2 Campo Santo's Intangibilidad

An immanent place

In the hours and days after the 1970 avalanche that buried Yungay, survivors gathered in the alluvial scar, first at its borders and then in the centre, to search for their missing relatives. The wide, desolated pampa left by the landslide over the old Yungay started to be known as *la playa* (the beach) due to its clayey colour and emptiness. As the weeks passed, the victims' relatives started placing modest wooden crosses and flowers over what they estimated to be the locations of their buried houses. Over time, the extensive field slowly changed in status, from a place to search for victims to a site of mourning. 'It had not been long after the avalanche, as soon as it was realised that the dead were already buried by several feet of alluvial debris, that the *playa* was declared *Campo Santo* and was made a national cemetery' Barbara Bode (1977, 53) argues. Having been declared 'holy ground', Campo Santo became a place commonly visited by survivors seeking to remember their loved ones buried beneath. Weeping for lost relatives was conceived as a *desfogue* (release), a necessary act of mourning, and the landslide scar the most appropriate place for it (Oliver-Smith 1986, 183–85).

The space for grieving offered by the Campo Santo in the aftermath of the disaster is still used by many survivors and relatives of the victims. One is Luis (Lucho to his friends): 'I come often to visit my deceased relatives, to take a walk, to *distraerme* (get distracted), to remember the past', he says to me during a visit to the site. Lucho comes from a traditional, middle-class *Yungaíno* family that, with the exception of one aunt, all survived the tragedy in 1970. His family was out of town that day visiting relatives, while Lucho, then aged fifteen, escaped the avalanche when he and some friends were trying to sneak into a circus show at the local stadium on the outskirts of the old city – the same site where around 80 children survived the catastrophe. With their hometown gone, he and his family moved to Lima, where they lived for several years. After finishing school, Lucho returned to live in the new Yungay, where he has spent his entire life since. Throughout that time, he has witnessed the changes and transformations of the zone – from the first years after the foundation of the new city and its development across time, to the creation of the Campo Santo

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memorial cemetery. As we walk through the memorial, his childhood memories are constantly intertwined with the institutional history of the site. He gives a vivid account of the exact place where the earth opened as a result of the earthquake, or the gutter he ran into while escaping, while sharing with me all the projects and efforts that aimed to turn the site into a prominent place of memory and tourist attraction.

At some point, he says something that I constantly hear during my visits to Campo Santo: that despite being an intangible site, a place of *intangibilidad* (intangibility) due to the intrinsic value it possesses as a site of collective memory, Campo Santo is in a worrying state of abandonment. Maintaining the site and protecting it from what he calls depredatory acts and inappropriate uses of the space should be the primary role of the Municipality – a task that, according to him, has not been appropriately fulfilled. Without proper protection and recognition, the memorial is at risk of disappearing, he confesses, together with its intangible value as a site containing the history of a vanished city.

Throughout my visits to the place, and after talking with several people, I realised that Lucho's opinion about the abandoned state of the site is commonly shared among *Yungaínos*, especially elderly survivors. They blame the site's abandonment on what they define as a lack of political will and the stubbornness of some old *Yungaínos* opposed to any form of change in the place, which has impeded the development of an economically attractive tourist and heritage site. Protecting the site where a fundamental part of his past is buried has become a major concern for Lucho and many others *Yungaínos* – a task that has required decades of work, discussions and even struggles. Like others, Lucho agrees that the declaration of *intangibilidad* was a critical measure for protecting the place against depredatory acts and *invasiones* (invasions), a common word in Peru to refer to land seizure. However, that single legal statement has not been sufficient for that purpose.

While hearing accounts by people like Lucho, I wonder what exactly intangibility means in this case. What is, in other words, the immanent condition of those lands that a site like Campo Santo aims to protect? Intangibility is normally applied in cultural heritage as a form of recognising the intrinsic value of nonmaterial products and cultural processes (Foster 2015). Rather than focusing on more obvious historical monuments, archaeological sites and natural parks, the notion of intangible heritage commonly emphasises living traditions, embodied skills and oral expressions (Alivizatou 2012). It is, in other words, an invisible type of value that groups of people are willing to foster and protect across generations and in response to their environments and history (UNESCO 2003). The concept has been clearly influenced by the anthropological understanding of culture, encompassing 'all those practices – including rituals, tales, performing arts, crafts and ceremonies – that are transmitted orally from the past and act as symbols of identity in the present' (Alivizatou 2012, 15). In tune with the standard use of the term by social scientists, the intangible comes to represent those social conditions preceding conducts and behaviours.

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It is, paraphrasing Latour (2007), those 'invisible forces' of society that have called the attention of the sociological field over the years.

In Peru, however, the concept seems to have its origins in the protection of archaeological sites[1]. Fernando Armas Asín (2018) shows in his study on the history of tourism in Peru how the notion of *intangibilidad* had its first boom in the 1930s and 1940s thanks to the longstanding work of renowned scholars like Julio C. Tello – and the commercial opportunities of an increasingly expanding tourism industry sustained on the country's cultural heritage (Rice 2018). Over time, the figure of *areas intangibles* evolved to protect the nation's cultural inheritance and other places directly or indirectly related to what is considered part of those sites, being officially recognised as an inviolable principle thanks to the creation in 1971 of the National Institute of Culture (*Instituto Nacional de Cultura*, or INC) as the country's primary steward of cultural heritage (Asensio 2018). Nowadays, the notion of *intangibilidad* is generally applied as a legal concept that restricts uses and rights in order to protect places, properties or resources that are of strategic or immaterial value for individuals or the country (Casafranca Álvarez 2017). It is, above all, a moral principle (Asensio 2018), a concept that sets sharp – yet ambiguous, as we will see – boundaries against the transgression of sites of national interest.

In Yungay and its surroundings, the notion appeared for the first time in an executive order (*resolución suprema*) presented by the Peruvian Government in October 1977. The document aimed to recognise the intrinsic value of the place where the old city of Yungay and its former inhabitants are buried – a site threatened by so-called 'depredatory actions' and the expansion of the new city. People directly or indirectly involved with the maintenance and protection of Campo Santo use the term on a daily basis to refer to the restrictions applied to the memorial. However, the use of the term *intangibilidad* in this case differs from the common uses of the term. The site is not a concrete representation of an ungraspable cultural heritage; it is not even an archaeological site harbouring the ruins of an ancient city. Campo Santo is instead the commemoration of a place that no longer exists: an absence, a vacuum. It would certainly be easy to dismiss these understandings of *intangibilidad* as misinterpretations of the word, but this would disregard the concrete forms in which this concept is enacted when referring to the memorial and its surroundings. Furthermore, it would impede reflections upon what lies behind the protection of a place like Campo Santo, together with its implications for keeping alive memories of the 1970 disaster and its consequences.

In this chapter, I analyse what it means to recognise an intangible place that must be protected from the passing of time. By exploring the history of Campo

1 See Raúl Asensio (2018) for a comprehensive analysis of the role of archaeology in the construction of a national cultural identity grounded in a deep moral relationship with pre-Hispanic materials.

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Santo together with its present role in the configuration of the new Yungay, I reflect on how survivors succeed in bringing into the present the invisible figure of a disappeared city through concrete devices that enable enacting *intangibilidad* in the first place. Rather than considering intangibility as an intrinsically *immaterial* phenomenon driven by a perceptual understanding of memory-making, this chapter proposes a material-based approach to explore how absence is made present and actual. Specifically, I explore how the notion of intangibility, a nonmaterial concept with an apparent strong influence on the politics of memory around the 1970 disaster, is enacted through tangible but diverse operations and devices seeking to turn the vanished city into a visible figure that can endure over time, together with the forms of temporalities the site produces. This involves the question of how such an elusive notion as *intangibilidad* gains presence and manages to mobilise a vast network of actors, devices and materials along the way, and what sort of temporal arrangements such mobilisation produces. If we agree with Kristin Kuutma (2013, 11) when she says that 'heritage is an abstraction, and what it signifies is subject to an interpretation and an evaluation that may fluctuate between positive and negative over time and space', we need then to ask ourselves which operations sustain and maintain such abstraction in the first place, what forms of temporal delimitations those operations produce and what are the social consequences of those delimitations.

