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A Convergence of Bodies in the Anthropocene: Post-Dictatorship Memory in Patricio Guzmán's Triptych (2010-2020)

Thesis presented by
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Table of Contents

DECLARATION 4

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 7

ABSTRACT 9

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THESIS 10

1.1 Chile: From Dictatorship to Democracy (1973-2024) *13*

1.1.1 The Military Dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973—1990) *14*

1.1.2 The Transition to Democracy (1990—2010) *16*

1.1. 3 Chile Now (2010-2024) *19*

1.2 SITUATING THE TRIPTYCH AND "OUTSIDE GEOGRAPHIES" 20

1.3 THE DOCUMENTARIES AND LIFE OF PATRICIO GUZMÁN 22

1.4 METHODOLOGY 26

1.5 CHAPTER OVERVIEW 28

CHAPTER 2: AN ANTHROPOGENIC APPROACH TO MEMORY STUDIES 30

2.1 DEFINING THE ANTHROPOCENE 33

2.1.1 "Vehicles of Memory": Natural Landscapes in the Anthropocene *35*

2.1.2 Introducing the Anthropocene as a Concern for Memory Studies *38*

2.2 EXPANDING THE 'AXES' OF MEMORY STUDIES AND BODIES 39

2.2.1 The planetary *40*

2.2.2 The Collision of Human and Non-Human Bodies *43*

2.2.3 Bodies of the Human and Non-Human *45*

2.3 DIALOGUE, SITES, AND TEMPORALITY 48

2.3.1 Dialogic Memories *50*

2.4 SPATIAL REALITIES OF REMEMBERING IN/FROM NATURAL LANDSCAPES 54

2.4.1 "Force" within the Anthropocene *55*

2.5 CONCLUSION 57

CHAPTER 3: PARTICLES OF MEMORY AND THE BODILY READING OF *NOSTALGIA DE LA LUZ* (2010) 60

INTRODUCTION 60

3. 1 THE STORY OF THE DESERT: THE CASE OF CALAMA AND THE EXTRACTIONS OF THE ATACAMA DESERT 63

3.1.1 The Case of Calama: The 26 Disappeared *64*

3.2 TOWARD A PARTICLED ANALYSIS: THE DIFFICULTIES OF REMEMBERING IN AN ISOLATED PLACE 68

3.2.1 Why a particled analysis? *69*

3.2.2 Remembering in the Desertscape *70*

3.3 FROM DUST TO STARS IN *NOSTALGIA DE LA LUZ* 74

3.3.1 "Esta vida tranquila se acabó un día" *77*

3.4 OF BEING IN THE DESERT 85

3.5 (IN)VISIBLE ABSENCES 91

Deleted:

3.5.1 Memory Project in the Atacama Desert 95
3.6 CONCLUSION 101

CHAPTER 4: DIALOGICAL "SITES OF CONVERGENCE": IMAGINING THE PAST-PRESENT IN *EL BOTÓN DE NÁCAR* (2015) 104

INTRODUCTION 104
4.1 THE MOMENTS OF THE PEARL BUTTON 107
4.1.1 El botón de nácar— Jemmy Button 107
4.1.2 The Pearl Button — Marta Ugarte 110
4.1.3 El botón de nácar— The Pearl Button 113
4.2 WATER(SCAPES) AND THE PERSPECTIVES GAINED FROM WATER 117
4.2.1 The Social Negotiations of Waterscapes 118
4.2.2 Fluidities of Water; An Artistic Approach 120
4.2.3 Water Voice 123
4.2.4 Views from and of Water 124
4.3 A TEMPORAL READING OF DIALOGIC MEMORY 128
4.3.1 Orbs, Drops, and the Watery Transitions between Scenes 135
4.3.2 The Celestial Drops and Enduring Memory 140
4.3.3 The Disappearance of Bodies in/and Water 146
4.4 CONCLUSION 149

CHAPTER 5: SPATIAL AND VISUAL ENTANGLEMENTS OF THE 1973 MILITARY COUP IN *LA CORDILLERA DE LOS SUEÑOS* (2020) 152

INTRODUCTION 152
5.1 NOTES FROM THE FIELD: THE VARIED VIEW OF THE CORDILLERA 155
5.2 LEADING TO PHYSICAL AND TEMPORAL ENTANGLEMENT: DISPERSIONS FROM A CENTRAL POINT 157
5.2.1 Earthquake 160
5.2.2 The Eruption After an Earthquake: The First Visualization of the Earthquake 162
5.2.3 Webs and Maps… 169
5.3 CONSTRUCTING AN ENTANGLED NARRATIVE: "BODIES WITH OTHER BODIES, TIMES WITH OTHER TIMES" 174
5.3.1 The Visual Entanglements: The Matchbox and the Metro 177
5.3.2 The Spatial Embodiments of the Cordillera 181
5.4 A CONSTANT PRESENCE: THE CORDILLERA AS "UN TESTIGO" 184
5.4.1 The Cordillera as a "Slow" Witness 185
5.4.2 Guzmán's View of and from the Andes 187
5.4.3 Geological Memories of the Andes 189
5.5 CONCLUSION 191

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION: "NO HAY VUELTA ATRÁS": CONCLUSIONS ON GUZMÁN'S TRIPTYCH (2010-2020) 195

6.1 REVIEW OF CHAPTERS 196
6.2 *MI PAÍS IMAGINARIO* 200

REFERENCE LIST 204

Declaration

This is to certify that the work I am submitting is my own and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere. All external references and sources are clearly acknowledged and identified within the contents. I have read and understood the regulations of University College Cork concerning plagiarism and intellectual property.

List of Figures

Figure 3.1: Two houses _____p. 73
Figure 3.2: Two houses enveloped in star/dust _____p. 73
Figure 3.3: Astronomy Observatory with dust _____p. 76
Figure 3. 4: Violeta Berrios and Vicky Saavedra looking up through telescope _____ p. 77
Figure 3.5: Violeta Berrios searching through Atacama Desert _____p. 78
Figure 3.6: Vicky Saavedra holding bone fragments in hand _____p. 78
Figure 3.7: Photo of Atacama Desert _____p. 79
Figure 3.8: Celestial Imagery _____p. 81
Figure 3.9: Parque para la Preservación de la Memorial Histórica (2012) _____p. 83
Figure 3.10: Parque para la Preservación de la Memorial Histórica (2023) _____p. 83
Figure 3.11: “La culpa no es del litio sino del que le saca el provecho” _____ p. 85
Figure 3.12: “El desierto como cuerpo herido” _____p. 85
Figure 3.13: “Beberás litio, Comerás cobre. Cuando ya no te quede tierra por volar” _____p. 85
Figure 3.14: “Al desierto no le sirven tus desechos” _____p. 86
Figure 3. 15: “Apareciendo a….” _____p. 94
Figure 4.1: Pearl buttons held in hand _____p. 104
Figure 4.2: Railway tracks worn away by water _____p. 108
Figure 4.3: Peal button at Villa Grimaldi _____p. 108
Figure 4.4: Monumento Rieles at Villa Grimaldi _____p. 118
Figure 4.5: Faded image of water, Patagonia, and people rowing through water _____p. 127
Figure 4.6: Luís Henríquez in Chacabuco, and Miguel Lawner in Santiago _____p. 130
Figure 4.7: Star/dust in Atacama Desert _____p. 131
Figure 4.8: Transition between desert and Patagonia _____p. 131
Figure 4.9: Waters in Patagonia _____p. 131
Figure 4.10: Yámana boat _____p. 135
Figure 4.11: Celestial galaxies and water bodies of Patagonia _____p. 137
Figure 4.12: Selk’nam people and the celestial _____p. 138
Figure 4.13: Selk’nam figurines in Punta Arenas _____p. 140
Figure 4.14: Re-enactment of a Death Flight _____p. 142

Figure 5.1: Explosion, source unknown _____p. 157
Figure 5.2: Reflecting pool in Santiago, tremors _____p. 158
Figure 5.3: Santiago from above from *El golpe de estado*_____p. 161
Figure 5.4: Santiago from above from *La cordillera de los sueños* _____p. 161
Figure 5.5: The Cordillera and Andes merging _____p. 166
Figure 5.6: Andes in metro _____p. 175
Figure 5.7: Artist Vicente Gajardo working on the blocked sculpture _____p. 188

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the most recent filmic triptych (Chauvin and Wilson, 2020) by Chilean documentarist Patricio Guzmán: *Nostalgia de la luz* (2010), *El botón de nácar* (2015), and *La cordillera de los sueños* (2020). The three documentaries engage with the intentional acts of violence committed during the Pinochet dictatorship on three natural landscapes (the Atacama Desert, the Patagonian waterways, and the Andes mountains). It argues that, when read together, the documentaries lend themselves to an interdisciplinary analysis of how we might remember state violence committed during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet in natural landscapes. It develops a filmic analysis that argues for the dictatorship memories as remembered in/by these landscapes by contextualizing the documentaries with recent Chilean socio-political history (Chapter 1) and establishing a framework of the convergence of Environmental Humanities – specifically in relation to its current interest in the Anthropocene - and Memory Studies (Chapter 2). For now, I note an understanding of the Anthropocene as a geological and social time where human actions have irrevocably altered and affected the earth's composition. In Chapter 3 (*Nostalgia de la luz*), Chapter 4 (*El botón de nácar*), and Chapter 5 (*La cordillera de los sueños*), The thesis situates Guzmán's reflections on the dictatorship within the deeper ecological and cultural histories of the three natural landscapes within three core tenants of anthropogenic readings on Memory Studies: the body, time, and space. The chapters include ethnographic research- carried out between February and March 2023- of the three landscapes to provide a bridge between the visual/narrative landscapes found in the documentaries and those encountered by the researcher. The thesis grounds the filmic analysis of the documentaries' visual, textual, and cinematographic aspects in the three landscapes' additional past and present violent environmental and social realities, therefore calling on an anthropogenic reading of memory in the filmic and non-filmic landscapes. Thus, it offers a new way to conceptualize the relationship between filmic bodies (human and non-human) and contends that this is only possible through the deep consideration of natural landscapes found in Guzmán's work, which expands the bodily, spatial, and temporal boundaries of who and where remembers.

Chapter 1: Introduction to Thesis

On January 30, 2015, I watched *Nostalgia de la luz* (2010) by Patricio Guzmán for an undergraduate class about post-dictatorship literature in Chile and Argentina. It was the first documentary film of Guzmán's I had seen and was an integral part of my introduction to contemporary Chile. My first observations and reactions to the work are kept in a blue spiral notebook that I searched for when writing this introduction. I hoped that they would remind me of what initially captured my curiosity and dedication to working on this documentary in my Master's thesis and part of my Doctoral research. This film has seen me from being in the classroom learning about Chile and the dictatorship to teaching it as part of a university course on Latin America.

In my notes, I found an emphasis on a critical point of the documentary: the elemental link between the calcium in human bones and that which makes up the galaxies and stars. I wrote in considerably larger text than the rest of my written quotes and detailing of events: "Calcium in bones to wavelength in stars. Absolutely cannot be forgotten." In a documentary full of celestial imagery and an impactful music score, the sequence leading up to Guzmán's connection between the calcium in stars and human bones is quiet and takes place within the walls of the National History Museum in Santiago. Guzmán referring to the bones of the disappeared firmly states "Son de calcio, el mismo calcio que tienen las estrellas pero al revés que ellas, no tienen nombre" (2010, 1:14:58- 1:15:08). I am not alone in identifying and being fascinated by this moment. Many of the scholarly texts and artistic works on the film (discussed in detail in Chapter 3) also reference this moment as a connection between bodies and as a meeting point for human and geological times (Andermann, 2012; Epps, 2016; Ruiz-Poveda Vera, 2017; Couret, 2017; Figueroa, 2020). At this moment, the violence committed during the dictatorship is significant on a planetary time scale. The now-obvious connection between bodies, temporalities, and planetary spheres and spatialities in this scene enveloped my imagination about Chile and the Atacama Desert, of which, at the time, I had no other conception. Those connections, at first just captivating, are now essential to my reading of Guzmán's recent oeuvre (2010-20) and permeate my arguments about the capacity of documentary film and natural landscapes in this PhD work.

This thesis focuses on the most recent filmic "triptych" (Chauvin and Wilson, 2020) by Chilean documentarist Patricio Guzmán: *Nostalgia de la luz* (2010), *El botón de nácar* (2015), and *La cordillera de los sueños* (2020). The documentaries engage with violence committed during the Pinochet dictatorship as intentional human acts situated in the longer histories of three natural landscapes (the Atacama Desert, the Patagonian waterways, and the Andes mountains)[1] in Chile, all remembered in/by these landscapes. I argue that, when read together, the documentaries lend themselves to an interdisciplinary analysis of how we might remember state violence committed during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet in natural landscapes. I place my research at the intersection of Environmental Humanities – specifically in relation to its current interest in the Anthropocene - and Memory Studies. Approaching the documentaries' visual, textual, and cinematographic aspects, while employing a close filmic analysis, I consider both an anthropogenic reading of memory and my own ethnographic research to engage with "outside" representations of Chilean post-dictatorship memory across time, sites, and film. I detail my use of the term "outside" further into the chapter but take it to refer to sites that are "outside" of the geographic boundaries typically studied and recognized as significant sites of memory. I thus offer a new way to conceptualize the relationship between filmic bodies (human and non-human) and contend that this is only possible through the deep consideration of natural landscapes found in Guzmán's work, which expands the bodily, spatial, and temporal boundaries of who remembers and where. Who or what embodies acts of state-perpetrated violence? My research question asks what a visual analysis reveals about Guzmán's use of natural landscapes in his most recent triptych and the critical relationship between post-dictatorship memory and the natural environment.

The documentary texts were chosen for three main reasons. First, the timely nature of the contemporary corpus. This is particularly relevant in light of the recent struggles for memory that continue to play out as Chile has experienced a new wave of repression and social mobilization since the *estallido social*. Second, as a documentary filmmaker, Patricio Guzmán is important in his aim to document critical historical moments, creating space for those moments outside of Chile

[1]In this thesis, I will use the word Cordillera interchangeably with the Andes Mountain range. The Cordillera refers to the type of mountain range while the Andes, to the specific mountains located in Chile and South America. In the Chilean context and this thesis, the terms can be used interchangeably.

and as a foundation for other Chilean testimonial/memory projects. Third, the narrative construction of these three documentaries, differing from his other works, establishes the dictatorship-era acts of violence as inseparable from the associated natural landscapes. *Nostalgia de la luz*, *El botón de nácar*, and *La cordillera de los sueños* as a triptych is ripe in its convergence of historical, environmental, and personal knowledges. The documentaries reveal the possibilities of encounters between natural landscapes and memory in the Anthropocene (further detailed in Chapter 2).

This timely thesis is of significance in its broader context of the current political struggles in Chile today, such as the renegotiations of the Chilean Constitution after the 2019 *estallido social* and the catalyzed questions concerning the environment/extraction of natural resources, indigenous rights, women's rights, and memory of the disappeared. Here, I note for the reader that it is a student-driven social movement that began in October 2019 with protests over an increase in metro fares. This led to protests for other social injustices, including conversations about memory, the environment, indigenous rights, and women's rights. Following the protests, in November 2019, a national referendum was approved to vote on a new constitution.[2] In October 2020, 78% of Chileans voted for a new constitution (Jubilation as Chile votes to rewrite constitution, 2020). Two attempts to reform the constitution have now been rejected as of December 2023.

This thesis is original in being the first full study of the three films together and an eco-criticism-based approach to memory-making in documentaries. There is, to date, no full-length comparative study on the Guzmán trilogy, partly because the release of the final film, *La cordillera de los sueños*, is still relatively recent. My examination of the three texts within the Chilean context is critical in advancing how we conceptualize recent and longer histories of violence more broadly, given the country's entangled histories of colonialism, extractivism, dictatorship-era human rights abuses, and the recently revived conversations on such topics. This project is informed by three principal methodologies: close reading of the films, a strong theoretical framework of an anthropogenic approach to Memory Studies, and ethnographic on-site research of the Atacama

[2] For more information on the *estallido social* and the subsequent constitutional reform attempts refer to the following texts: Silva and Peña (2021) *La revuelta de octubre en Chile: orígenes y consecuencias*, Contardo (2020) *Before it was October*, and the *Propuesta Constitución Política de la República de Chile* (2023).

Desert, Patagonia, and the Andes in Chile. My analysis thereby bridges the gap between the filmic and non-filmic constructions of the respective landscapes.

In the first section of the introduction, I provide an overview of the historical context, highlighting the cultural and historical struggles associated with remembering the Chilean dictatorship. I then begin the literature review, which is expanded on in the respective chapters, and detail how my research is situated within the Chilean context and previous work on the post-dictatorship, film, memory, and landscape in Chile. The second section is focused on filmmaker and director Patricio Guzmán. Understanding his experience as a victim and exile of the dictatorship is essential to my reading of the films and placing them within the Chilean context. The third section introduces the methodology I employ throughout the thesis. Here, I will introduce the theoretical chapter and three film analysis chapters and how the three central concepts—the body, time, and space— are negotiated between the two disciplines and within the texts.

1.1 Chile: From Dictatorship to Democracy (1973-2024)

To appreciate the memory work of Guzmán from the time of the dictatorship to the present day, it is also essential to understand the political struggles that led to the post-dictatorship struggles for memory, such as the negotiated transition to democracy, pacts of silence in the military and government, and ongoing social upheavals. There are four distinct periods in Chile's history which I navigate in this thesis. The first is the events concerned with the September 11, 1973, coup d'etat and the resulting seventeen-year dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973–90). The second is the years directly following the dictatorship, the transitional/ Concertación (Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia) governments (1990-2010). The third is a more recent Chile encapsulating the years of the documentary releases (2010–20), and the fourth time period represents my own research (2020–24) on the texts.

1.1.1 The Military Dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973—1990)

In the years of the dictatorship, I particularly focus on the 1970s, as this period saw the most intense repression and holds the events of which are most central to Guzmán's trilogy. According to a July 1991 Americas Watch Report, the "most indiscriminate repression took place in the mid-70s, when the country was ruled under state siege and secret police, subordinate only to Pinochet, specialized in disappearances and torture" (p. 1). Between 1974 and 1977, the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA) oversaw arrests and detentions. The disappearances and events that feature in the documentaries are the case of Calama and the 26 disappeared on October 19, 1973, in *Nostalgia de la luz*, the re-emergence of the body of Marta Ugarte on August 9, 1976, in *El botón de nácar*, and the 1973 bombing of La Moneda, —which houses the Chilean government and where Salvador Allende gave his final address— emblematic of the coup d'etat, in *La cordillera de los sueños*.

On September 11, 1973, in the capital of Santiago, a Junta consisting of Augusto Pinochet and three generals staged a coup d'état, overthrowing the democratically elected socialist government of Salvador Allende (1970-73) (Stern, 2006). The result was the death of Salvador Allende (1908-73) and the establishment of Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-90). The day of the coup, September 11th, 1973, is remembered and memorialized by both the political right and left for opposing reasons, which would contribute to the difficulties in the transition to democracy (1.3) and battles over commemoration (Lazzara, 2006; Stern, 2006). Accounts of survivors of the dictatorship are found in testimonies/reflections, documentaries, narrative films, and artistic outputs. However, images taken on this day are extremely limited due to the immediate censorship imposed by the dictatorship, resulting in focused attention on the footage of the bombing and burning of the presidential palace, La Moneda (Richard, 2019). The suppression of the images of the coup and dictatorship in Chile versus outside, such as the showing of documentaries and publication of photos, exemplifies the limited press. Another iconic image of the coup has been dubbed "the last photo" of Allende— depicting the president leaving the presidential palace with members of his guard—whose origins were anonymous until after the photographer's death. This image and a few others of Allende on September 11 are now accredited to Leopoldo Victor Vargas (1933-2011). The history of the photograph is detailed in an article by the French newspaper *Le Monde* (Guerrin, 2023). In other sources, the origins are not provided or clear. This appeals to the

importance of the photo and event outside of the photographer and the safety concerns of the time. The lack of images and uncertainty of providence contextualizes the importance of Guzmán's first trilogy about the presidency of Allende and the rise of Pinochet because Guzmán's *La batalla de Chile* filled a gap of information and images to those outside of Chile during the dictatorship.

In *La batalla de Chile* (1975-79), a trilogy consisting of *La insurrección de la burguesía* (1975), *El golpe de estado* (1976), and *El poder popular* (1979), which not only captured the event leading up to the coup and through the beginning moments of the dictatorship but provided access to these images outside of Chile. Guzmán's role in popularizing and portraying the "epic, historical images" (Richard, 2019, p. 124) of the bombing of La Moneda in this trilogy is expanded on in chapter 5 on *La cordillera de los sueño*s. Here, it is important to note that the shocking images were not distributed in Chile but were widely published in the 1970s around the Americas and Europe. The violence that occurred after the coup shocked the wider public, believing that such acts were an impossibility in Chile, given that democracy had thrived for so long (Stern, 2006; Wyndham and Read, 2016).

In Santiago, there was an immediate and outright display of power and repression from the military through acts such as bombing La Moneda, the implementation of a curfew, a high presence of military officials, and the detention of thousands of prisoners in sports stadiums, including musician Victor Jara who was killed on September 16, 1973. Through these measures, the Junta and Pinochet solidified power for and compliance with the new regime. A well-known example of the influence of Pinochet outside of Santiago and more widespread in the Southern Cone is the formation of a death squad known as La caravana de la muerte (1973). La caravana de la muerte, the history of which was first detailed in Patricia Verdugo's *Los zapatos del puma* (1997), exclusively functioned outside of the capital city. The goal was to instill terror into the Chilean people and all government officials to ensure absolute compliance with the new hardline policies of the military dictatorship and to send a clear message that coexistence with the oppositional, left political parties would not be allowed. The history of the Caravan is further detailed in Chapter 3 (*Nostalgia de la luz*) as the disappearance of the 26 men in the town of Calama is the result of the death squad. Many works have outlined the social, political, and foreign interventions by the

United States and CIA that contributed to this process (Stern, 2004; Dinges, 2004; Frazier, 2007). Rather than offer an exhaustive history of this period, however, I will provide a few details as they become relevant in Chapter 5 as tremors that preceded the 1973 coup d'état. The CIA's influence in Chile began before the day of the coup. On September 15, 1970, then-US President Richard Nixon, in later declassified CIA files, ordered the CIA to "make the economy scream" (TelCon: 9/16/73 (home) 11:50 Mr. Kissinger/ The President) and, therefore, either prevent or destabilize Allende's government. Other relevant examples include the CIA's economic support of anti-Allende strikers and workers in 1972 and 1973 and support for truck strikes in the Atacama Desert, which hindered the transportation of goods throughout the country and contributed to inflation (Frazier, 2007).

1.1.2 The Transition to Democracy (1990—2010)

The dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet officially ended in 1990 after an October 1988 plebiscite where over 90% of the eligible population turned out to vote thanks to a strong grassroots campaign to register the Chilean population (Cronovich, 2016). Nearly 56% voted NO to continuing with the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (Garreton Merino, 1995). The 1988 vote began the slow transition to democracy with the election of Patricio Aylwin on December 14, 1989, and his inauguration on March 11, 1990. However, Pinochet retained the title of commander-in-chief of the army until 1998, when he retired and was made a senator for life as per the agreements in the 1980 constitutional referendum (Wilde, 1999). The Concertación coalition was made up of three parties: the Christian Democrats, the Socialists, and the Party for Democracy (Wilde, 1999, p. 477).

The presidencies of Patricio Aylwin (1990-94) and Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (1994-2000) were tasked with reckoning with the recent atrocities that continued to permeate the social and political landscapes. This period of transition is often referred to as "the pacted transition" (Wilde, 1999; Silva, 2002), which refers to the political negotiations and push for consensus at the time. A move towards national reconciliation persisted during the transitional governments (Jelin, 2003), during which state-sponsored commemorative acts, memorials, and reports were at the forefront of the memory conversations. The early commemorative acts included a proper funeral for former President Salvador Allende (1970-73) on September 4, 1990, the commissioning of *Informe de la*

Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación in 1991 (The Rettig Report), and the construction of the *Memorial del Detenido Desaparecido y del Ejecutado Político* in the national cemetery which was inaugurated in 1994.[3] The goals of the Rettig Report were to document instances of disappearance or execution by the military and produce recommendations on how to go forward (Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación, 2002).

Aylwin's commemorations took place in Santiago and served a greater function of closing the chapter of the Pinochet dictatorship, particularly Allende's funeral, and moving the country forward, leaving the past behind (Dorfman, 1992). In these state-sponsored commemorations and memorializations of the past, many of the narratives of the victims, especially the disappeared, were missing (Lazzara, 2006). The missing reports of torture or actions that did not result in death in The Rettig Report exemplify this. It is important to note that within this context, the "pact of silence" to cover up acts of torture and violence was in effect in the military and between perpetrators of torture and murder during the dictatorship (Herceg, 2020). However, Stern (2006) notes that the number of those affected by the dictatorship is an estimate because of the previously outlined circumstances. Additionally, a second report was commissioned by President Ricardo Lagos, *Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura* (Valech Report), which was released on November 9, 2004, and was an attempt to document additional abuses not covered in the Rettig Report, including torture, detention, and exile. As Stern (2006) reiterates in his detailed analysis and consideration of what figures to report in his work, it is difficult to impossible to know the precise numbers of people who are in/overlap each category.[4]

In October of 1998, the same year he retired to his senator-for-life position, August Pinochet was arrested in London due to a warrant issued to the UK police by Spanish judge Baltasar Garzón (Evans, 2006). He would spend 503 days under house arrest in London before returning to Chile in March 2000, where his immunity from crimes committed during office was initially maintained. Until he died in 2006, his immunity status was constantly in flux (Pérez and Gerdtzen, 2016). It

[3] For further information on this time period and the Concertación governments that guided the initial transition to democracy, see the following references: Wilde, 1999; Silva, 2002; Stern, 2004; and Richard, 2018.
[4] For a detailed breakdown of the figures refer to the Rettig Report (1991), Valech Report (2004), and Stern's considerations of reports, testimonies, and other media which informed his conclusions about which numbers to include in his book (2006, p. xxi and pp. 158-161).

should be noted that the first time that immunity was rescinded was in August 2000 about disappearances and human rights violations in the Caravan of Death cases and again in August 2004 regarding his involvement with Operation Condor, an agreement between eight Latin American dictatorships to repress their political opponents (Evans, 2006).[5] Throughout these processes, Pinochet lived under house arrest and was never convicted for any of the crimes committed during his regime. Issues regarding his health have been cited as a reason for this (Arie, 2001; BBC, 2001). In the same year of Pinochet's death and the continuing impunity of those involved with the dictatorship, in January 2006, Chile elected its first woman president, Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010), extending the coalition government of the Concertación for another four years. The election of Bachelet was significant not only as Chile's first woman president but also because of her history of detention and exile. In 1974, Bachelet and her mother were detained for a short period of time and eventually released; her father already having died in detention. Soon after, Bachelet and her mother went into exile and returned in 1979 (Ross, 2006).

Nevertheless, the arrest of Pinochet is considered a "critical turning point in Chile's memory saga" (Lazzara, 2006) for two reasons: an increase in the release of testimonies, books, and other works about the dictatorship and the arrest signaled to the Chilean people that the human rights violations committed in their country were of global concern. Alexander Wilde (1999) also describes fundamental moments such as those that disrupt Chile's consciousness as "irruptions" whereas Stern (2004) refers to them as "memory knots" or moments that make the social body *scream* (p. 121), a poignant use of the words given the context of Nixon using the same word to refer to the Chilean economy. Both of these terms are further explored in the theoretical chapter (Stern, 2004) and Chapter 5 on *La cordillera de los sueños* (Wilde, 1999). The next section, about how the memory of the dictatorship continues to dwell in 2010-2024, is an example of Stern's "memory knots" that continue to affect/ache the social body.

[5] The Caravan of Death was the name given to a Chilean army death squad that operated from September to October 1973. The death squad killed 97 people in the far-reaching corners of Chile, outside of Santiago. They were led by Sergio Arellano Stark whose mission was to implement terror throughout Chile (Verdugo, 2001). Section 3.1.1.

1.1. 3 Chile Now (2010-2024)

Following the end of the Concertación governments in March 2010, there was a return of right-wing power in Chile for the first time since the Pinochet dictatorship with the inauguration of former businessman and center-right president Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014) (Quiroga, 2012). In the same year, Chile reached global news headlines with the February historic earthquake and tsunami off the coast of central Chile and the October successful rescue of 33 trapped copper and gold mines near Copiapó in the Atacama Desert. I mention these events because of their proximity to the geographical (Atacama Desert in Chapter 3) and environmental factors (earthquakes in Chapter 5) that I discuss throughout the chapters. In 2011, Piñera faced his first wave of student protests, one of the larger mobilizations the country had seen. The students were protesting for lower fees and higher quality education in a system that had remained largely untouched since Pinochet's overhaul of the system and the abolishment of free public universities (Pousadela, 2013). Piñera largely dismissed the protests and there were no significant changes made to the education system after the protests during his presidency (Pousadela, 2013). The three major events just mentioned were contemporaneous to or briefly after the October 2010 release of *Nostalgia de la luz*. In January of the same year, President Bachelet inaugurated the Museum for Memory and Human Rights in Santiago shortly before finishing her term. The protests, natural disasters, and memory outputs permeated Chilean society at once, highlighting the persisting tensions about where questions of memory and human rights fit into contemporary Chile.

Following Piñera's first presidency, Michelle Bachelet would be elected for a second term (2014-2018). During her presidency, Bachelet addressed the student protests of 2011 and made public universities free and available to the poorest 60% of students (Hurtado, 2018).[6] From 2018 through 2022, Piñera served his second presidency, dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic and the beginning of the *estallido social*. Piñera was largely criticized for how he handled the response to both (Peña and Silva, 2023). The unrest and tensions that arose during the estallido social allowed for a new political figure to make a mark, Gabriel Boríc, who was a key figure in negotiating the agreement that resulted in the 2020 constitutional referendum (Peña and Silva, 2023). In March

[6] For more information about Bachelet's presidencies, please refer to Waylen, 2016.

2022, Boríc was elected as the youngest president in Chilean history. I discuss more of Boríc's presidency throughout the thesis.

Leading into the 50th anniversary of the coup in 2023, questions remained about how to represent the memories of the dictatorship and, particularly, the location of most of the disappeared. In the days leading up to the 50th anniversary of the coup, on August 30, 2023, President Gabriel Boric announced his Plan Nacional de Búsqueda Verdad y Justicia, to identify the location of the remaining disappeared. This is the first time a state-sponsored plan to find the disappeared has been put in place. As of June 2024, there have been few updates to the plan, only noting the use of Artificial Intelligence to cross-reference archives and data (Sanhueza, 2024). The 50th anniversary, in addition to the calls for constitutional reforms from the 2019 *estallido social*, brought attention to the enduring economic policies from the Pinochet dictatorship. In Chapter 5 on *La cordillera de los sueños* and the conclusion, I delve more into the context of the *estallido social* as it is the subject of Guzmán's most recent work, *Mi país imaginario* (2022).

It is in this context that research on memory and memory sites has prevailed. Chile has produced an incredible amount of theoretical and artistic work on post-dictatorship memory. Early works of Wilde (1999), Richard (1994), and others discussed throughout the thesis on the transitional governments, social tensions in Chile, and memorial projects after the official end of the dictatorship have informed this thesis and foundational memory texts that came after. This scholarship includes Elizabeth Jelin's *State Repression and the Labors of Memory* (2003), Steve Stern's Memory Box trilogy (2004-2010), Michael J. Lazzara's *Chile in Transition* (2006), Lessie Jo Frazier's *Salt in the Sand* (2007), and Macarena Gómez-Barris' *Where Memory Dwells: Culture and State Violence in Chile* (2008). I provide a more detailed literature review of the texts that pertain to each documentary in its designated chapter.

1.2 Situating the Triptych and "Outside Geographies"

The interdisciplinary approach of my project, however, addresses a notable gap in the literature on Chilean post-dictatorship memory. Previous work on sites of memory associated with detention, torture, and disappearance has been developed within the capital of Santiago. This could be for multiple reasons, including that it is the geographical, cultural, and political center of Santiago and

that many of the sites of terror are located in the capital. This thesis and Guzmán's three documentaries discussed within the chapter engages with the "outside" sites. Examples of the memory sites in Santiago include the former detention center Villa Grimaldi, which was turned into Parque por la paz (1997) (Lazzara, 2002; Aguilar, 2005; Goméz-Barris, 2010b; Salazar, 2013), Londres 38 (2008) (Wyndham and Read, 2011), Estadio Nacional (2003) (Magnone Hugo, 2019), Cementerio General, and subsequently, The Museum of Memory and Human Rights (2010). As the epicenter of political and social terror during the dictatorship, it makes sense that scholarship on former torture sites and now memorial sites in Santiago is continuously produced (Read and Wyndham, 2016; Richard, 2018). In *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*, Steve Stern (2004) builds on the importance of physical location in constructing a memory framework to address the dictatorship's violences. Stern points to "torture house[s]" and "massacre or assassination site[s]" as places that hold intimate connections with the past (2004, p. 123). The former detention and torture center of Villa Grimaldi has been a place of frequent and continued scholarly interest because of its aesthetic transformation into a memorial Peace Park. My intentional inclusion of natural landscapes and geographies that are not in the central point of Santiago builds on these works and offers an expanded perspective of memory sites in Chile.

My use of the terms "outside" and "outside geographies" through this thesis are adapted from Gómez-Barris' *Atacama Remains and Post-Memory* (2012), identifying the ability of locations and stories outside of the more recognized areas, such as Santiago, to reveal gaps in the "nationalist discourses" (p. 9). In this work, the author compares two documentary films, *Nostalgia de la luz* and *Mi vida con Carlos* (2010), set in the Atacama Desert, to address the desert landscape as a place to grapple with the "discontinuities produced in the wake of state violence" (p. 2). The author concludes by stating that "A spatial search for what remains points toward other potential social formations, outside of closed nuclearity, and other ways to know and represent the past, outside of nostalgia or official histories" (p. 16). I expand the score of "outside" to focus on the landscape and geographical positioning of where disappearances and violences of the dictatorship took place—"outside geographies." I build on the assertion that when dealing with "outside geographies" and traumatic events that specifically interacted with or took place on Chile's natural landscapes, then "The sea, the forest, and the desert become the sites of memory's interactions, as anchors of the past that reach toward efforts at psychologically and socially integrating loss" (p.

15). I contend that by "anchoring" the analysis to the sea, desert, and other natural landscapes, the memories of the dictatorship are remembered by and through the given landscapes. In this case, "outside geographies" can be interpreted in multiple ways: atrocities that occurred outside of Santiago, testimonies left out of the official commemoration acts, and memorials that incorporate organic elements and thus fall outside of architectural structures. In these realms of "outside" geography and artistic productions, the majority of alternative, counter memories to the official narratives of the Pinochet dictatorship exist and thrive.

More recent works such as *The Extractive Zone* (Gómez-Barris, 2017) and *Salt in the Sand* (Frazier, 2007) examine the natural landscapes in Chile by positioning the country's history in terms of indigenous, colonialism, and political negotiations of natural resources. In these works, histories and stories from the "outside" landscapes are in focus, mostly concerning the extractive practices in the natural environments, indigenous rights, and women's rights. However, there is still little work on how the more current discussions are connected to remembering the dictatorship and the disappeared. In each content chapter, I provide a more detailed literature review of how each landscape of focus—The Atacama Desert, Patagonia, and the Andes— has developed within the outlined contexts. The next section positions Patricio Guzmán and the three documentaries within these contexts.

1.3 The Documentaries and Life of Patricio Guzmán

In this section, I introduce Patricio Guzmán as a filmmaker, essayist, and exile of the dictatorship. It is critical to understand his continuously developing relationship with Chile to read how he positions himself as a narrator in the documentaries and how he constructs the natural landscapes that are at the heart of this thesis. The importance of his works during the dictatorship to document, preserve, and show the world and eventually Chile—*Chile, la memoria obstinada* (1997)—what was happening in the country cannot be underplayed (Richard, 2018).

It is in this context of disseminating visual archives of the Allende years (1970-73), the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990), and the enduring battles for memory thereafter that I place Guzmán's work within the Chilean and broader contexts of cinema, documentation, and

remembering. Therefore, the period of feature-length films reflects both the socio-political realities in Chile and the evolution and capacities of the medium of film. This is exemplified in perhaps his best-known works, the two trilogies *La batalla de Chile: La lucha de un pueblo sin armas*, 1975-1979, and the 2010-2020s trilogy beginning with *Nostalgia de la luz*. The importance of *La batalla de Chile* cannot be understated in the history of Latin American cinema and showcasing the road to dictatorship for its complicated representation of Allende's presidency and the intervention of business, elite, and foreign sectors (Losada, 2025). Arnal (2013) further indicates that it was not only what Guzmán narrated in the first trilogy (and to whom), but also the process of making it which was crucial in defying the dictatorship in two key ways: "eludir el bloqueo informativo de la dictadura, así como la construcción de resistencia y solidaridad" (p. 63). The film, acquired from Chris Marker, came from France, was smuggled out of Chile with the help of the Swedish embassy, and was eventually completed with the help of the Cuban Institute of Cinema Art and Industry (ICAIC) and two fellow Chilean exiles Pedro Chaskel and Marta Harnecker (Lazones, 2020; Losada 2025). *La batalla de Chile* is not the focus of this thesis. Still, it proves a foundational reference point in contextualizing Guzmán's future work, such as the representation of the 1973 coup d'etat, the narrative styling of the 2010 trilogy, and the evolution of the film medium in narrative and aesthetic form.

The focus on the two trilogies is not to dismiss Guzmán's work between those years of production but to indicate the impact of the screenings and public viewings of these two trilogies outside of Chile. Furthermore, it is between these two trilogies (1990-2010) that Losada (2025) identifies the evolution of Guzmán's work — *Chile, la memoria obstinada* 1997, *El caso Pinochet*, 2001, and *Salvador Allende,* 2004— with the emergent memory discourse in Chile. In *Chile, la memoria obstinada*, Guzmán first includes his own memories and experiences of the dictatorship. From here, Guzmán continues intertwining personal recollections with Chile's collective histories (dictatorship, landscape, and people), which I reference throughout the thesis. Guzmán's trajectory aligns with the context of Chilean and world cinema. During this time, through the transition to democracy and the increase in written testimonies, individual filmmakers documenting their own and families' experiences also flourished. This includes works, such as Germán Berger Hertz's *Mi vida con Carlos* (2010), the oeuvre of Carmen Castillo, *El edificio de los Chilenos* (2010) by Macarena Aguiló, and *La ciudad de los fotógrafos* (2006) by Sebastián Moreno. Pick (1987),

writing on Chilean cinema in exile, attributes the success of a "new cinema" in Chile in the sixties to four filmmakers who were exiled during the Pinochet dictatorship: Miguel Littin, Raúl Ruiz, Helvio Soto, and Patricio Guzmán. Littin, Soto, and Guzmán sought to expand the distribution through co-productions (Pick, 1987), increasing the budget and reach of their films. This continues to be true for Guzmán, whose recent films (2010-22) are all co-produced between at least Chile and France, where he currently resides. In recent years, popular Chilean filmmakers in the post-dictatorship such as Andrés Wood and Pablo Larraín, greatly focus on narrative, often fictional, histories set throughout the years of the dictatorship while Sebastián Lelio explores the lives and stories of women in diverse geographical contexts. Crucially, stories of and related to the Pinochet dictatorship and memory continue to garner international attention. Recently, two films have been recognized by the Academy Awards: *El Conde* (2023), a fictional account of Pinochet as a vampire by Larraín for its cinematography, and Bestía (2021), which was nominated for "Best Animated Short Subject" about Íngrid Olderöck, a perpetrator of torture in the 70s and 80s Íngrid Olderöck by Hugo Covarrubias and produced by Tevo Diaz.

