, see Cynthia M. Garza's "Colliding with Memory: Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani's *sin Título, Técnica Mixta*" in Milton (2014).
24. Deborah Poole and Isaías Rojas Pérez (2010) criticized the use of photography by the CVR, while pointing out at some of the current "memory wars" in Peruvian society.
25. See, for example, an early intervention from 2001 by Víctor Vich under the title "La literatura, la Comisión de la verdad y el museo de la memoria."
26. The debates surrounding the construction of the museum will be presented in Chapter 3. For a summary of these debates see Óscar del Álamo (2009).
27. www.museodelamemoria.cl/
28. For a concise history of these initiatives see www.memoriaabierta.org.ar/ camino_al_museo2.php.July 11, 2013.
29. For the development on Guatemala's museum of memory see http:// noticias.com.gt/nacionales/20091114-victimas-conflicto-armado-museo-memoria-historica-guatemala.html; and www.elperiodico.com.gt/es/ 20121017/pais/219344.
30. www.cverdad.org.pe/
31. Nicolas Russell (2006) makes an insightful analysis of the evolution of concepts of social memory in his article "Collective Memory before and after Halbwachs."
32. Paul Ricoer, *Memory, History, Forgetting.* Trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006. Kindle file. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire.Representations.*" Spring 1989 (pp. 7–24). This essay is the introductory chapter to the seven volumes Nora wrote exploring French cultural memory through "sites of memory" including geographical locations, monuments, works of art, the national anthem, and so on.
33. Ricoer takes certain approaches to understanding the way we relate to others from different philosophers, like the concept of *Paarung* from Edmund Husserl and the idea of "evidential paradigm" from Carlo Ginzburg. These concepts can be seen as different ways of conceptualizing empathy.
34. Among some of the books produced in this field are the collections I referred to in the previous chapter: *The Art of Truth-Telling about Authoritarian Rule* (Bilbija et al.), the special issue of *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* devoted to *Mourning and Memory* (CSSAAME, Vol. 35, N° 1, 2005), *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*

(Alexander et al.), and some other more recent studies such as *Accounting for Violence: Marketing Memory in Latin America*. Bilbija and Payne Eds. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.

35. Elizabeth Jelin's most influential work is *Los trabajos de la memoria,* initially published in Spain by Siglo XXI Editores in 2002. I will refer to the second edition (2012) published in Lima by Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. *Los trabajos de la memoria.*2a Ed. Lima: IEP. This work was published in English as *State Repression and the Labors of Memory* by University of Minnesota Press in 2003.

36. Jelin, Elizabeth. "The Minefields of Memory." *NACLA Report on the Americas*. 32.2 (1998): 23. Academic Search Premier. Web. September 4, 2013.

37. Regarding content, for example, the fact that in Chile on September 11, the date of the military coup was a holiday during Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship was contentious. After his fall Congress had to debate if the date should remain a holiday. An example of the disputes regarding form: pop singer Carlos Jimenez composed a song about a disappeared friend, but the musical genre he chose was deemed "too light, festive, and frivolous" for the topic (Jelin, 1998).

38. The video of her presentation can be found at Seminario internacional CVR+10. Día 3. Sesión de cierre. August 22 at 5:50pm on ICTJ www.ustream.tv/recorded/37668539 Accessed September 5, 2013.

39. A growing body of literature in the neurosciences points to the possibility of identifying a core neural network for empathy. See, for example, Yan Fan, Niall W. Duncan, Moritz de Greck, Georg Northoff (2011) and Claus Lamm, Jean Decety, Tania Singer (2011). Also, for evaluation of the advances in the research on the cognitive neuroscience of empathy, see Gerdes, Lietz, and Segal (2011), Singer and Lamm (2009), and Nakao and Itakura (2009).

40. See Knut Schnell, Sarah Bluschke, Brigitte Konradt, Henrik Walter, "Functional Relations of Empathy and Mentalizing: An fMRI Study on the Neural Basis of Cognitive Empathy." *NeuroImage*. 54.2 (January 15, 2011): 1743–1754 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.neuroimage.2010.08.024 September 9, 2013.

41. In the last decade, numerous experiments have attempted to use imaging of neural activity to record the way the retrieval of memories simulates the processes used in encoding the memories (what we register when we first experience them). An example of this kind of experiment can be found in Nyberg, Habib, McIntosh, and Tulving (2000). Even more relevant for this discussion are the meta-analytic studies that suggest an overlap in autobiographical memory and theory of mind. These studies demonstrate that "the recollection of autobiographical memories is involved in making inferences regarding other people's mental states" (Shamay-Tsoori, p. 22). See, also, "*The common neural basis of autobiographical memory, prospection, navigation, theory of mind, and the default mode: A quantitative meta-analysis*." By R Nathan Spreng, Raymond A. Mar, and

Alice S. N. Kim published by the *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*. 21.3: 489–510. PDF file.