Enacting the intangible

In 1977, the Peruvian Government enacted Executive Order Nr. 0005 [2], which declared the location of the buried Yungay a protected site in the following terms:

> Considering:
> That the area of the old city of Yungay, since the date of its destruction by the earthquake and avalanche of 31 May 1970, has been considered a true Camposanto since the remains of its former inhabitants lie there;
> That still not having defined the use that will be given to this area, and that it is appropriate to declare its intangibility and to preserve it from depredatory acts …;
> It is resolved:
> 1°. – To declare intangible the lands that constitute the area of the ancient city of Yungay, capital of the province of the same name of the Department of Ancash, for the reasons considered above.

2 Resolución Suprema Nº 0005. 12/10/1977. 'Declaración de Intangibilidad de Campo Santo'. Lima. Archive of Yungay's Provincial Municipality.

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This excerpt leaves several questions open. What does intangibility mean in this case? What precisely must be preserved? And what are the depredatory acts that the text refers to? In the second resolutory article, the document empowers the Regional Organism for the Development of the Affected Zone (ORDEZA), which replaced CRYRZA in its work for the region's recovery and rehabilitation, to carry out this resolution. However, the Executive Order refers neither to the old Yungay's limits nor the spatial extent of the place to be declared *intangible*. Was ORDEZA in charge of defining those limits in the first place?

From the 1977 resolution, it is possible to infer that Campo Santo's *intangibilidad* was granted due to the spiritual value that such a place had for the survivors – 'since the remains of its former inhabitants lie there'. However, other sources affirm that the protection of the place initially had another *raison d'être*. In Chapter One, we saw that one of CRYRZA's concerns in rebuilding the city of Yungay near the landslide scar was its susceptibility to a similar future event. By applying land use zoning to exposed areas, the government aimed to reduce the risk of future disasters and restrict further construction over the scar left by the landslide. The declaration of *intangibilidad*, in this sense, was not only a way of preserving memory but also of protecting the population by precluding urban expansion within the devastated area. Some sources confirm this, including a letter written by Julián Ángeles (2013, 7). There, the author affirms that the Director of the National Directorate of Infrastructure, the engineer Santiago Agurto Calvo, in a meeting with survivors and members of ARPRY in 1972 expressed that 'the chances that a mudflow may happen again are high and the conclusion after the experts' studies is definitive'. Thus, 'the zone where the city was located will be declared intangible, and we will not allow the construction of even a single house'. Similarly, Oliver-Smith and Goldman (1988) affirm that even after winning the battle to stay near the old city, reconstruction authorities prohibited inhabitants of Yungay Norte from locating major structures in the camp and around Campo Santo, as a form of slowing down the reconstruction in the area. Barbara Bode's (1977, 53) ethnographic work a year after the catastrophe also confirms the authorities' apprehensions concerning the site's imminent reoccupation:

> The *Yungaínos* wanted to be as close as possible to the alluvial scar. With passing months, and years, the feeling grew that Yungay should even be rebuilt in the very same place. There was an overwhelming desire to live with the dead, to be able readily to go and mourn over the small crosses on the *playa de los muertos*. Sweeping his arms across the panorama of the playa, one survivor exclaimed, 'Here there is life!'

The desire to be as close as possible to Campo Santo, with some people even willing to reinhabit the place, contrasts with the strong defence that *Yungaínos* made to maintain the site as intact as possible. Bode affirms that survivors fiercely opposed any

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intervention in the field that was not related to mourning the deaths. For example, in 1972, authorities dynamited some boulders left in the area by the avalanche and used the fragments to rebuild the airport strip. 'These blasts on the mute playa disturbed survivors', argues the author, 'who said that *all should be left as it was*, every last rock, as a witness to that day' (Bode 2001, 54; own emphasis). In the same way, survivors were strongly opposed to the looting of the city's buried remains, which started taking place all over Campo Santo as the dried mud allowed people to walk above the buried city without the risk of being swallowed by the formerly unstable soil, and also enabled any form of agricultural activity. Both types of practices, unsurprisingly, were and still are commonly related to people coming from rural areas[3], who are accused of an outrageous violation of the memorial's main goal of preserving the memory of the deaths and the buried city.

Survivors were not opposed to every intervention at Campo Santo. The first anniversary of the tragedy was marked by a crowded commemoration, with hundreds of visitors coming from Lima and other main cities. Since the anniversary included a religious service in an improvised place made of palm tree leaves and branches, survivors decided it would be convenient to construct a ceremonial centre at which to hold mass in subsequent years. According to Bode (2001, 53), 'it was envisioned that a chapel would be built near the four exposed tops of the palm trees and would become a national monument'. This construction, however, never took place. Instead, an open-air altar was placed to commemorate the anniversary each year.

Interventions as part of the memorial proposed by *Yungaínos* also included projects with commercial purposes. As a form of reactivating new Yungay's economy some years after the earthquake, some survivors proposed planting a field of roses and building a greenhouse in the area to support export-based commerce. The *Parque de las Siete Rosas* (Park of the Seven Roses) aimed to provide the country with seven types of roses for religious festivities and celebrations throughout the year. 'Let's start with the month of May, Mother's Day, red and white [roses]. Red means that your mother is alive and white means she is resting. There are specific colours for every occasion', Lucho explains to me while we walk across the memorial's gardens. This project, however, did not receive approval from all the survivors. As with many other projects throughout the years, *Yungaínos* have complained about the high costs of those interventions. Moreover, some were opposed to conducting commercial activities within the field, considering it a deviation from Campo Santo's memorial purposes. Lucho, however, thinks that those activities are not only compatible but also necessary to make Yungay a renowned tourist destination again – with the memorial as its main attraction.

3 Although *Yungaínos* mainly associate looting with *campesinos* from the highlands, sources say that it became a common practice, regardless of socioeconomic status or origin (Infantes et al. 1970, 174). It was a practice born from the desperation of survivors.

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Proposals to turn Campo Santo into a profitable economic project have persisted throughout the site's history. Perhaps the clearest expression of this impulse occurred during the administration of a *Yungaíno* named Mauro Dueñas, who survived the avalanche in his early twenties. Almost every survivor agrees that in the first two decades after the avalanche, and despite its *intangibilidad*, Campo Santo was an abandoned place threatened by uncontrolled grazing and *invasiones*. However, this started to change in the 1990s, when Dueñas was twice major of the city during two periods between 1993 and 2005. *Yungaínos* remember this as a key time in the history of the new Yungay, during which several public works were conducted, including water infrastructure, roads and basic services. 'We made hearts from guts (*hicimos tripas de corazones*), as it is commonly said. We brought electricity, drinking water and roads to all the communities, despite not having a big budget', Dueñas tells me proudly during one interview. The reconditioning of Campo Santo at that time, however, is one of the works during Dueña's administration that is best remembered and appraised by *Yungaínos*.

Supported by architects and landscape planners from Universidad Femenina del Sagrado Corazón de Lima, the Municipality planned what was known as the Memorial Yungay. The architects behind the project affirmed that it was an ambitious touristic, recreational, ecological and landscape plan that aimed to turn Campo Santo into 'an homage and reminder of the physical, historical and social trajectory that the city of Yungay lived since its origins until the natural phenomena of the May 1970 earthquake' (Carbajulca et al. 1993, 3). The projected infrastructure included the famous *Cruz Monumental* (monumental cross), a crucifix-shaped polygon conceived as the backbone of the field. Campo Santo's most important milestones were also to be included there: the reproduction of the old church at the very top of the cross, an open-air religious centre where the rest of the old church was located, a homage to the old *Plaza de Armas*, and several minor thematic plazas also containing commemorative plaques and monoliths. 'Many *Yungaínos* were pleased with the project done because it was in memory of all those who had fallen', Mauro Dueñas tells me. It is a time remembered with nostalgia for all the tourism it generated, something that, according to survivors, has since been lost in subsequent decades.