At the time of completing this thesis, the span over which Guzmán has released full-length documentaries is an impressive fifty years between 1972 (*El primer año*) and 2022 (*Mi país imaginario*). In both *Mi país imaginario* (2022) and a book detailing his beginnings and career *La batalla de Chile: la historia de una película* (2020), Guzmán begins by reflecting on an early encounter with French filmmaker Chris Marker. Marker took an interest in *El primer año*, which is about the first twelve months of Allende's presidency and arranged to buy and distribute the film in France. Guzmán describes this experience as follows: "[h]an pasado cuarenta años de esta conversación y solo hace poco descubrí que marcó mi vida para siempre, ya que mi modesta carrera de cineasta principiante dio un vuelco enorme a partir de ese momento" (Lozanes, 2020; p. 17). From this moment, his career and life would forever be tied to France. He currently resides in Paris, which was also his first destination after his exile in 1973 (Lozanes, 2020), and four of his films have premiered at the Cannes Film Festival. Patricio Guzmán never returned to live in Chile. His position as an exile and filmmaker who has dedicated his life to working on a country that now feels distant is a constant undertone in his documentaries and this thesis, particularly in Chapter 5 on *La cordillera de los sueños*.

Filming *El primer año* and documenting part of Salvador Allende's presidency certainly made an impact on Guzmán's career. The excitement and hope surrounding the revolution of Salvador Allende stays with Guzmán, becoming apparent in the bookending of *Mi país imaginario* with scenes from Allende rallies. In *Mi país imaginario*, Guzmán further recounts his growing friendship with Marker and the advice that he received during the filming of *La Batalla de Chile* that permeates throughout the most recent documentary: "Cuando quieras filmar un incendio hay que estar antes en el lugar donde se producirá la primera llama" (2022, 2:12-2:20). In *Mi país imaginario*, the elemental contributions, so clear in the triptych, take the very literal form of fire and flames in the most energetic moments of the documentary. Neither the "incendio" nor the "llamas" are necessarily present in the triptych. This filming of the moment of the spark is present again in *Mi país imaginario* and certainly in the earlier works—*El primer año*, the trilogy of *La batalla de Chile*, *and Chile*, *la memoria obstinada*—which included the periods before, during, and directly after the dictatorship. In the conclusion, I analyze the latest documentary as a 'for now' afterward to the three documentaries, but here it also marks the notable difference of *Nostalgia de la luz*, *El botón de nácar*, and *La cordillera de los sueños* from Guzmán's earlier works and effectively forms them as a trilogy.

The feature documentaries before 2010—*El primer año* (1972), *La batalla de Chile* (1975-1979), *Chile, la memoria obstinata* (1997), *El caso de Pinochet* (2001), *Salvador Allende* (2004)—also received extensive academic and non-academic interest. Past scholarship has focused on Guzmán's representation of the Allende years and the poetics of revolution (Lazzara, 2009; Stern, 2010), representation of historical memory and exile (Klubock, 2003; Rodríguez, 2013; Richard, 2018) and as post-dictatorship archives (Rodriguez, 2007). My thesis will instead focus on Guzmán's use of natural landscapes as an entry point to the discussion of post-dictatorship memory in Chile, the multi-layered histories of violence endured on/by Chilean natural landscapes, Guzmán's complicated past with Chile, and the convergence of the human and natural bodies in the three documentaries and their depicted landscapes.

1.4 Methodology

The chapters blend theoretical framing of memory and the Anthropocene with close filmic analysis as I consider the potential of natural landscapes in documentary film to hold and project human/ non-human histories. In this work, I understand the Anthropocene as a framework where human and geological stories collide, further detailed in Chapter 2. This dialogical (Chapter 3) understanding of human and non-human interactions is essential to my exploration of the post-dictatorship natural landscape found in Guzmán's films and the environmental concerns of those lands in the non-filmic world. In the three films, natural landscapes can be viewed as settings where multi-layered geological and human histories meet. Both historic lineages are ever present through a visualization of the landscape, narrated histories, and interviews with survivors of the dictatorship, artists, and earth scientists. Throughout the thesis, I discuss the three natural landscapes as poetic referents that both hold physical remains of the past and embody non-physical knowledge. In the filmic landscapes that Guzmán creates, human physical remains, Earth's (hi)stories, and human histories become embedded into the very materials and composition of the relevant landscapes. Outside of the documentaries, the landscapes are ripe with conversations of environmental concerns such as extraction and human rights such as the search for the disappeared and Indigenous rights. Therefore, I argue that an anthropogenic approach—drawing on the emerging eco-critical approaches to natural landscapes, environments, and especially earth materials — is necessary to the exploration of who, where, and what remembers. I employ bodily, temporal, and spatial analysis of the triptych as I explore Guzmán's visual and narrative use of landscapes to contend with layers of violent histories and their relationship to dictatorship-era memories.

The ethnographic fieldwork was critical in shaping my reading of the films and the construction of the thesis. My research questions seek to understand the role of natural landscapes in holding and facilitating memory, in and outside of the filmic imaginations of Guzmán's triptych. Therefore, my being in the landscapes featured in the documentaries not only enhanced my knowledge of the physical, bodily experience of the places but also what is actually happening on the landscapes. Guzmán's focus in the documentaries is on the story and place of the disappeared within Chile's broader history. In this respect, I found it important to acknowledge what is presently visible of this story of the landscapes and what is not. What aspects only exist in the

documentaries and why? Because my thesis also focuses on the ecological and environmental questions of the landscapes depicted, I similarly found it important to see and incorporate the reality of the landscapes with the construction of the landscapes by Guzmán. What are the *bodily* realities of being in the three landscapes of the Atacama Desert, Patagonia, the Cordillera, and Santiago? During the five-week research trip, I visited the Atacama Desert in the northern part of the country, Punta Arena in southern Patagonia, and Santiago in the center of Chile. I kept a journal, photos, and notes where I detailed where I was visiting, who I encountered, what I was seeing, and how I and my body felt in each experience. My accounts and encounters are detailed throughout the discussion of the three documentaries. As will become evident, the narrative structure and cinematographic techniques employed by Guzmán create an interwoven view of the landscapes. My fieldwork notes and observations are similarly interspersed throughout my analysis of documentaries as my arguments in each chapter propose a blending of the on and off-screen realities of the natural landscapes.

To bridge the gap between the filmic and non-filmic landscapes, realities, and bodies, I include my own ethnographic experience of *being* in the landscapes. Ethnographic research (conducted between February 13 and March16, 2023) allowed me to frame the histories, narratives, and felt environments that are not captured in the documentaries. In their beginner's guide to ethnography, Blommaert and Jie (2020) state that "Reality is kaleidoscopic, complex and complicated, often a patchwork of overlapping activities" (p. 9). Indeed, this will be reflected in my notes and experiences of the landscapes. The authors offer ethnography as a method to reveal and critique these complexities—counter-hegemonic (p. 8). Their work, as is the case with most ethnography, employs interviews. I chose not to include interviews for two main reasons: First, I felt it unnecessary to repeat Guzmán's process of conducting interviews and work with the archive that already existed, and second, in this thesis, I focus on the bodily interaction between natural landscapes and human beings. I, therefore, conducted my trip in this manner of putting myself in the landscapes that were reachable and noting which sites or experiences were not accessible. I ask and frame my notes on the question of what is going on in the landscapes when Guzmán's camera, lens, and perspective are not there to guide us. As we will see, the activities and conversations happening in the noted landscapes are not always what is shown in the film. Furthermore, I feel a close inspection of the landscapes (and the felt bodily experience) not only paralleled Guzmán's constant slow approach to the material landscapes but also helped me move out of that vision of the land. My personal narratives are presented in conjunction and intertwined with the theoretical framing of critical film analysis. As a note to my inclusion of the Spanish language from the documentaries, other texts, and scholarly work, I will not italicize them unless indicating a title or name. I do this because this project relies on both and neither language should be put in the forefront or othered.

1.5 Chapter Overview

I now provide an overview of what is to come in the analysis of the triptych. First, each chapter directly addresses the documentary's context, relevant history of the landscape, and appropriate literature review. In the first chapter, I introduce my understanding of the Anthropocene and the contextual information of its development that pertains to this thesis. I focus on what themes emerge from the convergence of Memory Studies and the discussions of the Anthropocene coming

out of the Environmental Humanities. This is a necessary basis for the filmic and theoretical analysis of each natural landscape in their respective chapter. To do this the work of Craps et al.'s (2018) work and their roundtable discussion outlining the epistemological challenge of the Anthropocene and memory is foundational. I track these developments in three sections of human and non-human encounters: the bodily convergence of the two, the temporal implications of human force on "geological time" (Crutzen and Stoermer, 2000; Chakrabarty, 2018), and the spatial ramifications of who and where is most affected. These three core threads construct the arguments of the three following chapters.

Nostalgia de la luz (Chapter 3) is the beginning of the trilogy, in which Guzmán navigates ideas of planetary, earthly memory in the Atacama Desert and whether the histories of the dictatorship will also be remembered on these grander scales. In some ways, it is quite a pragmatic approach of both interviewing astronomers and relatives of the disappeared and survivors of the dictatorship, but we can nevertheless see the multiple instances when human histories and the physical landscapes intersected. I take the foundational relationship in the Anthropocene between human and non-human beings as represented in Guzmán's use of light star/dust particles to cover, overwhelm, and move through the scenes. In the documentary, Guzmán's use of celestial, dusty, and particled effects are central to my analysis of the intersection of the human and non-human histories and physical bodies. To highlight this duality, I often reference both the celestial stars and earthly dusts together as "star/dust." My analysis argues that Guzmán's use of the particled *bodies* (of the human and non-human and relating to their moments of origin) offers a reappearance of these bodies and histories onto the present filmic and non-filmic desert landscape.

Chapter 4 looks at *El botón de nácar* and the temporal implications of remembering and existing after human-driven violent actions, such as colonialism and the dictatorship. These are both expressions of violence over, though, and in time. In this film, the waterscapes of Patagonia are in focus; its physical body and qualities become instrumental in how I navigate temporality and questions of how these two histories (occurring on a continued landscape) dialogue with each other. In terms of the documentary, I take waterscapes to refer to the social and visual potential of water bodies in navigating encounters with humans throughout time. I present the idea of "sites of convergence" referring to the initial violent meeting of the human body and the waterscapes of

Patagonia and how they are filmically represented (visually and narratively).[7] After the initial meeting, I argue that a temporally fluid and ghostly dialogue emerges between the two histories and waterscapes. The temporal concerns relating to how memories exist within a landscape manifest in the watery, translucent, and liminal moments of scene transition.

In the last chapter, I will discuss the presence of the Andes Mountain range and the capital of Santiago in *La cordillera de los sueños*. This documentary, structurally and visually, moves away from the previous two. I refer to the more obvious framing of Guzmán's own history, reflections, and personal reckonings and the inclusion of historical footage from during the dictatorship. We have not seen this before, and it speaks to this last film's geographical placement within the cityscape and spatially involved human history. I argue that the spatial effects of the moment of the coup (detention, disappearance, exile, etc.) are depicted through a dispersed and entangled Cordillera within and out of the documentary. In this regard, I deal with the spatial concerns of the Anthropocene and ask who, where, and when is most affected and implicated in the memory process after moments of violence. This leads me to my last point of analysis, which calls for the Cordillera as a "slow" witness to the moment of the coup (and the thereafter dictatorship acts of violence). In this final point, I tie together the convergence of *bodies*, the lasting effects of violence and a similarly lasting witness, and a spatial dispersion of memory. In reading the three documentaries together, I argue that the meeting of filmic human and non-human bodies in the Chilean natural landscapes places the memories, violences committed by, and victims of the Pinochet dictatorship within broader geological, spatial, bodily, and temporal scales of remembering. Finally, in the conclusion, I will bring together the reading of three documentaries within the frameworks of Memory Studies and Environmental Humanities and review the conclusions of each chapter. I further contextualize the triptych by including the more recent documentation of the Chilean political and social realities in Guzmán's latest documentary release, *Mi país imaginario* (2022).

Chapter 2: An Anthropogenic Approach to Memory Studies

[7] I develop the concept of "sites of convergence" particularly in Chapter 4 but is present throughout this thesis. I refer to filmic scenes or material manifestations (the pearl button, the element of calcium, etc.) where both the past and present-day are considered in a meeting of the human and non-human bodies. Throughout the text, I will designate the concept of "sites of convergence" with quotation marks.

This chapter provides the theoretical overview that foregrounds and frames the filmic analysis. The disciplines of Memory Studies and Environmental Humanities, as they are concerned with the material world and the development of the Anthropocene, are essential to my readings of the role of Chilean natural landscapes in Guzmán's trilogy. Each chapter focuses on a central theme that emerges from the convergence of the two: a broader conception of bodies, temporal examinations of memory, and the eco-critical, spatial approaches to the Anthropocene. By incorporating scholarship on memory, the Anthropocene, and eco-criticism, I outline how bodily, temporal, and spatial dynamics are brought forth in the filmic medium and how they relate to how we remember/engage with the past. The three ways of conceptualizing and visualizing remembering in (and outside) the documentaries are present in each chapter, but each chapter and analytical approach to the films has its focus. In doing this, each chapter expands on a particular concept while the thesis gradually explores how the theoretical foundation, critical film analysis, and ethnographic research come together to form a cohesive approach to addressing shared concerns of memory and the environment. I address the theoretical approach to memory and the Anthropocene that informed this thesis and from which I build the film analysis in each chapter.

Through the three documentaries, I analyze a different way to imagine the often-violent encounters between humans, with a primary focus on the acts of violence committed during the Pinochet dictatorship and their encounters with the Chilean natural landscapes. The relationship, convergences, and potential between the earthly materials and human beings all engage with aspects of bodily, temporal, and spatial realities of remembering and specific environmental concerns of each landscape. Therefore, the theoretical chapter engages with the intricate dialogue, terms, ideas, and scholarship created at the nexus of human histories and geological narratives. In the first section, I begin by briefly situating my research. I outline the development of the Anthropocene within academic discourses, defining natural landscapes within Memory Studies and Environmental Humanities. Within this development, I begin to elucidate the potential of the relationship between humans and natural landscapes. I particularly highlight the role of natural landscapes (in and outside the Chilean context) in defining the Anthropocene and its potential contributions to Memory Studies. In the second section, I set the groundwork for an encompassed view of bodies that permeates this thesis, including but not limited to the disappeared, Indigenous communities, natural resources/minerals, the celestial, and water. I situate my reading of the

expansion of the bodily form within the broadening of the memory "axes" (Craps et al., 2018) and the often-referenced dichotomy of the Earth and the human body (Gómez-Barris, 2017; Horn and Bergthaller, 2019).

In the third section, I deal with temporality. I do this by engaging with a dialogical approach, established in Chapter 3, that speaks to a possible dialogue between (violent) events that happen on the same landscape because of its very features. I cultivate a temporal remembrance between bodies and physical place. In this discussion, I draw on approaches of human/non-human time (Chakrabarty, 2018), dialogic memory (Bakhtin,1982; Assman, 2015), and planetary memory (Liebermann and Neumann, 2020). In Chapter 4 on *El botón de nácar*, I will expand on these ideas and bring in ideas of haunting, ghosts, and watery fluidity that pertain to both cultural Memory Studies and ecological concerns. For now, I emphasize that a multi-temporal (and bodily) approach helps us reimagine when, with whom, and where memories reside, especially in terms of natural landscapes and the medium of film.

The fourth section centers on spatial questions of remembering. It examines "who" is affected (a central question to discussions on the Anthropocene) by the histories of violence examined in the documentaries and, subsequently, "where" they are remembered. I engage with the significant concept of human and geological "force" within the Anthropocene from a natural to human concept (Crutzen and Stoermer, 2000; Chakrabarty, 2018; Horn and Bergthaller, 2019), especially within the bounds of implementing state violence as it relates to spatial questions of responsibility regarding who and where. Considering the expansion of "axes" in section 2, I also look to Nixon's (2011) *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*, which explores the ramifications of "slow" environmental degradation and questions of who and where is affected. This text is pertinent to the analysis of the three films and will be introduced here, but it is particularly outlined in Chapter 5 on *La cordillera de los sueños* which looks at the spatial expansions of entanglement and witnessing to consider the (filmic) natural landscapes as implicated in who/where witnesses and remembers. This chapter will clearly show that Memory Studies and Environmental Humanities are essential in navigating and expanding the three core threads: bodies, time, and space.

2.1 Defining the Anthropocene

In this section, I work toward a definition of the Anthropocene as a period of time when human actions have altered the natural earthly body. I provide an overview of the evolution of the term and its current applications and implications within Cultural Studies and Memory Studies. In the Southern Cone and Chilean memory work, the Anthropocene finds a foothold in legacies and conversations on colonialism and the extraction of natural resources (Gómez-Barris, 2018; Liebermann and Neumann, 2020). In my analysis of Guzmán's documentaries and reconciliation of the dictatorship, I work from the viewpoint of the Anthropocene as a discussion between human and geological histories and the meeting of their bodies. Each chapter contains a more detailed history and significance of the natural landscapes and how the respective sites engage with historical memory.

The term Anthropocene was presented in the early 2000s by Chemist Paul Crutzen and Biologist Eugene Stoermer to refer to their proposed new geological era (after the Holocene) (Cruzten and Stoermer, 2000). In their proposal, Crutzen and Stoermer assert that human beings have accumulated such a collective force— one that potentially equates to or surpasses natural disasters—that humans now undeniably affect Earth's landscapes and inhabitants. The term now identifies the collective impact of human activity and technological advancement on the planet, signally the future human impact of the current ecological crisis (Cruzten and Stoermer, 2000). Academic work on the topic originated as a scientific investigation due to its ecological beginnings. In recent years, the humanities have become increasingly more concerned with the study of human impacts on Earth as a way to interpret cultural and social productions and especially their unequal impacts (Chakrabarty, 2015a; Moore, 2016; Craps et al., 2018; Horn and Bergthaller, 2019). The term is now widely accepted within the humanities. However, a broader acceptance of the term and its implications was complicated in March 2024 when a group of geologists (International Union of Geological Sciences) rejected that we were already in the age of the Anthropocene. The parameters of this vote are important in understanding not only the place of natural landscapes within this framework but also the defining relationship between humans and non-human beings. Leading up to the vote, the group, consisting of 34 members, spent 15 years debating how to define the potential epoch, especially when to label its beginnings. We are

currently in the age of the Holocene, beginning at the time of the last ice age 11,700 years ago (Zhong, 2024).

The working group determined the date would be 1952 and pointed to the case of Lake Crawford near Toronto, Canada (Adam, 2024). I will detail a bit about the scientific reasons for this because it lends another way to approach human pasts in relation to water and the element's importance on a global stage, in addition to the poetic and filmic approach in Chapter 3. Lake Crawford is a meromictic lake, meaning the different, deeper layers of water do not mix well with the upper ones, resulting in well-preserved sediment layers (Sydney, 2023). The sediment layers preserve evidence of human activity on Earth from which scientists have identified two major periods of change: between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries when Indigenous people lived in the area and the other beginning in the nineteenth century with the arrival of European colonists. However, the biggest change was around the mid-twentieth century, specifically pointing to nuclear bomb testing (Witze, 2023). They found "sharp changes in plutonium and radiocarbon from nuclear detonations and in fly ash from accelerated burning of fossil fuels" (Zhong, 2023). There was opposition to this geological and academic assessment of the Anthropocene. According to the *New York Times* (Zhong, 2024) and *Nature* (Adam, 2024), those who opposed this date cited a much longer history of human impacts on Earth. Ecologist Erle Ellis stated, "We need to think about this as a broader process, not as a distinct break in time" (Adam, 2024). Cultural Studies might then offer insight into the social, economic, or political factors that contribute to human impact on Earth. In this regard, we must also talk about the responsibilities and impacts of human actions on the environment and other humans, further addressed in this Chapter.

The March 2024 vote makes apparent the challenges and debates in defining the Anthropocene. In particular, this process accentuates the unequalness of human relationships and impacts stemming from the ecological crisis, which I navigate as paralleled to acts of state violence in this thesis. I, therefore, consider a notable departure of the starting point of the Anthropocene put forth by Lewis and Maslin (2015) from the proposal of 1952 by the working group and the often-cited Industrial Revolution (Crutzen and Stoermer, 2000; Crownshaw, 2014). In *Defining the Anthropocene*, Lewin and Maslin propose an alternate launching point: the Anthropocene began in 1610. They point to this moment because, in 1610, there was a significant drop in Carbon Dioxide (credited to

the linked abundance of trees on farmland with the mass death of Native Americans from smallpox and warfare) (Biello, 2015; Mentz, 2015), marking a momentous alteration to the environment and the history of the Indigenous people. This also marks a moment in time when both the Earth's landscape and human history altered their course because of forceful human actions against other humans. The date of 1610 is also acknowledged by Craps et al. (2018) in their introduction (along with the Industrial Revolution and the 'great acceleration'/atomic age acknowledged in the date 1951), and Vin Nardizzi's contribution to the roundtable *Anthropocene, archives, 'environment.'* However, in the roundtable (Craps et al., 2018), there is no direct mention of the impact on the Indigenous people, 1610, and Lewis and Maslin's work is only contextualized as the meeting of the "New and Old Worlds" (p. 499) and in relation to the carbon dioxide levels (p. 510).

In both the working group's proposal and academics who look to the Industrial Revolution, I note that these reflect the collective human activity as a "geological force" that catalyzed the degradation and depletion of the natural environment. In Lewis and Maslin's (2015) proposal, the instigating force was a genocide of the Indigenous people, which resulted in an altered, benefitted natural environment. If, in fact, we do take 1610 as the starting point of the Anthropocene, there is no doubt that the structures and legacies of colonialism and the Indigenous people are visible and integral to the relationship between human and non-human bodies. In many ways, 1610, as the beginning of the Anthropocene, is the first example of what I refer to as "sites of convergence." In this term— the focus of Chapter 4 on *El botón de nácar*— I propose that forceful human violences generate critical moments in time between the physical human body and natural landscapes. This thesis explores their artistic representations in Guzmán's work.

2.1.1 "Vehicles of Memory": Natural Landscapes in the Anthropocene

I draw on eco-critical works to conceptualize the potential of Guzmán's use of natural landscapes in documentaries, but I should make clear that his work is mostly concerned with the post-dictatorship memory process in natural landscapes—the Atacama Desert, Patagonia, and the Cordillera. I both consider the landscapes as sites of violent human actions and their existence after those acts. In the Chilean context, objects as facilitators, projectors, or "vehicles of memory" are

not new and are outlined by Elizabeth Jelin (2007, p. 141) as necessary tools for transmitting memory from one (with less power or voice) to another. Jelin states

> There is a dynamic link between individual subjectivities, societal or collective belonging, and the embodiment of the past and its meanings in a variety of cultural products which can be conceived as vehicles of memory, such as books, museums, films, rituals of commemoration and photographs (p. 141)

In this regard, we see the instrumental position of artistic projects to connect and embody the pasts. The natural landscapes are not their own vehicle but serve the same function within the films. To represent the memories and lives of the disappeared, there is always the issue of absence, confirmed by Jelin, "Violence, horror and repression involve symbolic voids" (p. 151). Natural landscapes are often also void of symbols, people, or possible referents to their pasts. However, it is this state that Guzmán employs as a "vehicle" to guide us toward and away from "symbolic voids," creating a space for the memory of the disappeared. Viewing the natural landscapes as critical to the particled, fluid, and entangled discussions that follow calls for an anthropogenic approach, making possible the visual representations of landscapes, their material form, and how those characteristics indicate how they remember. My analysis of how landscapes function in Guzmán's trilogy is inspired by his purposeful use of environment and reference to the longer histories of places, sites, and times. I connect these moments to the landscape present through various meetings of the body, aiming to articulate a dynamic relationship between the two that challenges the often-found binary between human-centered and Earth-centered modes of conceptualizing time and place in the Anthropocene. The framework of the Anthropocene calls us to look towards future imaginations of a shared past; a situated narrative in the natural landscapes ensures that all of its pasts are part of its future. In this way, natural landscapes also serve as vehicles between the past and present, human and non-human. The term helps us to understand the landscapes as both an entry point to the past and the driver forward. Guzmán also employs the smaller "vehicles" or forms of material memory (such as calcium in Chapter 3 on *Nostalgia de la luz*) from the land that binds human and non-human concerns together.

Each documentary also relies on a smaller "vehicle" or anchor point from the particular natural landscapes—calcium, a pearl button, and the stones of the Cordillera— that represent the larger arguments in each chapter. As I discuss each, I recall Tuan (1977) speaking to the importance of objects as having the ability to "anchor time" (p. 187) and define physical space, thus transforming it into a place. Tuan's argument focuses on how physical objects and the human sensory reactions to them form the idea of a place (p. 13). Tuan says, "Place is a pause in movement" (p. 138), attributing this pause to physical objects that can also facilitate intimate experiences and attachment to place (pp. 6 and 198). Ultimately, the human experience of a space and its objects are what imbue the space with meaning and, therefore, define it as a place. I focus on Tuan's experience of space and place because of his emphasis on the sentimental relationship between objects and humans. This relationship is the foundation of the histories that Guzmán explores in the three documentary films. In order to "anchor" and physically link the three landscapes, Guzmán uses objects that come from within the land and are a natural part of their environment. These physical elements create an intimate connection between the subjects of the documentaries and the landscape while anchoring this relationship for the audience. Gómez-Barris (2012) asserts that when dealing with these "outside geographies" and traumatic events that specifically interacted with or took place on Chile's natural landscapes, then "The sea, the forest, and the desert become the sites of memory's interactions, as anchors of the past that reach toward efforts at psychologically and socially integrating loss" (p. 15). Not only can cultural productions anchor memories, but natural landscapes can as well. The violent memories become bound to a specific, albeit immense, natural landscape. Referring to Mapuche world views, Gómez-Barris (2017) later develops elements (fire, earth, air, water) as "symbolic anchors" that facilitate "a visual imaginary that perceives life otherwise" (p. 68). In the case of Guzmán, the elements (of both the human and natural world) facilitate the understanding of earthly scales to the human perspective. From an anthropogenic standpoint, the elements are indicators of how capitalism, extraction, climate change, and state violence affect the earthly body. The filmic dual utilization of natural landscapes as both embodied and "vehicles" of memory makes an eco-critical approach necessary.

2.1.2 Introducing the Anthropocene as a Concern for Memory Studies

The recent development of the Anthropocene within Memory Studies has allowed for an intricate understanding of how human violence can affect, stay, and live with(in) physical landscapes. In the Chilean case, the intersection of the two frameworks allows for a broadened temporal and geographic perspective of the legacies of dictatorship-era violence. The convergence of the two fields calls for a nuanced understanding of the past as possessing both cultural and ecological consequences for the future (Craps et al., 2018). Jennifer Wenzel draws on her previous work *Bulletproof: Afterlives of Anticolonial Prophecy in South Africa and Beyond* (2009) and looks at this emerging relationship between the past and future as "past's future" and "future's pasts," (Craps et al., 2018, p. 502) which not only calls for a more fluid understanding of time and positionality within the tenses but also calls attention to the dominance of future-oriented thinking within these conversations. In Wenzel's anthropogenic reading of her own term, she acknowledges that "In terms of climate change, this past's future is the not-yet fully realized effects upon the Earth's oceans and atmosphere of burning, in a few centuries, fuels that fossilized over millions of years" (Craps et al., 2018, p. 503). The present future is still unresolved, and how we remember it is left to be (un)seen. This thesis suggests that this convergence forces a non-human-driven perspective on the past, expanding the "axes" of memory. For a more detailed look at the development of the Anthropocene within cultural memory studies, refer to Crownshaw (2017) and Craps et al. (2018), who detail the evolution of the new wave of Memory Studies toward a planetary way of remembering. From here, many individual works have been produced that deal with the "nonhuman turn" (Grusin, 2015) that implicates earthly, non-human, or more-than-human ways of remembering.

In the Latin American context, Fornoff and Heffes (2021) interrogate the category of "human" in the context of environmental degradation in cinema; Blackmore and Gómez (2020) develop the idea of liquid ecologies as an epistemological approach to conceiving of bodies of water as political and aesthetic referents; Gómez et al. (2023) imagine the archipelagic lens in isolated, insular spaces and cinema. The three mentioned books indicate the emerging interest in landscape and its material potential in Latin American cinema and artistic projects. They are not the only works that are concerned with these issues in documentary films or within the geographical context, but I will

discuss other scholarly endeavors as they are pertinent to the individual chapters. In the Latin American and Chilean context, there is limited work on the intersection of state violence and the Anthropocene, especially how affected landscapes are now involved in climate change processes. The Chilean case is critical to advancing the framework of the Anthropocene because of its entangled history of colonialism, extractivism, and dictatorship-era violence in isolated natural landscapes. My project is particularly interested in questions of natural landscape and how the implicit questions of environmental degradation and extraction might also lend themselves to reimagining representations and memories of state violence.

2.2 Expanding the 'Axes' of Memory Studies and Bodies

In this section, I respond to the work of the informative and foundational roundtable by Craps et al. (2018) and their assertion that the shared concerns of the Anthropocene and Memory Studies call for "a different axes of expansion commensurate with the multiscalar referents of this emergent geological shift. Unfolding unevenly across time and space, matter and life (human and nonhuman), and through planetary systems and processes" (p. 501). I take the expanded "axes" to refer to the multiple iterations of bodily interaction in the documentary—particled, "sites of convergence," and entangled— and how they can appear temporally and spatially dynamic in the film medium. The expansion of bodies refers to the non-human interactions and possibilities born from those encounters. This section contends with the planetary and bodily expansions, while the following sections lay the groundwork for how state-sponsored violences exist "unevenly across time and space" in the three documentaries. My work expands Chile's geographical area of analysis beyond the cities where the majority of memory projects are carried out and incorporates an expanded geological arena.

I first want to mention a field of study, ecocinema, which offers a way to articulate and represent the extensions of boundaries. In Rust et al.'s (2023) *Ecocinema Theory and Practice 2*, the authors state

> Ecocinema studies is keen to show how film – from its production to its post-consumption – mediates the inevitable entanglements of humans and nature. We

> understand that films can themselves be critical of these entanglements. As events, films participate in but also bear witness to local and planetary ecological crises, as well as to the care that such crises instill in filmmakers, their filmed subjects, and their audiences (p. 7)

This understanding of film and the potential entanglements in this medium is critical to how I perform my film analysis. Much of the referenced work on concerns of the Anthropocene in Latin America occurs within the medium of film, as it is able to make visible and "bear witness" to the ecological crises. Film is also interesting because it represents another extension of boundaries beyond the human scale of remembering and perceiving of the world. However, it is necessary to note that Guzmán's work is not primarily concerned with the natural world, but rather with how the mentioned natural landscapes can be a "puerta de entrada" (Guzmán, 2020) or "vehicles" into the past. The setting of the landscapes is driven by his own fascination with the celestial, water, and the Andes, as he states throughout the trilogy. But it is undeniable that the framework of ecocinema is applicable, given the aesthetic composition of the three documentaries and my reading of the landscapes within them. An eco-lens and environmental concerns within the triptych are of academic concern. The trilogy is a deep look into the landscapes to make sense of Chile's and Guzmán's relationship with the dictatorship, disappeared, and how to relate to the affected realities in the present.

2.2.1 The planetary

As geological and human temporal scales become distorted, Memory Studies call upon anterior forms of "archiving" or commemorating. I feature the emergence of planetary memory as an entry point to the meeting of the human and non-human spheres. Planetary memory (Bond et al., 2019; Liebermann and Neumann, 2020) is another expansion of the memory axes that is particularly relevant to Chapter 3 but also is an example of the intersection between geological and non-human scales of remembering as important to memory studies. Notions of planetary memory have their origins in early conceptions of space and place (Tuan, 1977). Planetary memory refers both to the thinking that human actions influence "planetary memory" as they are equated to a geological force and that humanity is now intertwined with a greater scale (Cohen, 2012; Bond et al., 2017; Craps et al., 2018; Chakrabarty, 2021). This level of expansion also addresses the lasting physical

connection between humans and non-humans. Within Chilean memory studies, my research expands the geographical dimensions of engagement from the built-urban environments traditionally associated with post-dictatorship work. Liebermann and Neumann's (2020) text, *Archives for the Anthropocene: Planetary Memory in Contemporary Global South Literature*, is a fundamental text for understanding the convergence of the Anthropocene and Memory Studies in Chile. I include a discussion on the planetary in this section toward an expansion of bodies because of its corporeal connection to the physical bodies and the possibilities of an alternative archive. However, it would also fit into section 2.3 on temporal and dialogic explorations in the Anthropocene. It is a reminder of the interconnectedness of times when engaging with the Anthropocene and memory. As Craps et al. (2018) conclude, the

> [I]nscriptive event of the Anthropocene is an extension of the archive, where one adds to the readability of books and other texts, the stratifications of Earth. It would not be too radical to claim that at the level of geology, the Earth has a memory (p. 507)

Liebermann and Neumann state, "It has become increasingly difficult to ignore that the planet has a crucial role to play in processes of remembrance" (p. 146). On a wider scale, they propose that the environment has agency within the framework of the Anthropocene. Imaginations of and remembering in the planetary can be considered more fluid because its expansion enhances human perceptions of conceivable times and places. The connections between planetary (celestial and terrestrial) bodies and human experiences then challenge the previous separation of human and non-human histories/timelines. The planetary "compels us to rethink memory as an open, fluid, and nonhuman practice that brings to the surface latent, repressed, and unacknowledged geological forces" (Liebermann and Neumann, 2020, p. 148). Discussions of "latent", "repressed", or "unacknowledged" forces and memories are recurrent throughout the thesis and especially relevant when conceptualizing intentional human force/violence of the dictatorship in later chapters. The view granted by the planetary is similar to "submerged perspectives" (Gómez-Barris, 2019) in Chapter 3, referring to from where we view the impacts of human "forces." The planetary interrogates the human scales and standpoints of remembering, allowing for a broader conception of who and where remembers. Looking at the planetary allows for memories that play out "across

space and time" (Nixon, 2011, p. 10) and, therefore, offers other axes of expansion to the non-human natural landscapes.

The incorporation of the planetary acknowledges Earth's landscapes and the Earth as a complex system. Tuan (1977) lays the groundwork for the connection between a social/cultural human connection to the solar system and a physical one, arguing that the human body is a system and states that the "human body is perceived to be an image of the cosmos" (p. 88). In this visualization of the human and celestial bodies—like the perception of Earth and human history— humans have always been connected to the planetary system. Tuan connects the bodily constructions of the cosmos and human beings are interrelated. One offers a perspective of the other. In Guzmán's triptych, the connection between the cosmos and the human is visualized and stated on multiple elemental levels. Tuan, however, is concerned with understanding and orienting the space around human beings and not necessarily the convergence of the two, responding to "questions of man's place in nature" (p. 88). His early connections between the corporeal forms of the human and non-human further do not acknowledge the respective bodies' greater context. I do find these early contemplations poignant and informative to the contemporary conversation, as the human effect on Earth is tied to both futures. Their fates are still "an image" of each other.

The possible scales of engagement in the Anthropocene allow for a discourse where "every molecule on the planet is overfull with meaning, having become a medium for inscription in no-longer invisible ink" (Craps et al. 2018, p. 503). Multiple temporalities and layered physical or social histories can then inform conceptions of planetary memory. Furthermore, the elemental materials that compose both the local and planetary environments—such as soil, sand, rock, water, and air— allow for not only the intertwining of the physical landscape and human bodies to each other but also work to connect the individual "sites" of encounter to one another. This is particularly important to my analysis of *Nostalgia de la luz* but will also be expanded on in the next part of this chapter. The planetary is a gateway into bigger and grander ways of remembering past the human scale and time scales. Guzmán's work is interesting because the documentaries show landscapes as "an extension of the archive" (Craps et al., 2018, p. 507) and are a form of an archive themselves. I am concerned with which memories are inscribed, in what forms they

survive, and how they can be translated. I frame Earth's memory and human memory as converging in the meeting of bodies in the trilogy.

2.2.2 The Collision of Human and Non-Human Bodies

In this part, I provide a theoretical basis for my analytical reading of bodies converged. Each chapter relies on a unique convergence of bodies: Chapter 3 looks at the material form of bodies, Chapter 4 engages with a dialectical approach across time that happens when bodies converge, and Chapter 5 imagines the entanglement of a natural body with human memories, events, and physical bodies. Here, I provide an overview of the texts that have informed my reading of bodies and conceptualize the "body" from an environmental perspective. First, a reading of encompassed bodies expands on Horn and Bergthaller (2020), who note the significance of natural elements — rocks, soil, and natural resources— in how we relate to climate change. Again, this argument is solidified in Chapter 3, but it is necessary to contextualize it within the anthropogenic understandings of earth's materials, humans, and force. Second, *The Extractive Zone* (Gómez-Barris, 2018) engages with the "human body" and "Earth body" as intertwined with Indigenous perspectives in the Southern Cone.

In the analysis of the documentaries, I propose expanding the definition of bodies to include human, non-human, and non-nonhuman. I imagine natural landscapes as composed of material components, layers, and histories, as is the human body. In Guzmán's narration, the fate of human bodies is tied to the beings of the natural landscapes. Furthermore, his trilogy is consciously located in the three specified landscapes, and therefore, I focus on the intimate connection between the natural landscapes and human histories/ bodies. Many of these landscapes, although not the documentaries' main themes, face the extraction of natural resources and eminent ecological challenges. The unique situations are detailed in each chapter, but here, I make the case for an anthropogenic approach to memory in my analysis of the documentaries. This interpretation of bodies in the documentaries and Chilean dictatorship history highly relies on the breaking apart of the physical body— as is documented in torture, disappearance during the dictatorship, and in the current extraction of natural sources— making visible the smaller, elemental forms of the original

body. In the three films, the elemental forms include sand, fragmented bones, calcium, a pearl button, stones, and blood.