42. See Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Picador, 2003. Print and Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (p. 304). Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997. Print.

43. Jason P. Mitchell (2009) in his article cited above lays out the processes involved in making inferences about the mental states of others: "(i) generating a simulated facsimile of one's own hypothetical mental states in a given situation, (ii) suppressing one's own current mental states, and (iii) deciding on the appropriateness of simulated states for understanding a particular other person" (p. 1309). In other words, the self recognizes what the other is going through and feels for them, knowing that the experience is not its own.

44. The term "escrache" refers to a practice started by organizations of the children of the disappeared by the Argentinean government during the "Dirty War." The members of these organizations create activities to make public the identity of perpetrators of human rights abuses: marches, collective graffiti making, etc.

45. One example was the debates in one of Lima's municipalities about organized visits to memory sites. Many of the officials even objected to the term "internal armed conflict" used in the report by the CVR. See Javier Torres Seoane's note "La mala memoria de los regidores del PPC" in *El arriero*, La mula, http://lamula.pe/2013/08/08/la-mala-memoria-de-los-regidores-del-ppc/javierto/

46. This "haunting" quality of photographs has been explored by Roland Barthes (1981), Walter Benjamin (1988), Susan Sontag (1977 and 2003), among others. I will present the topic in depth in the next chapter.

47. A selection of Edilberto Jiménez's testimonies and drawings are available in English in Cynthia Miltón's collection *Art from a Fractured Past: Memory and Truth Telling in Post-Shining Path Peru* (2014).

2   Seeing, Knowing, Feeling: Conveying Truth and Emotion through Images

1. Jane Holligan. "Bribes, Lies, and Videotape in Peru," www.businessweek.com/bwdaily/dnflash/feb2001/nf2001022_371.htm. Also "Videomania," www.economist.com/node/498799?Story_ID=498799.

2. Salomón Lerner Febres. "Inauguración de la exposición fotográfica Yuyanapaq: Palabras del presidente de la CVR."

3. For Jeffrey C. Alexander the articulation of cultural trauma and the aesthetic choices of this articulation are the primary task of the carrier group.

4. For information regarding the findings of the CVR I refer to *Hatun Willakuy. Versión abreviada del informe final de la comisión de la verdad y reconciliación*. Lima: Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2004.

5. www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/apublicas/p-fotografico/index.php

6. See Saunders, Rebecca, and Kamran Scott Aghaie. "Introduction: Mourning and Memory." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East.* Vol. 25, No. 1, 16–29.

7. It is important to note the efforts of the CVR to address cultural differences in its work. It seems to constantly try to remind urban, "learned" Peruvians, that the poor, marginalized indigenous peoples who constituted the majority of the victims of the violence, were part of a society they call their own.

8. English version of the CVR website: www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/apublicas/p-fotografico/index.php.

9. www.donswaim.com/nytimes.sontag.html.

10. Didi-Huberman (2008) rejects the notion of the "unthinkable," "unimaginable," horror. The Holocaust happened and therefore was not only imagined, but executed. He follows Primo Levi's criticism of the notion that concentration camp testimony cannot communicate the experience (Didi-Huberman, p. 25).

11. The lose-lose reaction to the photographs Didi-Huberman curated for "Mémoires des camps" is also analyzed by Jacques Ranciére (2009) in *The Emancipated Spectator*.

12. Walter Benjamin. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction."

13. I first became acquainted with Olga González's research through a paper she presented as part of the panel "Truth-Telling and Memory in Peru beyond the Truth Commission" during the LASA 2007 International Congress in Montreal, September 5–8, 2007. Milton, Cynthia (Chair), Ulfe, M., Ritter, J., Kernaghan, R., and González-Castañeda, O. This became part of her book 2011 *Unveiling Secrets of War in the Peruvian Andes*.

14. The main focus of González's research is the way some facts were told while others were kept secret in the communal construction of memory. Her beautiful analysis of the pictorial mechanisms employed to tell stories points precisely towards this: to discover what was represented and what was hidden in the paintings.

15. Roland Barthes. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*.

16. See Betina Kaplan's (2007) discussion of Benjamin and Barthes in her analysis of Marcelo Brodsky's *Buena Memoria*. Betina Kaplan, *Género y violencia en la narrativa del Cono Sur* (1954–2003).