Most of the memorial interventions were realised during Dueñas' administration. The main entrance with parking lots, and a large gate bearing the legend '*Bienvenidos a Yungay*' (welcome to Yungay), was built at that time, as well as the religious centre with its altar located near the remains of the old church. Many plants decorate the area comprising the *Cruz Monumental*, including roses and other flowering plants, palm trees, endemic species and eucalyptus – most of them grown at a local greenhouse years ago. In the centre of the cross is a reproduction of the old plaza, one of Campo Santo's most significant sites (see Figure 4). Located exactly where the original plaza was situated, this place seems to structure the entire complex,

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providing a recognisable centre enabling visitors to orient themselves around the memorial.

Figure 4: Campo Santo's main plaza with the Huascarán in the background
(Usón 2022)

Due to time and funding constraints, Dueñas' first administration could not complete the Cruz Monumental project in its entirety. That very first impulse was thwarted by a reduced budget and alleged lack of political will among subsequent administrations. With time, other plans and efforts came to fill the voids and gaps left by the unfinished Memorial Yungay project. Perhaps the most famous – and also conflictive – has been the project financed by the Especial Regional Project Plan Copesco (*Proyecto Especial Regional Plan Copesco*), a branch of the Ministry of Tourism in charge of planning and executing basic tourist infrastructure nationally[4]. Sup-

4 Created in the 1960s as a collaboration between the Peruvian state and UNESCO, the agency's main goal since then has been the promotion of the country's heritage and archaeological legacy through funding for tourist infrastructure and facilities. See Mark Rice (2018) and Fernando Armas Asín (2018) for the history of this agency and its influence in the development of touristic projects across the country. A description and pictures of Plan Copesco project in Campo Santo can be found in Rebecca Jarman's Moving Mountains project: https://www.mountainsmoving.org/evidence/plan-copesco/.

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ported by this agency and private actors, the Municipality began the construction of a documentation centre and tourist facilities at the entrance of Campo Santo in 2016[5], which came to be known by the local population simply as Plan Copesco. It is an ambitious project comprising photo galleries of the old city and the avalanche, interpretation rooms presenting the history of Yungay and the 1970 event, and recreational areas including souvenir and food stalls, a small lagoon and a barrier-free viewing area of the memorial. Despite perhaps seeming highly positive, the project has been mired in disagreement, controversy and scandal.

Initially planned for completion by the end of 2019, operations ceased some months before the deadline and left the project unfinished for several years until its inauguration in 2024. With most of the infrastructure already built, part of the population, especially survivors of the earthquake and avalanche, expressed strong discomfort with the infrastructure that was actually delivered, as they argued that it did not consider the basic construction standards required for such a place. Firstly, the architectural style of the centre, based on grey, sober concrete and wood buildings, bears little resemblance to the traditional *casas serranas* of mudbricks and red-tiled roofs. According to *Yungaínos*, this issue is not only stylistic: the materials used are unsuited to the extreme temperature fluctuations of the *sierra*, while the orientations of ceilings and entrances risks flooding the rooms during the rainy season. Moreover, people who were close to the construction process affirm that the foundations of the buildings are not deep enough to deal appropriately with the soft, unconsolidated soil comprising debris left by the landslide.

But perhaps the project's most critical flaw is the lack of attention given to the sacred condition of those lands. Some people affirm that, during the construction, workers removed the soil and debris from the site, including human remains, without any precautions. 'Some neighbours, some friends that worked here told me that a great number of bones came out. They also removed mugs, flowerpots ... everything. They made everything disappear. They threw it away', says Julio, an elder *Yungaíno*. It is a project that, aside from showing little respect for the fields of Campo Santo, is also surrounded by rumours of economic malfeasance and overspending. People I spoke with openly referred to it as a case of corruption and misappropriation of public funds, something that stands in stark contrast to the solemnity that survivors expect in the intervention and management of a memorial like this.

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So, what do you think about this place? Lucho asks me curiously, during our visit to the site. Campo Santo, I think for a moment, is a place that shows a fascinating con-

5 One of the meetings between the municipal authorities, local actors and Copesco agents in 2015 can be found at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IX6otu4hhDI.

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trast. On the one hand, it is a powerful memorial, a cemetery where people can visit deceased relatives and, at the same time, somehow revive an old city that no longer exists. But, on the other hand, it is also a beautiful park where people can spend the day in nature and relax. The new city of Yungay does not have many green areas, and Campo Santo addresses that deficit with vast fields of grass and trees, providing shadow against the intense *serrano* Sun. It is a place where the wind blows fresh and the Huascarán shows its grandness on sunny days. It is true that some things could be improved, but the gardens are beautifully kept, and the installations well-maintained. Lucho, however, seems not to share my genuine and honest opinion. *Well, I think it's abandoned,* he affirms sharply after some seconds of silence. It is an opinion that, as we have seen, is repeated by almost every survivor or person having a personal connection with the place.

From an empty, extensive place of searching and despair with unclear boundaries and demarcation, Campo Santo slowly became a place of mourning and grief, a cemetery and memorial to the disappeared city. The survivors' fervent need to connect with their lost past would start merging with the early governmental urgency to zone the field as a risk area, which finally led to the official declaration of its intangibility in 1977. These two logics of operation, however, would not be tension-free. As time passed, they would lead to differing interpretations of the memorial's boundaries and goals, resulting in different temporal orientations: a site safeguarding the past of a disappeared city while ensuring the future security of the population. These two interconnected, yet sometimes conflicting, orientations would shape Campo Santo's temporalities throughout the years.

Similarly divergent viewpoints concerning the maintenance and interventions within Campo Santo show us how the boundaries and valuations shaping the memorial and its intangible value began to flourish. The *intangibilidad* started emerging as an overwhelming effort from survivors to keep the memory of the old city and victims intact while interacting with the site in diverse ways. It arose as a tormenting imperative to perpetuate the traditional image of Yungay while integrating it into the daily life of its surviving inhabitants. In some cases, it seemed easy for survivors to define what should be allowed and what were so-called depredatory activities. There was common agreement on allowing objects such as crosses, mausoleums or other forms of commemorative infrastructure from the very beginning, while rejecting other non-appropriate interventions such as looting or agricultural activities. But with time, these categorical definitions would open the door to ambiguous positions around commercial uses that remain unresolved among *Yungaínos*, exemplifying the difficulties of agreeing appropriate land uses within the memorial zone.

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Delimiting the intangible

During our walk throughout the memorial, Lucho demarks some of the former city's limits. One is Libertad Avenue, Yungay's northern border with Cochahuaín. 'From here, it was city already', he says while indicating the extensive field located on the southern side of the avenue. Now the outskirts of new Yungay's urban sprawl, Cochahuaín used to be a neighbouring hamlet of *chacras*, many of them belonging to the same inhabitants of the city. But it was also the last place that the landslide impacted to the north. As such, part of this neighbourhood is nowadays considered integral to the memorial.

As Lucho indicates the limit based on Libertad Avenue, I see some houses located on its north side, immediately after what he considers the old city's boundary. When discussing the memorial's history, many people refer to those houses exemplifying the various *invasiones* that have occurred during the last 50 years. Lucho has a similar opinion: people have entered the place and occupied it illegally over these years. On many occasions, the same Municipality of Yungay's province, the legal owner and official administrator of the site, has supported those settlers by providing them access to basic services. 'There have been actual *invasiones*. Thus, there is no such thing as *intangibilidad* anymore because the authorities themselves have violated the intangibility. ... By installing water and electricity, they have granted *legalidad* (legality)', says one director of Yungay's Beneficencia during my visit to their office.

This issue concerning the boundaries of Campo Santo keeps me thinking. According to Lucho and other *Yungaínos*, parts of Cochahuaín and other areas are officially within the memorial site, especially those at the edge of the landslide scar. However, they were not part of the city back then. Is the memorial, then, a site that delimits the old city's boundaries, or rather the complete extension of the landslide? If the former, why are lands located on the north of the Libertad Avenue considered part of the memorial? But if the latter, why are other areas also impacted by the landslide not considered part of the protected site nowadays?