The arguments and critical analysis of each film rely on the fluid and intrinsic relationship between the human body and the natural landscapes. For this reason, multiple questions relating to and specifying this relationship must be examined in my outlining of these frameworks. To begin, Horn and Bergthaller's *The anthropocene: Key issues for the humanities* (2019) provides a good template for the already considered interrogations of the relationship between land and body. The authors note the importance of examining the Anthropocene in a local context, stating that one should pay

> particular attention to the local as a singular site of assemblage… The local has the potential to be both a rallying point for resistance against the homogenizing drive of globalization and a site where this drive comes fully into force (p. 154)

The local, though, does not have to stay isolated on its landscape but can contribute to "rethinking" the intrinsic relationship between the local and the "universal" (p. 12). Horn and Bergthaller (2019), drawing from Bruno Latour's *We Have Never been Modern* (1993), state the following:

> Radicalizing or even displacing the concept of sustainability, the Anthropocene reorders political priorities. It only draws attention to the material foundations of all communal life (such as the quality of water, air, and soil, the stability of the climate, and security against natural disasters), but also calls into question the conceptual foundations on which our understanding of these issues has rested, above all the distinction between nature and culture (p. 20)

As Latour, Horn, and Bergthaller consider, the individual components of the earth become "vehicles" for the whole and, in Guzmán's case, are used as meeting points for the various histories. Indeed, the non-human turn emphasizes the natural foundations of life and how these elements impact the stability of the climate and the ecological crisis (Horn and Bergthaller, 2019). The state of the elements and landscapes are inseparable from conversations of the environment.

In this thesis, I relate their presence, utilization, and representation to the ways in which we remember difficult or violent histories in Guzmán's works.

The Anthropocene itself calls for the blurring of the lines between the categories of human life and the natural sense of the world (Clarke, 2014). Horn and Bergthaller (2020) classify this change as a rearrangement or re-imagination of the ways that people might sense and navigate the world. By situating my analysis between the encounter of human and earth bodies, I contribute a land-based way of navigating the hidden, violent histories of humans in natural landscapes. For Guzmán, the landscapes are critical settings and characters of the works. The violent introduction of human bodies to the landscapes are the starting point for how Guzmán portrays the intricate relationship between bodies and histories. They are a visual re-imagination of the landscapes and their long, difficult histories. In combining the two discourses, the memories imbued with the human body, Earth body, and landscapes work together through multiple temporalities and spaces. In Guzmán's trilogy, the human body encounters multiple vast and unknowable spaces whose composition greatly varies (sand, water, rocks). They are meant to overwhelm and encompass the disappeared and perceivable scale of those viewing or searching the land.

2.2.3 Bodies of the Human and Non-Human

Scholarship on Indigenous perspectives of landscape and nature provides a varied perspective on an embodied approach to landscapes. The works including, but not limited to, Gómez-Barris (2017), Whyte (2017), and Simmons (2019), critique and outline the recent interest in Indigenous perspectives within the Anthropocene. These concerns are further addressed in Chapter 4 on *El botón de nácar*, but for now, I particularly highlight histories of colonialism and systematic violence, such as capitalist and extractivist practices, and how they manifest in the interactions between the physical human body and the Chilean natural landscapes. I put Gómez-Barris' *The Extractive Zone* (2017) into a discussion with anthropogenic discussion on "geological force" (Crutzen and Stoermer, 2000; Chakrabarty, 2018). Gómez-Barris argues for the expression of colonial capitalism as a fundamental iteration of human "force." In this sense, the unequal impact of human activity within the Anthropocene is quite specific and can be found in the aftereffects of colonialism.

Gómez-Barris's (2017) work on Indigenous perspectives in the Southern Cone will prove essential in this thesis and relevant to establishing the link between the Anthropocene and Memory in a Latin American context. There is not an extensive amount of scholarly work on framing ideas of the Anthropocene within a post-dictatorship context or potential artistic representations, so I look to perceptions of the "biological body" and "Earth body" (Gómez-Barris 2017, p. 49) to represent this intersection. She states, "Colonial capitalism has been the main catastrophic event that has gobbled up the planet's resources, discursively constructing radicalized bodies within geographies of difference" (p. 4). The long, drawn-out process of ecological extraction, colonialism, capitalism, and dictatorship often exists within the same landscapes and emphasizes the meeting of geological and human time. This plays out in a modern context because the land and the people that are highly impacted—not only the ecological crisis but also paralleled histories of colonialism and extractivism—go hand in hand: areas of high biodiversity, resource-rich lands, and landscapes inhabited by Indigenous peoples.

In the context of colonialism and South America, the term extractivism relates to the impact of colonial capitalism and the violent reorganization of life through the removal of land, resources, and people (p. xvii). I apply ideas of resource "extraction" to the removal of bodies (the disappearance of political prisoners during the military dictatorship and the Indigenous people of Patagonia), but the original sentiments of the term become most apparent in the history and ongoing process of extraction and degradation of natural minerals, resources, and environments in the Atacama Desert. Extraction processes are also present in the landscapes of Patagonia and the Andes. Certainly, the landscapes in question have been and continue to be high-impact zones of capitalist endeavors. For these reasons, it is important to include contextual details and ethnographic research of the landscapes.

In this same text, Gómez-Barris identifies a critical viewpoint that I incorporate into my analysis of layered landscapes and histories: the idea of "submerged perspectives" (p. xvi). She defines submerged as a relational term that refers to being "seen from below or differently from the dominant mode of organizing the environment" (Submerged Perspectives presented by Dr. Macarena Gomez-Barris, 2019). The "submerged" perspective also expands the idea of a layered

landscape to incorporate what is buried underneath the visible land. I will return to this idea throughout the thesis.

I pay particular attention to water connections with Indigenous life and bodies in Patagonia. This geographical area is of focus in Chapter 4 and *El botón de nácar* and its depiction of two violences— colonialism and the dictatorship—that affected the area and the Indigenous communities. Water, as a bodily and physical connector (Neimanis, 2017), offers a different mode of connecting the histories of both. Indeed, this allows for a more nuanced discussion on how Earth (and its inhabitants) are impacted in the Anthropocene and, therefore, who or what has or can gain "agency" in the Anthropocene (Latour, 2014). The idea of agency becomes particularly relevant when conceptualizing the Chilean natural landscapes as their own anchors of memory. The knowledge, legacies, and afterlives of colonial violence that exist within the sea/desert and natural landscapes continue to impact Indigenous people who reside in those landscapes. Simmons (2019) recounts the argument for "postapocalyptic" senses of Indigenous time, stating, "Indigenous people have already faced catastrophic violence, the loss of relationships, and the fundamental alternation of the ways of life to survive in spaces that are physically, emotionally, and spiritually toxic" (p. 175). The longer histories of violence are echoed by Argentinian anthropologist Rita Segato (2003) and the long arc of violence, conceptualizes different modes of physical violence in the family, nation, and gender-based that have long-reaching effects in society.

In this discussion of bodies, it is also important to acknowledge the dual position of humans within the Anthropocene. In defining the human within the transformations of ecological environments, Horn and Bergthaller (2019) call attention to a compelling duality in their consideration of human beings as "at once natural and unnatural, both a part of nature and apart from nature" (p. 67). In this categorization, the authors position humans as participating in and impacting both social and biological environments, realizing a position of coexistence between the two. The dual position supports the framework of the Anthropocene as a discussion, as it suggests humans are both affecting and affected by natural and human forces (natural disasters, state violence, climate change, etc.). The trilogy shows a continual visual and physical blurring of boundaries between human and natural beings. Imagining human bodies as dual further calls for an embodied approach that examines the material bodies as coexisting and impacting cultural and environmental ways of

remembering. However, there is some hesitation to understand them as both "parts of nature" so as to not take away responsibility from the human parties or dismiss the unequal impacts in the Anthropocene (Latour, 2014). Latour speaks to this dichotomy with respect to agency in the Anthropocene. He states:

> The point of living in the epoch of the Anthropocene is that all agents share the same shape-changing destiny, a destiny that cannot be followed, documented, told, and represented by using any of the older traits associated with subjectivity or objectivity. Far from trying to 'reconcile' or 'combine' nature and society, the task, the crucial political task, is, on the contrary, to distribute agency as far and in as differentiated a way as possible— (p. 15)

A convergence of bodies in the three documentaries visualizes the sharing of destinies within the Anthropocene and Memory Studies frameworks. By challenging the human-centered perspectives of Memory Studies, we are left with a duality of perspectives that play out in various convergences of bodies in the films. Questions of agency and responsibility return when thinking about who is most impacted by the violent histories. The proposal for bodily convergences in this thesis is mostly informed by discussions on the Anthropocene, but because of the situated nature of Guzmán's trilogy, I apply this to my analysis of landscape memories and responses to the dictatorship in the films.

2.3 Dialogue, Sites, and Temporality

Scalar and temporal perspectives of the Anthropocene find similarities in the different scales of discussion within memory studies— from the local, national, international, global, and planetary. These memory scales are still very much human-focused. The convergence of the Anthropocene and Memory studies calls for a varied perspective that accounts for non-human entities, such as animals and biodiverse lands (Kennedy, 2017), while still leaving room for a focus on humans as agents of cultural memory (Crownshaw, 2017; Craps et al., 2018; Gómez-Barris, 2020). This theoretical framework also contends with the landscape's memories and interactions as a driving force for cultural and social memory. This perspective allows for a more integrated approach between time (multiple temporalities) and place (natural landscapes). In this endeavor towards a

more fluid approach to memories between humans and Earth, I engage with a non-human/human shift in temporalities (Wenzel, 2018). Wenzel claims that the Anthropocene demands new ways of thinking about time— past, present, future— and its linearity. In this idea, Wenzel posits the imagined idea of different time periods from an alternate viewpoint but does not go as far as to say that the separate times influence and interact with each other. This notion of perceiving time, especially as Anthropocene notions of time focus on future time, builds a potential towards a fluid approach to time, especially when remembering the convergence of Earth or geological time and human time. Here, it is also important to consider perceptions of time as they relate to varying levels of human activity and their impact on different layers of physical lands and social histories.

In my analysis of the natural landscapes in Guzmán's documentary films, I look at multiple natural landscapes and the long histories of socially momentous events, violence, and natural occurrences reflected in the land's physical and filmic construction. Each film examines multiple moments in time that are narrated as relational to the Pinochet dictatorship if one considers the memory and perspectives of the landscapes. Therefore, I contend with notions of time and multiple temporalities within the Anthropocene and how they can connect with the idea of layered or deep histories. This reading becomes especially relevant to Chapter 3, where I present the possibilities and limits of which moments might interact or engage in "dialogue" with each other in the filmic medium. However, non-linear or distorted senses of time in the Anthropocene are relevant to each chapter. How might the past appear in the present? Are the disappeared, extraction of the land, or other violent events available to the present? In the later analysis, I extend this question to conceptions of haunting and memory in the Southern Cone and ecological species loss (Gordon, 1997; Tsing et al., 2017). For this conversation, Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Anthropocene Time* (2018) is a critical foundational text for conceptualizing these multiple temporalities and will be referenced throughout this work.

As previously mentioned, Chakrabarty discusses "force" within this text and distinguishes between human and natural forces. When thinking about the large-scale effect of human histories within the framework of the Anthropocene, Chakrabarty argues that force within the human context infers "power" and "consciousness" (2018, p. 14). Throughout this work, I adopt the idea of consciousness and the wielding of power to talk about the intentional action of the military

dictatorship to disappear, murder, torture, and detain political prisoners in certain landscapes. I reiterate this point here because it lays the groundwork for the differing conceptions of human and Earth scales of time as they are related/affected by human force in the era of the Anthropocene. Human and Earth histories are merging towards a joint future, which creates a crossroads between "human-centered and planet-centered thinking" (p. 6). In this understanding of the Anthropocene, two paralleled scales of time— "World history" and "Earth history"— are at play (p. 6). As I have outlined, the starting point of the Anthropocene is the meeting of the world and Earth's history, but how might this be challenged or represented when it comes to natural landscapes and state violence? On shared landscapes of violence, can these moments interact with each other? I argue, yes, in the visualized blurring of multiple temporalities on a shared landscape. The sharing of different moments in time is possible through aesthetic and artistic endeavors. As I incorporate a layered and temporal approach to memory, I keep in mind that land is already multi-layered with significant existences such as its geological, scientific, political, and social constructions (Benz, 2020; Soentgen, 2020). By including my own experiences of the landscapes as reference points for their geological, environmental, and social existences, the multi-temporality of the three landscapes depicted in the documentaries is translated to the off-screen contexts.

2.3.1 Dialogic Memories

In this section, I build upon Aleida Assmann in *Dialogic Memory* (2015) and Mikhail Bakhtin's *The Dialogic Imagination* (1975) by setting up the dialogical analysis that permeates this work. In Assmann's work, she considers a dialogic approach to memory as negotiating "two or more perspectives on the common legacy of traumatic violence" (p. 208). The multiple perspectives result in a negotiation or "dialogue" that teases out the happenings of a singular shared event. In this context, the dialogue is between multiple nations that experience the event. For Bakhtin (1975), one source of dialogue comes from two parties that are in conversation but cannot verbally converse with each other— an author and their novel. Bakhtin describes this dialogic relationship as a "system of languages that mutually and ideologically interanimate each other" (p. 46). Therefore, each party should not be assessed individually because they inform and are influenced by the totality of a system. In this thesis, the human body, the natural landscapes, and the triptych itself can all be viewed as systems that come together to inform the memory of a place. There are

similar references to "systems" and "processes" of memory and environmental degradation, which I believe further emphasizes the intertextual relationship between the varying histories of the desert, Patagonia, and the Andes. The dialogue that results in the documentaries is often silent—shown in the visual merging of bodies and overlapping of implied photos/images of past, present, and future—which is not surprising given the enduring silences about the disappeared. There is a specific emphasis on expanding the dialogical relationship to different times and to the non-human in the analysis of *El botón de nácar* in Chapter 4, but there is a constant visual and narrative dialogue between bodies in all three documentary films. In Chapter 4, I reference the "sites of convergence" in the transition moments between scenes (employing the medium and element of water) and in the image of a pearl button itself. This section gives context to the theoretical aspects of dialogue and how it might fit in the Latin American contexts of state violence.

Assmann's reflections on dialogue also acknowledge the presence of silence in the future formation of a dialogic relationship between nations— and their citizens—in the form of pacts of silence that were enacted in post-dictatorship governments in Europe (2015, p. 200). Of course, pacts of silence are very present in the Chilean case and other Latin American countries, preventing military officers from revealing information about their own participation in state crimes (Esparza et al. 2009). In the Guzmán trilogy, we see the aftereffects of silence in the search for the disappeared in the desert in *Nostalgia de la luz* and the disposal of bodies in *El botón de nácar.* In *La cordillera de los sueños*, I find a different form of absence, such as the silences and continued lack of information/evidence, which evolves the Cordillera as a non-human witness.

My analysis of the documentaries engages with material and place-based "sites of convergence" between the human and non-human bodies that provoke a temporally fluid dialogue between post-dictatorship Chile, historical legacies of violence such as colonialism, the Indigenous populations, and the family members of the disappeared. Guzmán's narrative story arcs rely on material "sites of convergence" that anchor the multiple histories to the natural landscape in which they are set. I propose a further reading of these "sites" as dialogical as they allow for a conversation between the natural landscapes and the physical human body throughout two or more moments in time. I use sites to refer to physical locations and landscapes and material objects such as a pearl button or a human body. Pierre Nora's *Lieux de Mémoire* (1989) similarly speaks to important places or

objects that significantly inform a nation's collective memory about itself or shared heritage. Guzmán's "anchors" or sites of dialogue are intentionally chosen because of the landscape relationship, often with the knowledge that the landscapes were meant to naturally enable oblivion. The three Chilean landscapes in question are isolated and harsh environments. In these landscapes, there is not an abundance of statues, monuments, or other physical signifiers that mark the violence that took place. The Atacama Desert is a recent exception. This intersection of isolated places and lack of built markers creates the appropriate dynamic for this very type of convergence and appearance of dialogic "sites" in Guzmán's triptych.

In the Chilean context, a type of "sites" appears in the work of Steve Stern. In *Remembering Pinochet's Chile* (2004), he proposes the idea of memory knots. He states

> These sites are multidimensional. Memory knots, as I am using the term, refer to sites of humanity, sites in time, and sites of physical matter or geography. Specific human groups and leaders, specific events and dates, and specific physical sites all seem to stir up, collect, and concentrate memories, thereby 'projecting' memory and polemics about memory into public space or imagination (p. 121)

For Stern, memory knots are sites uncomfortable to the social body and disrupt the normal 'flow' (p. 120). Stern further states that the reference to the body is very intentional and is an acknowledgment of the bodily torture, murder, and disappearances by the military during the Pinochet dictatorship. Indeed, the physical sites and sites in time that Stern mentions that form the knots on the social body are sites where people's bodies were harmed or disappeared, such as the torture centers in Santiago or the car bombings of former Chilean dignitaries (p. 122). The harm to the physical body marked and shocked the social, bodily system in a way that could not be ignored. Both Stern's memory knots and Nora's sites of memory refer to moments and places that inform the social imagination of a nation in a significant, public, and individual manner. I apply dialogical modes of conversation and convergence so that these new "sites" speak to the longer legacies of violence and allow dialogue between the social and human bodily systems. In this dialogical approach, natural landscapes are afforded a stronger sense of agency (Latour 2014) and placed within the discussion on conceptualizing and representing state violence. I propose that a

dialogical relationship is formed between the natural landscapes and the human body at these "sites of convergence." These "sites" happen at critical meeting points between human bodies and non-human landscapes. I include discussions on sites in this section as it is not temporally bound to one time period. The sites continue to exist after the initial encounter.

When discussing temporal fluidity and "sites" of dialogue in the context of state violence in Latin America, I also employ theories on hauntings and ghosts in the Latin American context. This subject will be returned to in Chapter 5, with a later emphasis on the ecological nature of hauntings and ghosts (Tsing et al., 2017). Here I mention the large body of work in the Argentinian context on hauntings and ghosts because of their similarities to Stern's (2006) knots on the social body and Nora's (1989) *Lieux de Mémoire*. In Memory and Cultural Studies, with a focus on Argentina, the ghost is as an apparition of the disappeared figure, a remnant of national trauma that lingers in the country and can be found in former detention centers that emit those figures (Bell and Di Paolantonio, 2009; Crenzel, 2010; Schindel, 2014). In my filmic analysis, the ghostly figure and any potential haunting is tied to the image of the disappeared and the natural landscapes in question through the visual and narrative reading of particles, "sites" and entanglements between the natural landscape bodies, human bodies, and histories of the landscapes. Both the disappeared (photographs, memorials, and history) and landscapes (filmic and non-filmic) are of both the past and present. A temporal fluidity–dialogical and ghostly– between the human and non-human existences is the basis for the "sites of convergence," explored in Chapter 5 where the memories of both parties exist together in the documentary film.

In the Chilean context, there is little conversation of ghostly figures of the disappeared and the marked landscaped; rather, there is scholarly interest in the change of usage of former detention centers/sites of terror. For example, the detention centers—such as Londres 38, Villa Grimaldi, and José Domingo Cañas— are tangible places where the human relationship to a specific land or place has radically changed due to violent actions (Violi, 2012; Aguilera, 2013; Salazar, 2017). Struan Gray's (2022) recent monograph, *Picturing Ghosts: Memories, Traces and Prophesies of Rebellion in Postdictatorship Chilean Film,* does conceptualize hauntings in Chilean film. The author utilizes the ghostly figure to contextualize and frame intergenerational trauma and the lingering aftereffects of dictatorship. This approach is particularly useful in film analysis, Gray

argues, as filmography can exemplify the "messiness" of the post-dictatorship socio-political landscape (p. 157). Additionally, in Gray's work, the frame of haunting moves beyond one specific "rupture" moment, such as the coup or the dictatorship, and therefore acknowledges the temporal fluidity of trauma, which he states is in contrast to Hirsch's (2012) post-memory that originally stemmed from a fixed time understanding of the Holocaust.

Perhaps the most significant work on the Latin American ghost is Avery Gordon's (1997) *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imaginations*. In the book on the political contexts of the Southern Cone and transatlantic slavery, she states that ghostly haunting "is the principal form by which something lost or invisible or seemingly not there makes itself known or apparent to us" (p. 63). In later works, she reiterates that the ghost demands attention and thus is a *being* that haunts and can reveal what is "hidden from view" (Gordon, 2011, p. 3). How might a ghostly presence change perceptions of a landscape? Why are hauntings and ghosts important to dialogic memory? Both concepts indicate a strong, perhaps unresolved, connection to the past, forcing a temporal expansion to the dialogic discussion. Hauntings and ghosts also acknowledge that certain events cannot be erased from the memory of a landscape. What a space embodies of the past and could reveal is crucial to reading landscapes as active bodies as they can affect and impact the visitor's or viewer's experience.

2.4 Spatial Realities of Remembering in/from Natural Landscapes

Indeed, thinking about a collective human impact results in questions about who exactly bears the brunt of the environmental, social, and cultural impact of climate change. The impacts of environmental degradation are experienced and acknowledged unequally (Gómez-Barris, 2017; Moore, 2016; Angus, 2016), leading to the incorporation of Indigenous, feminist, and interdisciplinary approaches to navigate the relationship between human actions and Earth's geological impacts. Within this conversation of the Anthropocene and the power dynamics, there is also criticism about the focus on the strictly human impact within discussions of the Anthropocene, pointing out that there should also be a focus on other biological forms that are in crisis, other live beings such as animals (Heise, 2008; Alaimo, 2017). What is clear is that the imminent and present ecological crisis calls for immediate attention to who and what places are

most impacted (Craps et al. 2018; Ellis 2018; Horn 2020). In the next section, I further consider "force," "power," and "consciousness" in the Anthropocene. In Chapter 5 on *La cordillera de los sueños*, I engage with concepts of slow violence (Nixon, 2011) and slow memory (Wüstenberg, 2023) as they relate to these questions.

2.4.1 "Force" within the Anthropocene

If the age of the Anthropocene is conceptualized as the geological age when human impact on Earth has caught up to natural processes, questions emerge on the collective human and the intention of those human actions. When considering moments in time when the collective "force" of human activity was capable of affecting the Earth's systems (Moore, 2000; Crutzen and Stoermer, 2000), I situate state-perpetrated violence as a form of international human force that impacted the natural and social environments. In the development of the Anthropocene, force can refer to "geological force" (Crutzen and Stoermer, 2000), "force" as a physical act related to natural processes (Chakrabarty, 2018), and humanity as a "conscious force" (Grinspoon 2016; Hamilton 2017) and perhaps intentionally wielded. In this section, I complicate the idea of "force" and consider the social, political, and economic factors that influence the scale of individual and collective impact on Earth and land within the Anthropocene. I consider if imagining the collective human is possible when identifying who has contributed to the environmental crisis and whose future is left uncertain. Recent scholarship interrogates the unequal effects of the Anthropocene in capitalist structures (Nixon, 2011; Gordillo, 2014), colonial frameworks (Gómez-Barris, 2018), and effects on the body (Bynes, 2022). The authors navigate these structures of inequality through deep considerations of places where human and landscape histories intersect. Considerations of force return in the intentionality of human actions and the effect on bodies in the documentaries.

Chakrabarty (2018) states that "'humans as a geological force' and the Anthropocene are here themes traversed by questions of power and responsibility" (p. 28). Again, we can refer to Horn and Bergthaller's (2019) assessments of the human dual existence of part and apart from nature. Where does the responsibility lie, and in what media can this be explored? Guzmán's trilogy shows an intimate look at the landscapes from which it is possible to engage with these questions of remembering. As a director, narrator, and guiding force, Guzmán poses questions of responsibility

and remembering (regarding the dictatorship) and, in many ways, leaves the cinematic views of the landscapes to respond. The unequal effects of environmental violence and human "force" impacting the geological process can be found in the unequal damage, wear, and treatment of bodies within the dictatorship context. What becomes clear is that the cumulative human activity, even as unequal, has damaged the earthly body and altered the relationship between bodies. However, through the convergence of bodies and dialogic "sites," we endure the effects together. The shared fate of human and natural landscapes is at the center of Guzmán's narrative constructions. In the case of the documentaries, the initial or instigating event is of human origin, with the remaining question of how the natural landscapes might experience, live with, and remember the events.

Power and force, as central to the impacts of geological and human scales of time, have been important in my understanding of how the acts of violence detailed in this thesis, particularly pertaining to the dictatorship, have marked the natural landscapes in Guzmán's trilogy. Chakrabarty (2018) discusses how force in the physical "Newtonian" (p. 9) sense of the word correlates to the potential of natural forces on the Earth, but as defined in the Anthropocene, humans are another geological force. Responding to Moore's (2015) recommendation to name the new geological age the Capitalocene, Chakrabarty notes that when talking about human force, it must also acknowledge power: "the act of folding the concept of 'force'—humans as a geophysical force—into the human-existential category of 'power' that is intrinsic to world history" (2018, p.12). For instance, "consciousness," or what I see as intention, can certainly be applied to the military's decisions during the dictatorship. The history of the Atacama Desert in Chapter 3 demonstrates an intentional human use and power over the natural desert landscape to purposefully hide their actions (Dorfman in Allen et al., 2013). Therefore, in this thesis, "code-switching between the physical category of force and the social-existential categories of 'consciousness' and 'power'" (Chakrabarty, 2018, p. 14) becomes intrinsic to how I navigate the effects of the groups in power on the natural landscapes. For Chakrabarty, power relates to the "social" human forces, thereby leaving natural forces to be viewed as unconscious or unintentional. There is a significant differentiation between intentional acts of violence and the unintentional force of natural landscapes over the disappeared human bodies. My analysis argues that landscapes are a medium and vehicle for a more complicated representation of which bodies, times, and spaces remember.

The interconnectedness between "force" and "power" as integral to reckoning with the past is also present in memory studies. For example, in *Between Past and Future* (1961) and *On Violence* (1970), Hannah Arendt states that the past can itself act as a type in a forceful way, disrupting how we perceive linear time: past, present, and future (Arendt, 1961, p. 10). Arendt arrives at a more complicated relationship between the past and future: "This past, moreover, reaching all the way back into the origin, does not pull back but presses forward, and it is, contrary to what one would expect, the future which drives us back into the past" (pp. 10-11). For Arendt, force, similar to natural processes, is not a determination of the morality of the past event but refers to how it "presses" on the future. The distinction between intention in the human sense of force and the unintentional in natural processes also helps us understand where power fits in. Arendt similarly connects power as critical in defining human actions and positionally. In *On Violence* (1970), she states that "power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together" (p. 44). The discussions of power, force, and consciousness are critical to how this thesis positions the intentional acts of human violence in the Chilean natural landscapes and their forceful marking of the land. Enforced disappearance, as an act of human violence against other humans, is at the core of Guzmán's work, represents how the past is unresolved, and calls us to look at where certain violent histories happen and how we can represent those spaces.

2.5 Conclusion

This thesis relies on a spatial and temporal dialogue between the natural landscapes and the multiple human bodies to read the altered role of Guzmán's landscapes. I keep in mind the multiple iterations of bodies to simultaneously negotiate the ecological and human perspectives throughout this work. Incorporating the multiple physical layers of landscape and human histories engages with Guzmán's visual presentation of the human physical body and the Chilean natural landscapes. The potential of filmic landscapes emerges through the bodily, temporal, and spatial manipulations of the bodies. In the documentaries, Guzmán is able to show the audience an incredible number of spatial realities that are otherwise distant from the human perception of landscapes. The arguments of *bodies* in Chapter 3, "sites of convergence" in Chapter 4, and entanglement in Chapter 5 relies on the medium's ability to blend spaces and visually overlap different moments in time. In

Guzmán's triptych, the narratives intimately and intricately blend bodily experiences and reactions to violence within the larger historical, ecological, and societal contexts. The landscapes, through material iterations of their bodies, embody the paralleled, symbiotic earthly and human experiences of violence.

In this chapter, I employed discourse on the Anthropocene and Memory Studies to outline the bodily, spatial, and temporal dynamics between human (the disappeared, Indigenous peoples, survivors of the dictatorship) and non-human (Atacama Desert, Patagonia, Andes mountains) beings and their elemental forms as crucial to my reading of landscapes in Guzmán's trilogy. The expansion of the boundaries of remembering offers an innovative way to represent and remember state violence as emplaced on the respective landscapes. The ecological concerns of the spaces become relevant when applying this analysis outside of the filmic bounds. I will continuously reference and rely on the frameworks established here in the following chapters.

In section 1 explored the overlap between Memory Studies and discussions on the Anthropocene and how this interdisciplinary approach is necessary for the study of Guzmán's work and use of natural landscapes. I proposed my three threads as building on the call for expanding the "axes" (Craps et al., 2018) and boundaries in Memory Studies, bringing together shared memories and concerns of humans and their non-human counterparts. In section 2, I navigated the multiple layers of interaction between the human and non-human bodies (in this thesis, referring to natural landscapes) and worked toward a convergence of bodies. In this analysis, I stress the importance of the elemental forms of bodies and their visual representations.

Section 3 allowed me to examine how "sites of convergence" engage with a multi-temporal dialogue of violent histories on the same landscape so as not to succumb to the natural processes of oblivion. I worked towards a temporally fluid dialogical relationship between natural landscapes and the human physical body. Various theoretical approaches to memory, such as "lieux de mémoire" or "memory knots," point to the idea that physical places hold memory as they overlap with cultural or historical events. The "site" of memory becomes more fluid as the two entities that overlap — the Earth and humans—- are not fixed in a temporal or physical place. Section 4 engaged with the central question of who and where is most impacted. In this conversation, slow

and forceful processes such as post-dictatorship memory or environmental degradation illuminate the spatial consequences of the Anthropocene. These core dynamics will reappear in the following analysis chapters. At times messy, it becomes evident that questions of remembering state violence and environmental concerns of the Chilean landscapes are inseparable. The bodies affected and the times and spaces in which they are harmed press on each other as they are represented and discussed simultaneously in the documentaries and in this thesis.

Chapter 3: Particles of Memory and the Bodily Reading of *Nostalgia de la luz* (2010)

Introduction

In this chapter, I perform an anthropogenic reading of the representations of memory in *Nostalgia de la luz*, located in the Atacama Desert in northern Chile. I analyze Guzmán's use of particles in the documentary as a convergence of bodies—human bodies of survivors of the dictatorship, those who were disappeared, and non-human celestial and desert landscapes. I primarily draw on work by Lazzara (2006) on representations of the disappeared in Chile, Frazier (2007) on the socio-political history of the region, and eco-critical work on particle-like substances (Steedman, 2002; Sullivan, 2012; Horn and Bergthaller, 2019; Purbrick, 2019). I argue that when the human and non-human bodies interact in the film and on the desert landscape, a particled appearance of the body emerges and blurs the boundaries between the human and non-human world. This representation and appearance of bodies create an intertwined human history with the landscape of origin. I focus on the (re)appearance of those bodies, broken into parts and as whole beings, and how we conceptualize their interactions with each other, specifically in the aftermath of human violence. This form of analysis allows for a deeper understanding of what is (in)visible on the desert landscape pertaining to not only the dictatorship but also the environmental degradation currently happening in the region. I argue that in the study of the particles that mark an encounter between human/non-human, the varied violent histories of the desert are made available to the present. In this analysis, I bring in additional memory projects about the main case in the documentary to apply this analysis to the live, present-day desert landscape. The critical film analysis is complemented by ethnographic narratives of the desert and memorial site, and a theoretical understanding of the smaller composite materials of humans and non-humans. Innovative in approach, I present the filmic and non-filmic memories of the desert through a study of its particle materials.

Pertinent to this chapter is the history of extraction in the desert as a counterpoint to the disappearance of human bodies during the dictatorship. Demonstrating the significance of the desert for Chile's national identity and economy, Figueroa (2020) relays a detailed account of the extraction of natural resources occurring in the desert as of 2020 (p. 159). The first off-screen particles in the film come from this history of mining and extraction of natural resources, such as

lithium, copper, nitrate, wind, and solar. The second set of off-screen particles points to those that contribute to the desert's presentation: sand, dust, and pebbles. The on-screen particles in *Nostalgia de la luz* are abundant, including the celestial, fragments of the disappeared bodies, calcium, the materials of the Atacama Desert, and Guzmán's use of particled light.

As a large body of academic work and film reviews on *Nostalgia de la luz* already exists, I will provide a short review to situate my work within these. The previous work on this film mainly focused on how memory functions in the desert and how the elements of the desert, such as the sand or the sky, interact with the memory of the dictatorship. The main themes can be categorized as follows: natural resources/landscape theory (Gómez-Barris, 2012; Figueroa, 2020), conceptions of nostalgia in post-dictatorship Chile (Couret, 2011; Murphy, 2016), and more abstract ideas of universe/celestial memory (Martin Jones, 2013; Hollweg, 2017; Blaine, 2019). The previous articles mainly focus on how memory functions in the desert and how the natural elements of the desert, such as the sand or the sky, interact with the memory of the dictatorship. In these works, there are various types of memories explored, such as "memories of extinction" (Figueroa, 2020), "universe memory" (Martin-Jones, 2013), "post-memory" (Gómez-Barris, 2012), and questions of scale and nostalgia itself (Couret, 2011). There is only a limited amount of work on geographies that neither fall into the category of structural buildings, such as museums, monuments, or memorial sites, nor are located within the capital of Santiago (Jelin, 2003; Gómez-Barris, 2012). My focus on these "outside geographies" sets my thesis apart from previous work and allows me to expand the dominant memory structures in Chile.

The academic work that is most relevant to my analysis is *Atacama Remains and Post-Memory* by Macarena Gómez-Barris (2012). This text, also mentioned in the previous chapters, identifies the ability of locations and stories outside of the more recognized areas, such as Santiago, to reveal gaps in the "nationalist discourses" (p. 9). Rather than suggest that the localized memories should be incorporated into the national narratives, the author plants the idea that they represent their own memory framework because, in this case, they are anchored by natural landscapes instead of built structures or institutions. By emphasizing the connection between human memories/histories and the site of occurrence, Gómez-Barris speaks on Guzmán's technique of temporally, physically, and spatially anchoring memories to the landscape, which I will explore further in the subsequent

chapters. In this documentary, I identify the "outside" stories as referring to geographical locations, cultural constructions, and the conception of bodies that have revealed themselves to the greater public through Guzmán's emphasis on the desert landscape. The need for alternative, or artistic, modes of expression are for two main reasons. First, testimonies and stories that did not align with the immediate post-dictatorship narratives did not fit with the official discourse. Photography, film, and poetry became an accessible medium to share the story of loss and those lost. Second, art can reveal, translate the unimaginable, and carry a sense of self (Heidegger, 1950). Lastly, there is a large interest in Guzmán's connection between the human physical body and the celestial body (Gómez-Barris, 2012; Epps, 2017; Figueroa, 2020). The recovery of the disappeared is linked to truth and state justice (Gómez-Barris, 2012; Allen et al., 2013; Norrie, 2019), while the physical quality of the bones is linked to the recovery of the bodies but also to their disappearance into the desert body (Guzmán, 2010; Epps, 2017). However, it is difficult to capture the essence of the desert, as I found in my ethnographic experience. Capturing the landscapes in film provides a unique opportunity to provide a moving image of the land and its multiple perspectives, which creates a more connected experience for the viewer. *Nostalgia de la luz* and Guzmán capture parts, moments, or particles of the desert but, again, crucially do not engage with the ongoing environmental concerns of the area.

In section one of this chapter, I briefly overview the histories related to *Nostalgia de la luz*, such as the case of Calama and the 26 disappeared, commemorative artistic acts, and resource extraction in the desert. These histories, in combination with my own experience in the desert in a later section, will contextualize the film's analysis within the real landscape of the Atacama Desert, deepening the anthropogenic understanding of this documentary film. Section two then builds on the history of the desert and the expansion of the "axes" of Memory Studies in Chapter 2 by working toward a particled memory that invokes human and non-human bodies, their histories, and associated sites. I ask why a particled analysis is important to the reading of *Nostalgia de la luz*. I aim to bridge the gap between the Atacama Desert and the desert landscape in *Nostalgia de la luz* and outline the difficulties and advances of remembering in such a place. Section three outlines the parameters on and off-screen particles. I present moments of star/dust as on-screen particles and their appearance as a convergence of bodies. For the off-screen particles, I include my own observations of both extraction processes in the desert and memorial to the disappeared.

In the fourth section, I engage with who has been disappeared into the desert landscape and what has been extracted from it through recounting of observations during my site visits. I keep in mind the histories of human/non-human moments of violence in the region with particular reference to Lessie Jo Frazier's (2007) *Salt in the Sand*. I bring in my own bodily experience of the sites as it brings together the realities of disappearance and extraction in the desert landscape, framing my encounter with Memorial to the Disappeared—Parque para la Preservacion de la Memoria Historica— in the Atacama as emblematic of the convergence of the two histories. The fifth section offers an analysis of how the disappeared people and the extraction happening in the desert appear (or not) in the documentary and on the real landscape, keeping in mind the particled existence of human and non-human bodies. By locating the analysis of *Nostalgia de la luz* in its geographical context, Guzmán's work becomes linked to wider forms and scales of remembering. I, therefore, take an in-depth look at the bodily and representational absences of the disappeared (Lazzara, 2006) and how this connects to the outside perspective of space, time, and bodily boundaries. In this section, I compile a list of other photography, projection, and commemorative projects that have appeared the dead within the same landscape where they became invisible. By including these projects, I also discuss how memories of the dictatorship remain in the Atacama Desert, and why the isolated, vast, and overwhelming desert is a constant and effective place for representation.

The first and fifth sections address the two principal concerns of the desert landscape that emerge from looking at its material composition, especially within the framework of Memory Studies and the Anthropocene: the history of disappearance and extraction in the desert and how they are visible or not visible on the landscape. An interdisciplinary approach to *Nostalgia de la luz* results in a nuanced perspective on the Atacama Desert, where bodies encounter the natural landscape and then together embody the layered memories of the desert and Chile. The interconnected and intermeshed storylines in the film are comparable to Guzmán's speck-tacled perception of bodies within the documentary.

3. 1 The Story of the Desert: The Case of Calama and the Extractions of the Atacama Desert

Nostalgia de la luz has three principal storylines: the story of astronomy in the desert, told through interviews with astronomer Gaspar Galaz at the ALMA observatory; the history of the 26 disappeared in Calama and interviews with two women who searched for them, Vicky Saavedra

and Violeta Berrios; and a look into the former detention center of Chacabuco which also includes interviews with survivors, Miguel Lawner and Luís Henríquez. These are interspersed with a longer cultural history of the desert, Guzmán's personal reflections, and aesthetic cinematic views of the desert. Guzmán interweaves the search for two pasts: the distant past of the cosmos and the more recent history of the Pinochet dictatorship. The Atacama Desert has been home to many manifestations of post-dictatorship memory, commemoration, and explorations, including photography projects, documentaries, and artistic installations. However, most of these memory acts are related to the case of Calama, where 26 men disappeared in the desert on October 19, 1973.