17. Shortly after it happened, Scott MacLeod described the circumstances of Carter's suicide in "The Life and Death of Kevin Carter" published in *Time,* on September 12, 1994. Jacques Rancière mentions Kevin Carter's case as a result of "the duplicity of the system that simultaneously solicits and declines such images" (Rancière, 2009, p. 99).

18. Testimonies of journalists and analysis of their experiences can be found in the collected papers of the roundtable "Witnesses of the truth. Visual memory of political violence," www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/apublicas/p-fotografico/testigos.php.

19. Regarding the issue of the value of shocking images, Susie Linfield's (2010) contrasting of Frank Capa's and James Nachtwey's photographs illustrates the way a belief in a political system can construct images in a way that is conducive to support that system. At the same time, Linfield finds meaning in stylistically sophisticated, but brutal, pictures by Nachtwey. She says: "He can't find the right way to present his 'ghoulish cruelties,' but that is because there is no right way" (Linfield, p. 230). In the narrative of the Peruvian CVR the curators of *Yuyanapaq* looked precisely for a "right way."

20. These interviews were published along with Elena Goday Lucas's B.A. Thesis, "Reconocimiento y dignificación de las víctimas del conflicto armado interno vivido en el Perú entre 1980–2000."

21. This should not be interpreted as a repetition on the part of the CVR of the problem they try to denounce. The commissioners seem overwhelmed by the fact that the city chose to ignore the tragedy that assaulted the Andes. The fact that they want to direct their message to those who remained oblivious to the violence does not mean that they are not seeking reparations for the real victims.

22. Transcriptions of the testimonies can be found on the CD-Rom *Yuyanapaq: Para recordar.* Centro de Información para la Memoria Colectiva y los Derechos Humanos.

23. The mechanisms of symbolization used by Domingo Giribaldi, Herman Schwartz, and others will be explored in the chapter "Names and Plain Things."

24. The issue of moralism in art creates important debates in the field of aesthetic value. See, for example, Matthew Lipman (1975), "Can Non-aesthetic Consequences Justify Aesthetic Values." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Winter, 1975), 117–123; James Harold (2006) "On Judging the Moral Value of Narrative Artworks." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (Spring, 2006), 259–270; A. W. Eaton (2012) "Robust Immoralism." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 70, 281–292. Although this is not a discussion at the center of my analysis, these debates have been helpful in elucidating the ways artists see moral and political roles for their art and how the public responds to morality that might be prescribed by the work of art.

25. In Latin American cultural studies *Testimonio* as a genre has created both enthusiasm and debate about how to access "real" experience and the way narratives of traumatic experiences are mediated, but are also granted truth value. See, for example, *The Real Thing: Testimonial Discourse and Latin America*. Ed. G. M. Gugelberger, or John Beverley's *Testimonio: On the Politics of Truth*.

26. Although her study focuses on a completely different time and period, Andrea Frisch's book "The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France" is very helpful in understanding how our modern concepts of observers, testimony, and evidence are constructed.