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The history of Campo Santo's limits is built on gaps and ambivalences that made the demarcation of that place a complex task since its inception. In its first article, the previously mentioned 1977 Executive Order declares 'intangible the lands that constitute the area of the ancient city of Yungay'. However, the document does not give any coordinates, points or physical references to specify those spatial limits. Instead, it placed ORDEZA, the agency responsible for developing the affected zone at the time, in charge of defining the perimeter referred to as Campo Santo. The agency established the perimeter within Resolution Nr. 0417–77-ORDEZA, enacted later in

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1977, setting the current area of 99.5 hectares composed as an irregular polygon of 33 vertices. However, throughout my fieldwork in the zone, I was unable to locate any document or person who could explain to me on what basis that polygon was delimited. Only in 1994, under the chair of Mauro Dueñas, did the Municipality enact Resolution 028–94-MPY-A[6], including a technical file that approved and officially declared the specific location of Campo Santo's boundaries – documents, however, to which I never gained access.

With the limits finally settled, authorities and *Yungaínos* at the time argued that the Municipality could finally put into operation its endeavour of protecting the memorial against external threats and expelling the *invasores* who had been occupying part of the field in recent decades. However, with no landmarks, fences or any physical delimitation being settled, the allegedly illegal occupiers never left. Furthermore, additional attempts to occupy more parts of the field took place on two other occasions during Dueñas' second administration at the end of the 1990s, which were stopped by municipal authorities assisted by the police. In response, the Municipality decided to locate small rock landmarks all over the area, delimiting the borders in 2000 based on the 1994 technical file, which would be used as a precedent if new *invasiones* occur.

The 99.5 hectares approved in 1994 supposedly cover the entire extension of the old city. However, there have been significant discrepancies in this regard. Sofía, who is among the people considered invaders of Campo Santo by the Municipality, explains why she thinks it is a historical misunderstanding. Sofía was born and raised in the new city. A school teacher and owner of a small grocery shop, she is the daughter of a *Yungaínos* couple who survived the avalanche. Her father was at his *chacra* when the earthquake began, while her mother and siblings were in another city. After they found each other in the desolated pampa left by the landslide, they began to wander in the area, looking for a safe place to settle. First, they stayed at the Pashulpampa camp, and then moved to the foothills of the Aura Hill on the southern limit of the buried city. Finally, they returned to new Yungay to establish themselves, where her father rebuilt his old business.

During those first years, Sofía's family acquired some land in Acobamba, a hill nowadays considered within Campo Santo's limits. However, before the *intangibilidad* was enacted, Acobamba was a rural area outside the city's limits, although also partially impacted by the landslide. 'The intangible area inscribed is 99.5 hectares, but the real area of the old city was about 60 hectares', Sofía explains to me. 'The area of *chacras* and houses is about 25 hectares, and the other five hectares have been used [by the same Municipality] to build a school and a greenhouse'. The 25 hectares of used land comprise part of Acobamba, some constructions in Cochahuaín – the

6 Resolución Nº 028–94-MPY-A. 08/07/1994. 'Aprobación del Plano Perimétrico del Terreno Declarado Intangible y Memoria Descriptiva de Ubicación y Delimitación'.

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sector of Yungay neighbouring Campo Santo on the north where Sofía's minimarket is located – and some terrain in the southwest.

After the earthquake, Sofía argues, people started occupying the lands surrounding the landslide scar. Some settlements even occurred on its border and close to the limits of the old city. While some settlers seized those lands without permission, former owners also reclaimed their land rights in those areas. In other cases, new inhabitants inscribed land plots to settle there or to use the land for agriculture – permissions that the Municipality granted in the 1970s. Sofía thinks that many of the people who requested those lands worked at the Municipality back then; thus, they did not encounter any objections to settling too close to the impacted zone. As time passed, some of those who registered the lands, including families who owned land in the area before the disaster, sold them on to new owners, while those illegally occupying the lands could obtain a certificate of possession after five years of use and tax payment. But after the 1977 Resolution of *intangibilidad* and the further 1994 delimitation of Campo Santo, those lands were located within a protected area and started to be declared as illegal seizures. The *chacras* of Sofía's parents were among those lands.

Sofia clarifies that there are no contradictions between the location of Campo Santo and the lands around it nowadays. In fact, Ancash's Regional Directorate of Culture conducted a visual inspection in 2011 to determine whether the area belonging to the memorial was being used for other purposes. In its report, the agency recognises a conflict of land uses between the protected area and some agricultural lands (Dirección Regional de Cultura de Ancash 2011). However, the document acknowledges that the same Municipality has been revising Campo Santo's limits, leaving agricultural fields and other areas initially included within the memorial now outside its domain. Echoing some *Yungaínos'* allegations, the Municipality provided the lands of Sofía's family and other neighbours accused of invading the site with drinking water, sanitation and energy networks over the past decades. Based on this, the Regional Directorate of Culture recommended a new delimitation of Campo Santo that considers the current land uses in its margins. But despite the results and recommendations expressed in the report, in the following years the same Municipality – that provided people with basic services – increased its attempts to recover lands that it alleges belong to Campo Santo. Consequently, it sued the people living there and sent several letters threatening eviction, which has not taken place so far.

When reading Campo Santo's historical and current documents, the two logics and temporal orientations behind the creation and delimitation of the memorial seem to conflate. Once conceived as a means of impeding people from inhabiting the landslide scar and avoiding a disaster akin to 1970, the site soon started serving as a place of remembrance and commemoration. However, the two functions never stop operating simultaneously, a situation denoted by the ambiguity of the memorial's

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border. Campo Santo is a place that aims to maintain the image and memory of the old Yungay, but is also the border that demarcates a future *nonplus ultra*, a territory where the world once came to an end, and *might do again* if strict land use regulations are not applied. These two parallel operations, with their similarities and contradictions, emerge as definitions that seek to provide the site with a temporal role: a place remembering a lost past towards the future while building a safe future by keeping a disastrous past alive.

Materialising the intangible

We have described how the declaration of *intangibilidad* was an effort to protect an absence, a place that disappeared. However, when walking through Campo Santo, we face a site full of objects that call upon the vanished city and make from that vacuum a place of memory both concretely and materially. Crosses and mausoleums scattered throughout remind us of the victims claimed by the landslide. Several plaques and monoliths aim to commemorate the locations of buildings and renowned institutions such as the *Colegio Santa Inés* – where Lucho spent most of his school years. In the middle of the memorial, remainders of the old church, the remnants of a bus dragged by the landslide, an old water tank and the four old palm trees emerge as the few material remnants of the buried city left by the landslide. Finally, the re-creation of some urban elements, like the central *Plaza de Armas* with its gardens and palms in the middle of the memorial, and a reconstruction of the church's main facade located on a higher part of the site, help us to reconstruct some of the old city's places on real scales. All these objects function to produce a vivid version of the past that helps *Yungaínos* keep alive the memory of their disappeared world, while giving tourists and visitors a glimpse of what was lost. However, some devices not only help reconstruct what used to lie over those green fields; they also enable us to configure that site as a limited but extensive place, allowing us to locate buildings and structures that are no longer present.

As we walk through the old *jirón* (street) Dos de Mayo, now a dirt road and one of the few accesses to the memorial that connects the reproduction of the central *plaza* with the new city, Lucho shows me with great accuracy the former location of some of the old city's landmarks. 'There was Yungay's recently inaugurated cinema'. 'Here, in the old *jirón* Arica where the bushes are, used to be my house', he tells me while I try to imagine those constructions in the now green and brown pampa. Lucho's memory of the old city and his capacity to situate old buildings and places in the current pampa surprises me. He explains that he developed this skill as a child, while working as a messenger for the telephone company, coming to know all of Yungay street by street. Before the arrival of private telephone infrastructure in Yungay, calls took

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place in cabins located in the same company. Lucho's job was to travel throughout the city and inform people about the calls they would receive during the days.

Lucho used his almost photographic memory of the city plan to reproduce a detailed map of old Yungay some years following its destruction, one among quite a few efforts made by survivors to reproduce the destroyed city in the aftermath. Originally conceived as a memory device to preserve a record of Yungay's former urban layout, survivors and victims' relatives started using these self-made maps to locate their homes and construct tombs and mausoleums. It also helped to estimate the location of other main buildings, like the Santa Inés school and the police station, where commemorative monoliths and plaques have been erected. By mapping the old city, Lucho enabled *navigating* through a territory that exist only in his memories as a young messenger. This navigational function is a unique device by which to deal with the absence of the old Yungay, complementing the stories of the city's past, and tours taking place in the memorial. Lucho's map, in other words, is one among many objects that gives the intangible a concrete existence that can be materialised, explored and even walked through.