What forms of loss are now visible in the Atacama Desert? The two principal moments of absence, extraction, or disappearance are represented in the disappearance of the 26 men in the case of Calama and the extraction of minerals in the desert. A historical understanding of the multiple bodies and histories in *Nostalgia de la luz* is crucial to my reading of the film as a place where embodied memories are formed. In this historical overview, I highlight moments when intentional human force, detailed in the theoretical chapter, marked or took something from the desert landscape. Discussions of the Anthropocene are typically centered on the human effect on the earth and its landscapes, with particular interest in the future of humans, while Guzmán's documentary interrogates the human/earth dynamic. *Nostalgia de la luz* explores the ongoing (in)visibilities of indents or markings related to human force that preceded disappearances during the dictatorship and the extraction of minerals from the land. In the documentary, the histories of mining are also physically connected to the dictatorship history, as Guzmán describes that the 19th-century miners' houses were the cells of Chacabuco (32:18). Certainly, there are multiple scientific and industrial processes present in the Atacama Desert, but Guzmán chooses astronomy as a poetic and physical reference point because of his childhood interest. It has been noted (Figueroa, 2020; Page, 2022) that the focus on astronomy de-contextualizes or overlooks the desert's extractive and disappearing processes.

3.1.1 The Case of Calama: The 26 Disappeared

I begin with the primary focus of *Nostalgia de la luz*, the disappearance of 26 men into the desert landscape from the town of Calama. The Atacama Desert witnessed extreme violence in the

beginning months of the dictatorship as it was the site of three massacres by the Caravan of Death, a death squad led by General Sergio Arellano Stark and consisting of 14 members (Verdugo, 2001). During their route of terror in late 1973, the Caravan visited three towns in the desert region, including Calama (the case in focus in *Nostalgia de la luz*), Antofagasta, and Copiapó. Within days, the Caravan killed and disappeared 56 men into the desert landscape. In total, the Caravan killed 97 people—26 in the South and 71 in the North (Verdugo, 2001; Allen et al., 2013). This initial display of power, outside of Santiago, had two objectives: instill fear throughout the country and ensure a "hard line" of ruthlessness into the military (Verdugo, 2001; Hurtado, 1990). Those who were murdered and disappeared during this time are designated as part of the detained-disappeared.[8]

The exact location of the murders and disappearances is not known despite the naming of towns—La Serena, Copiapó, Antofagasta, Arica, Iquique, Pisagua, and Calama—associated with the massacres. This leaves approximately 1000 km² of the landscape where these crimes occurred, making specific site commemoration impossible. The Atacama Desert was purposely chosen by the military—as it had a historic connection with the political left and a strong history of mining nitrate and copper—as the site to instill fear throughout all corners of the country (Vilches, 2011). In Ariel Dorfman's Afterward in *Flowers in the Desert: The Search for Chile's Disappeared* (Allen et al., 2013), he refers to the military and says they presumed the "que el desierto sería un lugar de silencio, que el desierto sería demasiado vasto y despiadado para ceder sus secretos" (Allen et al., 2013, p. 123). Frazier (2007) studies the desert towns of Pisagua, Iquique, and Tarapacá to examine "whether the 1973 coup was just a blip in an otherwise democratic political history" (p. 3). In the desert, she finds a much more complicated story of nitrate mining, strikes and massacres of Santa Maria de Escuela, and the mass grave of former political prisoners in Pisagua. Frazier and Dorfman emphasize that the historiography of place is critical in knowing how we got to the present moment. From their historical analysis, and my experience in the desert, it is clear that the physical qualities and make-up of the desert—isolated from the public, incredibly vast, difficult terrain, and monochromatic in appearance— were intentional sought after and contributed to the disappearance of the political prisoners and the actions of the military. These

[8] Here I refer to the designation of detenido–desaparecido which is the term used for those who were politically detained, often taken to torture centers, and victims of enforced disappearance (Wilde, 1999, p. 484)

characteristics can be attributed to the same elements that were involved in the longer histories, such as copper, nitrate (salt), and sand. Finally, as I establish the importance of not only studying the documentary *Nostalgia de la luz* but also its specific location, I quote Dorfman (2010), who observes that the Caravan of Death performed their actions in the desert because it was "the very desert that created Chile as we know it" (p. 122).

The disappearance of the 26 men (and all murdered by the Caravan) seemed permanent. There were systematic silences in place. For example, in April 1978, the military regime created an amnesty decree that benefitted all members of the Caravan of Death (Allen et al., 2013). Amnesty International stated: "Even if the parliamentary immunity could be lifted, the period between 1973 and 1978 -- when most of the crimes were committed -- would remain protected by the Amnesty Law provisions" (1998). It was in these years that the Caravan of Death operated, thereby protecting all members of the group from facing legal prosecution. After 1990 and the end of the dictatorship, as part of negotiations for the transition to democracy, the amnesty decree was kept in place through the transitional governments of Aylwin and Eduardo Frei. Although Aylwin wanted to abolish the law, he did not have enough votes in the Senate (Hurtado, 1990). In 1990, due to information provided by the military, some of the bones were discovered in the desert. It was also revealed that, in the past, the military had dug up the bodies and re-disappeared them into the waters. As I outlined in Chapter 2 and 3, choosing the Atacama Desert for this act was an intentional use of human "force" (Crutzen and Stoermer, 2000) over the natural landscape.

3.2.2 "El desierto como cuerpo herido": The Extraction of Natural Minerals in the Desert

The history and current undertakings of extraction of natural resources in the Atacama Desert are critical to understanding the particular convergence of human and non-human bodies that have occurred throughout multiple time periods in the desert and in *Nostalgia de la luz*. I, therefore, briefly outline the processes occurring in the Atacama Desert and particularly highlight how these actions act as a parallel to the disappearance of human bodies into the desert during the dictatorship. Both actions exemplify intentional and conscious uses of human force against the human and non-human body in the context of historical memory and the Anthropocene, as was outlined in the theoretical chapter.

Multiple extraction processes are happening in the desert that I will speak about—copper, solar, and wind energy— through the lens of personal experience in section 2, but here I focus on lithium and nitrate. I do this because of recent attention to lithium and its inherent connection to water. I begin by providing some context around the extraction of lithium in the desert. In April 2023, Chilean President Gabriel Boric announced his intention to nationalize the lithium industry for economic and environmental motivations (Villegas and Scheyder, 2023), similar to the nationalization process of copper by Salvador Allende in the 1970s. Chile is the second-largest exporter of lithium in the world (Weinberg, 2023). According to Weinberg in *The off-sites of lithium production in the Atacama Desert*, "In 2022, lithium became Chile's primary non-copper export" (p. 2). Miners drill deep into the group to extract lithium and pump mineral-rich brine to the surface, using an abundance of water. Pools of brine are left to evaporate for about a year and subsequently filtered to produce pure lithium salts (Powell, 2023). The process is quite extensive, and because it is water-intensive, it is potentially damaging to local ecosystems (Flexer et al., 2018) and indigenous communities (Liu et al., 2019; Weinberg, 2023) that rely on the water from the mountains. In another damaging environmental interaction with the desert, foreign observatories are exempt from complying with the environmental laws in Chile (Barandiarán, 2015, p. 154). The extraction of natural resources, such as lithium, falls into a strange in-between of visible and not visible. The necessary infrastructure is immense, but its extent cannot always be seen at eye level; it can only be seen from above. Furthermore, I find a parallel in the invisibility of the extraction process and the inability to see exactly when certain minerals or natural resources are taken from the desert landscape with the overwhelming and similarly invisible process of the disappearance of the political prisoners in Calama. The extraction of natural resources, however, does not go fully unnoticed, which became clear in my visit to San Pedro de Atacama detailed in section 3.4, 'Of being in the Desert.'

In the case of nitrate, its history is directly connected to the detention center of Chacabuco. The torture center of Chacabuco has been widely examined as a site of emblematic memory (Vilches, 2011; Gómez-Barris, 2012; Palacios, 2019) due to its economic (associated with the nitrate towns), social (declared a Historic monument of Chile in 1971 by President Allende), and political (military training site and held 1,800 prisoners during the first two years of the Pinochet dictatorship) significance. Nitrate connects, again, the history of extraction in the desert to the

dictatorship and the Chilean nation-state. In the 1870s, there was a nitrate boom in the region of the Atacama Desert (Blakemore, 1979, p. 288). Between 1890-1930, nitrate was sent to Europe for fertilizer and explosives (Frazer, 2007, p. 34). Frazier states, "Nitrate moved the nation-state north. Nitrate also kept the nation-state looking forward" (p. 34). In another socio-politically important moment in 1907, an estimated 2000 people, mostly nitrate miners and their families, were massacred in Iquique in the Santa Maria School Massacre after worker strikes opposing wages paid in tokens and advocating for better living conditions (Frazer, 2007, p. 117). This was followed by more worker strikes (Bravo-Elizondo, 1993; Mamani, 2014). A more recent case that garnered international attention was when thirty-three men became trapped in a mine in Copiapó in 2010, which led to changes to mining protocols (Wozniakowski-Zehenter, 2023). Referring back to the desert town of Iquique where the Santa María massacre occurred, located on the coast and about four and a half hours from Calama, Frazier (2007) concludes,

> Since the nitrate era, the contradictions at the heart of Chilean history have continued to be evident in Iquique's urban geography. After the 1973 military you, Iquique became known throughout Chile both as a location of especially intense repression and as General Pinochet's pet city, a place whose development via a free-trade zone exemplified the fruitfulness of military rule and neoliberal economic reform (p. 144).

3.2 Toward a Particled Analysis: The Difficulties of Remembering in an Isolated Place

This visual and narrative interplay created by Patricio Guzmán's imagination of the desert space between the site's human histories and the landscape itself inspired what I will refer to as a "particled" analysis and apply to the reading of *Nostalgia de la luz*. The development of this term is based on Guzmán's cinematographic use of orbed, star, dust, or light particles throughout the documentary. This analysis additionally builds on previous work, such as Martin-Jones's (2013) "universe memory" and Couret's (2017) discussion on scale as nostalgic form, explicitly detailed in the literature review and as a way to bridge the gap between the Atacama Desert and its presence in *Nostalgia de la luz*. The particled analysis relates to Horn and Bergthaller's (2019) attention to the "foundations of all communal life" (p. 20) in the Anthropocene as related to the climate crisis and as essential to the earth's being. In an ecological sense, these materials bring attention and

reveal the impacts on their larger bodies. I apply the same significance to the particles in the documentary. Through Guzmán's inclusion of them in a prominent position on screen, attention is called to their on-screen presence; therefore, the viewer is called to know more about their origin and their state of being broken apart. The broader landscape of the desert in the documentary film is vast and empty, especially highlighted in scenes when Guzmán films the women searching for human remains. In these scenes, the desert appears grand and lonely but, in stark contrast, also alluring and beautiful at dusk. In a visual counterpoint to the whole, Guzmán films more intimate and close moments of the landscapes: the celestial and the astronomical inquires, the women searching for remains, and the desert composition. In their elemental and particle form, the histories and associated bodies become connected and inseparable on-screen. This section works toward a particled analysis— building on Guzmán's recurring playful use of lights— and the bodies they might represent on and off-screen.

3.2.1 Why a particled analysis?

I list four essential reasons for this analytical approach to remembering state violence in an isolated, natural landscape. First, I contend that the study of the on-screen particles with their off-screen counterparts creates a bridge between the Atacama Desert that exists not only within the filmic realm but, crucially, outside of those bounds, as well. Therefore, connecting the present environmental considerations, the lingering human rights issues, my ethnographic research, and the cinematic landscape of the desert. Second, I view particles as foundational parts of the bodies they come from. Drawing on Horn and Bergthaller's (2020) reading on the foundations of life in the Anthropocene, I see particles as iterations and a bringing forth of their respective larger bodies. In particles, we already see the broken-down state of the bodies. Third, I analyze Guzmán's use of lights (particles) in *Nostalgia de la luz* as a form of "dialogue", allowing multiple times, spaces, and bodies associated with the particles to simultaneously exist on screen. A dialectical approach between past and present is expanded on in Chapter 3, but here, the lights are not only an aesthetic choice but also how we might reckon with various pasts in the present and at once. Four, two dynamics at the center of sections 2 and 3 are made apparent and implicated by the particled

existence of bodies: The political disappeared/extracted resources and how those states are visible or not visible on the land—(in)visible.

There is a large interest in the particular connection between the human physical body and the celestial body (Gómez-Barris, 2012; Epps, 2017; Figueroa, 2020) in *Nostalgia de la luz*. The recovery of the disappeared is linked to truth and state justice (Gómez-Barris, 2012; Allen et al., 2013; Norrie, 2019), while the physical quality of the bones is linked to the recovery of the bodies but also to their disappearance into the desert body (Guzmán, 2010; Epps, 2017). How might the various human bodies and landscapes expand the "scales" of memory? A particled memory primarily invokes the bodies from which they come, but in this way, they are also linked to a temporal and spatial understanding of place (the desert) and *its* memories. In Chapter 2, the effect of human force on the Earth's body was outlined. In this chapter, I focus on the conversation between particles, leading to the desert's multiple histories appearing, through the orbs, as tangible in the present and within the scales of planetary memory. Guzmán, in his final remarks, contemplates a similar phenomenon of how Chile's history fits within the planetary scale: "Comparados con la inmensidad de cosmos, los problemas de los chilenos podrían considerarse insignificados pero sí los colocáramos encima de una mesa, serían tan grandes como una galaxia" (2010, 1:25:48—1:26:13). Guzmán's focus is how the violences of the dictatorship, the disappeared, and their family members are conceived of within the planet's history through memory, whereas my interest is in the material and natural aspects of landscape which enable a fluid, at once, understanding of a site's history. Couret (2017) considers not only the specific past and its value to the present—such as the 1973 coup or point of human origin—but also the journey from then to now (p. 86). My analysis draws on already established perspectives on bodily scales (Couret, 2017; Chakrabarty, 2018) and planetary memory (Liebermann and Neumann, 2020) for the film analysis. Later, I consider how the particled bodies exist together and in the context of a represented absence in real memorial projects in the desert.

3.2.2 Remembering in the Desertscape

In natural landscapes with few architectural markers to signify what took place, how can the violent acts that occurred be remembered? How might anthropogenic perspectives broaden these ideas

about remembering state violence in isolated natural landscapes? Work in other geographical areas and disciplines exists on how to remember and commemorate systematic violence in natural landscapes where past terrors are not immediately evident, including studies on Guatemala and "reading" of the landscape (Steinberg, 2006) and the terrors of what lies below a landscape (Clouser, 2009); Indigenous memorial and commemorations in the "middle of no-where" in Argentina (Curtoni, 2003); and Cambodia's dialectical landscapes (Tyner et al., 2014) and post-genocide memory-scapes (Davis and Bowring, 2011). From an ecological perspective of isolated terror locations, Holocaust concentration camps have been the main area of focus: ecological management (Charlesworth and Addis, 2002), past and present "curating of landscape" (Rapson, 2016), and post-Holocaust sites as specific ecosystems (Małczyński et al., 2020). These studies derive their understanding from a multitude of disciplines, such as geography, cartography, memory studies, and ecology. They engage with what is physically left or absent from natural landscapes after systematic terror. In this thesis, I engage a "second" perspective of a landscape which is its narrative construction in artistic projects, especially film. For this, I am drawn to Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) questions on remembering violence in isolated landscapes to inform the particle commemoration process in *Nostalgia de la luz*.

The central exploration of *Nostalgia de la luz* is the search and physical uncovering/unearthing of hidden pasts, both related to the dictatorship and to greater astrological questions of origin. The authors pinpoint four crucial landscape attributes that work from the beginning: the perpetrator's decisions to undertake violence in the natural sites and the consequent difficulties of commemorating in the present. Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996) tease out these components of landscape in the context of the Holocaust and rural concentration camps. However, there is a striking similarity to the Chilean case and the core relationship between humans and natural landscapes. When talking about "the event and the site," they state, "Many massacres occurred on sites that were deliberately inaccessible. Some may not be locatable to any site or were so widespread as to be difficult to associate with any single site" (1996, p.113). Both characteristics of "deliberate inaccessible" and "widespread" apply not only to the desert landscape in this chapter but also to the Patagonian waterways in Chapter 4 and the Andes mountains in Chapter 5. The other two landscape features identified in the text refer to what happens to the land after the event, which is that "Some actual sites of atrocity although identifiable and accessible, possess no

surviving attributes or physical artifacts that link location with the events commemoration" and "Many rural atrocity sites are tranquil pastoral scenes that do not immediately evoke horror" (1996, p. 113). The authors, broadly interested in heritage management, do not necessarily recognize the potential of natural, isolated, or vast landscapes. Indeed, the intentional use of the desert was due to its inaccessibility and the physical qualities of the desert—monochromatic sand, vast and open in presentation, and uninhabitable in climate— that enabled the disappearance of the political prisoners. Rather than continuing the disappearing process, Guzmán's slow and affective view of these traits and their elemental forms (sand, dust, etc.) in the documentaries is a vital part of how we are shown these lands and their histories. Guzmán centers the aforementioned qualities into an aesthetic form that, at times, is dissonant with the histories being told but does immerse the audience into the totality of the Atacama Desert.

These four considerations are relevant to the thesis as they address location, landscape composition, and future commemorations. Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) approach locates these points within Memory Studies, while in this work, I also foreground them within concerns of the Anthropocene, contributing to how the effect bodies appear in the present-day (natural) landscapes. From this starting point, I emphasize the encounter between the human and non-human bodies and how their elemental forms appear them in *Nostalgia de la luz*, offering another form of remembering in these spaces. The anthropogenic approach expands not only the bodily parameters but also the "axes" of remembering in "outside geographies." I contend that viewing the desert body (through the on-screen particles) within one frame also blurs the notions of "geological" and "earth" (Chakrabarty, 2018) time because, in this form, they exist together and simultaneously.

I now further detail the scholarly work that informed this analysis. Springer (2011) also values a landscape-driven approach to conceptualize the relationship between landscape and violence: asking not "the why of violence, but rather the how and where of violence" (p. 92). The how and where are critical in the case of the desert as intentionally chosen. I build on Springer's approach and reorient the memorialization processes from human-driven to a convergence between human and non-human actors and their bodies. Springer states:

> While violence sits in places in terms of how we perceive its manifestation as a localized and embodied experience, this very idea is challenged when place is reconsidered as a

> relational assemblage… No longer confined to its material expression as an isolated 'event' or localized 'thing', violence can more appropriately be understood as an unfolding process, arising from the broader geographical phenomena and temporal patterns of the social world (p. 91)

I specifically highlight violence as a "process" and its "temporal patterns" because of the attention to how the past exists over time. By working with iterations of the human and non-human bodies, the process of time and wearing down or breaking apart of the bodies cannot be escaped. Additionally, I note Guzmán's intentional choice of the Atacama Desert, Patagonia, and the Cordillera, borne not only from his interests but the sites' dynamic unfolding histories. I return to the slower (Wüstenberg, 2023), over-time processes in Chapter 5 when navigating the representations of the coup and Cordillera in *La cordillera de los sueños*.

In my consideration of how violence can or should be remembered in a natural landscape, I call attention to the relevant work of Tyner et al. (2014) and their work on memorialization of landscape in Cambodia. The authors examine the potential of landscape memorialization in post-conflict unmarked landscapes in Cambodia, asserting that landscapes hold the potential for their own transformation. They state that "they are what has become realized and also are what is potential" (p. 279). Here, the authors refer to any memorialized landscape as a realization of its potential and any non-memorialized site as a non-realization of the landscape's potential (for marked commemoration). Much like the political processes outlined in the introduction, their conclusion found that the realized site of memorialization depended on the present politics and the framing of the current government of the past violence. I am interested in how a "realized" landscape might fit within Guzmán's work as a way to conceptualize how the medium represents and brings forth the hidden acts of violence. Despite the memorials and memory projects, which I expand on in the following sections, the dictatorship-era history of the Atacama Desert is still apart from the hegemonic memory structures in Chile. Nevertheless, I argue that Guzmán's use of particles to show the varied deep pasts of the desert results in a type of remembering that does not rely on a physical, lasting marker. There are a few exceptions, such as the memorial in Calama and the mass grave discovered in Pisagua of victims of the Pinochet dictatorship. In *Nostalgia de la luz*, the events and memories of the dictatorship are visually related to the scientific and ancient explorations occurring in the same place.

3.3 From Dust to Stars in *Nostalgia de la luz*

This section focuses on the dust, starlight, or light particles that often appear over and between scenes in *Nostalgia de la luz*. I make reference to one of these transitions in the following chapter on *El botón de nácar*, where I focus on the aspect of time and how the appearance of the light orbs helps blend the time between the past and present. In my analysis of *Nostalgia de la luz*, I elaborate on the different and multiple iterations of *bodily* states that the particles represent throughout the documentary. My analysis builds on the discussion of the state of disappearance through a visual exploration of Guzmán's recurring slow shots and still frames of the broken-down human (bones), celestial (stars), and natural desert body (sand and mining). I will highlight examples of each and their relationship to their larger bodies, violent moments in time, and each other.

Guzmán's most cited example of the connection between the bodies is the mention of the element of calcium to connect the human to the celestial, as referenced in the introduction. I further contextualize this example, as it not only sparked my focus on the documentary's and desert's smaller particles but it is also a pinnacle moment that highlights Guzmán's internal reflections on how the stories of the disappeared fit into a larger Earth and human history. Referring to the fragments of bones found in the desert in 1990 (Allen et al., 2013, p. xxiv), Guzmán asks, "¿Algún día serán depositados en un monumento? ¿Tendrán derecho a un museo…? ¿Algún día tendrán sepultura?" (2010, 1:15:42—1:15:56).When revealing the connection of calcium between bones and stars and that the remains of the disappeared are stored in the depths of a museum, housed in boxes, the camera stays with the boxes throughout this scene, letting us look at their state. They, like the stars or the orbs, are broken apart and separated from their whole, original body. His question proposes a more visible, prominent space for the disappeared in a (Chilean) museum and later, within Earth's history. From Guzmán's connection of calcium, he evokes the celestial and questions on planetary scales of remembering that have been studied by academics. Within a particled analysis, calcium is particularly interesting because, in both bones and stars, it is an unseen component but acts similarly to the light orbs. It physically connects the two components, allowing for their existence in one element. Guzmán's documentary, which has been shown around the world, therefore acts as its own archive, museum, or monument. The reference to calcium

provides a physical, elemental, and now artistic link between the celestial bodies, the human body, and the scientific search of the past. Memory is embodied within the human body and the landscapes (the Atacama Desert, the Natural History Museum in Santiago, and the celestial) that hold them. If we take the documentary as another archival form, it means that each time Guzmán uses light orbs over different scenes and places, we also see the disappeared in those spaces. Couret (2017) states that "The image becomes the site not for unearthing and making the past co-present but instead for orienting and making the past intelligible through the projection of our body's spatial and temporal coordinates onto the image" (p. 69). Couret indicates that by comparing the calcium in human bones to the calcium found in the stars, the scale and distance to the past (whether distant or recent) are not incomprehensible. I further this idea and contend that by connecting the human body to the cosmos brings another ever-present landscape of the sky and atmosphere above into the dialogue of natural landscapes and bodies. Guzmán's on-screen particles, and my reading of calcium as a particle, cross the boundaries between the celestial and human bodies and scale. In frame, the particles often originate from an indoor location and can flow through the physical space in the documentaries and between scenes.

The particles of light throughout the documentary are multifaceted. However, they mostly appear in moments of temporal shifting and bringing forth of the past. The particles often resemble dust that appears after disturbing a place that has long ago been settled. If we see the particles as dust— as they appear in multiple scenes— they are certainly evocations of the past. Dust can be considered not only a substance of the past but also its physical manifestation in the present (Steedman, 2002). Certainly, the presence of dust indicates that an object's primary usage was in the past. This conception of dust also employs a temporal reading of how the past might exist past its intended moment. In dust, aligning with my overall argument, a multitude of bodies and times are present at once and in the present. In Guzmán's use of (dust) particles, the documentary builds an archival sense of the, furthered by Guzmán's recounts of his past.

In Purbrick's (2015) archival work on postcard images, focusing on the British-Chilean nitrate trade and the 1973 military coup, the author adds that dust is not only an allusion to the past but also indicates how a certain past is viewed in the present. She states, "A gathering of dust only takes place when other things are left alone. Dust is a timekeeper; it accumulates with the passage

of uninterrupted days that run into years" (p. 7). The allusion to "timekeeper" is pertinent to these conversations not only because of the "uninterrupted days" but also because of dust's composition of fine particles from human and non-human sources. The dust keeps a record of the time passed and the visitors to the space. The composition of dust is a bit more complicated in the archive because of the infrequency of human visitors, given that the majority of dust has its origins in humans (Pelley, 2017). In this context, I think about dust as what is cumulatively left behind or apart from the whole of the archived object. As for Guzmán's documentary work and my ethnographic research, there is physical dust in the visited sites, while the on-screen light orbs draw attention to the unattended facets of dictatorship and Chilean history. Lastly, dust is unique in the context of an archive because it signals the "uninterrupted" passage of time, but its discovery also means that someone is looking at it in the present.

The on-screen "dust" in *Nostalgia de la luz* is not directly referred to as archival dust, even though it performs a similar visual function. The orbed lights can be interpreted from different times, note the absence of attention, and overwhelm the objects in question. Off-screen, there is dust in the desert that represents a seemingly unchanged landscape and its harsh composition. Drawing on Purbrick's notes that dust appears "when other things are left alone" (2015, p. 7), I propose that this prerequisite can also be applied to the isolated Atacama Desert. This is a bit more complicated because dust, sand, and grit make up the place, but when this state is disturbed, it is quite significant and, similarly, indicates what is worthy of attention and effort. The difference can be seen in the consistent and enormous work of the women who overturned the land day after day, looking for any information, and the contrasted large-scale extraction infrastructures that were placed into the desert.

3.3.1 “Esta vida tranquila se acabó un día”[9]



Figure 3.1: Two houses divided by tree, the beginning of particled light at bottom left corner. Screenshot taken from Nostalgia de la luz *(5:40).*



Figure 3.2: The divided houses become darker as they are overwhelmed by the star/dust while Guzmán narrates the history of the coup d’état. Screenshot taken from Nostalgia de la luz *(5:47).*

The first scene I discuss, and one of the first of the documentary, invokes the human experience of the dictatorship (through Guzmán’s lens) and shows us the dust of the past, alluding to the celestial/astronomy groundings to come. This sequence begins with shots of the moon and space and then quickly transitions to a brighter indoor space. Inside, the sun casts its shadows onto the different areas of the house and the only movement we see is the rustling of the trees in the sun rays. In the background, Guzmán narrates moments of his past and tells of his childhood fascination with the stars and sky. His voice is slow and deep contributing to the nostalgic sense of his/the past. The opening scene ends with Guzmán stating that “El tiempo presente era el único tiempo que existía” (2010, 5:35). On screen, the viewer arrives at an outdoor, street view and a still image of two distinct houses—a before and after the coup— divided by a tree. At this moment, the audience begins to see the first appearance of particle star/dust at the bottom left of the screen, moving to the top right (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). The narrated sequence, along with the first appearance of the light particles, carries Guzmán and Chile’s tranquil past into an unknown and turbulent present. Eventually, as the street and house views fade into darkness, the particles take over the screen. In the fragile moment before the next shot, Guzmán refers to the dust-like particles as “polvo estelar” (2010, 6:48). The following narration begins as the particles permeate and muddle the previously clear view of the houses.

[9] For me, this fragment of the larger quote on p. 69 encompasses the time before and after the dictatorship which is instrumental to how Guzmán classifies time periods and sites. The before and after is also visually represented in Figures 3.1 and 3.2. (Guzmán, 2010, 6:07).

Refer to Figures 3.1 and 3.2 for the transformation created by the star/dust. Guzmán narrates the connection between the paralleled histories of the coup and interest in the Chilean sky:

> Esta vida tranquila se acabó un día. Un viento revolucionario nos lanzó al centro del mundo. Yo tuve la suerte de vivir esa aventura noble que nos despertó a todos. Esa ilusión quedó grabada para siempre en mi alma. Más o menos en la misma época la ciencia se enamoró del cielo de Chile. Un grupo de astrónomos descubrió que las estrellas se podían tocar con el mano en el desierto de Atacama. Envueltos por el polvo estelar los científicos del todo el mundo construyeron aquí los más grandes telescopios de la tierra. Más tarde un golpe de estado barrió con la democracia, los sueños y la ciencia (2010, 6:07-7:11)

Guzmán's reference to "polvo estelar" is to indicate the fascination of astronomers with the Chilean sky and then he shows us the dust. For Guzmán, it appears the on-screen orbs are paralleled cinematographic techniques to his narration. I read this use of star/dust here as a visible marker of the repercussions of human actions, suggesting an unwavering connection between the desert, celestial bodies, and the violent effects of the dictatorship, including not only the case of the 26 in Calama but also the removal of "la democracia, los sueños, y la ciencia." (2010, 7:11). Interestingly, "envueltos" and "barrió" are motions often associated with getting rid of dust, while here, Guzmán relates them to the time before and the moment of the coup. *Nostalgia de la luz* is an exploration of absent people, memories, and lives; the tone of nostalgia and grief begin in the early moments and are carried throughout the documentary.

This quote is accompanied by a background of what appears to be a black sky with glimmering and dusty lights floating over the background. It is in stark contrast to Figures 3.1 and 3.2 and the brightness of that scene. The particles begin in the lightness but thrive when shown over the darker canvas. This is a long but significant sequence because this is one of the only times where Guzmán's use of fantastical light cannot be traced to a specific material. It could be celestial, dust from the desert, or illuminations of the past. In the context of the narration, I propose that Guzmán is evoking all of these types of matter and moments, presenting them as one. In this "dust," all bodies are present and can exist at once. David Martin-Jones (2013) says the following about the stardust: "This dust recurs on occasion throughout the film, representing the matter that will

ultimately bury all humans, stratifying them within the landscape, archiving them within the universe memory" (p. 721). Again, there are questions about the archive, and referring to the conversation in Chapter 2 about the framework of the Anthropocene, who is most represented and affected by archival choices. In terms of universe memory, there are both cultural and ecocritical considerations of what is remembered and how it remains in the landscapes of inquiry, the desert. The universal, planetary, and temporal invocations of dust are ever present and apparent to Guzmán. However, I would argue that it is not a complete burial of humans or "archiving them within the universe memory," but rather an invocation of pasts that have already been archived or left behind.

In this sequence, I read the particles as making apparent the longer histories of landscape and tied to a natural landscape we regularly live with, the celestial. The star/dust navigates us from the tranquil past toward the turbulent questions about the past in the astronomy observatory and desert landscapes. In these spaces, we are challenged by the whole corporeal forms of the landscape and human bodies and their smaller iterations. Couret (2017) acknowledges this and underlines that differentiating between human and non-human scales and their interpretations still matter. Stating,

> We cannot read the celestial bodies in the same way, because reading left to right… supposes the human scale and/or a stable axis from which to turn. Instead, the galaxy must always be penetrated, our direction moves forward, the horizon ever-receding. Different scales entail different practices or reading (p. 85)

It is true that celestial bodies cannot be "read" in the same way as humans; however, I am suggesting that it is not a question of reading or interpreting them apart but how they live and exist together. Couret continues with his interpretation of how Guzmán reappears the absent bodies of the disappeared– paralleling Lazzara's (2006) ideas of representing absence/presence– through their marked absence or what cannot be seen. He states that it is not through "simulating or reconstructing the absent bodies" (Couret, 2017, p. 88) that we understand the site of terror but through its intangibility. In this context, I further that the use of particles of light, dust, or star fragments in the film acts as a way to view the absent bodies at once. This composition (of orbs) also works to remind us of the state in which we encounter the now absent whole body— broken

apart. In the interviews with the survivors of Chacabuco, two of the women who are searching the desert, and an astronomer, Guzmán draws attention to the bodies that *are* present.

In relation to the concerns of the Anthropocene and its multiple temporalities, I bring brief attention to the function of the telescope. Throughout the documentary. Guzmán emphasizes the importance of the Atacama Desert to science ["La ciencia se enamoró con el cielo de Chile" (Guzmán, 2010, 6:15] and that present-day scientists are looking into the past for future concerns of habitability and a human future (Guzmán, 2010; Schilling, 2015). The telescope exists between human and non-human scales; made by humans to grasp the enormity of the celestial, non-human scale. The telescope sees the whole and material forms of the universe, not only making it an "anchor" between questions of the past and present but also between the human and non-human scales of imagining the past, present, and future. Couret also incorporates an extraterrestrial perspective to represent both the breakdown and disappearance of the disappeared bodies, contending that the inclusion of telescopes by Guzmán and the view of the universe is an attempt to "reassemble the absent bodies of the disappeared" (p. 88). I argue that Guzmán is not aiming to "reassemble" the body but emphasize a body in parts. The varied but consistent use of particles suggests this imagery as a potential (re)assemblence between different types of bodies.



Figure 3. 3: The image shows the illuminated floor of the astronomy center, bookended by a darker door framer. Dust, eventually turning into star/dust, is swept into the air. Screenshot taken from Nostalgia de la luz *(7:11).*

Continuing with the same sequence, after the houses and celestial canvas, the light orbs sweep the viewer into an astronomy center in the desert. Refer to Figure 3. 3 for the first image of the floor of the astronomy center. In Figure 3.3, there is a similar high contrast of colors and light to the previous moments. At first, the previous star/dust takes the form of dust coming up from the ground and enveloping the observatory. This dust, however, quickly transitions to a more particled, light, or orb-like presentation (celestial, once again). We will see the celestial again in this space

at the end of the documentary with Violeta Berrios, Vicky Saavedra, and the astronomer Gaspar Galaz. The original dust in this scene is strikingly similar to a scene discussed in Chapter 5 on *La cordillera de los sueños*, where its presence also suggests an unvisited space and points to an archiving of memories.

I jump ahead to the final moments of the documentary to connect the return of the orbed lights in the astronomy observatory to these beginning moments. In Figure 3. 4, we see a realization of multiple storylines in the documentary when Violeta Berrios and Vicky Saavedra filmed in the observatory, a place of privilege for the scientific inquiries occurring in the desert. In this scene, Gaspar Galaz is also present and guides them to look up at the stars. This moment is a response to an earlier interview with Berrios. In the interview, she is sitting in the midst of the desert, and we see just how vast the landscape is. She makes clear her wish about the search for the disappeared in the desert. She says,

> Ojalá los telescopios no miraran solo al cielo. Sino que pudieran traspasar la tierra, para poderlos ubicar. Mirar allí. Después, correrse, no hay nada pero sería como barrer la pampa con un telescopio (2010, 1:03:01—1:03:25)

Her direction of "miren allí" is accompanied by sweeping her hand across herself as if to scan the desert. This powerful statement interrogates the priorities of the Chilean state, and the resources appointed to each search for the past. The celestial, terrestrial, and human bodies implicated in these particles also function to offer different perspectives of one another, whether from a "subterranean" (Ferrández, 2014) viewpoint, under the surface of the desert, or suggesting the limitations of looking up versus down.

As the particled bodies surround them, we are reminded of Guzmán's earlier observation about the stars: "las estrellas nos observan" (2010, 10:54). In this final moment, like the stars, we are all observing the two women as they look into the depths of the universe. Galaz takes a step back to

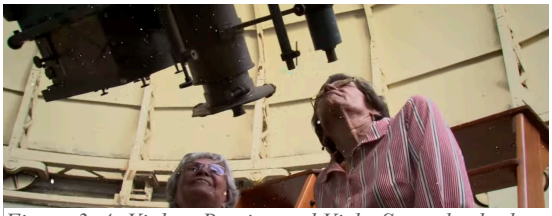


Figure 3. 4: Violeta Berrios and Vicky Saavedra look up into the telescope at the celestial universe while orbed particles begin to surround them. Screenshot taken from Nostalgia de la luz *(1:25:30).*

look upon them, and they are all surrounded by star/dust, offering a resolution and sense of peace to the losses referenced at the beginning of the film (Figure 3. 4). This scene is incredibly bright, nostalgic, and hopeful. Here, the stars of the celestial bodies, the dust of the desert, and the memories of those lost take over the screen. The past moves over them, with them, and is a visual showing of how both the place (desert) and memories (of the disappeared) live with them. Later in the chapter, I return to the materiality of the star/dust and talk about another form of particles that exists between the documentary, the actual landscape, and my own ethnographic research: the sandy, rocky, and dusty composition of the Atacama Desert (2.4).

The materials that compose the desert are made most apparent during the scenes when the women are shown wandering and searching the desert. Throughout the documentary, Guzmán uses two contrasting iterations of the women's search. The first is a wide perspective of the desert, often at dusk, where one of the women is far away, looking down, and scanning the ground for potential fragments. The second is a closer and brighter shot (2010, 46:47, 48:03) of the more physical process of overturning the desert. The wide perspective is also featured on the documentary poster. Figure 3. 5 shows an example of the latter, and we see the dust and earthy materials in Violeta Berrios' hands. Although she is able to hold the broken-apart particles of the desert, they are easily taken away by the wind and return to their greater body. In a similar scene, Saavedra holds the whitened fragments of bone due to calcification and the sun in the palm of her hand (Figure 3. 6). She lets us know that the bones were only distinguishable from the desert because of this and their porous structure. In their 'particle' form, Guzmán focuses on the state of one of the political prisoner's bodies and the desert into which they were disappeared. His focus on the bones emphasizes what was done to the disappeared and the difficulty of the women's search. I highlight the particled



Figure 3. 5: Violeta Berrios sifts through the earthy, dusty desert floor, which is returned to its larger body of the Atacama by wind. Screenshot taken from Nostalgia de la luz *(48:02).*



Figure 3. 6: Vicky Saavedra holds the lightened bone fragments in her hand. Screenshot taken from Nostalgia de la *luz (54:38).*

form of the bones as an indication of the broken apart human body, now existing with desert's particles. The bones and dust will continue to exist in this parallel, composite state. The smaller forms of the bodies can, therefore, also be invoked in the appearance of the star/dust. To show that the searches of the desert are ongoing, Guzmán also includes photographs of past searches. I mention the historical photos (2010, 1:10:29-1:10:36) because they further emphasize the monochrome, heterogeneous appearance of the desert. I will return to the materiality and experience of being in the desert in section 2.4 ('Of being in the Desert'). For now, I bring attention to a view of the desertscape that exemplifies the vision of the desert in the photographs and documentary that was taken during my ethnographic research, seen in Figure 3. 7. This image of the ground shows how the desert itself is marked, and therefore, it is difficult to see where even the slightest human intervention happened. Again, this demonstrates the invisibility of both the extraction and disappearance processes.