3   Plain Things and Names

1. Parts of this chapter appeared in my article "Plain Things and Space: Metonymy and Aura in Memorials of Social Trauma" published on *Layers of Memory and the Discourse of Human Rights*. Ed. Ana Forcinito. A special volume of *Hispanic Issues On Line*. Volume 14 (Spring 2014).
2. Gustave Jahoda (2005) gives a detailed account of the history of the term from its conception in the theory of aesthetics to its current use in psychology and behavioral studies.
3. To learn more about the controversies about the term, see David Depew (2005) and Magdalena Nowak (2001).
4. "metonymy." American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language. 2013. September 19, 2013
   www.ahdictionary.com/word/search.html?q=metonymy.
5. For a concise explanation of how linguistic understanding of proper names changed from the idea of "definite descriptions" – that is "Aristotle" means "The author of *Poetics*" – to be seen as signs closer to "rigid designators" – "a term that designates the same individual in every possible world" – see Steven Pinker's *The Stuff of Thought: Language as a Window into Human Nature* (Pinker, 2007, kindle, ch. 6).
6. From the beginning of the controversy, Peruvian newspapers started writing against and in favor of the monument. In his column "Piedra de toque" for the newspaper *El País*, Mario Vargas Llosa wrote in defense of the monument. Mario Vargas Llosa, "El ojo que llora." *El País 14 ENE 2007*, http://elpais.com/diario/2007/01/14/opinion/1168729205_850215.html, September 26, 2013, and this defense itself became part of the disputes. A number of articles recount the controversy. See, for example, Hite, K. (2007), Milton, C. E. (2007 and 2011), Drinot, P. (2009), Martino, J. (2010), Moraña, (2012). Maritza Fiorella Colmenares Tamayo's thesis, "Acerca de la construcción de la memoria sobre la violencia aramada: Los debates públicos alrededor de 'El Ojo que llora'." Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2012, is a detailed analysis of the media coverage and its impact in the perception of the monument.
7. "El ojo que llora fue declarado patrimonio nacional." August 24, 2013
   www.larepublica.pe/24-08-2013/el-ojo-que-llora-fue-declarado-patrimonio-cultural September 26, 2013.
8. This collection brought together the work of several anthropologists such as Ponciano del Pino, Leslie Villapolo Herrera, Pablo Sandoval, among others.
9. Watch a video of his presentation at the Denver Justice and Peace Committees 2008 Salon Series: www.youtube.com/watch?v=uEE5y5mK1do&list=UUbozaEDeJCafjsc2s2EBc5Q&index=1
10. EPAF. *Si no vuelvo, búsquenme en Putis. If I don't come back, look for me in Putis. Fotos Domingo Giribaldi*. PDF file. www.fas.harvard.edu/~anthro/theidon/theidon_pdf/photocatalog.pdf
11. http://textileartscenter.com/blog/the-scarf-of-hope/ See also an article by Rocío Silva Santistevan, "Un Km. de chalina." *La República*. December 23,

2011 www.inforegion.pe/portada/85168/un-km-de-chalina/ September 29, 2013.
12. Javier Lizarzaburu. "Perú: Recuerdan a 15,000 desaparecidos con chalina kilométrica." BBC Mundo, Perú. July 18, 2010 www.bbc.co.uk/mundo/america_latina/2010/07/100718_peru_putis_chalina_az.shtml September 29, 2013.
13. A video and other parts of the exhibit were removed. Several human rights organizations protested against the municipality responsible for censoring the exhibit: Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos. Comunicado de prensa: *CNDDHH rechaza censura a "La Chalina de la Esperanza"* November 29, 2010 http://derechoshumanos.pe/2010/11/cnddhh-rechaza-censura-a-%E2%80%9Cla-chalina-de-la-esperanza%E2%80%9D/

4   Places to Remember

1. This is supposedly what led Fujimori supporters to deface "El ojo que llora."
2. www.lugardelamemoria.org/qsomos.html October 7, 2013.
3. A good assessment of these debates can be found in Oscar Del Álamo (2009).
4. Some studies, like those conducted by David M. Smith and Sheri J.Y. Mizumori, and by Rosamund F. Langston and Emma R. Wood, claim that the associations are not strictly with spatial information but also with the broader context.
5. Irit Dekel (2011) discusses the notion of "authentic" versus "non-authentic" memorial sites. Studying the information center at the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin, Dekel demonstrates that sites that are " 'inauthentic,' in the sense that it is not the site where the event of extermination itself took place" (2011, p. 265), are still capable of mediating the experience of memory. I do not think the notion of authenticity is necessarily helpful, but agree with many of Denkel's conclusions about mediated memory.
6. The most notorious example is the Punta Carretas jail in Montevideo transformed into a shopping mall (Jelin, 2007, p. 149).
7. Reátegui, F. (2010) Los sitios de la memoria: Procesos sociales de la conmemoración en el Perú. Lima: Instituto de Democracia y Derechos Humanos; Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. Print.
8. On the contradictions regarding the causes of the conflict in the final report, see Tanaka, 2013.
9. To cite only a few of the many reviews of the first exhibit, see Hennessy (2004), Fossa (2004), Lama (2003a and 2003b), and Pinilla (2005).
10. He also worked in a project called "Alameda de la memoria," the Memory Boulevard, that was supposed to integrate "El ojo que llora" in Campo de Marte, building on the surroundings to incorporate *Yuyanapaq* and other exhibits. This project was abandoned and it was replaced over time with

the current project for "El lugar de la memoria, la tolerancia y la inclusión social."

11. The Academy of Neuroscience for Architecture, established in 2003, sponsors research that seeks to understand human responses for built environments. There are links to publications and video lectures on their website: www.anfarch.org. See also "Building around the (Mind)" (Anthes, 2009), *Healing Spaces: The Science of Place and Well-Being* by Esther Sternberg (2009), and the article by March Schweitzer et al. (2004), "Healing Spaces: Elements of Environmental Design That Make an Impact on Health."