Maps can be defined as what Bruno Latour (1988) understands as immutable mobiles: objects that have the capacity of mobilising while maintaining their main components and characteristics stable and firm, even after modifying their scale or being reproduced. The goal of a map, according to Latour (1986), is not to be objective but optically consistent. It has to represent or, put differently, translate reality in an understandable way, allowing for routes and concrete locations to flourish from its symbolic systems of points, lines, polygons and frames. Lucho's map achieves this by placing on a flat piece of paper the grid used to compound Yungay's street system and small squares representing buildings and spaces that no longer exist, including *plazas*, schools, churches, sports fields and hospitals (see Figure 5). Its goal is not to guide people to existing highlights but to remind them where things once were. Through the localisation of certain elements of the old city that survived the destruction of Yungay, the map functions as a bridge between the lost city and the current wide pampa. It enables survivors and victims' families to navigate through the absence left by the avalanche, facilitating the localisation of buried houses to place commemorative elements such as plaques and crosses throughout the memorial zone. As an immutable object, the map is a device that aims to ensure the future of the site by protecting it from the passing of time. But it is an unusual navigational tool, operating as the representation of a vanished place and the vacuum it left behind.

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Figure 5: A reproduction of the old city's map released for Yungay's anniversary in 2004
(Map courtesy of Luis Cachay. Photographed by Usón, 2020)

Besides maps, photographs are another device that helps turn Campo Santo's *intangibilidad* into a concrete, material reality that can be traced, located and arranged in space and time. During one visit to Campo Santo, I had the opportunity to meet David, a tenant of a commercial stand located at an entrance to the memorial (see Figure 6). The stall attracted my interest because, unlike the other souvenir-stuffed stands, it has no noticeable items for sale – except for some soft drinks and a few informative brochures and DVDs. Instead, the centre of attention is an exhaustive collection of high-quality images of the former old town of Yungay and the debris that the alluvial flood left in its wake.

David comes from a middle-class family that used to own several farmlands located in the surroundings of Yungay. However, the family lost most of their properties due to the consequences of the landslide and land expropriation policies bolstered by the government in subsequent years. At only four years old, David survived together with his grandmother on one of the family's plots of land on the city outskirts. 'The only thing I remember is the fear, the tears, that everyone cried. And some things on the street, in the house – those things more than anything else. But no more', he tells me. All his memories of that day derive from the stories of family members; people such as his mother, whom he often witnessed weeping when lis-

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tening to testimonies of survivors on the radio, or at each annual commemoration of the event.

David's photographic exhibition includes records that are extremely difficult to obtain and required real archival work to locate. David knows how valuable his collection is, and takes care of the photos with utmost dedication. In addition to the printed formats, he has all the images backed up digitally. He has used some pictures to create audio-visual material as a souvenir for tourists visiting Campo Santo. He does not receive any financial support from the Municipality or Campo Santo administrators to sustain his stand, and the profits he generates are only from the few sales of the little historical material he has. But this does not seem to concern David; his motivation transcends the monetary. His photos are not only a way of remembering the disaster in Yungay, but also of preventing the legacy of the old city from disappearing forever. 'If these photos weren't here, people would come and imagine that this must have been a small town (*pueblito*) in the mountains, with its small farms, animals. But it wasn't a small town. So I want them to see these photos here … what is left of the city where my parents grew up and where my family died. That is something worth seeing'.

Figure 6: David at his stand, showing his photographs to visitors
(Usón 2020)

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For David, as for all those who were in Yungay on that 31 May, having experienced 'the end of the world' – the mud devouring everything in its path, giving way to days of darkness – is what makes it possible to construct a common and valid survivor's story; a testimony that is passed from generation to generation as a result of the shared suffering. The passing on of this experience, through personal accounts and photographs, keeps the memory of the place alive and safe from, according to David, unscrupulous actors who seek to profit financially from this traumatic experience through guided tours or the sale of pamphlets with untrue stories. Maintaining the veracity of what happened through the recognition of valid sources is a fundamental task in preserving the legacy of the old city and its material disappearance. But it is also a form of ensuring the foundations on which the new Yungay should be built. 'We have a new Yungay, new people. People who neither lived nor had family [buried in Campo Santo] and didn't lose anyone. But there must always be respect for this, for what was here'.

For David and many other *Yungaínos*, the memory of the old city has marked the creation of the new Yungay, but as a past that is no longer possible to reach. Oliver-Smith (1986) falls back on this by observing how references to the old city started to shape the new constructions ten years after the tragedy. Names such as Santa Inés (in memory of the old school) or Yungay Hermosura are still included in the city just like before the catastrophe. This homage can also be seen in places like the new *Plaza de Armas*, erected in 1986. Over the façade of the new municipal building in front of the plaza, is a large painting of the old city and the iconic Huascarán. But despite those efforts to bring the destroyed city into the present, the construction of the new city brought nothing but frustration and nostalgia to the urban survivors. Every new building, according to them, was and will always be a deficient copy of a Yungay that will never return.

The pictures spread throughout the memorial and the new city fulfil an important role in representing the past of a disappeared place, making the lost Yungay a visually accessible moment. Just like maps, photographs have the capacity for displaying another form of interaction with the past that overcomes the abrupt absence, sustaining a before-and-after that, despite the continuous changes that the territory suffered, remains stable across time (Weizman and Weizman 2014). Pictures, in this sense, are also immutable, even when they are moved and placed in new zones to provide a better comparison of the land transformations over time. As with maps, their temporal orientations are never solely towards the past. Just as Lucho's map offers a navigational tool to protect the old city from disappearing, pictures also orient towards the future as they prevent the legacy of Yungay from vanishing forever, while they remind us about the risks of inhabiting the site of Campo Santo. They are essential for showing what lies beneath Campo Santo and why it is important to keep it as a vivid memorial.

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The hinterland

During my visits to Campo Santo, I met Juan Benito Congo, a gardener at the site. As a resident of the houses located at the limits of the memorial, it was recommended that I talk with him to learn more about the legal situation that he and other dwellers of the zone currently face. A group of about 20 families, Juan Benito's included, has been accused of illegally seizing lands belonging to Campo Santo, followed by a warrant threatening them with eviction. Juan Benito and his family have lived at the site for 14 years, and they do not have the resources to find another housing alternative. Thus, they are extremely fearful of the possibility of eviction.

Originally from Encayoc, a small rural village located about ten kilometres from Campo Santo over the foothills of the Huascarán, Juan Benito is also a survivor of the 1970 landslide. At only seven years old, he was outside his home with his three siblings when the increasing ground motion began to fell trees and cause the old mudbrick houses to collapse. 'At that point, it seemed that a bomb exploded over the Huascaran's feet. Boom! From there, a huge piece [of the mountain] came out with all the mud, branches and so on'. The gigantic chunk of ice that calved from the top of the mountain and the massive debris flow that it triggered literally passed over Juan Benito and his siblings. He recalls that, miraculously, they survived in the lee of a boulder that protected them.

Encayoc was one of the first villages impacted by the landslide that buried the city of Yungay 14 kilometres downhill. However, unlike the province's capital, villages like Encayoc are rarely considered part of official narratives of the disaster. As seen in Chapter One, Yungay has been the focus of a massive output of books, poems, films and even songs that narrate the abrupt disappearance and aftermath of that model Andean city. In contrast, stories about the destruction and reconstruction of highland villages are remembered by their survivors at most – testimonies condemned to disappear in time.

After our first talk, Juan Benito offers to drive me to the new Encayoc and visit his mother's house, which they built after the avalanche and where he lived until moving to the lowlands. The route to Encayoc is beautiful, crossing over the Aira Hill separating Yungay from the Llanganuco basin – the small mountain that was considered the natural protection of the old city against landslides, as we saw in Chapter One. From the lower lands, the mountain appears very steep, which gives the impression of a high, narrow wall with scarce life above. However, as we drive along the curving inclined road, a whole new landscape emerges from higher plateaus and small valleys. *All of this disappeared. The avalanche buried them*, Juan Benito keeps repeating to me.