When thinking about the damage to, wearing down, or the broken apart state of bodies, I also want to point to contemporary environmental concerns in the desert. This includes using the desert as a dumping ground for excessive fast fashion, mining of natural resources, construction



Figure 3. 7: Photograph taken by Sara Helin-Long in the Atacama Desert close to the Parque para la Preservación de la Memorial Histórica. February 18, 2023.

of astronomy centers, and the rapid installation of solar panels and wind turbines. In terms of the breaking or wearing down of the human body, it also appears in multiple forms in the documentary, including the physical labor of the women, the act of disappearance, and the effects of geological time. The last iteration of particles is the celestial, and reference to planetary, geological ways of remembering. In the introduction, I referenced planetary memory in section 2.2.1 on expanding the axes of memory scales. Here, I particularly engage with the work of Liebermann and Neumann

who contend that literary texts offer an alternative archive to illuminate the dynamic human/non-human dynamics in the Anthropocene (2020, p. 161). Their call for a different form of the archive aligns with my analysis of Guzmán's work. His documentaries, I have argued, offer an archiving of certain histories in their on-screen documentation and alignment of certain histories with their sites of occurrence, although as I and other scholars note, the films do not deeply engage with the environmental concerns of those sites. This is an interesting, and perhaps conflicted, dynamic as he calls upon the longer memories of the terrestrial and celestial to hold the bodies and memories of the disappeared. Liebermann and Neumann continue to outline that, for them, "planetary memory refers to the entanglement of and tensions between human and nonhuman agencies in open acts of remembering" (2020, p. 150). To expand on their concepts, they employ two novels, each demonstrating a form of archiving the planetary: as together or as spectators. In connecting planetary memory to my focus on the particles, I argue that Guzmán's use of lights does both. In the orbs, the audience looks upon the various bodies while they are visually and physically bound together in the lights. I refer back to theoretical chapter and highlight that much of the planetary, global, and anthropogenic discussions in this chapter are the result of not only the convergence and particled appearance of bodies but also of geological/human time.

In the final scene of the documentary Chile's dictatorship history, the stories of the disappeared and ongoing memory questions are visualized in marbles. The metaphor and close shot of marbles manifest the planetary scale within human perception and the appearance of the particle bodies. The last scene in the documentary brings us to a wooden table with many multicolored marbles on top. The marbles are creating their own cosmos on the table. As a whole, they imitate a galaxy as each marble is self-contained, has its own colors, and own history. In a close look, each resembles the images of the universe that Guzmán has previously shown. The marbles are also a link to his own past, he says: "Haciendo esta película, mirando hacia atrás, estas bolitas también me recuerdan a la inocencia de Chile cuando yo era niño" (2020, 1:25:52).

Throughout the triptych, Guzmán's interest in Chile's past is intermixed with an almost obsession with different forms of memory, particularly Chile's collective and the women's and survivors' individual memories of the disappeared. In the marbles, as a form of particles themselves, the multiple histories found in the documentary again exist in physical form in one frame. Guzmán

observes that you could even hold one marble, or world, in your hand. Guzmán's commentary is reminiscent of the earlier scene of bones, representing at least one existence, held in Vicky's hand. This moment with the marbles is also quite magical because it captures all senses. In the auditory sense, you hear soft piano keys that almost lure you into this other world. A similar music is used again in *La cordillera de los sueños*. In arriving at this scene, the marbles appeared from the star/dust. For me, this indicates Guzmán's interest in a multitude of memories, temporalities, and realities that are then represented in both the particles throughout the documentary and marbles at its end. Guzmán's call upon the planetary to hold the memories of the disappeared is successful because we have already seen the physical connection between bodies.



Figure 3. 8: Screenshot of celestial images that appear through the documentary. Nostalgia de la luz *(22:13).*

For the final example of particled expressions of planetary memory and desert landscape, I emphasize the continuous use of images of bright galaxies and the stars in the desert. In particular, there are multiple scenes where Gaspar Galaz is interviewed about the Women of Calama and his astronomic searches of the sky, which are followed by images of galaxies and the universe (Figure: 3. 8). The then-present moment in time is often paralleled with the beginning moments of time, which are only intensified by the images of the Atacama Desert. The galaxy images bring you into the beauty and potential of the desert landscape. Guzmán's childhood fascination with the stars led to these bodily convergences in *Nostalgia de la luz*. Lastly, connecting the documentary to another type of science, I mention that the title was inspired by a 1987 book by French scientist Michel Cassé: *Nostalgia for the Light: Mountains and Wonders of Astrophysics* (Bradshaw, 2012).

3.4 Of Being in the Desert

In the case of *Nostalgia de la luz*, there are multiple iterations of the Atacama Desert: its visual presence in the film, the desert's history, and the experience of the desert that is apart from the

documentary. Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) observations on the difficulties of remembering violence in natural landscapes are seemingly bound to the realities of a landscape and do not consider how a natural landscape can differ in a person's imagination or depiction from its reality. To frame my experience of the Atacama Desert and its multiple intersections with violence, in and out of the film, I consider Tilley's (2006) statement of landscape. Tilley states that "landscape is thus always both objective physical place and a subjective cognized image of that place" (p. 20). In the case of Guzmán's portrayals of landscape, both the imagined and the physical are explored. For instance, my impression of the Atacama Desert was primarily informed by *Nostalgia de la luz*, which eventually differed from how I had experienced it during my fieldwork. The color was much duller and ashier than both the bright daylight and twinkly twilight shots in the film would suggest. The atmospheric effects of the desert left the biggest impact on my physical body. Of course, this could not be conceptualized through the film or before traveling to the desert. The overwhelming vast and aesthetic desertscape was how I formed, to borrow Tilley's (2006) understanding of the terms, a "subjective" conception of the desert before the realized experience of the "physical place."

In February 2023, I visited the Atacama Desert, the town of Calama, and the historical/tourist town of San Pedro de Atacama. I took a plane from Santiago to Calama (about a two-hour flight), and upon leaving the airport, I immediately felt the climate's effect on my body. The arrival was a long time coming, as I had first seen images of the Atacama Desert eight years earlier. I arrived at midday from Santiago, and despite a technical drop in temperature, the air against my skin and going into my body felt hot and assaulting. I quickly got into a taxi and took a short trip to the hotel, which was situated on the outskirts of Calama. From the airport to the hotel, there was only desert. In this short drive, my first impressions challenged my expectations. I expected to feel awe and wonder (which did come) for a place and landscape that I had not previously experienced. In reality, it was dusty, and everything looked almost washed out.

These expectations of the desert are something I hoped to unpack in subsequent viewing of *Nostalgia de la luz*. I found that Guzmán did show multiple versions of the desert: the place to view the stars, the unique landscape, and the place of daily life where the women searched. Both things are true about the place. In the documentary, we see the night lit up by the stars and galaxies,

and we see the pale, monotone colors and dusty composition. The common characteristics are overwhelming and expansive, both of which became ever-present during my visit. The sand, dust, and stones that I have highlighted in the previous section were only more apparent in person and made the desert seem inscrutable at first glance. Moreover, the tole of the environment cannot be captured in the filmic view of the women's search of the desert. In this first meeting with the desert, I was very aware that my body functioned slower due to an altitude of about 2,250 meters above sea level with temperatures reaching 25 degrees Celsius.

On my first day, I took a trip to the memorial (Parque para la Preservación de la Memorial Histórica), located in the middle of the Atacama Desert. On the road leading up to the memorial, there were multiple signs indicating where to turn and go into the desert to find the memorial. It was hardly visible from the road. As I approached the memorial, it became very clear that I would spend my time here in silence and alone; even the cars were scarce. It is incredibly difficult to convey the amount of 'empty' space that surrounded me. There were no built living structures or human activity in sight. For me, the most striking difference between what I had imagined and what I encountered was the notable number of wind turbines in the background. In preparation for the trip, I studied earlier photos of the memorial, which left an impression that the memorial was completely isolated from any additional human interventions. I imagined bright but rustic red pillars surrounded by a flat desert. Reference Figures 3. 9 and 3. 10 for the memorial I had imagined/encountered before my research trip (3. 9) and the memorial I found in the Atacama Desert (3. 10).[10]

[10] The image of Figure 3. 9 can be found here:
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/41/Memorial_DDHH_C



Figure 3. 9: Parque para la Preservación de la Memorial Histórica with a deeper red coloring taken from Wikipedia and the archives of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights. Uploaded June 13, 2012:



Figure 3. 10: The same memorial showing signs of sun and weathering. In this image taken by Sara Helin-Long on February 18, 2023, there are clear signs of human development, such as the wind turbines.

There were three noticeable differences to my imagination: the wind turbines in the background of the monument, a clear view of the Andes Mountain range, and dusty pink pillars in place of the red. With the addition of the turbines, I was made visually aware of human presence and the harnessing of the natural elements. The infrastructure needed for extracting the resources is very visible on the landscape. The pillars were previously the only physical marking of human presence in this area, but now, the wind turbines dominate the space. In fact, it was impossible to take a photo of the memorial without them also in view. The wind turbines and solar panels (also seen in the desert) did not arrive until about 2014/2016 and 2019, respectively (Ortiz, 2016). In the documentary, the monument is only present briefly (2010, 1:10:53), although it is somewhat unclear if it is the same memorial because we only see the figure of the cross and not the pillars. We are, however, shown the memorial of the mass grave in Pisagua of the political victims of the dictatorship found in 1990. Twenty bodies were found well preserved due to the salt and mineral composition of the area (Memoria y Justicia - Enfoque-Pisagua, 2002).

The wind turbines, however, were not the only visible form of human intervention or extraction in the desert. On the following day, I took a bus to San Pedro de Atacama. During the journey, I saw two clusters of solar panels lining the road. In appearance, the solar panels were the exact opposite of the turbines. They were low to the ground, and when clustered together, it was almost impossible to see the desert floor beneath them. Where the wind turbines were white, the solar panels reflected silver and were quite obviously apart from the landscape. Wind turbines and solar panels indicate

vastly different processes of utilizing natural resources than the extraction of mineral resources; however, they are far more visible on the land. Moments after seeing the solar panels, I saw what looked like a vicuña, alone and still, off the side of the road. There was only one, and therefore, looked more out of place than the solar panels, wind turbines, or memorial pillars that were all part of a larger human-made structure.

Before I left the desert, I visited the Chuquicamata copper mine. It was barely visible from the road, but there was a small area where it was possible to pull over and look at the mine. Even when I knew the mine was there, it looked like it belonged to the desert, as all I could see from the road was what appeared to be a hill. The Chuquicamata mine was not visible from the monument but was about a thirty-minute drive from the site. In the film, part of the narrative is Guzmán traveling in the desert to get to each site, which gives a perspective of the vast and difficult landscape of Atacama. However, from the film, it is not always clear how each site is geographically related to the other except that they are all in the broader desert. Guzmán neither limits his filming of the desert to an exact site where the massacres occurred (because they are not known) nor does he center his shots/contemplations on the structures that do exist, such as a 26-pillar memorial representing those massacred in Calama or the notorious detention center of Chacabuco. In contrast, the solar panels and wind turbines were inescapable, in contrast to the memorial and copper mine that I intentionally had to seek out. In Guzmán's depiction of the desert, there are no wind turbines or solar panels to indicate that humans have altered the desert landscapes. In the film, the desert remains visibly unaltered, which makes it difficult to tell when we are in the desert's history.

The town of San Pedro de Atacama also significantly impacted the focus on the environmental context in this chapter and thesis. I originally took the trip to San Pedro because of its importance to the area's archeological history and grand geological surroundings. It is now a highly touristic place to visit. As I walked into the town from the bus station, along the road leading to the two, a line of posters caught my attention. They are shown in Figures 3. 11 through 3. 14, all taken on February 19, 2023, by the researcher, Sara Helin-Long. Of the posters shared here, there were multiples of each on the wall leading into the town, but most of them had been torn away, covered with other listings, or weathered. The destruction of these posters looked intentional, though I did

not confirm this. I found these posters fascinating. Many of them equated the desert body and its well-being to that of the human body or animal bodies, clearly stating, “No le sirven tus derechos.” As shown in the images, they also spoke of the desert’s past and association with copper and lithium and emphasized that these extractions should not be happening. These examples speak to



Figure 3. 11: “La culpa no es del litio sino del que le saca el provecho.” Taken by Sara Helin-Long February 19, 2023.

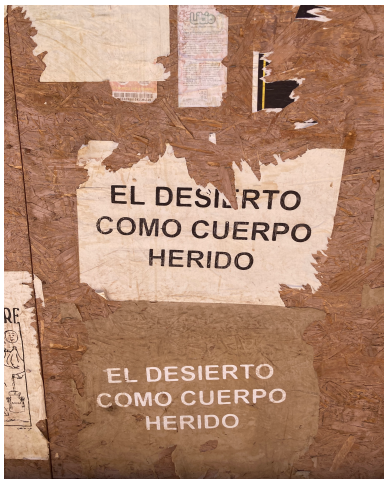


Figure 3. 12: “El desierto como cuerpo herido.” Taken by Sara Helin-Long February 19, 2023.

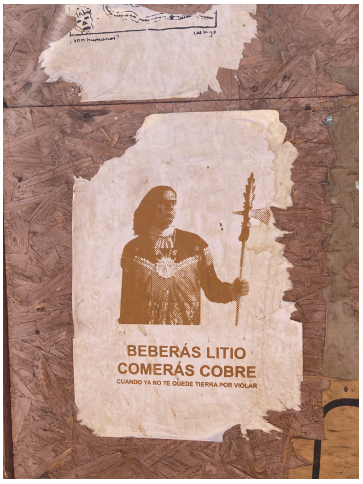


Figure 3. 13: “Beberás litio, Comerás cobre. Cuando ya no te quede tierra por volar.” Taken by Sara Helin-Long February 19, 2023.

the absence and extraction of the minerals and parts of the physical body of the desert. No bodies should be taken advantage. In the following section, I more closely examine the artistic memory projects that have intentionally marked the desert landscape and reappeared the disappeared. I specifically engage with off-screen artistic memory projects that work with the outlined constraints in section 3.2.2 ‘Remembering in the Desertscape’ and, in fact, use the vastness, isolation, and materials of the desert to enhance the displays of memory. Additionally, in my analysis and presentation of the memory projects, I apply the particled analysis to discern how these projects appear, the various histories of the landscape, and the bodies of the disappeared within these contexts.



Figure 3. 14: “Al desierto no le sirven tus desechos” on a phone booth pool across from the wall of posters. Taken by Sara Helin-Long February 19, 2023.

3.5 (In)visible Absences

In this section, I further explore the convergence of bodies and how their material forms enable their appearance on the desert landscape. I argue that by conceptualizing the human, celestial, and desert bodies together, the boundaries of where, who, and what is remembered become blurred. In the comprehensive overview of the desert and commemorations of the 26 disappeared in Calama, I look at what makes the desert such an effective place to represent the absent body. In the next section, I will particularly highlight the work of Michal J. Lazzara (2006) on artistic commemorations and the photography work of Gabriel Orge as he projects the images of the disappeared in both natural and urban public spaces. I analyze the points of intersection between (re)appearances of the human body and the site of the natural landscapes to conceptualize how the particled convergence of bodies also applies to memory processes outside of the filmic bounds. In the examples, the memorials utilize the desert landscape to emphasize the loss and disappearance of the physical body. Like the particles, the memorials in the next section are a unique convergence of natural landscapes and the evocation and reappearance of the invisible human body. I would also say that, in the documentary, Guzmán confronts these absences through the presence of other bodies, including Violeta Berrios, Vicky Saavedra, Gaspar Galaz, Miguel Lawner, Luís Henríquez, and a child of exile and astronomer Víctor González.

A continuing theme in Guzmán's work is how to give a platform to those historically left out of the narratives, such as the dead/disappeared and the natural landscapes. He continues this in the *El botón de nácar*, *La cordillera de los sueños*, and *Mi país imaginario* through interviews and the specified locations of his narratives. To address this question, I look to Lazzara's (2006) influential work, *Chile in Transition*, where the author contends with art's potential and poses the following question, "what role can art play in restoring expression to the expressionless dead" (p. 102)? Neither Guzmán nor I deliver a clear answer, but Lazzara's question opens the door for the media in which loss, absence, disappearance, and extraction can be represented. In Chile, the voice and presence of the disappeared in memorials, former built sites of terror, and artistic projects are well-studied topics, as I have noted throughout this chapter. This section contributes an archive of the memory project in the desert. *Nostalgia de la luz* has often been analyzed in the context of representing the "expressionless dead," leaving room to explore disappearance in other forms. In the artistic memorials to the 26 men, the absence of the body is marked— through pillars, stars, or

projections onto the landscape. The artistic mediums allow for an evocation of the human body to interact with the natural landscapes that witnessed the disappearances, the celestial and desert landscapes, and solidifying their once presence.

Lazzara (2006) further discusses the topic of absence/presence specific to Chile through the idea of "Absent Voices, Absent Bodies" and the difficulties of narrating the memory of those who are in a state of disappearance. He explores immediate post-dictatorship memorial (artistic) projects that either worked to visually mark the physical absence of the taken body or facilitated a reappearance of the disappeared. To mark the presence is to have the disappeared "'reappear' and have carved a place for them in the national imagination," while the absence is marked by creating a space for the void "left by their violent extermination" (p. 104). Furthermore, Lazzara discusses the potential connection between memory sites, commemoration, and art as a way to fill the narrative gaps resulting from the physical disappearance of the "desaparecidos" (p. 104). Finally, relating to artistic productions that call upon the past, he terms the projects as "lenses of memory" that are capable of relating Chile's dictatorial past and the resulting trauma to the present moments (p. 31). By interpreting the term "lens" as a metaphor, Lazzara's analysis not only suggests a subjective quality of memory itself but also points to the potentiality of the visual medium to negotiate the past. Lazzara focuses on disappearance as a state of being, which is to say that the gap in the narrative is caused by human loss and the physical absence of the body. The reading of multiple bodies in the star/dust does not negate the absence of the bodies of the disappeared but acts to reappear them in the implicated landscape.

As another form of reappearing the disappeared person in the documentary, Guzmán includes photographs of the disappeared placed on the desert floor. The photograph's inclusion, alongside the narratives and interviews of victims of the dictatorship, not only serves to reinforce the absence of the body but also contributes to the establishment of a palpable sense of locale. For example, when interviewing Vicky Saavedra, there is a shot of a photograph of her brother, Jose Saavedra Gonzalez (56:06) placed upon the desert, which also generates a connection to a wider history of women carrying photographs as an act of remembering (Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo). The desert frames the photograph and in this still, the rockiness, sand, and grit of the ground surround him. The make-up of the desert is instrumental to questions of disappearance and reappearance in and

outside of the documentary context. Indeed, *Nostalgia de la luz* provokes a deeper look into the desert beyond what is visible on the surface and into what geologically, celestially, and historically lies below. My analysis of the documentary engaged two aspects of appearing: the physical aspects and representations of human and non-human history (remains of the disappeared, photos, astronomy observatory) and a filmic creation of the desert's pasts (depictions of the galaxy, dust, and light particles that move in-between scenes, and an aesthetic depiction of the desert). In relation to the ecological consequences of the desert, Figueroa (2020) identifies the notable absence of the history of mineral extraction in the desert. I now look at how these particles transfer to the non-filmic Atacama Desert.

In my discussion of how particles (human and non-human) address the absence of bodies and the difficulty of remembering in natural landscapes, I refer back to the expansion of axes to remember within the Anthropocene. The blurring between bodies seen in the documentary and within the frameworks of the Anthropocene is essential to preserving the layers of history in the Atacama Desert. Continuing from the convergence bodies, I contend that the success of the upcoming memory projects in representing the violent histories and reappearing of the body is due to the landscape's elemental, natural qualities. In the memorials and in the particles, the meeting of the human and nonhuman bodies makes apparent what has been taken. This can be in the context of the victims of the dictatorship, the disappeared, or the ongoing extraction of natural resources. In continuing the particle connections between landscapes and bodies, I reiterate that this analysis is built on Guzmán's physical (calcium) and visual (bodies in the desert) representation of the aligned history of the human and celestial bodies in *Nostalgia de la luz*. For Guzmán, the narrative is often driven around the question the place of the disappeared in contemporary Chile. In this chapter, I complicate the question through discussions of what has been disappeared/extracted in the desert landscape (on and off-screen) and what is left visible on the landscape. It is the components of those bodies that were found or are visible in the film through the use of the star/dust particles. The components that make up the body, such as blood, bones, and calcium, perform a similar function to the components that make up the desert and stars—soil, minerals, dust, and calcium. As previously discussed, all of these particles make up the "material foundations of all communal life" (Horn and Bergthaller, 2020, p. 20). I argue that thinking of natural landscapes and the celestial as other bodies allows for a connection that bridges the human and non-human

discussions. The appearance of those bodies in the documentary, in the form of their almost decomposition, forms an intermeshed memory structure between the human and geological histories of place. The absent or (in)visible body appears when the human and non-human bodies meet in both their particled existences and in the memorial projects.

Referring back to Purbrick's analysis of postcards featuring Santiago's skyline as a way to perceive the bounds and images of the city in one "tangible triangle" (2015, p. 12), making them perceivable in one frame or within the human scales. This also applies to the dust and bones in the hands of the women and the marbles at the end of the documentary. Purbrick's analysis lends itself to how we might view the Atacama Desert and its various pasts in *Nostalgia de la luz*. Purbrick states:

> The image ought to be the imprint of the unrepeatable moment, the here and now of photography, onto the card, since that is the technology from which it derives. But reality, briefly reproduced as the shutter over the camera lens opens and closes to light, is too overlaid by idealization to perform entirely as photography; the particular and the passing moment are subsumed by a more generic notion of geographical and historical place (p. 13).

The referenced postcard is of a beautiful view of the skyline of Santiago with the Andes mountains in the background. In this ideal portrait of Santiago, the author questions what is not visible, stating that histories and places tied to the military dictatorship, such as the disappeared or torture and detention centers, "exist on a different picture plane, but they have never been here under the azure skies of the postcard" (p. 13). Many of the disappearances (human, natural) in the desert are also hidden or invisible in what would be the "picture plane." In contrast to the medium of photography—although photographs of the disappeared are placed onto the desert in one scene—film can shift and overlay perspectives. Furthermore, a new imagined view of a natural landscape can be created, such as the case in the documentary with the light particles and suggestions of earth memory.

3.5.1 Memory Project in the Atacama Desert

The disappearance of the body as a reinforcement of power and fear by the Pinochet dictatorship has been well-documented, particularly in the case of Calama (Rettig Report, 1991; Aguilar, 2002). The deaths associated with the Caravan of Death are significant because they demonstrated an expansion of Pinochet's power throughout the country. The history and memorialization of the Caravan of Death and the closely related death flights only recently reached Santiago.[11] Only in August 2022 was a bill entered into the National Congress to construct a memorial at the Tobalaba Airport in Santiago, where the death flights originated from (MENSAJES. Memorial Aeródromo Tobalaba, 2023). The proposal was initiated in 2017. The sites, unfortunately, are widely inaccessible and span great distances.

For representations in the Atacama Desert, Patricio Guzmán was not the first one to capture the Women of Calama or remember the victims of the Death Squad in the Atacama Desert. I provide an overview of the projects as a catalog of the various ways that the disappeared have been inscribed into the landscape outside of the documentary. The projects are as follows.

1. The photo project and book by Paula Allen (2013) *Flowers in the Desert*. Allen photographs the Women in the Desert in the 1990s, searching for their disappeared. This first documentation was in 1990 and the book with contributions from notable Chilean authors—including Ariel Dorfman, Isabel Allende— and was first published in 2010. The online project can be found here: https://www.paulaallenphoto.com/flowers-in-the-desert-chile.
2. In 1993, a Chilean Poet, Raúl Zurita inscribed a poem into the desert. "Ni Pena, Ni Miedo."
3. On October 19, 2004, the Agrupación de Familiares de Ejecutados Políticos y Detenidos Desaparecidos de Calama inaugurated a memorial of pillars for the 26 disappeared men. The

[11] Death flights is the term designated to the process of disappearing victims' bodies from airplanes or helicopters into large bodies of water. In Chile, the flights are associated with the further disappearance of some of the Caravan of Death victims, such as the further disappearance of the victims of Calama (Schwarze, 2024) and undertaken by the DINA (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional) (Verdugo, 2016). The discovery of railway tracks in 2005 on the coast of Chile as detailed in Chapter 4 on *El botón de nácar*, was used as evidence of the death flights. For further information on this case and the process of death flights consult *Testimonio de Rieles, Bahía de Quintero - Corporación Parque por la paz villa grimaldi* (2018). Death flights occurred throughout Latin America, including in Argentina, Colombia, and Guatemala, and were synonymous with state terror (Dinges, 2005; Sims, 1995; Franklin, 2001).

memorial is located 13 kilometers southeast of the town of Calama. The site is now called the Parque para la Preservación de la Memorial Historica. Refer to Figures 3. 9 and 3. 10.

4. In 2010, Patricio Guzmán's *Nostalgia de la luz* was released.
5. In the same year, 2010, Carlos Berger released *Mi vida con Carlos*. He is the son of notable activist and filmmaker Carmen Hertz and German Berger-Hertz, who disappeared as part of the 26 in Calama. The documentary recounts the familial reckoning with German's disappearance. Analysis of this film reappears in Part 4.2.4, 'Views from and of Water.'
6. In 2017, Amnesty International announced its intention to memorialize 26 stars over the memorial site. The project was called the Constelación de los caídos. Their idea was similar to Guzmán's as they state: "El mismo Cielo que los vio partir, los recordará eternamente." The prologue to this project was written by Poet Raúl Zurita. The project can be found here: https://amnistia.cl/chile-dia-internacional-de-apoyo-a-las-victimas-de-la-tortura-constelacion-de-los-caidos/.
7. The latest project is from photographer Gabriel Orge. Orge projected images of the disappeared onto rock formations in the desert in 2017. The project was called "Apareciendo." I will talk more in-depth about this project in the context of (dis)appearance. https://www.lavoz.com.ar/vos/artes/gabriel-orge-y-sus-imagenes-contra-el-vacio-historico/

The women of Calama, particularly Violeta Berrios, are active and instrumental in many of these projects, such as the Paula Allen's photography project, Guzmán's *Nostalgia da la luz*, and the projection memorial of Gabriel Orge. In thinking about the broken, or particled existence of the human body in the film analysis, I call attention to the continued presence of the women and their shared DNA and blood with the disappeared which facilitates another bringing forth of the past physical bodies of the disappeared into the current landscapes. The amnesty project is uniquely relevant within a particled analysis because it involves the celestial realm as present at the moment of disappearance and ongoing witness to the site. The cover page of the project states that the desert sky is, "[e]l mismo cielo que los vio partir, los recordará eternamente" (Amnistía Internacional, 2018). The stars/ celestial in the Atacama Desert are, as my analysis of the star/dust indicates, present at the moment of disappearance, in the present day, and in between. The two documentary films, one the subject of this chapter, both involve the desert as a site of memory and a place to come to terms with the past.

To relate the documentary *Mi Vida con Carlos* (2010) to my argument of particled memory and the figure of the disappeared I draw on the Argentina context and Estela Schindel's (2014) engagement with former places of terror and narratives about ghosts or hauntings as critical in understanding the "figure of the desaparecido" (p. 244). In Chile, enduring silence about what happened to the disappeared still affects the conversation, and their existence is still liminal (Friedman et al., 2005; Lazzara, 2006; Bernasconi, 2021). Both Schindel and Lazzara (2006) engage with the state of disappearance as an in-between, liminal space that lends itself to a ghostly or haunted experience (also present in Chapter 5 on dialogical sites of remembering), referring to their existence as "in an intermediate realm" (Schindel, 2014) and as both physically "absent" and intentionally marked as "present" (Lazzara, 2006). Both readings of the figure of the disappeared call for historical justice and ultimately try to navigate the empty space left in the wake of disappearances. This chapter's focus on the presence or appearing of bodies does not imagine the reapperance of *bodies* in 's star/dust as a haunting of the present moment, but I am reminded of DiGiovanni's (2017) analysis of the documentary *Mi mi vida con Carlos* (2010) that takes place in the Atacama Desert. In one scene, Germán Berger-Hertz, the son of one of the disappeared men in Calama (Carlos Berger), is accompanied by his uncles and mother and reads a letter out loud to his father in the middle of the Atacama Desert. DiGiovanni describes this scene as "the original act in reverse" (p. 71) and poetically takes note of Berger-Hertz's tears. The tears are a production of water in the desert— a symbol of growth, as DiGiovanni argues— that stands out in the driest place on Earth. Both the tears and the bodily return of Carlos Berger's son can be seen as the physical re-embodiment of the life that was buried in the sand and giving life to the ghostly figure of Carlos Berger. In this scene, the appearance of Berger-Hertz's tears and his physical body is another example of how the particled form can bring forth an iteration and remembering of the disappeared body of Carlos Berger into the current desert landscape.

The goals of these projects include documentation of the memory acts to explorations of the desert, and physical memorials to the disappeared. The Atacama as a unique and prolific site to remember is enhanced by the idea that the Atacama Desert is the best place on Earth to view the stars because of its dryness; Norrie (2019) adds that there are views of the universe that can only be accessed in the Atacama Desert (p. 389). By including the memory project about the case of Calama and the

disappearance of the 26 men that exist outside of *Nostalgia de la luz*, I view the projects as additional "particles" that are both part of the desert landscape image and the bodies of the disappeared. They provide another bridge, in addition to my own fieldwork, between the filmic landscapes and its particled presentation of bodies and memories in *Nostalgia de la luz* and the real Atacama Desert landscape. I now provide a more extensive discussion on the particled nature of both memorial projects of Raúl Zurita and Gabriel Orge.

3.5.2 The Particles of Zurtita and Orge

Gabriel Orge is an Argentinian photographer, visual artist, and teacher whose work focuses on projecting images of the disappeared in public and private spaces in both Argentina and Chile. The projects are named "apareciendo a…". In Calama, the project was called "Apareciendo a los prisioneros de Calama." I include his work as it builds on Lazzara's (2006) concept of reappearing and suggests how a particled—composition of lights— appearance in the Atacama functions similarly to the documentary's (re)appearance of the bodies. This project and the process of projection onto the desert can be seen in Figure 3. 15. Furthermore, in the framework of particles, Orge's projections are made possible by assemblages of lights as both a particle and a wave. As the on-screen particles exist momentarily, Orge's projects are also ephemeral. On Orge's work, Enrico (2021) states, "Through these apparitions, or appearances, in urban or natural or rural landscapes, Orge points to the need to stop and look at images of the disappeared so that they can continue to live on" (p. 43). Here, again, the human and non-human bodies in particled form create a new image and memory of the disappeared. In contrast to the moment of disappearance, now the landscape is marked by a moment of appearance. Not only do the images of the disappeared continue to "live," but so do the labor, story, and body of Violeta Berrios and all of those still searching. In the book *Memoriales de luz; Imágenes que faltan* (2020), Orge details



Figure 3. 15: The project "apareciendo a…" in the Atacama Desert. A tribute to the 26 disappeared in Calama. Image from Gabriel Orge (@gabriel.orge). September 25, 2017.

his photography project of the disappeared in Calama. Orge describes the progression and process of the collaboration with Violeta Berríos as follows:

> Una vez allí, hablamos sobre su vida, su lucha y la de todo el colectivo de mujeres que nunca dejaron de buscarlos. Le conté acerca de mi idea de 'hacerlos aparecer' a través de una proyección sobre el paisaje de Atacama; se entusiasmó…ensayamos un primer intento de proyección sobre el paisaje lunar cercano a Calama. El polvo y el viento que redondean las dunas nos impidieron concretarla. Luego del intento fallido decidimos continuar y adentrarnos en otras zonas buscando formas naturales más adecuadas a la morfología de la imagen que queremos proyectar. En los días siguientes atravesamos paisajes lunares, vientos de polvo, cerros que soplan azufre; hasta volcanes descansando… En la noche del día siguiente instalamos la proyección. La luna salió a las 22:10 de la noche detrás del volcán Licancabur y el paisaje quedó en total contraluz. Durante dos horas esperamos que la luna hiciera su recorrido hasta iluminar el paisaje de manera lateral. En ese lapso la intemperie amplificó el silencio y la temperatura bajó abruptamente. Pasada la medianoche la luz de la luna comenzó a resaltar el volumen del paisaje. Con mucho frío y emoción pudimos hacer la toma final, mientras pequeños cristales de escarcha comenzaran a brillar sobre el equipo y las ópticas de la cámara se nublaban marcando el final de la jornada (pp. 59-60)

I felt it necessary to include this long excerpt because it speaks to the harsh physical experience of being in the landscape and, again, of its smaller components that mark this experience. In this quote, the temporalities of the past are interwoven with the active memories of the present. The light, dust, and wind all affect and mark the site, in addition to the projection. This summary of how the project was realized shows the lasting, ongoing effects of state violence on multiple generations of bodies with emphasis on the women's bodies who are still enduring the harsh condition to preserve the memories of the disappeared. My own experience in the desert aligns with the physical description of the desert landscape. It is clear that in the desert, many bodily senses are evoked. In my field research, the dust and how my body breathed and functioned was the first thing I noticed. From the first steps I took in the desert, I was very aware of my body and that it was more difficult to breathe than Santiago, where I had just come from. The air was heavy. The enormity of the desert was incomprehensible before my visit, and I immediately felt small compared to the place I was in.

I want to point out another interesting duality that exists between the light created by the projector and the moonlight. They are two sources of light (human-made and natural) that both amplify and illuminate not only the immensity of the desert but also the multiple silences held in this place. The projection of what appears to be 14 of the men, even as a large-scale imprint into the land, is still isolated (Figure 3. 15). Quite soon after their appearance in this project, they will no longer be visible. Within the discussion of how to remember in such landscapes, I contend that the qualities of the desert—vast, beautiful, monochrome, overwhelming, and isolated—are not to be overcome but rather can strengthen the artistic memory projects. The unforgiving environment connects the realities of the men buried and uncovered in the desert and those searching. In *Nostalgia de la luz*, the viewers are told of the difficulties of searching, but within the film, the desert often appears more beautiful than difficult. The last similarity brought up in this excerpt that I will focus on is the lunar surface to the desertscapes of the Atacama. In the excerpt, the light provided by the moon and its rocky composition are used to describe the other-worldly encounter with the desert night. The projection needed the dark, celestial time to even appear. In the documentary film, the close-up images of the celestial moon and terrestrial land of the desert are often contrasted against one another— one dark and one light—including in the moments leading up to the marbles. They share an indented, immense structure through which we are shown the reappearances of the disappeared, extractions, and historical invisibilities in and out of the documentary.

In the case of Zurita and Orge, their artistic memorial projects temporarily changed the view of the desertscape and called visceral attention to what is not present (the bodies of the disappeared). However, both projects were temporary and underwent their own processes of disappearance. In Zurita's case, it was due to natural causes and processes of change in the desert, such as wind and the unfixed material composition of the landscape. The ephemeral, particled qualities of the sand that were discussed in the scene where Vicky Saavedra (Part 3.3.1 and Figure 3. 6) holds the desert and bone fragments in her hand appear in Zurita's project. For Orge, the disappearance of the memorial – the second disappearance– occurred when the artist took away the projector, once again removing the image of the men from the landscape. In comparing Zurita's (1993) inscription in the desert and Orge's (2017) projection of the photos, I am drawn to the expansive nature of the project and how the size of the memorials inherently brings attention to the desert landscape. They

both must be viewed from a distance to know or see their entirety. The physical characteristics of isolation, distance, or being on the "outside" are, therefore, not always something to overcome but a quality that can blend bodily perspectives (the human and desert body and their particled existence) and emphasize the very absences that were purposefully obscured.

Lastly, I refer back to Chakrabarty's (2018) concept that the Anthropocene allows a framework for which humans might better conceptualize geological/ earth time and connect it to Tuan's (1997) work on space and place. The author asserts that "the human body is that part of the material universe we know most intimately," therefore relating the natural world to the human body is a way to make sense of the universe (p. 89). Regarding the celestial, Tuan argues that the desire to understand the human body in terms of astrology comes from the "need to unite the multiplicity of substances in the universe and out of the search for parallel wholeness" (pp. 89-90).

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that *Nostalgia de la luz* imagines the narrative of the Atacama Desert and its history as non-linear or fixed in place or time through a particled analysis of the on-screen appearances of star/dust and off-screen desert composite experienced during my fieldwork. In the film, Guzmán offers the orbed particles during intimate views of the desert, narratives of his past, and through his narration of the connection between the disappeared, the dictatorship, and the desert. The use of light particles allows for the multiple histories of the desert to interact and flow into each other. Referred to as "stardust" (Martin-Jones, 2013), "polvo estelar" (Guzmán, 2010), or in this thesis, star/dust, their illumination of the screen represents Guzmán's connection between the physical human body and the celestial cosmos. Guzmán refers to calcium as a connector of the two. Martin-Jones states that the stardust archives the memories of the disappeared into "universe memory" as the dust envelops human matter.

In this chapter, I argued that the particles represent not only human bodies and memories of the disappeared during the dictatorship but also that of the Atacama Desert. In this case, the particled memories may not be considered "universe memory" but perhaps a more universal type of bodily memory that in *Nostalgia de la luz* expands through time, place, and location. The closeness and openness of the multiple histories in the desert is possible through the captured landscape

perspectives on film. The physical qualities of the desert, including its openness and vastness, complicated the physical search for the disappeared. In this sense, it is a "clear" canvas on which to excavate and subsequently 'project' histories, such as in the case of Gabriel Orge. It is both a physical overlaying (such as Guzmán's choice to conduct many of the interviews within the desert landscape) and an imaginary one (facilitated by Guzmán's narrative voice and orbed lights throughout the film). My analysis of the monument to the disappeared and its physical presence in the desert built on Lazzara's (2006) work on representations of disappearance as I considered how the political disappearance of bodies interacts with the extraction of natural resources in the Atacama Desert and *Nostalgia de la luz* (2010). The framework of the Anthropocene facilitated this conversation as a way to interpret and connect the breaking down of bodies (human, celestial, and minerals) between the human and non-human world.

In *Nostalgia de la luz*, although the human effect on the landscape was deliberate and brutal—leaving a search that was vast and uncertain—the documentary itself takes on a reflective and at times, dreamlike state. This is due to Guzmán's style of slow, meditative contemplations which translates to the close, intimate inspections of the landscape. This style, again, facilitates a particled, close analysis of the multiple bodies in the desert. Further, Guzmán intertwines the search for two pasts and the layers in between, connecting not only those pasts but also the bodies that lived within them. The physical intertwining of the two pasts is a reflection of the capabilities of film. The outlined anchor between bodies through calcium is further supported by the use of star/dust particles to evoke not only the absent body but also represent the innate materials that make up the various bodies in the desert. The layered histories are viewed from different landscape perspectives, creating a particled, embodied, and live memory in the desert.

My particled analysis leads to three main conclusions. One, by invoking the various states and smaller composites of *bodies*, there is a closeness of space and time created between the distant sites (Chuquicamata, Chacabuco, the astronomy center, the memorials, etc.) in the filmic world. Two, in its narrative and use of star/dust *Nostalgia de la luz* imagines the narrative of the Atacama Desert and its history as non-fixed or linear. Third, a particled memory is emblematic of an anthropogenic approach to memory, bridging the gap between the human and non-human ways of remembering in the documentary and its live context. The Atacama Desert, and therefore the

history of the disappeared, is entangled within the ecological, geological, scientific, and cultural realities of Chile. For these reasons, it was essential to consider the deeper histories and current undergoing of the desert in the analysis of the document.