12. See Lauren Artress, L. (2006) *Walking a Sacred Path: Rediscovering the Labyrinth as a Spiritual Practice*. New York: Penguin.

13. The written proposal which won the public contest can be found on the website Plataforma Arquitectura after the introduction by Giuliano Pastorelli: www.plataformaarquitectura.cl/2010/04/16/ganador-concurso-el-lugar-de-la-memoria/

14. I had the opportunity to visit the site where "El Lugar de la memoria, la tolerancia y la inclusion social" is being built and to talk to Jean Paul Crousse on October 28, 2013.

15. See James E. Young's "Horst Hoheisel's Counter-memory of the Holocaust: The End of the Monument." www.chgs.umn.edu/museum/memorials/hoheisel/. Horst Hoheisel visited Lima and Ayacucho in 2010. An interview by Catherina Meza was published in Noticias Ser: www.noticiasser.pe/03/11/2010/entrevista/sin-memoria-no-tenemos-identidad. In this interview, he discussed the particular challenges that memorials might face in Peru and the need of ways to foster memory.

16. I wrote a note on the installation of *Yuyanapaq* in Museo de la Nación commenting on its interaction with the misty skies of the city. See Saona (2008).

17. There are also new ethnographic studies that investigate identity formation around specific memory sites, like Dorothé Delacroix, " 'Somos peruanos y limpios': Discursos y prácticas alrededor de un monumento a las víctimas del conflict armado interno en Perú," *El ojo que llora* de Llinque (Apurimac).

18. ANFASEP maintains an active website with the history of the organization, publications, events, and profiles of their members: http://anfasep.org.pe/index.php?option=com_content&view=featured&Itemid=101

19. Only last week news broke about more clandestine mass graves being uncovered in Chungui, Ayacucho, where at least 1384 people were killed during the armed conflict. See Sara Malm's article at www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2517405/Bringing-new-life-terrible-past-reclaiming-dead-Peru-exhumes-victims-bloody-1980-2000-conflict-claimed-70-000-lives.html

20. While 97 bodies were exhumed from the site in 2008, some estimate there might have been over 500 victims in that location, where many were incinerated in furnaces built to get rid of the evidence. See Páez (2009). Also, detail and chilling testimonies of the operations at Los Cabitos can

be found in Ricado Uceda's extraordinary book-length chronicle, *Muerte en el Pentagonito* (2004).

21. The most recent information was published on November 20, 2013 by the organization MOVIMIENTO POR LOS DE DERECHOS HUMANOS DE AYACUCHO Comité Coordinador Colegiado: www.paraquenoserepita. org.pe/novedades/66-2013/148-gobierno-regional-de-ayacucho-aprueba-emitir-ordenanza-para-proteger-y-conservar-la-hoyada-para-construir-el-santuario-de-la-memoria

22. In a conversation with Ricardo Caro, he pointed out the way in which, through these ceremonies, the Miraflores district asserts its centrality in the memory of the nation.

23. The testimonies recovered by the CVR and news report are available on the blog by Juan Carlos Mendoza Puescas: "Sabemos muchos sobre lo que sucedió en Putis." http://blog.pucp.edu.pe/item/68973/sabemos-muchos-sobre-lo-que-sucedio-en-putis

24. Many organizations attempt to inform the public and younger generations in particular about the period of violence and the CVR's report. "Centro Loyola, Ayacucho," for example, has created a board game that helps young adults learn about the timeline of the internal armed conflict.

25. The interview took place on October 28, 2013 at Mauricio Delgado's workshop in Lima.

26. Photos of their works can be found at http://aquiseviolaronderechoshumanos.blogspot.com/

27. The phrase was popularized by events in Tunisia and Egypt. See, for example, Mike Giglio (2011) and Catherine Smith (2011).

28. One of the most active pages, "No a Keiko," has over 190,000 followers: https://www.facebook.com/noakeiko. It might have been instrumental in defeating Keiko Fujimori during the presidential elections a few years ago and is again campaigning against her for the 2016 elections.

29. The whole archive can still be seen at the blog: http://undiaenlamemoria. blogspot.com/

30. Danica Radovanovic and Massimo Ragneda (2012) explain how phatic posts work in digital "small talk." For Radovanovic and Ragneda, "This apparently 'nonsense writing', has an intimate purpose, not so much in what has been written, but keeping in contact and reinforcing relationship" (2012, p. 11). However, those reinforcements of relationship carry with them important functions such as validation, recognition, social status, affectivity, and avoidance of conflict (p. 13).

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