After driving for almost an hour from Campo Santo's limits, we arrive at the house of Juan Benito's mother, located on the outskirts of Encayoc. It is a modest structure of mudbricks, situated close to one of the best viewpoints of the Huas-

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carán and the Llanganuco river basin below. From there, Juan Benito shows me the exact place where he and his siblings sheltered, together with the location of all the other villages that the landslide buried: closer to the Huascarán, were Yanama Chico, Llanca and – even higher – Pochcoq and the old Encayoc. All of them are gone. This unique view helps me understand for the first time the scale of a debris flow, estimated at 53 million cubic metres, racing downhill through that 12-kilometre river basin. The sheer magnitude of the event feels simply surreal.

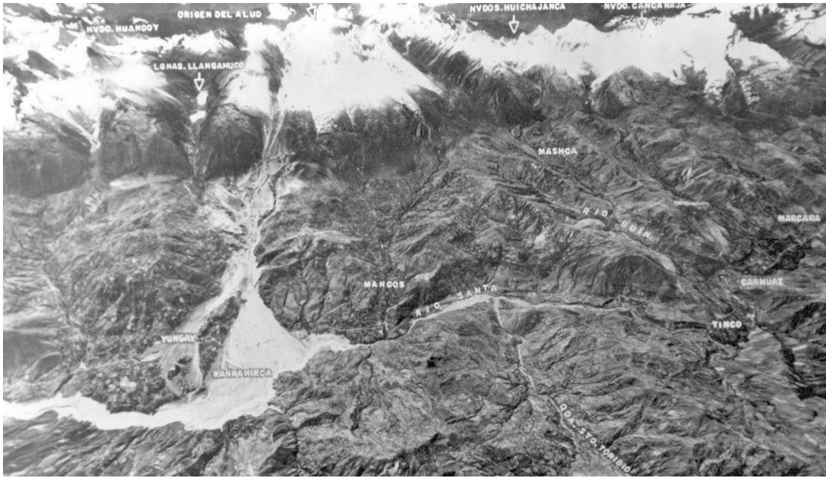

Figure 7: Aerial image of the 1970 avalanche
(Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional del Perú 1970. Courtesy of the Air Group No. 31 of the Peruvian Air Force)

At some point, Juan Benito tells me something that intrigues me: just like the area of the old Yungay, all this zone is *intangible*; but, unlike that city, the story of the places buried there is not a matter of public interest. No zoning restrictions have been declared to protect the area. Moreover, no memorial has been built to commemorate the landslide victims from the highlands. I can relate to what Juan Benito is saying when he describes the place as *intangible*. The fully renovated *serrano* ecosystem and the presence of a few *chacras* here and there grant the zone an astonishing stillness and beauty. It truly feels like a site of remembrance, commemorating all the losses sustained in the disaster, carrying an intrinsic value that is hard to explain. However, I wonder what exactly he means when he refers to the place as possessing an intangible value. What is the immanent condition that intangibility aims to protect in this case?

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After visiting Encayoc, I am surprised by the contrast between how many books and chronicles about Yungay have been written, but how few words have been dedicated to narrating what happened in the upper hamlets. It is often said that 'the city of Yungay and the old and colonial part of Huaraz were [the earthquake's] main victims; the first buried by the landslide and the second turned into ruins and dust' (Valladares Quijano 2011, 183). However, scarce attention is paid to those forgotten villages in the upper parts of the Cordillera Blanca that suffered the same fate as those cities.

Most of the urban survivors I spoke with recognise that they were not in the first area affected by the catastrophe. It seems that the 12 kilometres between Aira Hill, the natural limit of the old Yungay, and the Huascarán are erased from the map, like a space that has been compressed. Blurring the avalanche corridor is not something testimonial, but also visual. So far, all the visual imagery that I have seen from the catastrophe refers to Yungay, focusing mainly on the vast *playa* left by the avalanche, with its few palms and some other items. The only images of the complete trail of destruction are aerial photographs taken at the time by Peru's National Aerophotography Service and the United States Geological Survey (see Figure 7). But even those images emphasise the names of cities like Yungay and Ranrahirca. The *hinterland* is portrayed as a white, dead corridor, a land without a past worth remembering nor a future to fight for.

The few sources that mention the victims from places outside the city focus their consideration around the figure of Yungay, the notorious centre of the disaster. For example, the book *Yungay en Imágenes* (Yungay in Pictures), a collection of visual material about Yungay released in 2004 for the 100th anniversary of the old Yungay, dedicates some pages to the lost villages of the highlands also destroyed by the landslide. However, its goal is to include those areas as *parts of the city* and not as independent settlements (as confirmed by the book's name). The author, Manuel Valladares Quijano (2011, 183), validates this point when he says that '[the avalanche] erased from the map the city of Yungay, its districts and *barrios* (neighbourhoods) such as Hongo, Aira, Amapampa, Nuevo Shacsha, Nuevo Ranrahirca, Huarascucho, Chuquibamba, Caya, Utcush and Tullpa'. If those were considered *barrios* or parts of the old city, why were their inhabitants who subsequently relocated to the new Yungay not considered *Yungaínos*? The reason is simple: those areas were neither officially nor symbolically located within the old city. The administrative boundary of the old Yungay ended at the foothills of Aira in the east, leaving all those villages outside its jurisdiction. The same applies to the lands on the northern limits of Campo Santo, rural areas of *chacras* located outside the city. Even if we consider other spatial configurations beyond fixed boundaries, such as formal and informal relations among settlements, those hamlets were still historically excluded from what was understood as Yungay and everything it represented. So why are they suddenly conceived of as *part* of the city?

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The fact that many people migrated from the highlands to the lower areas after the landslide is by no means surprising. Juan shares with me how traumatic and difficult life was in places like Encayoc after the event. 'There was no water to drink. I was thirsty, and my nose and mouth were swollen from the mud. Finally, a helicopter brought some help, and cleaned us up', he explains. After receiving some support from aid organisations, survivors from Encayoc and the surroundings were left entirely alone. A significant number of survivors involuntarily migrated due to the precarity they faced in the aftermath. Those that stayed experienced unbearable conditions of isolation and institutional abandonment. 'We stayed. We looked for wood, somebody gave us *calamina* (corrugated iron sheets), and we made our little hut. And that's where we lived. Then we made some mudbricks, and we built our little house. That's where we had lived with my mother and my siblings', he tells me.

Just like Sofía, Juan Benito defends against what he considers an unjust accusation of illegally seizing land at the edge of the memorial. 'Some people might think that I entered Campo Santo like, you know, invading, but I haven't. Somebody sold me [the place] and I have documents to certify it. … I bought it at the notary's office. I have the receipts and have paid my taxes, all of it', he explains to me as he tries to argue how unfair the current accusations of illegal seizure are. 'I thought that from one side of the marks it was Campo Santo, but no, everything is *intangible*', he explains, referring to the monolithic stones that the Municipality installed in 2004 to demarcate the site. His house is located outside that demarcated area, but inside the 99.5 hectares defined in 1994. It is a true geometric mess.

Juan's story is not an isolated case. Nearby him, also within the borders of Campo Santo, live other families with similar backgrounds and migration stories. Some are even relatives of Juan and his wife. Marta, a woman in her eighties, moved from Huashao, another village in the highlands, some years after the earthquake. 'There was no land, no houses. That's how we survived', she says to me as I visit the complex of houses threatened by the eviction orders. Marta escaped from the mud after the avalanche buried her in her home. 'The house collapsed around me. The flood brought the house down and buried everything with mud', she explains. As surviving villagers moved to the lowlands, they faced the tragedy of family separation and the loss of their means of subsistence. Some relatives stayed in the highlands, while others moved to Lima looking for better opportunities. In Yungay, Marta received modest state subsidies that allowed her to buy her property and begin a new life, but with limited living conditions. 'Here, there is no *chacra*, only *huerta*'[7], she argues as I ask her if she was able to live from the land after moving in.

7 Whereas the *chacra* is conceived as a piece of land big enough to sustain family consumption and provide a small surplus to sell at markets, *huertas* are reduced house gardens used to grow just a few daily products.