Building on the ideas in this Chapter, such as the existence of particled light, I quote astronomer Gaspar Galaz, referencing the movement of light and our perceptions of reality, saysing, "Todas las experiencias que uno tiene en la vida realidad… ocurre en el pasado…El presente no existe. Realmente" (2010, 17:25–18:26). The light particles we are currently witnessing and *seeing*, have already happened. I include this here because it provides a bridge into ideas of temporal fluidity and negotiating past moments and bodies with the present day. In the next chapter, I explore the temporal encounters between the human and non-human bodies as "sites of convergence." In these sites, dialogue forms between the different bodies, spaces, and especially times. I further expand on a perhaps more poetic search for the connections throughout time between the greater landscapes of Patagonia, the Indigenous body, the disappeared, and the celestial. Galaz's observations lend a particled and scientific gaze on the "sites" that are encountered in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Dialogical "Sites of Convergence": Imagining the Past-Present in *El botón de nácar* (2015)

Introduction

In this chapter, I build on the analysis of *bodies* in the previous chapter. If particles in *Nostalgia de la luz* connect the already broken-apart bodies across times and spatial realms (filmic and not), *El botón de nácar* speaks to what happens when those bodies first converge. My reading of the film offers a way to conceptualize the first meeting of those bodies and the thereafter dialogical potential of past bodies and time on/to the present. I incorporate an anthropogenic understanding of temporality, outlined in the first Chapter, to build on Bakhtin's (1982) and Assmann's (2015) work on dialogue and dialogical memory as navigating opposing viewpoints. Through this interdisciplinary approach between Memory Studies and discourse on the Anthropocene, I expand the temporal and spatial boundaries of dialogue to include interactions between significant events throughout time that linger and affect the same (natural) landscapes across time. I propose that through a dialogical reading of "sites of convergence" (between human and non-human bodies), those initial encounters offer a way to imagine past times, places, and bodies in the documentary. Within this conversation, I keep in mind the current ecological, capitalist, and social challenges facing Patagonia, the Indigenous communities of the area, and representational questions of remembering the dictatorship. Bodies appear in multiple forms through the triptych; here, they are primarily in the form of the human physical body, the water body (Patagonian waterways), and the celestial body. This chapter draws on Indigenous perspectives, eco-humanities, ethnographic research, and critical film analysis as I unpack how *El botón de nácar* constructs a dialogical relationship between bodies, facilitated by water, to negotiate the layered violence of the dictatorship on present-day Patagonia.

There is a smaller body of work that analyzes *El botón de nácar* (Chauvin and Wilson, 2020; Carvajal, 2020; Fornoff and Heffers, 2021; Díaz, 2021; Merchant, 2022). Other scholarly contexts on the documentary come from a comparative analysis to *Nostalgia de la luz* (Zarini, 2017; Figueroa, 2020; del Pilar Melgarejo, 2020). On those that analyze *El botón de nácar*, I reference Carolina Díaz's *Ecologies from Below: Politics and the Memory of Water in Patricio Guzmán's* The Pearl Button (2021), Paul Merchant's '*Collecting What the Sea Gives Back':Postcolonial*

Ecologies of the Ocean in Contemporary Film (2022), and Chauvin and Wilson's (2020) 'Memories in the Present: Affect and Spectrality in Contemporary Aquatic Imaginaries,' throughout the chapter. Díaz and Chauvin and Wilson's work becomes relevant during my analysis of the pearl button as a figure of memory between the human and non-human worlds (Part 4.1.3). I draw on Merchant's analysis and critiques of Guzmán's positionality as narrator and utilization of the Selk'nam people from a decolonial perspective (Part 4.2.2).

El botón de nácar contends with two initial moments of violence in Patagonia, in particular its waterscapes, and how the ongoing effects of colonialism and post-dictatorship memory reside in the landscapes. In this chapter, waterscapes refer to the visual, social, and elemental capacities of water to facilitate memories and encounters between humans and the environment throughout time. Guzmán takes a deep look at Patagonia through long shots of the land, interviews with the Indigenous people of the area, people involved with the case of a disappeared woman, Marta Ugarte, and his own reflections about the dictatorship and the capacity of water. The audience is shown a poetic and aesthetic construction of a landscape, asking if the memories of the two peoples still exist in this space. This is a resonant theme throughout the trilogy but is particularly apparent here with the abundance of water and its multiple forms. I detail more of the history when I outline the image of the namesake of the film, a pearl button. I divide this chapter into three sections. Within the sections, I include reference points from my own experience in Punta Arenas, Patagonia and Santiago, Chile. This chapter addresses the dialogical relationship between times and how "sites" of human/non-human convergence resonate through time. I argue that moments of fluid, ghostly, and faded transition in the documentary are visual manifestations of the dialogue between times.

First, is the exploration of water as a significant presence in the documentary, as a physical connection between *bodies*, and a body itself. I begin the first section with a historical and contextual overview of the two main histories in *El botón de nácar*: First, colonial settler arrival in Patagonia in the 1800s and the story of Jemmy Button as a catalyst to Indigenous repression, and second, the manifestations of state terror in the region during the dictatorship and the symbolic re-emergence of Marta Ugarte's body. The emblematic merging of the two histories into a pearl button is a similar narrative structure to the calcium in the *Nostalgia* chapter; however, in this

chapter, I spend more time with it as an object that has traversed multiple times. In the overview of the historical context of *El botón de nácar*, I emphasize water as a site of terror and, therefore, the critical role of water memory in this discussion.

The second explores water as a medium, body, referent, and perspective, particularly drawing on Blackmore and Gómez's (2020) aligned proposal of how to understand water, "The task is not to think *about* water but *with* it (p. 2). This section engages with questions of perspective, aesthetics, personal accounts, and Indigenous-water relations. As a precursor to the meeting of bodies in the present, I examine the visualizations of bodies in water (Watson, 2022; Neimanis, 2012) through a discussion on "waterscapes" (Swyngedouw, 1999; Orlove and Caton, 2010; Flaminio et al., 2022). This section interrogates the perspectives that film has to offer on this intersection between human, water, and land bodies. For this analysis, I incorporate work on Indigenous world views that imagine the potential and fluid of water (Monani, 2017; Simmons, 2019; Watson, 2022). Additionally, I contribute my own experience of the Chilean waterscapes and the two physical sites that are associated with the pearl button and the documentary (Punta Arenas and Villa Grimaldi). Ultimately, these texts and my anthropogenic reading of waterscapes intersect with Guzmán's contemplations of water memory to create a dynamic and fluid reading of the film.

In the third section, I build on Guzmán's encapsulation of Patagonia's landscape history into the "vehicle" of a pearl button in section one in order to navigate the dialogue between multiple temporalities. I therefore expand the framework of dialogic memories to include a central tenant of the Anthropocene: temporality (Chakrabarty, 2018). I engage with the figure of the "ghost" and state of being that is "haunting" (Tandeciarz, 2006; Crenzel, 2010; Schindel, 2014; Tsing et al., 2017; Gray, 2022) from a Memory Studies and ecological perspective as a way to navigate how first encounters ("sites") between bodies continue to affect and exist in the present. I, therefore, look at particular encounters of bodies, including—- the disappeared body and the water body, the Indigenous body and Patagonia waterscapes, water and the celestial body, the disappeared body and the celestial—in the documentary and what these meetings mean to how we remember past violence. In the visual analysis, I work toward a dialogical relationship between times and how the filmic "sites" challenge the temporal limitations of the present.

4.1 The Moments of the Pearl Button

4.1.1 *El botón de nácar*— Jemmy Button

In this historical overview, I contextualize the history of the dictatorship and the legacy of colonialism experienced by Indigenous people after the arrival of colonial settlers in the 1800s. In the documentary, the two histories are intertwined and related to each other as they are both critical histories tied to the waterways of Patagonia. A historical understanding of both moments is necessary for this analysis. We will already see the initial "sites" of interaction between bodies, the importance of water in the meetings, and how the sites affect the present in the documentary. Guzmán connects the narratives through the namesake of the film, a pearl button. At the core of the two threads is a physical "button"; in the case of colonial history, it refers to an Indigenous man named Jemmy Button taken from Patagonia in exchange for a pearl button, and for the dictatorship history, Guzmán evokes a pearl-like button discovered with remains of political prisoners off the coast of Patagonia.

I begin with the story of Jemmy Button, who is represented in the documentary and is one of Guzmán's inspirations for this work. To frame Button's inclusion in Guzmán's work, I look to Mayer (2008), who offers a critical approach to the historical usages of Jemmy Button. The author underlines that his story has been recounted and adapted numerous times, therefore making it difficult to know the realities of his experience, stating,

> Ultimately, however, Jemmy Button's story is the story of any subaltern subject caught in the thralls of colonialism and its narratives: he will not speak to us today, and those who spoke and speak for him, speak with their own voices and express their own intentions and interests, even where they might have his representation in mind (p. 193)

A shared, similar concern will appear throughout this chapter from scholars (Díaz, 2021; Merchant, 2022) about Guzmán's self-framed incorporation of Indigenous voices, histories, and bodies in *El botón de nácar*. I also want to be careful not to repeat the colonial or extraction process of Jemmy Button's history within my own research. While contextualizing Button's history, I highlight and keep in mind the problems aforementioned by Mayer which become implicit in my

working with Guzmán's interpretation of Button's history, using the name Jemmy Button as an easy referent, and relying on Button's image for my analysis. My focus is on how Guzmán's narratives and filmic visualizations of the human and non-human bodies can speak to how each party is remembered in and outside of the documentary space. I ask, what do these encounters mean for remembering the violent histories related to Patagonia in the present? Within this framework and my analysis of *El botón de nácar*, it is necessary to relay Guzmán's interpretation of Button's story, but by providing additional context, I acknowledge the complications and potential for continuing the extractivist practices. During my fieldwork, I was also conscious of extractivist practices and my position as a researcher, which became particularly relevant in my encounters with the history of the Indigenous people, touristic figurines of their bodies, and in visiting the highly trafficked area myself. I approached my site visits and reflections with these considerations in mind.

When discussing Jemmy Button's history, I draw on the information provided by Guzmán in the documentary. The narration in the documentary places his history at the beginning of the 19th century with the arrival of an English ship and Captain Fitzroy, who was tasked with drawing the coasts and landscapes of Patagonia. While the viewer is told this history, we both see and hear the physical drawing process. This enmeshment between the soundscapes and visual imagery in this scene fits within the broader analysis of this chapter of visually faded transitions between sequences and the fluidity of time in Guzmán's narration. Water, as a central element in *El botón de nácar*, provides a visual fluidity between moments in time which can also be found in Guzmán's filmic techniques, such as this scene's invocation of multiple senses (sight and sound). The sounds of drawing are heard in the viewer's present moment but are also invoking the past drawings of the landscapes and Indigenous people (2015, 5:45-51:00).

According to Guzmán, Button was taken to England along with three other Indigenous people "con el fin de civilizarlos" (2015, 49:54). At this moment, the audience sees and hear of the first pearl button. The viewer learns that "[u]no de los nativos subió a bordo a cambiar de un botón de nácar. Por eso, los ingleses, le llamaron Jemmy Button (2015, 49:56—50:07). In Figure 16, we see the material manifestation of this history and multiple pearl buttons held in the grasp of a hand. Guzmán does not tell us his given name, only the nickname Jemmy Button, nor do we learn much

more about his origins or personal perspective. Orundellico (Jemmy Button) was Yahgan, also known as the Yámana, and was around 12 at the time of his extraction from Patagonia (Mayer, 2008; Contreras and Hatibovic, 2023). Chapman (2012) provides more insight into the history of Button and Fitz-Roy and says that there is not much information from Jemmy Button's perspective about his return to Patagonian. "Es lamentable que no haya habido ningún testimonio directo por parte de ellos durante esos meses" (p. 185). In *El botón de nácar*, his story is again framed through the lens of someone else, a conversation I will return to throughout this chapter. I find this image (Figure 4.1) and the buttons as physical manifestations of memory reminiscent of the bones (and calcium) held in Saavedra's hands in Figure 3. 6 (p. 73). In both images, the multiple storylines are quite obviously held for the viewer to see; they cannot be ignored, nor can the "sites" found in the human (bones) and non-human (buttons) objects.



Figure 4. 1: A "pearl button" held in a hand for the camera. Screenshot taken from El botón de nácar *(50:01).*

The decontextualization of the Indigenous histories and photos of their bodies, lives, and ceremonies continues throughout the documentary. I address this in section two, in addition to my own experience of the Indigenous bodies and watery perspectives in Punta Arenas and its landscapes. As Guzmán continues the narration of Button's return to Chile, he is often captured by a Western-influenced and poetic gaze on temporality and modernity between Patagonia and

England, Indigenous people and the disappeared, and the human and non-human worlds. The most concrete example of this is when Guzmán asserts that Button was caught between two worlds and always felt out of place. “Durante más de un año, Jemmy Button vivió en un planeta desconocido. Navegó desde la edad de piedra hasta la revolución industrial. Viajó miles de años hacia el futuro y después miles de años hacia el pasado” (2015, 50:20—50:45). As he says this, Jemmy Button’s drawn image is dissolved into the celestial, an homage to the previous films and a vision of the Indigenous-celestial connection earlier in the documentary. The immediate after sequences of images are between multicolored shells, the celestial, and drawn images of what appear to be depictions of the industrial age. Sequences of otherworldly compilations of images are frequently utilized, although they often oversimplify the context and deeper histories of each image or person. However, I find these transitional overlappings worthy moments of visual study as manifestations of what I am calling “sites of convergence.” Guzmán’s temporal reflections on Jemmy’s history might imagine the Patagonian history in the past, but I think it is also an opening of conversation between times. The documentary includes other threads that feature Indigenous voices, histories, and bodies that are not connected with the story of Jemmy Button. In the next part, I provide the context for the other pearl button that pertains to the disappeared during the dictatorship.

4.1.2 The Pearl Button — Marta Ugarte

The pearl’s second history is tied to the story of Marta Ugarte and the political prisoners who were disappeared in the waters around Chile. In *El botón de nácar*, the return of Marta Ugarte’s body is presented in the same conversation as remains discovered by diver Raúl Veas in 2004 as directed by a Chilean Judge names Juan Guzmán Tapia who was instrumental in investigating and prosecuting Augusto Pinochet for human rights violations committed during his dictatorship (Schudel, 2021). We are told that about 1,200-1,400 political prisoners were disposed of in the ocean as the result of death flights (2015, 1:04:00). Guzmán says of the flights and military, like the case of the Atacama Desert and the Caravan of Death, that they hoped the waters would guard their secrets. Ugarte’s case is unique because she is the only person associated with the death flights to have been “devuelto por las aguas” (Arellano, 2017, p. 60). There is not much information provided about Marta's life in the documentary, only the extensive circumstances surrounding her disappearance and reappearance. Orellana (2019) provides more details of her

case and its formulation within the Chilean media, also stating that she is presumed to have died in the tower in Villa Grimaldi. Parque por la paz Villa Grimaldi is where the button that was found during the diver's search and the railway tracks it was attached to currently reside. For further information on the connection between death flights, the memorial at Villa Grimaldi, and the pearl button/ railway tracks, consult Villa Grimaldi's website.[12]

During and after the dictatorship, the disappearance of the human body has been significant in cultural and academic memory work (The Rettig Report, 1991; Ballesteros, 1995; Lazzara, 2006; Stern, 2006). The number of disappearances, in addition to other human rights violations, is broadly contextualized in the introduction of the thesis. I now expand on the disappearance and discarding of political prisoners into bodies of water, as was the case for Marta Ugarte. The prisoners were transported to the coast on helicopters, death flights, and thrown into the water. In January 2001, then-president Ricardo Lagos admitted that around 120 civilians had been detained by the military were thrown into the waters throughout Chile (Franklin, 2001).

In the previous chapter, I presented Lazzara's (2006) work on disappearance as a state of being, the human loss that occurred during the dictatorship, and specifically the gap in the narrative that is caused by the physical absence of the disappeared (p. 104). In *El botón de nácar* and *Nostalgia de la luz*, the overall narratives are forged around the (re)appearances of the disappeared bodies. In *El botón de nácar*, Guzmán speaks with Adil Brkovic (the family lawyer of Marta Ugarte) and Javier Rebolledo, a writer, and journalist, to retell and reconstruct a generalized process of disappearance through death flights; arrest, torture, murder, the wrapping up and weighing down of the human body, and finally the disappearance of the body by throwing the "package" into the sea from a helicopter. They meticulously recreate the process of weighing down a mannequin's body and show the materials—such as plastic, railway track wire, and a burlap sack—that were used to disappear the victim. In this scene, the human body and the water body are shown from a distant perspective, allowing for the frame to capture both of their full forms before they meet. The camera seems to be at eye-level with the helicopter, as the viewer sees the helicopter approach, fly past, and go into the distance while discarding of three separate bundled bodies out of its doors.

[12] The Corporación Parque por la paz includes the information that is displayed outside of the memorial on their website: https://www.museovillagrimaldi.info/icaatom/uploads/r/archivo-villa-grimaldi/9/3/931/1.6.4.13.pdf.

The camera is unsteady in the scene and sways up and down which creates an uneasy and unclear image of the process of the death flights. The documentary does not show us the exact moment that the bodies meet, but because the bodies fall out of frame, the audience can assume that they fell into the water and disappeared.

As I established in the chapter on *Nostalgia de la luz*, the disappearance of the bodies was the intended goal of the military. The military sought power and control over the bodies of their political opponents by exerting force over both the water and human body and the convergence of the two. I find Guzmán's inclusion of this case of dual interest: Marta's history is, of course, important to the legacy of disappearance and the connections I am making to Chilean waterscapes in this thesis, and the historical connection in Chile, but Marta's body did not reappear in Patagonia as might be inferred in the film. Marta Ugarte was disappeared by the coast near Valparaiso, which is about 3,300 km (about 2050.52 mi) from Tierra del Fuego. Where we are located within the Chilean landscapes is not always clear in *El botón de nácar,* which is at times confusing but does reinforce the waterscapes as part of a larger water body.

After the detailed re-enactment of disappearance, we are shown footage of divers recovering the railway tracks used to weigh people down, which are now shown alongside the pearl button. In Guzmán's narration, he does not tell the viewer if this was the case for Marta Ugarte, but the stories are connected by circumstances and the sea. In this scene, we see the watery view of the divers searching underwater and, eventually, close-up images of the tracks. About the track, Guzmán narrates,

> Cuarenta años después, los rieles se han cubierto de huellas. El agua y sus criaturas han tallado estos mensajes. Aquí están los secretos que los cuerpos dejaron en los rieles antes de fundirse con el agua y tomar la forma del océano (2015, 1:09:58–1:10:26)

Figure 4.2 shows us railway tracks that appear visually similar to the fragmented bones and desert structure in *Nostalgia de la luz*. This is to say, worn down, uneven, and with barnacle growth that almost looks bleached from the sun. The up-close shot gives the viewer an intimate view of the railway tracks that were once underwater. The natural wearing down of the



Figure 4.2: An up-close view of the worn-down railway tracks that weighed down the bodies of the disappeared that were thrown into water bodies and where the button displayed in Villa Grimaldi was found. Screenshot taken from El botón de nácar *(1:10:13).*

tracks shows the physical effect of the natural landscapes on the material manifestations of memory such as the button or the railway tracks. In Figure 4.3, I include the display of the railway tracks and the button in its current home, Villa Grimaldi, from my 2023 fieldwork. At the site in Villa Grimaldi, we learn more about the discovery of Marta's body on La Ballena beach, about a two-hour drive to the northwest of Santiago. On an information sign outside of the enclosure, the information provided by Villa Grimaldi states that Marta's body "transformándose así en la única evidencia de la desaparición forzada aplicada a cientos de prisioneros políticos durante la dictadura cívico-militar chileno" (Corporación Parque por la paz). Refer again to Villa Grimaldi's website to see this text in full. Within the spaces of the documentary, the waters become muddled, and the exact locations within the Chilean landscapes are unclear. I found that between the real sites, there are mountains of distance.



Figure 4.3: The railway tracks and pearl button under a magnifying glass displayed at Villa Grimaldi Memorial Park in Santiago, Chile. Photograph taken by Sara Helin-Long. March 3, 2023. 3.

4.1.*3 El botón de nácar*— The Pearl Button

Jemmy Button's history, along with those who disappeared on death flights, inspired the narrative construction (Guzmán's "vehicle" of a pearl button) and setting of Patagonia in this documentary. In an interview about *El botón de nácar* found in Lozanes (2020), Guzmán recounts his encounter with both histories and his decision to link the two:

> Los muertos indígenas y los muertos de Pinochet. Esta analogía no existía al principio. Dos visitas al museo me han regalado. La primera al Museo de Punta Arenas, done fui a ver las fotos de los indígenas. Es aquí donde me di cuenta de la historia de Jemmy

> Button… La segunda visita fue al museo de Villa Grimaldi en Santiago: aquí vi uno de los rieles con un botón pegado, adherido, que seguramente pertenecía a uno de los presos amarrado a ese mismo riel. La conexión con el otro botón (el de nácar) se hizo en mi cabeza y el filme se construyó sobre esta relación (p. 448).

In *El botón de nácar*, Guzmán tells an abridged version of this inspiration. He tells us that as a child, he lived by the sea and then referring to the Indigenous people in the South and Jemmy Button, he says, "Los alumnos no conocíamos nada de los pueblos del sur… Fue muy tarde que yo conocí su vida" (2015, 48:10—48:46). Again, it is an important note here, that the visual and narrative connections between water, bodies, and observations about the dictatorship's history on natural landscapes stem from Guzmán's personal histories but it is my reading of the cinematic connections that forms the analysis of "sites" and an ecological reading of Guzmán's construction of the natural landscapes. Like Guzmán's childhood fascination with the cosmos in *Nostalgia de la luz*, in this documentary, we learn that the focus on Patagonia's histories was inspired by his trips around Chile and memories of a childhood friend who drowned in the sea. In my initial research for the trip, I found that the "Museo de Punta Arenas," did not exist under this name. Instead, I came across the *Salesian Museum / Magiorinno Borgatello*, which seemed to be the one that told the various histories of Punta Arenas and Patagonia, including the Indigenous people. When I talk about the Punta Arenas Museum in this chapter, I will be referring to the *Salesian Museum / Magiorinno Borgatello*.

For my fieldwork, I chose to travel to Punta Arenas, the Southernmost point in the Chilean Tierra del Fuego, as the chosen city in Patagonia. Between February 23 and 26, 2023, I visited the same museum in an attempt to see what had inspired Guzmán. I also went to Villa Grimaldi, which is the location of the other pearl button. In part 4.2.3, I reflect more on the experience of visiting both sites, but for now, it is important to know that I did not find much information about Jemmy Button in the museum in Punta Arenas. The references to Button that I did come across were, in fact, located by the entrance to the museum but amongst many other documents about the explorations of Darwin and Captain Fitz-Roy. This is to say that they were not easy to find. I went through the entire museum before asking one of the researchers if there was anything pertaining to Jemmy Button. It was then that I was directed to the excerpts from the book *The Voyage of the Beagle* by

Charles Darwin. As seen in the photographs, there are no details about Button's life from his own perspective, only from those gazing upon him.

In *El botón de nácar*, we encounter multiple historic outbreaks of terror in Patagonia, which is facilitated by an object that is visually estranged from these terrors. The button, like the landscape from which it was extracted (Patagonia), is monochromatic and has an ethereal exterior/presentation that makes it similar in presentation to the shots of the galaxies and universe. In form, the button is firm and holds a strict shape, whereas the landscape of Patagonia and Guzmán's narrative style relies on movement, flow, and malleability. The button found on the railway tracks used to weigh down the body of a disappeared person now resides in its own form of capture, surrounded by the rusted tracks with which it was found. In its display space, the sound of running or flowing water can be heard, which contextualizes the button within the environment in which it was last found, the coast of Chile. This auditory waterscape is further explored in section 2. The button becomes a vehicle, as introduced in the introduction, of not only the two histories but also the landscapes from which it comes. It is a strong referent capable of capturing its own histories and inspiring work like *El botón de nácar*. Giuliani and Hodgson (2023) propose that an object has "agency in moving, appearing, disappearing, representing, triggering memories and memorializing people's life events" without a necessary human vehicle of that object (p. 4). This moves away from the Western use of objects as artifacts, often in a museum setting, contextualized and displayed within human historical contexts (Kavanagh, 2000; Black, 2011; Sodaro, 2017). Although outside of the filmic context, the button did end up in a museum. In their introduction, Giuliani and Hodgson (2023) contend that the significance of objects and what they represent in the present depends on their pasts, "its own biography" (p. 9). In essence, even if an object such as the button travels out of its original context, it still comes from and is of its origin. The object has the agency to represent that past. In the anthropogenic sense, work on material memory and an object's agency also fits with Latour's (2014) extension of agency to non-human entities because of their integral place within the Earth's systems. The object does not need to intend to prompt memory, but rather, its *being* is enough to become emblematic of a certain memory.

The pearl button, nevertheless, becomes an inspired, physical referent between times, locations, histories, and the meeting of human and non-human bodies. Chauvin and Wilson (2020) and Díaz (2021) describe this dual existence of the mother of pearl as an "organic-inorganic substance" (Chauvin and Wilson, 2020, p. 149) and a "material and mnemonic trace" (Díaz, 2021, p. 1332). Both descriptions and the images of the pearl button inside and outside of the film capture Guzmán's employment of a larger, planetary scale of remembering that began in *Nostalgia de la luz* and is continued in *La cordillera de los sueños*. The existence of a pearl button in itself offers a unique meeting point between the human and natural worlds, as emerged or taken from the sea, and crafted by human hands. The exact provenance and journey of the button found with the railway tracks are unknown, but it is now forever represented as evidence of enforced disappearance. In the documentary, the fates of the buttons are similarly affected by external human forces. In the closeup views of the buttons, the hope is that we comprehend the distant and spread-out pasts. As a visual representation of two histories, it is an accessible object that exists in the scale of both Earth and human time. For the present, the pearl button and *El botón de nácar* leave us with how past "sites of convergence" facilitate and continue conversations between times. In Guzmán's narrative construction, the culmination of shows of the landscape and archival photographs of the Indigenous people of the area, the viewer is led to pearl buttons (Figure 4.1). The buttons provide a viewable physical object between the two histories and what happened after both Button's and the disappeared's encounter with the waterways of Patagonia. Of course, Jemmy Burron and the Indigenous people of the area have a relationship with the water that predates and exists beyond the arrival of the English colonial settlers.

In the film, we see the aftermath of torture, murder, and disappearance in the photos and reconstruction of Marta's and others' disappearance into the ocean. Their once existence, as marked by the vehicle of the pearl button, is striking in multiple ways: visually depicting just how much of their life is missing, scaling down the expansive landscape in which they were discarded and later found, and interconnecting the multiple stories of Chilean history. The often-cited appeal to poetic discourse, perhaps in lieu of the scientific, refers to water's potential to hold memory (Chauvin and Wilson, 2020, p. 150) of these outbreaks of violence. However, I end the section with the quote by poet Raúl Zurita because it encapsulates well the position of the pearl button within this text, water as a medium between bodies, and the lasting presence and temporal fluidity

of human/non-human encounters in *El botón de nácar*. Zurita, talking about the violent encounters (discussed through the pearl button) says, “Si ague tiene memoria, tendrá memoria de eso también” (2015, 1:15:09).

4.2 Water(scapes) and the Perspectives Gained from Water

In the documentary, water is filmed and arrives in multiple forms, and depending on its particular construction in each scene, it affects how water, as a physical state, intervenes with the human body. Does it harm or provide life, does it obscure or reveal, and how does it affect how memories are brought into the present? This part explores the (watery) fluid perspective offered by water that facilitates a visual merging and dialogue between times in the next section. I work toward an understanding of waterscapes and hydrosocial territories (Swyngedouw, 1999; Orlove and Caton, 2010; Flaminio et al., 2022) as I conceptualize the significance of water as a resource and element between the human and non-human spheres. The alternate perspectives materialized by water, and Guzmán’s use of the element, become clear in work on Indigenous knowledges (Monani, 2017; Gleghorn, 2017; Simmons, 2019) and theories of “ecologies from below” (Díaz, 2022), “submerged perspectives” (Gómez-Barris, 2017), and a “water view” (Yazzie and Baldy, 2018). The Indigenous perspective also lends insight into cultural, environmental, political, and social factors that pervade the water-human relationship and waterscapes. Lastly, I preview the analysis of a dialogue between times in the documentary when water acts as a medium. In so doing, I recognize the critiques of Guzmán’s framing of Indigenous lives and bodies but also highlight the affective force of the visual, physical, and imagined water in *El botón de nácar*. This reading of water is supported by chronicles of personal encounters with the sites in question, Indigenous bodies, and waterscapes of Patagonia. The ethnographic fieldwork lends insight into how the moments and “sites of convergence” in the documentary are not bound to their filmic realm.

For Guzmán, water, as a body and a place, seems to provide a medium ripe with contradictions, possibilities, and constant flow. For example, he remembers the similarities of movement and connection between humans and water, as told to him by an oceanographer. He describes this learned connection as follows, “Me ensañó que la actividad de pensar se parece al océano. Las leyes del pensamiento son las mismas de agua que siempre está dispuesto de ajumarse a todo”

(2015, 31:00–31:15). On screen, we see the textures, fluid movement of water, although we cannot be sure in which direction it goes or what larger body it is a part of. For me, the documentary is full of examples of how water adapts and responds to the motives of human intervention. This ranges from taking in the bodies of the disappeared (and returning one) to providing passage and movement to both the English settlers and Indigenous people, or even its auditory appearance in the multiple visited sites. I contend with the potential of bodies (of water) as constructed and imagined through the medium of film. The documentary intersects histories of Indigenous violence from colonialism and genocide with dictatorship-era terrors, beginning two centuries apart but playing out on the same landscape. Water, always adjusting, is both a setting or waterscape, a body, and a poetic facilitator of memory. I, therefore, examine water's importance and connection to these themes and its continuity between times.

4.2.1 The Social Negotiations of Waterscapes

Similar to *Nostalgia de la luz*, Guzmán's narration style in *El botón de nácar* has a monotone yet poetic tendency that stands apart from the brutal histories being told. The audience, therefore, experiences two waterscapes: the beauty of the visual natural waterscapes and the socio-historical violences that Guzmán connects to the water body. The term "waterscapes" was popularized by geographer Swyngedouw's (1999) work on the economic and spatial implications of hydraulic constructions in Spain. Without a clear definition by Swyngedouw, the term has been adapted for discussions on artistic representation of water, environmental concerns, landscape ecology, and architectural planning, which is detailed in Flaminio et al. (2022). For Flaminio et al., the term speaks to a socio-political awareness and the "study of the coproduction of social and natural orders" (p. 34). In their definition of waterscapes, water is not only a physical substance or element but one "whose material transformations are generally linked to broader socio-political and economic dynamics that take place over a long-time span" (p. 48). In Swyngedouw's work, certain geographical constructions can produce sites where "both nature and society are fused together in a way that renders them inseparable, producing a restless 'hybrid' quasi-object in which material, representational, and symbolic practices are welded together" (p. 461). This initial convergence of the social human sphere and water already speaks to the exertions of force, power, and control over the resource. In the documentary, there are only a few moments during Guzmán's interviews with the Indigenous where restrictions regarding water are mentioned. The more well-known

contemporary struggle is that of the disappeared, which is also Guzmán's central interest across the three documentaries.

When Guzmán interviews Martín G. Calderón, an Indigenous man living in Patagonia, we glimpse the intersection of social structures and waterscape in the current-day relationship between the Indigenous people and the Patagonian waters. Moments before the interview, we are shown the manual care that Calderón provides to his boat. He states that "en esto momento estamos completamente restringido y no podemos casi ocupar el mar" (2015, 15:16). Access to the sea and the movement that Martín Calderón, Gabriela Paterito, and countless others grew up with is no longer possible. Now, there are restrictions on access to water from the navy due to salmon farming in the region, and Martín believes that the navy is afraid of the boats built by the Indigenous people. They are too small— not forceful enough— to navigate the sea. The lack of access to water is a significant example of how the Indigenous people are restricted in how they relate to water and their ancestral lands.

In 2008, Chile's land rights were legally protected by the creation of Coastal Marine Space of Native Origin (ECMPO), which was conceived of marine territory that could be managed by Indigenous communities if they could demonstrate ancestral connections and usage of the designated areas (Carrere, 2019; Germani, 2020). More recently, the Kawésqar people have been more vocal about violation of their land rights, and in 2021, the Kawésqar, Yagán, and Mapuche people went to Washington, D.C., and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to speak against salmon farming in Chile (Augustinis, 2023). Indeed, the politicization of water as a resource is at the heart of many human interactions, and highlights, again, the uneven repercussions of the Anthropocene (Boelens et al., 2016; Baviskar, 2017). The geographical underpinning of the Anthropocene, as detailed in Chapter 2 and the context of Lake Crawford, helps us understand the dynamics, flow, and potential manipulations of water between the film and the real world.

In tying waterscapes to their artistic and narrating potential, Orlove and Caton (2010) use the term waterscapes to "describe works of art that depict scenery with bodies of water" (p. 408). This is a particularly important inclusion in my definition and conceptualization of waterscapes and water bodies as not only culturally significant but as an aesthetic feature in the film. As a poetic *body* in

the film, water represents many dualities: life and death, beauty and violence, and witness and participant. The human body is interwoven and brought into the present iterations of the Patagonian landscapes in the watery transition, explored in the next section. In the case of Guzmán's portrayals of waterscapes, both the imagined and the physical are explored. He shows bodies of water and what can physically (photos of the disappeared and their relatives) and narratively (intertwining the dictatorial past of the landscapes into longer Chilean histories) be placed into its structure and memory. In all three documentaries of study, Guzmán identifies the traces of the dictatorship left behind on the natural landscapes. This becomes more relevant in the next section of how the film's moments of transition bring the past forward and hold potential for dialogue. In an anthropogenic approach, Tsing et al. (2017) consider landscapes as "overlaid arrangements of human and nonhuman living spaces" (p. G1). This definition advances the construction of a waterscape in film because, in this case, both film and water offer additional layers and lenses from which to view the landscape. In *El botón de nácar,* the "overlaid arrangements" are deliberate and occur during points of transition, composing a new image and way to perceive Patagonia, waterscapes, and the waterbodies. In the documentary's multiple iterations of water and through *its* history, we are called to consider the water perspective.

4.2.2 Fluidities of Water; An Artistic Approach

Building on the inherent relationship between human/non-human social structures in waterscapes, I now engage with views from water that challenge the often human-centered perspectives of the Anthropocene. This is especially pertinent in the film analysis as Guzmán's convergences of human and landscape histories in this documentary are aided by fluid, watery existences and the liminal moments of transition between scenes (human/non-human, past/present). I consider previous literature on Indigenous methodologies, views from the water, and scholarly work on *El botón de nácar*. The perspectives gained by water, particularly in artistic representation, are emergent in the fields of Environmental Humanities, Blue Humanities, and Indigenous Studies, as the resource is a common reference in environmental, social, political, and cultural discussions (Blackmore and Gómez, 2020, p. 2). However, there has not been much written on water (or the celestial) as a temporal referent between these discussions or how its bodily qualities might inform

"sites of convergence." Here, I consider water as a setting, site, and resource, and I analyze Guzmán's use of watery qualities and bodies, which leads to a discussion between moments and human/non-human bodies.

To examine the fluidity of *bodies* and temporalities in "sites," I begin with Salma Monaní's (2017) analysis of the stop-motion film *The Lodge,* where she argues for an Indigenous-informed "cosmological liveliness" as revealed through the medium of animation and its ability to "prompt us to rethink the boundaries we commonly erect not only between human/nonhuman but also between human and human, whether these are racial, gendered, classist, or otherwise" (p. 2). Her analysis argues that *The Lodge* reveals these dynamics because of the mutability and malleability possible because of the inherent qualities of animation and the flexibility provided by the stop-frame dolls used in the film (p. 4). Importantly, it is not only the human/non-human relationships that Monaní addresses but also the human/human. I believe we can find commonalities in the study of animation's structure and Guzmán's use of water and faded transitions. The flexibility of both form and character is paralleled in Guzmán's employment of water (and the celestial) as adaptable to and converged with human history. Ultimately, the perspectives gained by water in this section illuminate not only the potential of the meeting of *bodies* but also the context of multiple manifestations of human geological force against nature and other humans. In *El botón de nácar*, water is not only the medium and poetic referent but also representative of how I read the relationship between Guzmán's different narrations and three documentaries. In the translucent and malleable qualities shared between water and the documentary's transitional moments, conceptualized as a type of haunting in the next section, Guzmán shows the temporal fluidity and dialogue held in his filmic waterscapes.

In the documentary, we see multiple waterscapes and water in its *natural* forms, such as Patagonia's waterways, waterfalls, and water drops that have no visible traces of past violence. Guzmán also shows rain falling into green leaves, forests, and larger bodies of water. Water is, therefore, reinforced as a life force rather than its ability to take it away. From these moments, I consider water as both viewable and experienced, medium and object, fluid and yet permanent. Referring to the artistic works of Alicia and Barney and María Magdalena Campos Pons, Blackmore and Gómez (2020) elaborate on the move toward studying water as an artistic medium,

saying “artists engage with scientific and industrial engagements with water-as-object while also creating works where liquids are material *mediums* rather than representational *referents*” (p. 3). As a “porous” medium, it is then capable of revealing the boundaries in question (human/non-human and human/human) (p. 3). In *El botón de nácar*, I argue, the natural landscape of water — and at times the celestial— must be both medium and referent. The landscapes are not only the sites of the long histories of violence but, crucially, Guzmán’s and the viewer’s entry point into them. However, there is caution in solely focusing on water’s embodied and aesthetic qualities, as confirmed by Blackmore and Gómez’s “liquid ecologies” urgent call to interrogate the frameworks of the Anthropocene “amid ruined landscapes that symptomatize environmental and deep social crises, where political conflict and ecological decline are not separate phenomena but intimately related” (p. 4). The Patagonian landscapes and, especially, its water are spaces of intersection between the “deep” political, ecological, and social conflicts. The image of the pearl button captures these multitudes, but by studying the watery presences in the film, this thesis also highlights the non-filmic contexts. The present social and political struggles of both the Indigenous people and the relatives of the disappeared to uncover information are present in the documentary but not broadly contextualized.

In furthering the view of and from water, Watson (2022) provides an interesting two-fold position of water as an artistic medium and its ability to alter perspectives in his analysis of Rebecca Belmore’s *Fountain*, where the artist projected a video of herself struggling to fill a bucket of water in the ocean onto a cascade of water. Watson describes water as holding a dual classification of “image” and “screen,” resulting in a project where one cannot take in the video without also physically experiencing the sound, affect, or essence of water (p. 196). In Guzmán’s work, water serves multiple functions and dualities as a political and aesthetic referent. Water appears in many forms— such as droplets, seas, rivers, and rain—and “images.” Each iteration of water carries its own connotation that depends on the water’s chosen form. At times, it is poetic, always beautiful, but overall, it is representative of state terror in the region. Water also appears in spoken form. In one particular sequence, Guzmán gives space for three Indigenous people—Cristina Calderón, Martín G. Calderón, and Gabriela Paterito—to speak the Indigenous languages of Kawésqar and Yaghan. I provide a greater analysis of the water voice and the scenes with the spoken Indigneous languages below.

When interviewing the three, Guzmán asks them to translate words related to the landscape, including star, button, rain, canoe, sea, sun, child, and moon. The translations are bookended with scenes of vast and seemingly endless waters. Is this to capture the breadth and depth of historical violence? Or do these views afford us a privileged perspective of Cristina Calderón, Martín G. Calderón, and Gabriela Paterito's lost landscape? It is not entirely clear. Between the space held for water's sounds/views (including poet Claudio Mercado's water song in one scene) and the Indigenous/ Spanish words associated with it, it is evident that Guzmán wants us to listen to water's voice. There is a necessity to acknowledge the possible reinstallation of colonial practices in this sequence, along with Guzmán's framing of the Indigenous narratives within his own reflections, also observed by Merchant (2020). The author states that "Guzmán's interviewees, conversely, are neatly and frontally framed, and their testimonies are frequently shaped by Guzmán's interjections, as when he asks Gabriela Paterito to translate a number of words, chosen by him, from Spanish into her native Kawésqar" (pp. 222—23). This sequence, however, is also a clear illustration of the loss and documentation of language and people while also demonstrating the layers of division between Guzmán as the interviewer, male, white, and the Indigenous woman interviewee Gabriela Paterito.

4.2.3 Water Voice

During my visit to Punta Arenas and Villa Grimaldi, I experienced the multiplicities of water that cannot be captured on screen, its felt presence and carrying voice. Refer to Figure 4.4 for a view of Villa Grimaldi and the enclosure where the pearl button is held. The physical water, of course, was never far from sight while walking around Punta Arenas and the drive on the coast to visit Fuerte Bulnes. But what I did not expect was to be greeted with digital renderings of running water in the Punta Arenas Museum (in the section about Indigenous history) and in the cube where the pearl button is held in Villa Grimaldi. In both settings, the sounds of moving water—and railway tracks and movements in Villa Grimaldi—brought with them a sense of unease. They were



Figure 4.4: The "Monumento Rieles" close to the entrance of the Villa Grimaldi Parque por la paz. Photograph taken by Sara Helin-Long. March 3, 2023.

different waters: in the background of the dripping streams of water in Punta Arenas, there was bird song and a lightness to it. Upon listening to some of my recordings of the sounds, I also heard the creaking movement and footsteps of other visitors, which reminded me that the space of the museum was very much alive and present, with people learning not only about the Indigenous people but mostly about the animals, and expeditions associated with the area. This was also true in other parts of the city, where I heard many conversations about imminent expeditions to Antarctica and around la Tierra del Fuego. In contrast, visiting the pearl button connected to the disappeared was quite an isolating experience. In Villa Grimaldi, I was alone. In Figure 4.4, I show a photo of the button's memorial because of the contrast between the outside of the enclosure and the realities of the inside. The outside is bright, which is not guaranteed, but Figure 4.4 also shows the transformation of the former detention center, which is a space now full of non-human life, such as trees, flowers, and water fountains. Inside the cube, the air was darker and colder than the end-of-summer air surrounding it. No natural light penetrated its walls as can be seen by the structure of the memorial. Here, the water sounds were rushing, overwhelming, and dark. In the encounter with water in both sites, along with the view of it from the shores in Punta Arenas, there was a fluidity and connection between the spaces and their respective moments in time. With a dark background and only the slight glimmer and sounds of moving water, Guzmán posits that water might also have a voice: "Se dice que el agua tiene memoria. Yo creo que también tiene voz. Si nos acercamos mucho, podríamos oír las voces de cada uno de los indígenas y los desaparecidos" (2015, 1:16:56–1:17:15).

4.2.4 Views from and of Water

To draw together the previous discussions, I want to further address the recent work on views from water, incorporating ecologies from below, submerged perspectives, and Indigenous worldviews. I keep in mind the questions outlined in the theoretical chapter of who bears the majority impact of ecological changes in the Anthropocene or, in this case, the lingering effects of slow-acting

violent events (Segato, 2003; Nixon, 201; Gómez-Barris, 2017; Wüstenberg, 2023). The slow-acting events are further explored in the next chapter on *La cordillera de los sueños*. Now, I ask, how does water obstruct, obscure, or reveal these reorderings over time? I do this because my filmic analysis of *El botón de nácar* negotiates the histories of Jemmy Button/ colonial violence against Indigenous people and Marta Ugarte/ dictatorship-era violences as a shared histories and memories of the landscape through Guzmán's use of water to blend or reflect the multiple perspectives and time periods together. As detailed throughout this chapter, this is done in moments of fluid narrative and visual transition, sequences when varying bodily forms of water take over the screen, and through the spoken evocation of water.

I first look to Simmons (2019), who contends that Indigenous feminist reflections have long recognized the limitations of the Anthropocene, "anthropos," to frame the long histories of violence against Indigenous people, such as colonialism (p. 174). Referring to the enduring geological and cultural traces of colonialism, she states, "A reorientation to time requires an expansion of the scale of time combined with an understanding about how violence is enacted over and through time" (p. 176). In my outlined conceptions of the Anthropocene as a framework of dialogue between bodies, spaces, and times, I also move away from a human-future-centered Anthropocene. The "reorientation" of time to fully perceive the long-term effects becomes strikingly clear in the overlapping of images in *El botón de nácar* that are grounded in the present-day's natural landscape (water) and, therefore, also work as a "site of convergence" between the land's previous histories and how it exists today. This is important to state before my conversation on water perspectives because by understanding the convergence of the Anthropocene and Memory studies in this thesis as moving away from a human-centered approach (Chapter 2), I must explore alternative perspectives and ways to view a site's violent histories. In this chapter and section, water and its fluidity that can overtake the human and non-human bodies and screen, as well as its liquid qualities, offer alternative paths to how I study the Patagonian landscapes and water's appearance and use in the documentary.

My reading of *El botón de nácar* engages with the perspectives of violence "enacted over and through time" (Simmons, 2019, p. 176) to imagine how these histories stay *in* time through their watery representations and associations. Here, I refer to moments when Guzmán is moving through

water, filming the landscape, or where a body of water is used to transition from one narrative/ scene (moment in time) to the next. To the viewer, the water could be or represent any or all of the historical moments in the documentary. The views unique to water are necessary to understand and talk about these moments. Indigenous water rights are also considered by Yazzie and Baldy (2018) and their argument for a "water view," or a relational view of the world from water's perspective and the human accountability to its concerns (p. 2). Goeman (2017) also notes that Indigenous water rights involve viewing water as more than a resource. In this manner, it is also critical to understand the history and current politicization of water in Patagonia and for Indigenous people of the area. The multifaceted water relations and depictions in *El botón de nácar* are then complicated by *who* is depicting the two sides of the pearl button and what is being left out of the narration. Or, as Simmons (2019) posits, "Narratives can conceal other narratives" (p. 175). Again, I bring attention to Guzmán's privileged position as a narrator. Outside of the filmic bounds, I remember that during my research in the Punta Arenas Museum, I did not see any mention of the dictatorship's history— even in relation to the Indigenous people in the area— and, in contrast, in Villa Grimaldi where the pearl button is held, we do not learn about the complicated histories of water in Chile or Patagonia. In *El botón de nácar*, the narratives of water that we do learn about are inevitably and clearly stated by Guzmán himself, shaped by his own experiences. The dialogue created by the fluid and watery moments in the documentary are still important to consider in this thesis.

The term hydrocolonialism perhaps best relates to the specific relationship between Indigenous rights and a slew of unequal rights relating to water, such as lack of close access, unclean water, construction, and outbreaks of violence connected with water (Hofmeyr, 2019). In *Provisional Notes on Hydrocolonialism*, Hofmeyr writes that hydrocolonialism includes water as the transportation system for colonial settlers, the colonization of its space and resources (politicization of water), and "a colony *on* (or in) water" (p. 13). In this definition, the author offers an elegant way to conceive of how colonial acts and human control can be traced through and by way of controlling the water body. Water negotiations have shaped the socio-political structures of the present. A reordering of viewpoints accompanies Gómez-Barris' (2017) view on "submerged perspectives." I think back to the two site visits and the types of visitors that I saw at the Punta Arenas Museum versus Villa Grimaldi. Certainly, the museum and the town of Punta

Arenas were marked by an influx of adventure tourists; a very different reason to visit the area than I had. It is then not just how we view the water that reveals histories but how the water affects our view or views us. In this regard, Díaz (2021) speaks on "ecologies from below" in their analysis of the documentary.

What can be learned from looking up—or from reorientating the intended perspective, as was suggested for the telescope—is a question that lingers from *Nostalgia de la luz*. Díaz defines ecologies from below as follows: "Ecologies from below insist that there is an indelible core of violence, whether slow, structural, or personal, whether spectacular or covert, to the othered human and to the othered ecosphere" (p. 1335). In the documentary, what can be gained from "below" is not only about the potential of seeing through water but also focuses on what Guzmán and historian Gabriel Salazar describe as the overlooked history of water and the Indigenous people in Chile. Similar to the overall argument of this thesis, Díaz (2021) remarks on what is revealed in not only the perspective from below but also between varied bodies; "Guzmán's film shows how politics affect and are effected upon not only bodies but also the boundaries between bodies and their milieu" (p. 1347). Both the space of encounter and the location of the water are then important to how we understand what happened in the Patagonian landscapes. However, my reading of "sites of convergence" between *bodies* and Guzmán's watery and celestial transitions between scenes proposes a "milieu" between bodies in time, not necessarily bound to their temporal home or place.

In connecting the human and water body on an elemental or "particled" level, Astrida Neimanis (2010) asks, "Are we not *all* bodies of water"? While Neimanis affirms the watery existence of not only waterscapes but humans, earth, and celestial landscapes, this is not to simplify the relationship between them. As Blackmore and Lisa (2020) confirm, this passage is often cited and should not be oversimplified, and Merchant (2020) reiterates Neimanis' caution in conflating this reading of water and bodies to Indigenous knowledge. However, this reading of water certainly complicates the question of *whose* or what perspective water holds. This is to say that if the "submerged," "below," or "view" from water is to reveal a reordering of histories and their temporal existence, is it not a call to us as well? If water inhabits all and flows between differences, as Neimanis (2010) argues, then the water (body) is in a constant state of convergence. Again, the filmic medium is uniquely capable of demonstrating the watery, fluid, or expansive nature of

water. This is because the camera is able to capture water's elemental, material, or watery, qualities of adapting to more structured bodies, such as taking in the human body, flowing through streams, or supporting the boats and movement of Indigenous people. Guzmán's own narrative and editing style of transporting the viewer to and through multiple water sites (waterways, drops of water, the expansive ocean) creates a fluidity between the spaces that appear on the screen. In *El botón de nácar,* water undoubtedly exists in-between and through time and, therefore, as a marker for critical "sites of convergence." The watery perspectives and Indigenous perspectives solidify and expand the unequal relationship in the Anthropocene, not only between human and non-human encounters but also between human/human relationships.

4.3 A Temporal Reading of Dialogic Memory

In this section, I offer a temporal and anthropogenic reading of Assmann's (2015) concept of dialogic memory. As I have noted in the theoretical chapter, a dialogic approach offers a way to consider bodies together— and possibly as existing in the same periods— allowing for a deeper conversation on how and where we remember certain histories. In this analysis, I am particularly interested in Guzmán's uses of faded and overlapping transitions to represent a convergence and conversation between bodies and the highlighted violent histories. This approach also allows me to explore Guzmán's use of natural landscapes and their composition. Throughout *El botón de nácar*, we are shown instances of violent human encounters with water *through* its body— transitional moments. For example, we see the divers searching for bodies and the finding of the tracks (2015, 1:08:20–1:09:30), the photo featured on the film poster of what I presume to be Indigenous people traveling through the water (2015, 41:27, 40:42–41:47), and the water rushing over the photo of Guzmán's childhood friend swept away by the sea (2015, 19:36-20). How might their on-screen presence and qualities hold, emit, and represent multiple violent histories and the relationship between them? I suggest that the image of the pearl button, like the physical element of calcium in *Nostalgia de la luz*, is the first example of a dialogical meeting point in the film. The button as a holder of the two histories cannot exist without continuous conversation and interaction between the bodies of the disappeared and Indigenous people, as well as the time periods they inhabit. Although the aftermaths of the initial moments of violence (arrival of colonial settlers and the disappearance of bodies during the dictatorship) pervade the present moments, the first convergent sites overlap in the history of the land, the faded transitions, and Guzmán's poetic

creation of "el botón de nácar." The symbol of the pearl button accomplishes narratively what the stars and depictions of constellations and calcium did visually in *Nostalgia de la luz*: to make possible an image that captures and holds multiple moments in time at once. However, it is not only the button that narratively binds these two significant historical events but also the waterscape in which they occurred.

I move away from both physical manifestations of memory and strictly place-based analysis to a more fluid understanding of the initial convergence between *bodies*. Drawing on notions of dialogic memory outlined in Chapter 2 as bounded conversations on differing views of the same past (Assmann, 2015), this section expands the temporal and spatial boundaries of dialogic memory to include interactions between significant events throughout time that linger and affect the same (natural) landscape across time. This theoretical approach to dialogic memory is aided by a fluidity of and challenge to perspectives—offered by water— on time and space, which were established in the previous section. I ask what happens when a "dialogue" between two opposing parties continues and alters the other's *being* throughout time. This alteration, re-orientation, or disruption is best visualized in moments of "in-between" transition moments in the documentary. I consider multiple temporalities in the expansion of dialogic memory's parameters as I consider an anthropogenic and culturally contextualized approach to dialogue. I, therefore, include the concept of "haunting" in the Anthropocene (Tsing et al., 2017) and "ghosts" in the Latin American contexts (Gordon, 1997; Tandeciarz. 2006; Bell and Di Paolantonio, 2009; Schindel, 2014; Demaria, 2014). The development of both is associated with violent and lasting human geological or political/social acts of terror. By including a discussion on "hauntings" in the ecological and cultural senses, I am able to combine my analysis of Guzmán's use of water as a visual tool and a significant historical body to its material, elemental qualities which appeared in Section 4.2, 'Water(scapes) and the Perspectives Gained from Water'.

The lasting effects of violence are inherent within the broader questions of the Anthropocene (Chapter 2), calling for a more fluid understanding of the temporal nature and fluidity in human/non-human relationships and encounters. The intentional, human acts of violence which are outlined earlier in this Chapter, mean that this section's expansion on hauntings, ghosts, and dialogic memory discusses colonialism and the dictatorship as affecting both the human and

earthly bodies in Patagonia and its waterways. After my discussion of the theoretical texts, I explore scene transitions as visual expressions of the expanded, fluid temporalities provided by the element of water (4.3.1). The "in-between" moments of the documentary are also between temporalities and spaces, creating dialogic "sites of convergence" between human and non-human bodies in *El botón de nácar*.

I begin with an anthology *Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet*[13]*,* by Tsing et al. (2017) that has informed the theoretical understandings of my thesis. In this text, the authors name "monsters" as a signifier that allows us to contextualize human's place on Earth within "a web of histories and bodies from which all life, including human life, emerges" (p. M3). The authors suggest that monsters can damage ecosystems because they are a product of the very same land that they eventually destroy; their bodies are already enmeshed with the landscape. In this way, the body (human or non-human) is timelessly connected with the surrounding landscape and, often, the natural world. I explore this concept more in the following Chapter, but within the discussion of dialogic "sites," "monsters" connect the initial act of violence as becoming enmeshed within the landscape. This is certainly the case for the depiction of the two "buttons" in *El botón de nácar* and in this Chapter: the visual and narrative ties between the element of water to the stories of Jemmy Button and Marta Ugarte (an element that facilitated Button's extraction and Ugarte's disappearance). A critical difference, however, is that the arrival of colonial settlers and disappearance of bodies into the waterscapes around Chile during the dictatorship are both instances when the initial act of violence came from outside of the effect site.

To explore the long-lasting effects of violence and temporal fluidity in the documentary, I focus on the "ghosts" of the same text. They are explored as aftereffects of significant or violent ecological events that remain with the land, such as extinctions, oil spills, unclean water, or chemical disasters (p. G2). In these examples, the ecosystem was disrupted, leaving permanent traces and alternations to the system. The environmental ghost implies that the original perpetrator is no longer present in the space that is bearing its aftereffects. For the viewer of the documentaries, this becomes relevant as Guzmán does not show us the beginning of the dictatorship (discussed in

[13] This book is constructed in a unique way. There are two sides– Ghosts and Monsters– that meet in the middle of the book. When looking at one side, the other 'side' appears to be upside down.

length in the following Chapter on *La cordillera de los sueños*) nor the arrival of Fitzroy or the other colonial settlers. It should be noted that we do see drawings of the Patagonian landscape and of the Indigenous people they encountered, which Guzmán narrates was the goal of their voyage. The following passage in *Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet* (2017) reveals the nature of "ghosts" and their eventual haunting in an ecological context.

> We call this return to multiple pasts, human and not human, "ghosts." Every landscape is haunted by past ways of life. We see this clearly in the presence of plants whose animal seed-dispersers are no longer with us. … When the animals became extinct, their plants could continue without them, but they have been unable to disperse their seeds very well. Their distribution is curtailed; their population dwindles. This is an example of what we are calling haunting (p. G2)

In haunting, it is both the immediate felt absence of the disappearance of part of the ecosystem and the very real long-term and overtime consequences of this absence. The contributors to the anthology (Tsing et al., 2017) are mostly concerned with moments of ecological violence, and yet we can find similarities to my reading of the affected present-day landscapes of Patagonia, in the documentary and my own experience. When considering this definition of ghosts and haunting in the context of the film, the history of water as tied to two cases of intentional violence on the Patagonian landscape means that the waterscapes in and outside of the film can be an expression of temporal haunting. Furthermore, from the concept of the ecological ghost, I state again my understanding of the pearl button as a "site of convergence." The "site" is a meeting point between time periods (the initial act of violence and the present day) and the bodies that were harmed; a temporal fluidity between moments that is inherent in the concept of "ghosts." In the example of the plants and seed-disperser animals in the above passage, the extinction of the animal and their felt absence is solidified in the future when the plant population dwindles. For the pearl button, as a metaphor and vehicle of memory, it too relies on the initial extraction/ disappearance of Button and Ugarte. Its significance as a "site," or perhaps a type of ghost, is amplified by other dwindlings of population, the Indigenous people in Patagonia, and those directly impacted by the Pinochet dictatorship.

In the same anthology, Physicist and Feminist scholar Karen Barad (2017) writes on the haunted time in relation to the atomic bomb in Hiroshima in her chapter 'No Small Matter: Mushroom Clouds, Ecologies of Nothingness, and Strange Topologies of SpaceTimeMattering,' In the chapter, she includes a photograph of the mushroom cloud produced after the bombing, noting the destruction of human and non-human beings captured in its shadows. I mention this image because it is reminiscent of the explosion we will see in the next chapter related to the bombing of La Moneda. She focuses on the intersection between losses in space-time-matter that are reflected in its shadows by drawing on her physics training. This is not so different from my concerns in this thesis and Guzmán's visualization of longer landscape histories. The physical effects of long-acting violent events are clear in his coming to terms with exile and where his/Chile's history fits in with the natural world. What might also last within the landscapes? On shadows, Barad explains that losses are not always visibly discernible– as also noted by Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996) in the previous chapter– but always tangible ["not intangible" (Barad, 2017, p. G106)]. Barad states about shadows, presence, and absence, the following:

> These losses emblazoned on walls: shadows of what once was become eternal… the flash so bright, the heat so hot, nearly every surface becomes a photographic place. Loss is not absence but a marked presence, or rather a marking that troubles the divide between absence and presence (p. G106).

I relate the very literal "shadows" of the victims of Hiroshima to the shadowy existences of both the humans and landscapes in transition moments in the documentary. The shadows created by catastrophic events, such as in Barad's example are reminiscent of how water can act as both "image" and "screen" (Watson, 2022). In *El botón de nácar*, Guzmán uses water and waterscapes to enhance the faded, shadowy transitions of images and impose one image and their time period, onto the other. Refer to Figure 4.5 for an example, such as how the imprint of Indigenous people canoeing through the water is visible on the image of the water. The shadows indicated by Barad are another example of

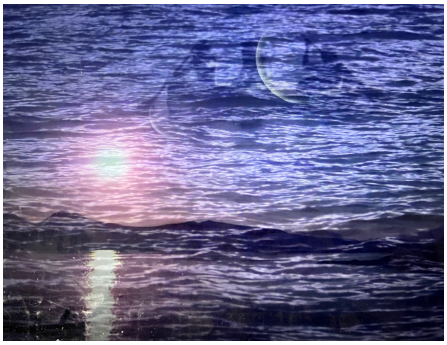


Figure 4.5: A transition between the history of the Indigenous people of Patagonia provided by Guzmán's narration and an interview with Cristina Calderón. Screenshot taken from El botón de nácar *(41:25).*

temporal fluidity and expressions of the past in the present. As I detail in the next section, the faded transition scenes in the documentary are dialogical "sites of convergence" through the element of water that visually, physically, and narratively puts the act of violence in conversation with the present. Ghost, shadows, and haunting create intricate readings of these "sites" as not only a convergence of time and bodies, but in the documentary's use of the elemental water– which facilitates an on-screen impression of the past on the present and the present on the past when water is used over other images. For example, the on-screen presence of the pearl button, given its historical context, is a manifestation of the immediate and long-term effects of violence, the encounter between human and non-human bodies, and an imprint of past/present, present/past. In this sense, both water-landscapes and human bodies have a shadowy existence at their meeting point of the film.

Interestingly, Tsing et al. (2020) propose the idea of "detonator time" in *Feral Atlas: the more-than-human Anthropocene* as a way to refer to essential tipping points when human political or economic interest irrevocably changed the Earth's surface without regard for the other human inhabitants of the specific land. The central question that the idea of hauntings responds to is how we conceive of critical moments in time that linger and their effects on the social, ecological, and political landscapes. Gray (2022) argues that "haunting should be conceived as not solely as a confrontation with immaterial traces from the past but as a recognition of something that exceeds human memory, displacing both where and when we think we are" (p. 161). Certainly, the medium of film challenges the need to separate "rupture", "detonator" or "creation" moment, as discussed in relation to seismic events in Chile in the next Chapter, from their aftereffects because those designated moments can be inserted and interact with varied times and spaces. In *El botón de nácar*, for example, Guzmán references the past through photographs of the Indigenous Patagonian people and the shorelines that are imagined as unchanged in the documentary. I see "sites of convergence" as a response to the aforementioned terms that acknowledge the long-lasting effects of these moments. Through the bodily and temporal convergence in the documentary, we can visually see that violent moments do not belong solely to the past.

For me, ghosts and hauntings exemplify the flexibility of time, especially when accompanied by the medium of film. The inclusion of the ghostly figure into a dialogic perspective is a departure

from place-based Memory Studies that examine how people choose to commemorate the past in the present. In this triptych, there are few memorials or physical traces of the past. The past is embodied in the human physical bodies of survivors and the respective natural landscapes. In the films, the remnants and ghosts of the past fulfill their sometimes classification of "living dead" (Gordon, 2011, p. 13). Ghosts linger and help us remember absent, lost aspects that are (in)tangible or cannot be captured in the moving present. It should be noted that there are significant differences in the creation of Tsing et al.'s (2017) and Gordon's (1997, 2011) ghostly contemplations; their creation (traumatic political violence vs ecological), how they exist on the land (lingering trauma vs ecological consequences), and the effect on the present-day landscapes (ecological hauntings).

Guzmán's depiction of landscapes invites the lingering ghosts. Certainly, conceptions of haunted landscape and human time overlap with Chakrabarty's *Anthropocene time* (2018). Hauntings, ghosts, and body relationships help perceive these overlaps at once. Chakrabarty states that in the Anthropocene, the human manufactured "now" has caught up to the geological "now" (Chakrabarty, 2018, p. 7). It is not just that they are meeting in the "now" of human or geological time, but how they meet "in" time. I now look at moments of transition and "sites of convergence" in *El botón de nácar* that exemplify landscapes' ability to reflect the temporal fluidity and dynamics of the human/non-human encounter of bodies. After a discussion on the temporal implications of hauntings, I now consider cinematographic moments of conversion between the bodies, focusing on the visual effect that emerges.

It is not *only* the encounter between the two that facilitates the dialogue but the visual—watery—manner of interaction. These moments, like the symbol of the pearl button, show multiple landscapes, bodies, and periods. In these sequences, Guzmán overlaps multiple images, thereby blurring time and bodies. I argue that these moments demonstrate the ability of the natural qualities of land-water-scapes to not only hold space for memory, acting as a site of convergence, but also create a visual, narrative, and historical dialogue between moments. The dialogues, including the non-human landscapes, carry through multiple times in the film and almost stay "in" or "between" time. As viewers, we assume it is to the present, but visually, we do not know. I view these transitions as "sites of convergence" or a site within time. This is to say that in the multiple instances when the disappeared, Indigenous people, or Guzmán's friend who drowned are

intermeshed into the natural landscapes, they are also in dialogue with each other and the waterscapes. The water, carrying a longer existence and memory, takes in the more recent histories as well. The convergent sites, however, do not necessarily belong to this present.

4.3.1 Orbs, Drops, and the Watery Transitions between Scenes



Figure 4.6: In between Luís Henríquez in the Atacama Desert and former detention center, Chacabuco, and Miguel Lawner in his office in Santiago. Screenshot taken from Nostalgia de la luz *(36:41).*

In Chapter 3, I explored the star/dust as connected to the bodies in the Atacama Desert and their (in)visible representations on the landscape. Here, I include an example to expand on not only the particles temporal implications but their usage in faded, fluid transition moments in both *El botón de nácar* and *Nostalgia de la luz*. In narrating the experiences of Chacabuco and the survivor's memories, Guzmán creates a spatial, bodily, and temporal dialogue between the Atacama Desert and the office of Miguel Lawyer. In these moments–refer to Figure 4.6– the spectator's view is between the natural landscape of the desert and the structured environment of the office. But we are also in an "in-between" moment of ghostly recountings of the detention center and how these memories permeate throughout time and the men's lives. In this sequence, we begin with Luís Henríquez, who admired the stars during his detention at Chacabuco and is a survivor of the detention center. He is filmed walking through the remains of the camp. After the walkthrough of Chacabuco, we change perspectives to that of being below. We see Luis standing in front of us and staring up at the clear blue sky. At this moment, the light orbs begin to encompass him, and the scene slowly fades into the narration of Miguel Lawner's history. Lawner is sitting at his desk looking at the sketches he has since made of Chacabuco while the light particles shimmer around him. In this instance, the orbs, almost dust-like, create a mystical and ethereal atmosphere that mirrors the celestial themes and is accompanied by Guzmán's narration, stating that "Miguel, el arquitecto de la memoria, es también un amante de las estrellas" (2010, 37:02—37:07). They are both with the stars. While this chapter is mostly

dedicated to the waterscapes of Patagonia and the watery existences of "sites of convergence" in *El botón de nácar*, the celestial themes undoubtedly carry through to this film. I will speak more to the celestial as this section continues. In *Nostalgia de la luz*, I argued that the orbs encompassed the *bodies* in question and appeared them in the present. The faded aspect of this particular usage of orbs, however, leads us into the ghostly, fluid matters in this chapter.

In the beginning moments of *El botón de nácar*, the lights not only transition us from the Atacama Desert to the waterscapes of Patagonia but from the first film to this one. In Figures 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9 we see the process of the orbs taking over more and more of the screen. Eventually, it is unclear when or where we are, constructing an almost dream-like state. In this scene, the movement of the orbs, in addition to their gleam of light, resembles the flow and light reflected off of water. Eventually, they become absorbed into the waters we presume belong to Patagonia. The bright orbs are a stark contrast to the desert's night sky; however, they



Figure 4.7: Star/dust from Nostalgia de la luz *transforming into reflections of orbed lights onto and as part of the water body. Screenshots taken from* El botón de nácar *(4:30-5:20).*



Figure 4.8: In between star/dust and water "site." (2015, 5:06).



Figure 4.9: Lights absorbed into the water body in Patagonia (2015, 5:19.)

quickly become a natural part of the darkness of water as they fade and adapt to the large waterscape. They are no longer light orbs purposefully placed on a scene but reflections off the water. Guzmán, aware of the effect of the orbs, acknowledges the deep connections between himself, the desert, water, and the celestial and how they influenced these works. He says, "Mirando las estrellas, me atrajo la importancia del agua. Parece que el agua vino del espacio exterior y la vida nos llegó en las cometas que formaron los mares" (2015, 5:40-5:57). Because this scene is at the beginning of the documentary, it sets the precedent for the convergence of not only the waterbody and human body but also the celestial bodies, linking back to the particles and

desertscapes in *Nostalgia de la Luz*. These orbs are undoubtedly visually evocative of the appearance of the bodies of the Indigenous Selk'nam people later in the documentary. Visually, the fade of the orbs from the desert to the water parallels the experience of the bodies of the disappeared— dug up from the desert and disappeared once more into the waterways of Chile. I read the transformation of orbs from star/dust to an iteration of the water body as a "site of convergence" between the two documentaries and the histories of the disappeared. The sequence has many similar qualities to Figures 4.5 and 4.6, where Guzmán merges images together, displaying their translucent qualities. Here, the element of water takes over the screen and embodies the orbed lights from the desert. The "site" invokes the histories of the Atacama Desert and *Nostalgia con la luz* with the culturally and ecologically important waterscape in *El botón de nácar*.

In this beginning, *El botón de nácar* reinforces not only the closeness of the sky to the Atacama Desert but also the omnipresent nature of water.

> El desierto chileno es el lugar más seco de la tierra. Desde aquí, los astrónomos han descubierto agua en casi todos los cosmos. Hay agua en los planetas. Hay vapor de agua en ciertas nebulosas. Hay hielo en otros cuerpos celestes. En la tierra, fuera de ella, agua es básica para existe la vida (2015, 3:40— 4:13)

Water, associated with life, is found between the celestial bodies, human bodies, and water bodies. The theme of a spatial and consistent presence of a natural body will continue into the next chapter and my discussion on the Andes Mountain range. The slow transformation from the desert to the water visually confirms Guzmán's and Zurita's contemplations on the memory and voice of water (p. 98). The watery qualities of fluidity and distortion in this scene produce a temporal stasis and blending of bodies through an amalgamation of landscapes and multiple unknown geographical locations and times. A visual similarity strikes me between the orbs, stars of the connected celestial, and the drops of rain flowing into the waters. The figure of the ghost and the perspectives gained by water tell us about the temporal complexities of remembering ongoing violence after the initial act. I see these complexities in the in-between of bodies and times. The overlapping of landscapes in this sequence shows the "dialogue" between the landscapes and their relationships

to the disappeared but also the dissonance between the appearance of the landscapes and their histories. This is something that became undeniable during my visits to the sites—with the exception of the memorial to the disappeared in the desert and Villa Grimaldi in Santiago— that the current uses and imaginations of these landscapes are mainly through the touristic or capitalist gaze.

Do past events become lost in or part of their landscapes? This question is central to imaging the conversation between bodies and their lingers on the water-land-scapes. Both Nixon (2011) and Tsing et al. (2017) produce terms that speak to the temporal dialogues necessary to conceptualize the over-time processes of violence: "slow violence" and "ghosts." Both terms acknowledge the incremental speed or haunting of past events on landscapes of specific bodies. Nixon particularly notes that because the aftershocks of slow violence happen over some time, the violence itself is not bound to a specific moment. Instead, there is a "temporal dispersion" of the ecological, environmental, or trauma responses to the initial event (Nixon, 2011). Nixon's work pertains to the ecological crisis and its unequal effects on different communities. I argue that Guzmán's transitions quite simply want to show us the long-lasting and ongoing temporal effects of violence. Certainly, the intentional acts of violence committed in Patagonia — against specific human bodies in a specific natural landscape— complicate Nixon's understanding of "slow violence" and provoke the question of how the more blatant and brutal human terrors can be negotiated within this concept. In the film, the overlapping images of the human body and the waterbodies replicate a shared history of sustained violence between both parties, providing an enduring in-between space for the "sites of convergence."

Certainly, the conceptions of sustained or lingering violence discussed in this section call attention to the temporal displacement of both human intentional acts of violence and those not seen in the film but experienced outside its frames, environmental degradation, and ecological slow violence. This is to say that these sites are not only tied to the time of the monster, the creation of the ghost, or the moments of human terror but, perhaps more importantly, physically or culturally manifest at a later date. *El botón de nácar* shows multiple points of delayed trauma: the arrival of the colonial settlers and the reinforcement of death in the cases of the disappeared. In this regard, Deborah Bird Rose in *Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet* (2017) speaks to a "double death,"

which is an “extinction, which extinguishes time yet to come” (p. G7). While this can refer to an environmental extinction, it is apt in the two cases present in the narrative of *El botón de nácar*. For example, in Guzmán's interpretation of the event, Jemmy Button was taken from his geographical place in Chile and transported into a “future” found in England, and then eventually taken “back” to Chile. Having already discussed the problematic gaze of this sentiment, the narrative can counteract the potential of a “double death” of its own; instead of Jemmy Button losing both his place and time, he is also inscribed into the visual celestial scales of memory. In Guzmán’s use of Button’s story and interviews with Indigenous people, he speaks to a wider conversation about the extinction of language and culture and a genocide of people that endures and is yet to come.

Cristina Calderón died on February 16, 2022, at the age of 93 in Punta Arenas. Calderón was an Indigenous Yámana woman, the last full-blooded Yámana woman and native speaker of her language. She was also interviewed in *El botón de nácar*. During my stay in Santiago in 2023, I visited the cultural center in La Moneda multiple times. During my visits, I found multiple cultural magazines that documented the Indigenous history and Cristina Calderón’s life. In the magazine *Endémico: Cultural Creative, Vida Sustainable, Medioambiente* published in November 2022, there was a profile of Calderón. I focus on two images from this magazine, one of Cristina Calderón as the focus point within the land and water of Punta Arena and the other of a “pequeño diccionario ilustrado Yagán.” This speaks toward the interest in and inclusion of Indigenous histories in a “central” place, and one so connected with the day of the military coup and dictatorship. Another magazine *El Ancho Mundo. Aproximaciones a Magallanes*, also purchased and funded by the cultural center, detailed an exhibition of the same name that took place in July-December 2021. In the magazine, we see some of the same photographs that Guzmán used but with greater attention to who took them and where the photographs reside now. Again, it is worth mentioning that Guzmán’s interest in these histories fits into an ongoing trend of taking care of the people and place.

4.3.2 The Celestial Drops and Enduring Memory

In this part, I connect the discussion of water to the continued use of celestial images. How does water facilitate extraction and extinction? In the case of the Indigenous people and Jemmy Button, extraction is not only related to the environment or restrictions to the lands but the physical removal of their bodies as well.[14] We do not hear much about the lasting violence against the Indigenous people, and I have recounted most of it already. However, Guzmán is, again, fascinated by a celestial connection that would ensure the persistence of the bodies and beings of the Indigenous people in the Chilean and planetary imagination. He uses photos taken by ethnologist Martín Gusinde of the Yaghan and Selk'nam people to show the celestial images drawn onto the bodies of the Selk'nam people. As has been noted (Díaz, 2021; Merchant, 2022) there is not much context provided about these images, only deferring to poet Raúl Zurita for interpretation. As for the celestial connection to the disappeared bodies, it is more evident in *Nostalgia de la luz* but continues with the planetary questions of memory that also exist with the element of water. In both celestial cases, the constellations and galaxies are perceived on a human scale through the telescope and their depictions on the Indigenous body. However, in both their celestial and watery connections, the histories remain temporally fluid.

The movement of and made possible by water is at the center of the Indigenous encounters with water in *El botón de nácar.* In Figure 4.10, there is screenshot of a Yámana canoe. In the beginning of the documentary, the five Indigenous groups of Patagonia are named: the Kawésqar, the

[14] In Chile, the struggles of the Mapuche ("people that belong to the earth" (Meza, 2009, p. 152) in the native language) over ancestral lands are perhaps the most well-known and advertised. Meza (2009) provides a comprehensive overview of the history of the Mapuche peoples, their fight over land and conservation, and privatization in Chile. The Mapuche people are not the focus of this thesis but their struggles point to a larger context of Indigenous struggles and access to land in Chile.

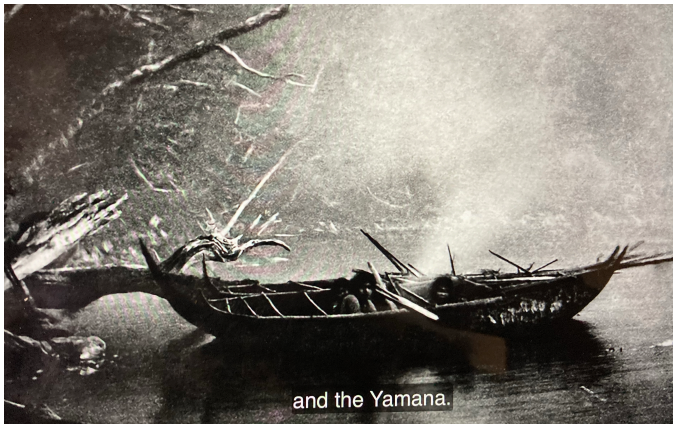


Figure 4.10: A Yámana canoe taken by a French scientific expedition to Cape Horn, 1882-83 (Franklin, 2022). More information can be found in Legoupil and Núñez-Regueiro (2017) and Franklin (2022). Screenshot from El botón de nácar *(14:25).*

Selk'nam, the Aoniken, the Hausch, and the Yámana. They all traveled by sea. In the interview with an Indigenous Kawésqar woman, Gabriela Paterito, Guzmán asks her to describe her memories of Patagonia in her native language. Paterito recounts a trip she took with her family around Patagonia, from Port Eden to the Gulf of Penas, where they paddled for around 1,000 kilometers in a canoe. She tells us about her experience in the Kawésqar language, "I paddled all around the South…When you travel by canoe you get to know the islands inside out, where to camp, and where to sleep…I became a teenager, then an adult as I paddled and here I am" (2010, 45:25—46:47). The version of *El botón de nácar* that I have access to only provides English subtitles to Paterito's words; therefore, I can only transcribe the already translated words of her history. In Figure 4.10, the canoe is one example of an Indigenous canoe, while in another scene, the audience sees Martín G. Calderón taking care of a similar boat. I find this photograph unsettling because it represents a reality that no longer exists. Furthermore, due to its lighting, it also has a celestial, haunting quality to it. Gabriela Paterito's words are accompanied by a point-of-view shot of going through the passages of the waterways. Rain drops into the river and onto the movie boat; the viewer keeps moving forward. Gabriela Paterito tells us about how she explored and got to know Patagonia while the camera pans over to the cliffs on the side of the stream and a small waterfall that is feeding the larger body. The misted water, blown by the wind, also becomes part of the stream while the viewer sees what Paterito knew.