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Carla, another neighbour of that complex, recounts a similar experience. As the granddaughter and daughter of survivors, she came to live within the limits of Campo Santo around 15 years ago, when she was still a girl. 'Now there is plenty of work, but at that time there wasn't'. Carla recognises the facilities and options in Yungay – a lifestyle that she is not willing to relinquish. Although her grandmother sometimes contemplates moving back to the highlands, Carla does not feel the same. 'I already have my house, my family. … Besides, the education for my daughter is better here. … There is work for women'. She appreciates that her daughter can go to the *wawawasi* (day-care) while she goes to work. Living on the edges of Campo Santo also fills her life with a sense of peace that she would not find closer to the city centre. Carla is aware that a new avalanche coming from the Huascarán might impact the area again in the future, but she is willing to take that risk. 'We are already used to living here. If the avalanche comes again, well, it will have to take us with it', she says with a nervous smile.

Despite the ongoing disputes about Campo Santo's boundaries, Carla acknowledges the relevance of the site, even for her own history. She and her family go to its central *plaza* every year to commemorate the anniversary of the catastrophe. 'The avalanche took my father's sisters and father, all of them. So the [annual] service is also theirs. We go to *their* service'. Unlike Yungay, places like Encayoc do not have memorials or their own *campos santos* to commemorate the avalanche victims. According to Carla, since they did not receive the same support as in Yungay and people had to work harder in the *chacra* to produce their food, they did not have time to establish a memorial. Nor did they have space available for delimiting an intangible zone, since every piece of land was required for agriculture. 'If they would have seen that site as Campo Santo, as a sanctuary site, they would not have had the land. How would they have fed their children?' Consequently, survivors from places such as Encayoc are forced to remember their deceased relatives in the lowlands of Yungay's Campo Santo – a site that, despite being far from where their relatives are buried, nevertheless functions as a commemorative place for them.

Carla's arguments help to clarify the type of intangibility we face in places where villages (such as Encayoc, Yanama Chico or Poshcoq) were erased from the map. Just as in the area of the former Yungay – where the site's protection was motivated, firstly, by state efforts of zoning an area prone to future landslides and, secondly, the willingness of the population to protect the location of the buried city – the status of intangibility in the highlands also seems to be nurtured simultaneously by differing logics. According to Juan, it is a form of recognising the catastrophic consequences of the landslide in the upper lands where, just like in Yungay, entire villages were buried. *This zone is also intangible*, he tells me during our trip to Encayoc. *But nobody remembers these places*. *Intangibilidad*, under this vision, is more than a status legally conferred. It becomes an intrinsic condition of the territory, where people *also* died and survivors *also* experienced loss and trauma. Based on this view, the intangible

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is not necessarily a form of protection but a form of recognition, an operation that aims to position the losses experienced in the highlands at the same levels as those in the old Yungay.

This recognition, however, requires sacrifices that rural communities were not able to make. As Carla says, officially declaring the intangibility of the highlands would have meant restricting the productive capacity of an isolated area with scarce state support. With a sanctuary like Campo Santo in the highlands, 'how would they have fed their children?' she asks. This question is crucial. It reveals that memory politics requires resources, materials and – notably – land to sustain the massive effort of preserving these memories across time. Moreover, it also shows the crossroads that people face when choosing between vindicating a lost past and trying to overcome the destruction of one's world – especially when such destruction occurs in historically invisibilised areas and where the history of other settlements overshadows its consequences.

A limited delimitation

Throughout this chapter, we have explored the history of Campo Santo, as both a cemetery and a memorial holding intangible value. It is a site that defines – or at least tries to – what elements and activities are allowed to form part of the old Yungay, while excluding all those things that do not belong there. In other words, it marks the limits of a disappeared place that needs to be protected against the fragility of memory and depredatory actions. But which limits are those? The boundaries of the old city? Or the limits of the landslide scar? The boundaries of everything that was buried by the avalanche? Or those buried projects that are worth remembering?

Campo Santo, I argue, is a *limited delimitation* of an unrepresentable catastrophe. It enacts *the limits* of the disaster, the spatial and temporal boundaries of that object that we call the avalanche. But it does this in *limited* ways. Campo Santo is a site that spatialises a grand narrative: the place where the destruction of a model city in the Peruvian Andes occurred; a city that, despite the courageous efforts of its survivors, could not be rebuilt due to the hidden agendas of central authorities and the influx of *campesinos* that turned the new city into a failed urban project. Campo Santo is the site where the temporal arrangements commonly held by elder *Yungaínos* take place. It is a temporality in which the present always looks backwards, shaped by a frustrated reconstruction that failed to reconnect with the city's glorious past that the memorial calls upon. Campo Santo, in this sense, is where the past reasserts itself and the future is oriented towards that lost past; a place that is at the same time threatened by the very lives accused of having obstructed the emergence of the new Yungay. By reinforcing this temporal arrangement, Campo Santo ultimately creates

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a limited narrative, one that excludes those rural lives that, despite being a central part of Yungay's history, are side-lined in the official memory.

A memorial like Campo Santo operates as a place where memory crystallises and becomes a concrete element of the geography (Nora 1989); a site that, according to Edward Simpson (2014), can be portrayed as a neutral device to think about an unbearable event. 'The successful memorial translates the unthinkable into the thinkable, and the event becomes accessible to others' (Simpson 2014, 256), affirms the author. Along with this translation, Campo Santo's main narrative mobilises actors, resources, devices and materialities. Thanks to the operation of maps, images and master plans, it is a story that *affects* the territory – making it hold together and connected (Farías 2013). The absence that the memorial displays, based on the notion of *intangibilidad*, allows bringing past, present and future together in one place, maintaining the figure of a lost city across time and creating a sense of temporal continuity that the earthquake and landslide interrupted.

As seen throughout this chapter, the absence portrayed by Campo Santo is not one of emptiness or a vacuum – at least not the emptiness left by the landslide. The latter can be related to Michel Serres' (2015) blank figures – 'undetermined or underdetermined figures whose ambiguity, uncertainty, unfinished or ruined state makes visible not only catastrophic and destructive force of history but also its multiple possible futures' (Law and Hetherington 1998, 8). The non-determination of the blank figure allows for different connections and new forms of space production. It is ambiguity in its pure sense, a place that can be neither contained nor fully defined. According to Kevin Hetherington (1998, 126), a blank space is 'the open possibility of a heterogeneous multiplicity in which the dance of all things can occur without prescriptions'. This figure, we could say, is what emerged after the landslide – an extensive pampa of solitude lacking any sort of order; and that, as we saw in Chapter One, was suspended in time. This lack of order and rules explains why the subsequent roles of the former *playa* and Campo Santo were ambivalent at the beginning and still open to be shaped by different logics and interests. It also explains *Yungaínos'* ambiguous behaviour towards the landslide scar – a site sought to be simultaneously inhabited and yet protected from any sort of intervention.

Whereas Kevin Hetherington (2003) refers to the blank and the absence as equitable figures, the destruction of Yungay and its further vindication through Campo Santo show us that they are not the same. The absence or, in other words, the *figural presence of absence* (Hetherington 2003, 182), is a state that is enacted and visualised through concrete strategies, materialities and devices – unlike the blank that, paraphrasing Serres, 'is non-representational and not easily articulated discursively' (Hetherington 2003, 182). Blank figures can gain a visual condition through concrete forms and strategies of representation. But in the process, they lose their underdetermination and become something tangible, graspable and defined – more than ambiguous, but less than precise. The absence of the old Yungay

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is what emerged from that process. 'In making something absent, either through death or destruction, a representation of social order is apparently secured but never for all time', affirms Hetherington (2004, 161). Thanks to the mediation of the memorial, the ambiguous interrelation of presence and absence, of what is there and what is not (Bille et al. 2010), can – paradoxically – be located in space and time.

Defining an absent place that needs to be protected from unwanted activities is a form of establishing the boundaries of such an absence while determining what is allowed to coexist within it. The declaration of *intangibilidad*, under these terms, is what sought to deal with the emptiness left by the landslide, by establishing a new order that could decisively overcome the spatial ambiguity. It was an operation conceived to restrict land uses within the field, creating a protected area to commemorate the absence of the city – while also acting as a reminder of the risks of reinhabiting the site. As Campo Caso shows us, making a place intangible was a form of placing absence in concrete but diffuse terms.

Throughout this chapter we have also seen that, while the 1977 Executive Order Law Decree was an important step in maintaining Yungay's absence across time, *Yungaínos* also agree that this single declaration was insufficient for such an endeavour. Several arrangements among actors, materialities and objects were required to maintain the buried city's presence as an object of memory. These arrangements have been oriented towards concrete operations that can be linked to what Rob Shields (2004, 26) defines as visualicity; a notion that 'highlights the condition of becoming visible'. Shields applies this concept in referring to the connection between the visible and the invisible, extending the analysis of urban spaces beyond the concrete, tangible objects that shape the landscape. As such, it is concerned with the relationship between the actual and the virtual, the tangible and the intangible, connecting the current material conditions of urban environments with the remembered past and imagined potentialities.

According to Shields and Lozowy (2015), the question of visualicity relates strongly to that of selectiveness – which elements of the world are considered reliable representations of the landscape and, simultaneously, what remains invisible or represented only peripherally. The selectiveness of what is worth representing or not in Campo Santo, as we have seen, has been sustained by different devices that give the notion of *intangibilidad* a substantial presence in space and time. Maps and photographs are fundamental elements for this endeavour. They help to make from the virtual something actual and tangible (Shields 2002) that can be seen and navigated – strategies that, according to Antze and Lambek (1996, xii), 'tend to transform the temporal into the spatial and are intensely visual'. This solid visual orientation of the *intangible* enables visually accessing what otherwise would be fluid situations (Shields 2004, 14), creating a present space that operates as a place of encounter with the past and with a projection towards the future.

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Through devices such as the map Lucho drafted to remember the layout of the old city or master plans, Campo Santo has gained the limits that were not fully settled by the 1977 declaration. The performance of these cartographic products relates to what Ignacio Farías (2014) defines as cosmogrammatic operations. Based on John Tresch's (2007) work on the images of the world, cosmograms refer to visual representations of the elements composing reality and the connections among them, allowing the cosmos to be 'treated as just another thing' (Tresch 2007, 86). Inspired by Deleuze and Guattari's notion of the diagram – 'generative machines producing reality forming and transforming expression and content' (Farías 2011b, 400) – cosmograms offer unfinished, partial images of the objects that compose public space. Diagrams produce a new type of reality that is 'yet to come' and, thus, located 'prior to' history. As such, devices such as maps are not merely signs or symbolic representations of space; they are mostly an active part of its constitution and define what elements might be included within this spatial articulation and what should remain outside. They display, as the notion of the cosmogram shows, the concrete forms in which the cosmos is made tangible and graspable, even when referring to a cosmogrammatic arrangement of the past. In the case of the Campo Santo, this cosmogrammatic operation is strongly oriented towards the definition of a clear, yet ambiguous, otherness: the surroundings of the old city commonly associated with a rural world that did not belong to the original version of the city. According to Yungaíno survivors, the same rurality that is to blame for the failed foundation of the new Yungay is placing at risk the stability and security of the memorial through invasions and depredatory practices. As such, the rural world needs to remain outside the site.

The exclusion of the rural world from Campo Santo leads to an invisibilisation of stories and trauma from the highlands among the networks sustaining the memory of the old world once destroyed by the catastrophe. The omission of those stories in urban, hegemonic testimonies, media coverage, but also the incorporation of the *hinterland* as part of the old province's capital in the book *Yungay en Imágenes*, shows how this invisibilisation operates – sometimes as deliberate politics of exclusion, other times unintentionally by omission. Just like a museum, a memorial is an institution of recognition – a place that, according to Sharon Macdonald (2013, 4), 'recognises and affirms some identities, and omits to recognise and affirm others'. Whether voluntary or not, these omissions articulate the composition of the remembered past – 'spoken through architecture, spatial arrangements and forms of display as well as in discursive commentary', the author continues. The heritage contained in – or enacted through – memorials like Campo Santo is not only the result of material components entangled within its limits, but also governance and politics that articulates the relationship between the actors, objects and materials that makes possible the existence of the memorial in the first place. 'It is this combination of policy, practice, and philosophy that makes heritage such a powerful signifier

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of the past, of inheritance, of ownership, and of identity', explains Haidy Geismar (2015, 72). Under this constellation of actors, materials and politics, everything that relates with the outside of the urban world remain in the oblivion.

The previous points leave open a crucial question open: if we argue that the absence *intangibilidad* displays needs to be enacted through concrete devices and materialities, as shown by the case of Campos Santo, how might Juan Benito's *intangibilidad* be performed in the territory? What elements give the blank, left over the rural areas of Yungay's hinterland a concrete, tangible presence? In other words, how is the absence of places like Encayoc made durable across time? At first sight, Juan Benito's intangibility appears as an inexistent concept – a chimaera that has no territorial existence. His version of the intangible is not based on concrete materialities, policies or public programmes that have been arranged to protect the destroyed pasts of places like Encayoc. However, the *intangibilidad* that Juan Benito proposes is as real as Campo Santo's. He refers to those highlands as a place where remembrance emerges as a historical demand, a recognition that all those villages and hamlets deserve. It is an intrinsic condition of the territory that cannot be denied.

In an act of resistance, Juan defies the canonical and legal understandings of the intangible and submits his own version of the term. His definition, though, is pure difference, based on the failure of state agencies and urban areas to recognise what happened in the upland parts of the region. Operating as a differential term, this version of the intangible is sustained thanks to the articulation of Campo Santo's intangibility combined with all the actors, devices and materialities operating at that site. All the monuments erected throughout the memorial zone, the crosses placed there, all the funding invested to build the Copesco Plan and all the hours spent discussing the protection of the site remind Juan Benito, a worker at the memorial, of the institutional abandonment experienced in his own home village and others, during the days after the landslide and the following decades. By reflecting on his own intrinsic condition as an otherness of the official narratives dealing with the disaster, Juan Benito re-creates the notion of the intangible and the regulatory efforts that lie behind it. However, this re-creation has little to do with perpetuating the zoning policies and land use restrictions that *intangibilidad* as a legal category displays. Instead, it creates a new ethical arrangement questioning the hegemonic positions that have dominated the politics of memory in the region, making explicit the vacuum that the state abandonment left in those areas forgotten by the official narratives of the disaster.

We might say that these two forms of *intangibilidad*, Campo Santo's articulation of the legal term and Juan Benito's appropriation of the concept, are opposed to each other and, as such, do not fit together. But what we encounter is 'a spatial tension, a continual movement between them that doesn't come to rest and cannot be centred' (Law and Hetherington 1998, 5). Juan Benito's *intangibilidad* requires the restrictions applied in the memorial to operate as a differential term. Similarly, Campo Santo's

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intangible condition is sustained, as we have seen, by a strict differentiation between the image of the old Yungay versus the rural areas portrayed still as the hometowns of foreigners and invaders (and to which, from that perspective, they should return). This mutual dependency nurtures the tension that characterises memory politics operating in the region. It is via this distinction that Yungay can reclaim the title of the one and only victim of the landslide, while people like Juan Benito are left to contest the unrecognition of the highlands as affected areas – a situation to which the Campo Santo memorial contributes.

The articulation of the old Yungay in terms of *intangibilidad* reveals an interesting form of semiotic resource, one that seeks to conceal difference by absorbing it. In its expansive efforts, Yungay ends up being a *synecdoche*, a part of something that refers to the whole – an operation that allows talking about *el desastre de Yungay* (Yungay's disaster) in the first place. The power of synecdoches is not only discursive. They can transform realities, creating frontiers and articulating relations in the worlds we inhabit. Sometimes Yungay compresses the space between the Aira Hill and the Huascarán, blurring everything in-between. But in other cases, it needs the *hinterland*, the excluded. It requires those areas in order to describe the path of the landslide prior to reaching the city. In an effort to comprise all the destruction and suffering experienced during the event and the aftermath, Yungay stretches its frontiers to cover all the areas impacted by the landslide. As a synecdoche, Yungay turns into the disaster. The *hinterland* is just an anecdote.

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