She continues to describe how she grew up, and the visual perspective broadens to a zoomed-out view of the land and waterscapes, showing a different waterfall surrounded by mountains. In this perspective, Patagonia looks unknowable and untouched by human intervention. In the final shot of the sequence, our perspective changes from moving forward to sideways. The water is right beside the boat, on the second layer is an embankment with trees, and then a distant third layer shows us a snow-covered mountain. For both Gabriela Paterito and Jemmy Button, the water was

a body/element which allowed for movement. But to where? For Paterito, traveling by canoe through Patagonia solidified a strong bodily connection to the landscape, whereas in Jemmy Button's case, traveling through and from Patagonia by boat meant a rupture to the entangled landscapes just present. In the poetic sense, Guzmán's showcasing of these two relationships with waters reveals more than just a physical movement through the water but a temporal one. However, for him, the focus on the water relationships results in a suggestion that leaves the Indigenous people in the past even though he is interviewing them in the present. The interviews are in relationship to their past as Merchant (2022) also indicates in his article. In the previous section, I referred to the past/present dynamic of Button's story and I note the same treatment for Gabriela Paterito here. Guzmán reflects that while she was canoeing around Patagonia, he was a schoolboy and says that "Entre Gabriela y yo, había varios silos de distancia" (2020, 48:16). This conception of time then works in reverse in my analysis of dialogical "sites of convergence." If connected to the celestial and watery past, then they are both also connected to their futures.

In contemplating the violent histories, Guzmán wonders if a similar history of disappearance and genocide has happened on other planets or galaxies or if there is a place of "asilo" (2015, 40:47) that exists somewhere else. He admits this line of thinking is a bit naïve, yet he continues to wonder about different places in the universe where histories might be different. He claims: "me gustaría que estos pueblos de agua, no hubieran desaparecido" (2015, 41:00). In Figure 4.11, the audience is shown one of the last images of the documentary and what I see as critical example of a watery, ghostly, and temporally fluid transition between histories and bodies. In this image, we see a first-person perspective of someone rowing through water, merged with the celestial galaxies of the previous scene. Narratively, Guzmán involves questions of planetary memory, such as the case in the ending of *Nostalgia de la luz*. By showing the waters of the oceans as visually converging with the



Figure 4.11: In this image, we see the celestial galaxies in the upper half and the entrance of a person rowing in a canoe in the bottom left corner. Screenshot taken from El botón de nácar *(1:19:09).*

potential water in the universe –water vapor in a quasar (2015, 1:18:30)[15]–the audience is reminded of universal questions of remembering and responsibility that appear throughout the triptych. This sequence and the captured image in Figure 4.11 is striking because of its embodiment of water perspectives and the filmic, visual effects that are provided by water and discussed earlier in the chapter. For instance, it is an example of a "site" where the distant past held in the celestial, the past of the Indigenous people moving through the Patagonian waterways, and the present waterscapes meet, along with their visual, bodily forms. In the image, the viewer can see shadows or a ghost of each time period in the other.

The connection between the body and the cosmos is further explored through the history of the Selk'nam people, Indigenous to Patagonia. For the Selk'nam people, Guzmán narrates that there is a strong connection with the natural world and their ancestors, believing they will be transformed into stars after death. Through the camera's lens, the viewer experiences this transformation through a long-form clip of photographs showing the Selk'nam people with stars and constellations painted onto their bodies.[16] The painting of the cosmos of the Selk'nam people, originally taken by Martin Gusinde, documents the coming-of-age ceremony known as Hain. This is not made clear in the documentary. Through the painting of their celestialized bodies, Guzmán defaults to his enduring questions of memories on the planetary scale. Here, the celestial and planetary are perceivable on a human scale. The connection provided is given by Zurita, referring to the celestial images on the bodies, "ahí están sus muertos" (2015, 35:30). The knowing of the dead that is found in the Selk'nam tradition is otherwise absent in Patricio Guzmán's documentaries. This potential of reacting to the dead is in strong contrast to the unknown details and locations of the bodies of the dead/disappeared. Although the Selk'nam also uses the constellations to identify with their pasts, it is not a conquering of the elements.

[15] A quasar is a galactic nucleus. A water reservoir, in the form of vapor, was found in a distant quasar in 2011 (Science Daily, 2011). At the beginning of the documentary, middle, and end of *El botón de nácar*, Guzmán refers to water in the celestial without providing the viewer with the context he is referring to. I also mention the connection between the celestial and water in part 4.3.1.

[16] For detailed examples of the photographs used by Guzmán of the Selk'nam people in *El botón de nácar*, refer to Barraza, 2018.

The documentary includes many of the photos of the Selk'nam people and several long shots of their faces and bodies. A similar technique to the watery transitions is used to fade the two scenes together of the Selk'nam people and the celestial bodies. In Figure 4.12, Guzmán amplifies the painted bodies of the Selk'nam, and in a reverse image, their bodies now become part of the celestial landscape of the sky. It is a slow fade from the Selk'nam people as the central focus of the shot to their constructed constellations blending into the "natural" ones. Eventually, the human bodies are barely noticeable from the star points — the white lines drawn on the human bodies become constellations until they return again in bursts painted on the human body (2015, 32:09, 32:50). The accompanying narrative supports the image by stating that "Despúes de la muerte, creían que podían transformarse en estrellas" (2015, 32:14). By emphasizing a larger connection between the natural landscapes of Patagonia and, in this case, the Indigenous Selk'nam people's bodies, the transitional moments become a live and fluid place from which it is possible to negotiate multiple violent pasts.



Figure 4.12: Screenshot taken from El botón de nácar *(32:10). The transition moment between a photograph of the Selk'nam people with celestial imagery painted on their bodies and images of the galaxies.*

I draw on Raúl Zurita's statements on the human/landscape blurring in artistic mediums that are recounted in Cole (2019): "My attempt has been to pull poetry and nature together because, in the end, they are the same. I have always been startled by work that refuses to acknowledge the limits of human capacity." Zurita certainly supports Guzmán's overall thesis of imbuing discussions of post-dictatorship memories and histories into the natural landscapes. Zurita's own work reflects a similar sentiment. In *Zurita, verás no ver* (2018) – a documentary about Raúl Zurita directed by Chilean filmmaker Alejandra Carmona Cannobbio – there is a scene where Zurita is speaking about his art projects in the Atacama Desert where he bulldozed the words "Ni Pena, Ni Miedo" into the sand. It can only be seen in totality from above, as it is 2 miles long. In this scene, his face is in the center of the frame, and inscribed on top, in translucent letters, is the word "lloraba." Zurita states that the desert surface colors are similar to those of the "rostro." He is implicating his own body into the landscape. The poet finds beauty in how the two mirror and reflect each other

and seemingly become one body. This visual exercise shows a desire to physically mark the landscapes of terror with the human bodies that were persecuted.

In the Southern Cone, photography of the disappeared held by their relatives at protests, manifestations, or memorials, is an affective resistive act that works to fill the physical absence. The use of photos visually notes the disappearance of the person and grounds their once existence (Lazzara, 2006; Andermann, 2012; Piper-Shafir et al., 2017; Forcinto, 2019). Similarly to the women in Calama in *Nostalgia de la luz*, the continual presence of relatives in public space is a bodily tie to the disappeared. Photographs are a response to the narrative void left in the wake of the disappeared figure (Lazzara, 2006) and are of particular interest when used in films. The holding of photographs by the family members of the disappeared is one way of being able to control the image and placement of their ghostly bodies.

On the celestial and focus on bodies of the Indigenous, Barraza (2019) writes on the use of these photographs to talk about the history of the Indigenous people of Patagonia and the spectral qualities of their inclusion in this documentary. The author notes that the Patagonians are revealed as spectral themselves in three ways, including through the photographs themselves, that they were already a persecuted people at the time of the photos, and the lack of recognition of their extermination (p. 91). Barraza's exploration of the possibilities and limits of photography reveals not only their ghostly qualities, as I have highlighted in the film, but also their capturing of the spectral. Barraza states

> Los archivos etnográficos sobre los pueblos originarios restituyen un espacio para las etnias australes, a la vez que exhiben las tensiones y límites de la fotografía antropológica e institucional. Se trata de espectros fantasmáticos (Barthes) en búsqueda de un sitial dentro de la historiografía chilena. Guzmán explora el salvajismo colonizador del proyecto exterminador de la nación moderna. De la ausencia, de las imágenes mudas, el director logra enmudecer al observador (p. 105)

I contend that in the moments of transition, this is similarly demonstrated that the Indigenous people or disappeared do not have a concrete home in the contemporary landscape. They, like their faded, watery presentations, are not set to the present but to an "in-between" time. This article is

another demonstration of countering the spectral indicators of the photographs. Bazzara gives space for the photographs that have their time in *El botón de nácar* but, in the nature of film, are still fleeting in existence.



Figure 4.12: Figurines of the Selk'nam people in a tourist shop in the middle of Punta Arenas. The bodies are painted for the traditional Selk'nam male coming-to-age ceremony, Hain. Photograph taken on February 23, 2023.

The final inclusion of my own experience is a personal encounter with the figurines and bodies of the Selk'nam people painted in the ceremonial celestial image. The celestial patterns on the figures are the same, which appear in *El botón de nácar*. I first encountered the figurines, shown in Figure 4.13 in the Punta Arenas Museum gift counter. The figures, in addition to packs of photographs of the Indigenous people (by Martín Gusinde), were available to purchase alongside t-shirts and magnets of penguins and Patagonian landscapes. It would be the same at the tourist shop in the center of Punta Arenas and at the airport. The two histories were side-by-side, and neither had much context. Of course, the commodification of a place's history is not uncommon.[17] The museum provided the context for each Indigenous group of the area— in addition to the flora, fauna, expedition, and extractions of the area— but only the Selk'nam bodies made it "out" of the museum. Their painted, again portable, bodies were carried away from Patagonia.

4.3.3 The Disappearance of Bodies in/and Water

The layers and material composition of both bodies are emphasized in the meeting point of Marta Ugarte's body and the water. In the case of human bodies, the liquidity of water worked towards and, in many cases, succeeded in separating and deteriorating their entireties. For water, the density of its layers meant it was nearly impossible to find human remains, which also emphasizes a grave-

[17] This is particularly true in the case of Chile. The neoliberal economic system, referenced again in Chapter 5, was installed during Pinochet's dictatorship and continued to exist in Chile until the presidency of Gabriel Boríc, who called to end the neoliberal system (Edwards, 2023). Through the installation of the neoliberal system, Chile was treated as a socioeconomic testing ground by Pinochet and U.S. economists known as The Chicago Boys. Neoliberalism favored businesses and the privatization of businesses, education, healthcare, and natural resources (Bevins, 2023; Brender, 2010). Relevant to this thesis is the privatization of water during the Pinochet dictatorship, that persists to the present day (Bauer, 2012)

like state created by the water. *El botón de nácar* documents a change in perception of the sea as a cemetery after the body of Marta Ugarte was discovered which I build on in this part. This continuous interaction between both bodies could be described as violent but also shows an instance in the film where an individual component of earth can hold as much information as the whole, as argued in the previous chapter. In this obvious interaction between the two types of bodies, the localized and up-close scale maximizes the affective impact of the scene and the physical contrasts between the weighted objects attached to the human bodies and the fluidity and openness of the water. This scene emphasizes the brutality of the act itself but also shows the differences between the two types of bodies, which are reinforced in their meeting. Refer to Figure 4.14. In this image, the disproportion between the two bodies is clear. There is not the same blurring between the human/non-human counterparts in this scene, but rather a blurring of the body because of perspective. We do not gain a close look at the disappearance process, as it could be said that we must see it from far away to know the details (as was the case of the memorials in the Atacama Desert). Marta Ugarte's case is unique because her physical body's location is known; however, in many cases, the disappeared person exists in an "in-between" as their body is noticeably absent and lost within vast landscapes, but their image and story persist. Guzmán's cinematographic technique of overlaid or blurred transitions between scenes reflects a ghostly, haunted, or in-between existence. In these transitions, multiple bodies, often natural and human bodies, are merged and, to the viewer, appear as one.



Figure 4.14: In the distance, a bundled body, which we saw in the previous scene, is pushed out of the helicopter. At the bottom of the screen, a large body of water waits. A screenshot taken from El botón de nácar *(1:06:07).*

Other examples of the transformation and politicization of water include the Río de la Plata in Argentina, which had a paralleled role to the Patagonian waterways during the 1976-83 dictatorship (Schindel, 2014), and the Río Atrato in Colombia, which gained legal rights as a victim in 2016 (Franco, 2017; García and Veron, 2018). Río Atrato in Colombia is an example of

discussions of legal discussions within the Anthropocene that fall under the rights of nature. In 2008, Ecuador became the first country to adopt the rights of nature into its constitution. Article 71 in the constitution declared that nature is not an object and that it has the integral right to exist (Ecuador's Constitution of 2008). In September 2021, Chile voted on a new constitution that would recognize that nature and all of its components, such as water, wildlife, and forests have legal rights. The new constitution included 388 articles that hoped to address education, universal health care, and natural resources. An estimated 13% of the new articles were about the rights of nature. Nearly 62% of the Chilean population voted against the new constitution (Dorfman, 2022).

Much of academic and cultural work that considers water graves involves migrants, death rituals, artistic representations of death, or shipwrecks. In many Latin American countries, bodies of water have been forced into this new designation as a result of violence when water was the final destination of victims. In *A Limitless Grave: Memory and Abjection of the Río de la Plata*, Schindel (2014) battles with how Argentina might remember the disappeared and how one might build a new understanding and relationship with the coastline which was once a place of leisure. Schindel suggests that a limitless grave also indicates an abject characterization of water "as a shapeless substance which cannot be differentiated.... where elements that should remain separate become confused and identities fall apart" (p. 198) and therefore, in this abject space, bodies become "liminal objects." In the Chilean case and pertaining to the pearl button, the leisure space of Villa Grimaldi was appropriated by the military dictatorship, and notably, the pool was transformed from a place of frivolity to a torture device (Salazar, 2017). In both cases, the perpetrators of violence intentionally chose these locations because of their ability to hide their crimes but also because of their past association with the political left (in the case of Villa Grimaldi) (Violil, 2012; Salazar, 2017). The introduction of the human body, such as Marta Ugarte's, to water instigated a change in the imaginations of water. Water's role in this instance acts as a "grave," similar to Schindel's reading of Río de Plata in Argentina. The story of Marta Ugarte's prominent role in memory projects further supports water's role as a "grave" or archive in this case. However, the aesthetics of *El botón de nácar* do not always coincide with the idea of water as a grave or place of terror. In the film, the shots of rivers, the Atlantic Ocean, and rain falling into the water are accompanied by Guzmán's calm narration and the rhythmic music of the water's movement.

I argue that from Guzmán's filmic representation of the meeting between the disappeared body and waterscapes emerges a point of continual dialogue that does not seek to separate the two identities but engages with their points of interaction. In *El botón de nácar*, Guzmán interviews the poet Raúl Zurita, whose own physical body is deteriorating due to Parkinson's, to talk about water, the body, and memory. The repeated sentiment throughout the film, that water has memory, has also already been highlighted in this thesis. In this statement, Zurita, however, offers the water and sea a sense of autonomy and longevity of remembering. The memory that water might hold is not only physical but also cultural. The close inspection of water in the films in multiple spheres, such as in the rivers of Patagonia, the sea, and as single water droplets found on Earth and the atmosphere, suggest a biological system that might then retain a shared memory. In Zurita's reflection on the convergence, water is a poetic reference and embodied space because it physically binds together the two bodies. In this space, the waterways seep into the missing space of the disappeared and carry their memories. As a significant poetic and aesthetic referent, imaginations of water impact the analysis of its physical composition/ body. In the documentary, the descriptions of the water and human bodies as limitless, shapeless, and liminal hint at an identity that cannot be perceived and is thus erased, complicating the memory process. In *Nostalgia de la luz* we saw the breakdown of the human body and the search for only part of the body, the bones. The desert and the natural weathering elements facilitated the breakdown of the body until it could not be considered whole. In *El botón de nácar*, Marta Ugarte's body was kept together by the same materials that were intended to ensure her disappearance. For the other people who disappeared in the water, their bodies not only broke down but were lost. In contrast, water cannot undergo the same decomposition or loss because the individual parts of water—rivers, raindrops, evaporation— can still be considered as whole. In this same vein, the cyclical existence of water prevents its true disappearance in any state.

4.4 Conclusion

El botón de nácar negotiates two long-lasting violent histories of colonialism and dictatorship on the landscape and waterways of Patagonia, leaving out many of the current environmental or even Indigenous crises. I have argued that Guzmán's cinematographic techniques of faded transitions and merging of *bodies* produces what I name as "sites of convergence" between human/non-human

which captures the fluid, ghostly temporality of these initial violent moments and their memories. This "in-between" temporality took a material form in the narrative reference point of the pearl button, which captured the dialogue between the two histories. Through the watery, faded transition moments, *El botón de nácar* then offers a live and fluid place in which to negotiate and promote dialogue between multiple violent pasts. The transitions between scenes are not only "in-between" moments but also visually merging of bodies and, like the particles, their respective times. The symbol of the pearl button shows the lingering traumas held in the waterscapes of Patagonia and Chile, while the transition scene explores the suggestion of interacting landscapes and times. In *El botón de nácar*, water often functions on its own and interacts with the other landscapes and bodies directly. In many scenes, and especially in the transition, we have a water perspective of fluid, distorted, and in flow. But, also, the water, and at times the celestial, acts as both "image" and "screen."

The transition moments, possible on film, allowed for multiple stories and time periods to be mixed in one image or sequence. The absence of the physical bodies of the disappeared can act as ghostly figures. Guzmán believes that both the disappeared and Indigenous people are searching for their place in Chilean history. Indeed, it is also Guzmán reckoning with their place in his history and his place in Chilean history. By negotiating place and time between Guzmán, the Indigenous peoples, and the waterscapes, I explored water as a poetic and embodied space and a significant *body* that physically ties together, holds, and projects memories of the two histories. Gómez-Barris (2017) outlines an embodied relationship between Indigenous people and the earth's natural landscapes. Her conception, in addition to the Indigenous knowledge outlined in section one of this chapter, indicates that there is little separation between the "biological body" and "earth body" (p. 70). The multi-faceted (separation, convergence, or distinction) relationship between the human body and earth-water-body is of present discussion in the Anthropocene. The argument here fits into the discussion of expanding the "axes" of perception to not only the non-human but the temporal constructions of how and when we remember past violences.

I conclude this chapter with one final scene of the calming transformation of water. About halfway through, Guzmán is talking to an anthropologist, Claudio, about the language of water that Claudio learned from the Indigenous people. This sequence shows the life of water from one droplet to a

running stream and makes sure the viewer can hear its language, and the music created by its movement. In each close-up of the raindrops, there is a whole world of lights and colors. Guzmán reflects that “each drop is a world apart.” It is impossible not to be reminded of the marbles of *Nostalgia de la luz* in this sequence. Claudio describes the world of music created by streams and proceeds to vocalize his experience of it. He hums a song from his throat. At first, the camera is focused on him, but after about a minute, the shot switches to an underwater viewpoint of bubbles moving around the water in unison with Claudio’s sound in the background. At some points, it is not clear if an underwater effect is distorting the humming or if the water’s music is blended into the sound. However, the experience created is hypnotizing as the viewer watches the bubbles flow through the water. The point of view shot soon moves upwards and we see that the bubbles are being created because rain droplets are falling and bouncing into the larger water body. Guzmán shows the whole perspective of rain falling into the ocean and the waves rolling around. The two previous scenes are now shown to have been the dual perspective of this event: one from above and one from below. The humming is still present in the background as the waves' movement syncs with the hums' intonations. In this scene, water goes through multiple life cycles and experiences the world uniquely depending on its form. How the water is transformed or changed in this sequence depends on the perspective of the camera-spectator-viewer. The next chapter on *La cordillera de los sueños* further explores the idea of perspective in relationship to the Andes Mountain range.

Chapter 5: Spatial and Visual Entanglements of the 1973 Military Coup in *La cordillera de los sueños* (2020)

Introduction

From the particled matter in the desert to the immensity and depth of water in Patagonia, in this final chapter, I grapple with a return to earthly materials in the city landscape of Santiago and the Cordillera. The Andes mountains span 8,900 kilometers in the western part of South America and through varied terrains of volcanoes, forests, deserts, cities, and glaciers with an elevation reaching 6,961 meters. The other two films, discussed in chapters 3 and 4, *Nostalgia de la luz* and *El botón de nácar* are located within Chile's peripheral landscapes and histories. In contrast, in *La cordillera de los sueños*, Guzmán returns to a central geographical, political, and administrative point in Chile, the capital of Santiago. Differing from the narrative style in the previous two documentaries, here Guzmán intermixes and edits together historical footage (but not from the day of the coup) with those from the present day to put in dialogue multiple moments in his and Chile's life—Guzmán's youth, the September 11, 1973, coup d'état, the subsequent dictatorship, and the present day. The steadfast presence of the Cordillera is crucial in the depiction and embodiment of each of these periods. This chapter explores how the filmic manifestations of the Cordillera contend with the post-dictatorship traces of terror and lingering injustices within the cityscape.

The Cordillera appears in multiple forms throughout the documentary: the Andes themselves, its filmic portrayals, and its appearance in survivor testimonies. Therefore, acting as a fixed point, the mountains allow these critical moments to be negotiated together and entangled within the city's materiality. Views of—and from— the Andes Mountain range from Santiago are omnipresent; therefore, Guzmán considers the Andes as both "un testigo" (2020, 50:09) to past atrocities and "una puerta de entrada" (2020, 8:06) into his/the past. The Cordillera acts as both a physical and personal barrier for Guzmán in reckoning with the dictatorship's effects on himself, Santiago, and Chile, creating a vehicle through which we can acknowledge and address the continued tensions in remembering the dispersions caused by the dictatorship. I argue that in *La cordillera de los sueños*, the dictatorship's legacies are woven into Santiago's physical, sensory, and embodied imaginations through manifestations of the Cordillera, contributing to discussions on how we might represent and remember difficult pasts. In this argument, I highlight the potential of the non-human in those conversations.

Of the three films, there is considerably less scholarly work on *La cordillera de los sueños*, likely due to its recent release. The texts that consider the three films as a trilogy are not full-length and are confined to film studies and reviews (Guzmán et al. 2020; Devooght and Colliat 2020). In the articles written in Spanish, there is a large focus on the perspective and narrative through the "yo" and Guzmán as an exiled figure. Devooght and Colliat (2020) note the natural lineage from *air*, water, and finally land—Guzmán's "tierra natal"— in the film trilogy. The overarching themes in the already-written analysis are narrative structure limited to testimony and the Cordillera (Tenorio, 2023), the presence of "yo" (Devooght and Colliat, 2020; D'Alessandro, 2022; Tenorio, 2023), and the mapping of the physical and social bodies of Chile and Guzmán (Devooght and Colliat, 2020; D'Alessandro, 2022). In the critical texts on this film, many of the authors engage with the question of how Guzmán's presence as an exile exists in the film through the presence of "yo" (Devooght and Colliat, 2020; D'Alessandro, 2022; Tenorio and Cerda, 2023). The explication of "yo" connects to a history and narrative that is driven by Guzmán's personal "condición" and witness (Devooght and Colliat, 2020), connection with memory sites (Tenorio and Cerda, 2023) and establishing "un mapa personal" (D'Alessandro, 2023). Certainly, the triptych is driven by Guzmán's history and personal fascinations, such as an attraction to astronomy as a child that becomes apparent in *Nostalgia de la luz*. He indeed puts more of his stories and places into this film, but the relationship solidified is that between the Andes and Santiago. In this chapter, I incorporate Guzmán's recounts and memories the dictatorship to work toward establishing a visual and physical tie between the Andes, Santiago, and the memories of September 11, 1973. From this standpoint, the witness or the central "yo" is the natural landscapes that feature in each film. The centering of the "yo" from Guzmán's perspective perhaps complicates the view of the Cordillera as witness because from a human perspective, "yo" indicates a personal, subjective experience. In contrast, the mountains can be considered subjective as they do not and cannot testify. Its visual, spatial, and bodily entanglements replace the "yo" and words toward a recalling of the past in the present.

I continue the previous two chapters' construction toward a slow, deep memory of (natural) landscapes through a critical film analysis of the film's use of visual and spatial entanglement to represent the dispersions caused by the coup. I expand on my use of the terms dispersion and entanglement in sections 5.2 and 5.3, but I broadly use the term to describe the geographic and

physical forced movements after the coup, including detention, disappearance, exile, and political upheaval. I borrow the term "entanglement" from both eco-critical approaches to defining human/non-human ecological relations (Dodson, 2011; Tsing et al., 2015; Tsing et al., 2017) and "entangled memory" (Feindt et al., 2014; Grosescu et al., 2019; Badescu, 2019) from memory studies. I extend work on entanglements and point to how non-human structures/landscapes, specifically their visual expressions in film, allow for a past to be remembered in the present. There are two dynamics at play in entanglement. The Cordillera/the day of the coup and the Cordillera/ its presence in the documentary. The multiple temporalities of these previously mentioned moments become viewable at once through the gaze of the present, aligning with Feindt et al.'s (2014) grounding point about the temporality of memory as interpreted from *when* the past is studied (p. 36). I further my encompassed conception of *bodies*, outlined in Chapter 3, and take entanglements to refer to the coup's spatial, physical, visual, and bodily enmeshment within the material manifestations of the Cordillera and, subsequently, Santiago in *La cordillera de los sueños*. Without showing historical images or footage from September 11, 1973, in the documentary, Guzmán interrogates Santiago's, Chile's, and his own relationship with the day and the dictatorship through the demonstrations of entanglement. The Cordillera becomes central to working through violent pasts and living with a slower memory(-making) process.

The main sections of this chapter relate to dispersion as critical to entanglement, witnessing, and slow memory. The first section includes my personal account of the Cordillera and my experience of it as a "puerta de entrada" (2020, 8:06). My personal narrative bridges the gap between physically experiencing the Cordillera in the three specified landscapes—The Atacama Desert, Patagonia, and Santiago— and its feature in this documentary. In the second section, I spend time with the moment of the coup. The coup, as the origin point of *Nostalgia de la luz* and *El botón de nácar*, has not yet expressly appeared or been addressed in such a visceral way in this thesis. First, I engage with the concept of "dispersion," differing from Nixon's use of the word in Chapter 4 (Part 4.2.4) of this thesis, to instead encompass the insurmountable and unknowable number of *spatial* realities the coup has altered and with which it has become entangled. I keep in mind previous scholarly work on the lingering effects of slow-acting violent events (Segato, 2003; Nixon, 2011; Tsing et al., 2017; Gómez-Barris, 2018), which was outlined in Chapter 3, section 3. I also draw on the extensive scholarly work that has conceptualized the coup and other crucial

historical events in the Chilean context as “irruptions” (Wilde, 1999), “fissures”/ “eruptions” (Richard, 2018), “ruptures” (Gray, 2022), and “memory knots” (Stern, 2004) to name a few. In this same section, I continue to analyze Guzmán’s use of an earthquake as a metaphor to represent the geographical disruptions in his life after the coup and how the image and realities of earthquakes in Chile accompany my analysis of dispersion. Third, I analyze the recurring imagery of human and non-human pathways—webbed structures, maps/city views, and the Cordillera’s fault lines—to apply the theoretical approach to my film analysis.

In the third section, I engage with the coup—through the Cordillera’s artistic renderings and physical appearances—as entangled within present-day Santiago. I will first work through my theoretical understanding of entanglement, connecting the coup and the Cordillera. I then engage with two visual manifestations of the mountains within the city: the metro and a matchbox. The last of this third section deals with the spatial, embodied encounters between the Andes, the day of the coup, and the three documentaries through the musical score and footsteps over cobblestones made of mountain stone. The embodiment of the pasts within the images and presence of the Cordillera means that they are too in constant view of Santiago and Chile; they are entangled within the country’s imagination. The fourth section ties together the theories on dispersion and entanglement to explore the mountains as a non-human witness. As referenced, the Cordillera as “un testigo” is posed by Guzmán in the film itself. In considering a non-human witness, I contribute to the discussion on the capacity of natural landscapes and their artistic renderings/reconstructions to have witnessed and remembered. I first employ conceptions of slow memory (Wüstenberg, 2023), slow violence (Nixon, 2011), and earlier scholarly work on landscapes as witnesses (Gómez-Barris, 2010a; Andermann, 2012; Jenckes, 2017) as I argue that the Cordillera acts as a witness, not only from its perspective and presence but its existence in everyday life in the documentary. At the cross-section of Memory Studies and discussion of the Anthropocene, this section addresses the potential in blurring the boundaries between the human and non-human.

5.1 Notes from the Field: The Varied View of the Cordillera

If you are flying into Santiago, a view of the Cordillera will likely be your first impression of Chile. It was mine. During my very first trip to Chile in August 2016, but especially right after my

arrival, I was captured by the mountains. While looking back through my journals and pictures, the presence of the Andes is clear. My first photograph of the country was taken while I was still on the plane, as is the first view in the documentary, and shows an eye-level view of the snow-tipped mountains. Without knowing the relationship I would come to have with Santiago, Chile, and the Andes mountains, the Cordillera had already grounded me to the place.

During my February - March 2023 fieldwork, I saw the Andes in and from three distinct perspectives: The Atacama Desert, Santiago, and Patagonia. In each location, the mountains appeared differently—in the desert, the snow-capped tips were reminders of a world outside the desert; in Santiago, its peaks often mirrored the skyscrapers in the skyline; and in Patagonia, they formed a different texture in the blue meeting point between the sea and sky. Because of my research, the Cordillera was consistently in my mind. However, despite knowing the mountain range's importance and presence throughout Chile, I was unprepared for its constant presence. It was an overwhelming feeling to know that the mountains I had seen in the desert were part of the same structure that *falls* into the sea in Patagonia. The distance from San Pedro de Atacama to Fuerte Bulnes, the furthest distance covered in my fieldwork, is about 4,700 kilometers, and the Cordillera experiences both environments and everything in between, simultaneously.

In each environment, the Andes presents differently and, at times, closer or further than others. After seeing the mountains in the North and South of Chile, I began to wonder what it would be like to experience them closer and go *into* the mountains. During my stay in Santiago, I started researching possible ways to do that, which proved difficult. I initially booked a tour to Cajón del Maipo— a gorge within the mountains and about a two-hour drive from Santiago. Unfortunately, the tour bus never showed up, so I had to rethink my strategy and whether it was vital to see a varied perspective of the Andes. I decided to book a taxi to the town of San José del Maipo. The journey there took about an hour and took me through the city and to its edges. At some point, it felt like I was getting closer to the mountains, but yet I never quite “reached” them. And then, I was going past them. Even when I reached the town and walked around, I still felt a distance between myself and the Cordillera. I was *there*, in the mountains, but I was still looking *at* them. This small portion of the Andes felt just as unreachable as when I was in Santiago. One

distinguishing factor was that, now, I, too, was hidden from the city and the other side of the mountains.

On the way to San José del Maipo and in almost all taxi journeys during my stay in Chile, the driver asked where I was from. My short and easy response was Ireland. To that, almost all remarked on how far away I was from home. The distance and amount of time it took to reach not only Santiago but also San José del Maipo, Calama, Punta Arenas, and Fuerte Bulnes was clear when looking at the Cordillera, the one feature each of the landscapes shared. In the next sections, I relate the Andes' presence to the physical dispersions after the coup and their embodied entanglements within *La cordillera de los sueños*. I return to my own experience with the Cordillera and how thye relate to the dispersions and entanglements in the documentary throughout the remainder of the Chapter.

5.2 Leading to Physical and Temporal Entanglement: Dispersions from a Central Point

Dispersion can be defined as the action or process of distributing things or people over a wide area, or from an ecological perspective is a mixture of one substance dispersed in another medium (Croteau, 2010). I use the term to reflect the diversity of altered paths (slow and abrupt) sprung forth by the coup: exile, state violence, disappearance, physical breaks, etc. Additionally, the term connects to the particled analysis in Chapter 3 and conversations of (in)visibility, speaking to the slow process of political and social change that have developed since 1973. Dispersion, therefore, addresses the interplay between the physical and temporal entanglements in this chapter. In the previous chapters, I discussed the breakage and convergence of bodies due to state violence in prominent Chilean natural landscapes and the resulting memories created and held in those spaces. Here, I see the first outright display of violence during the dictatorship as a central dispersion point. The documentary constructs a continued relationship between the human (those affected by the Dictatorship) and non-human (the Cordillera) bodies to question how the coup forcefully marked the physical landscapes and what traces are left behind. To outline the term dispersion, I draw on work that already establishes conceptions of the Chilean coup and approaches to human/non-human relationships in the age of the Anthropocene from the field of Environmental Humanities. This theoretical review and exploration of the coup foreground the filmic analysis of entanglement:

what and why has the coup and its dispersed moments become entangled with the Cordillera and within the city of Santiago in *La cordillera de los sueños*?

The moment of the coup was not the first "fracture" (Richard, 2018)— or possible dispersion moment— to Chile's social and physical body. As outlined in the introduction, undermining Salvador Allende's presidency (from the foreign interventions beginning in 1967) certainly contributed to the ripple of unrest and polarization that led to the coup and dictatorship. Interestingly, explosive descriptors often associated with natural disasters or processes are frequently used to describe not only the moment of the coup but critical social and political moments since and related to September 11, 1973. Examples include "irruptions" (Wilde, 1999), "eruptions" (Richard, 2018), and "rupture" (Gray, 2022). The definitions of irruptions and eruptions get to a key difference between conceptualizing the coup and other significant moments related to the dictatorship as an explosion that occurs into something (irruption) or that which bursts out (eruption). Wilde's "irruptions of memory" (from the Spanish irrumpir) as "public events that break in upon Chile's national consciousness, unbidden, and often suddenly, to evoke associations with symbols, figures, causes, ways of life…" (p. 475) was conceptualized in response to the arrest of Pinochet but still provides an important reference to how events can become bound to Chile's national consciousness.

Richard addresses the "residues" of memory in *Eruptions of Memory: The Critique of Memory in Chile, 1990-2015* (2018) and focuses on how the memories, experiences, and histories of the dictatorship manifest in public spheres such as protests, film, and media. The residues respond not only to the legacies of the coup but also to the totality of the abuses committed during Pinochet's dictatorship; they are *public* displays and forms of resistance against social, political, and institutional oblivion. Rupture, discussed in greater terms in the theoretical chapter returns to the immediacy and surprise of the event itself and is defined by a sudden break. For Gray (2022), the moment of the coup as a "rupture" moment separates the dictatorship and transition to democracy from the Unidad Popular government of President Salvador Allende (p. 5). His analysis of Chilean films including *Nostalgia de la luz* and *Mi vida con Carlos* (2010) engages with a similar question to this thesis of how the past persists in present- day landscapes and societies that have been informed or altered by authoritarian rule. Gray's response is through a construction of a haunted

and ghostly analysis as "something-to-be-done" and a filmic reading of the "imagined futures of 'the left'" (p. 157).

In thinking about a spatially dispersed memory, I also refer back to my understanding of fluid temporalities related to memory in Chapter 3, created by Guzmán's use of water in *El botón de nácar* and the ecologically derived concepts of detonator and creation of the ghost (4.3, 'A Temporal Reading of Dialogic Memory'). The previous chapter on *El botón de nácar* laid the groundwork for a dialogue between the implicated times (Jemmy Button, disappearances during the dictatorship, and the present day), expressed in a visual merging of bodies. My use of detonators, ghosts, and hauntings spoke to the continuation of violence that is tied to and affects the place where the original acts occurred. In contrast, dispersion relates to the spatial rearrangement of people (exile, detention, disappearance), structures (breaking apart of buildings like La Moneda), and their memories. In proposing the term dispersion, I stress the unresolved—potentially slow—processes of remembering the "particles" (exile, state violence, disappearance, physical breaks, etc.) after the coup. These slower processes of remembering not only take an embodied (auditory, sensory, etc.) form in the documentary but are represented through a seemingly unchanged natural being, further reflecting that slowness. In the next section, I begin the film analysis with how Guzmán navigates the metaphor of an earthquake to represent the disruption of the coup and the bombing of La Moneda.

The proposal that the Cordillera's entanglement within the city as a visual manifestation of the coup's dispersions is supported in Tenorio and Cerda's (2023) comparative analysis of *El edificio de los chilenos* (2010) and *La cordillera de los sueños*. The authors argue that Guzmán performs a transmutation of the Cordillera, as Guzmán shows it on multiple scales and locations. Representation of the Cordillera "que difieren en escala y en tamaño, pero también en significado" (p. 30). The artists interviewed in the documentary point to the Cordillera as an always presence, meaning that it has not only inspired their artwork but has been with them through the dictatorship.[18] The mountains and their core materials also point to a longer history of existence

[18] The singer Javiera Parra recounts her brothers description of the Cordillera, saying "la Cordillera era como la mamá..aunque no la viera, sabía que estaba allí" (2020, 21:19-21:24). She continues that despite this, she has felt that the Cordillera is "protectora" (2020, 21:31), "divisora", (2020, 21:43) and "Islante" (2020, 21:46). Sculptor,

and potential witnessing. In *Metaphors, Dreams, and History: An interview with Patricio Guzmán and Renate Sachse* (2020), Guzmán states his wish to have filmed more close materials of the Cordillera: "[T]here were many microscopic elements that we did not film — small pebbles, pools of water, patcher of ice. These we missed for a lack of time" (p. 29). The material body of the Cordillera, in Guzmán's representation, might then also hold answers to the location of the human bodies disappeared, and dispersed after the coup and throughout the dictatorship. The Andes are engaged with their surroundings and hold geological, deep histories. Guzmán states this multiple times and shows us through close, slow shots of the mountains. In section four, I delve deeper into the material mountains as foundational to the idea of witnessing.

5.2.1 Earthquake

The first mention (without a visual accompaniment) of an earthquake is in interviews with artists who lived through the dictatorship. Guillermo Muñoz Vera, Guzmán's friend and painter, left Chile in 1979 and currently resides in Spain. Referring to their experiences of living outside of Chile, Guzmán states "Ni él ni yo jamás hemos vuelto a vivir en nuestro país. Nosotros soñamos Chile desde lejos. La Cordillera, por su fuerza y por su carácter es la metáfora de ese sueño" (2020, 6:57–7:22). The mountains are a defining feature of the country, and through their absence, Guzmán can understand what he is missing and communicate it.

The implications of the earthquake metaphor explored in *La cordillera de los sueños* also exist outside the film's bounds. Earthquakes are frequent in Chile, which is located above three tectonic plates: the Nazca, Antarctic, and South American Plates. The country regularly experiences tremors and has a history of major earthquakes, including those in 1960 in the South and 1985/2010, the epicenters of which were close to Santiago. The comparison between an earthquake and the coup is striking for several reasons: the distinction between a natural event and human-made upheavals, the physical displacement that occurs during and after an earthquake, tsunami, or coup, and the existence of both "slow" and "fast" earthquakes. In their study, Gould et al. (2016) examine the social, political, and material conditions that contribute to how we discuss responses

Vicente Gajardo, describes the mountains as follows: "Siempre presente… más que físico… creo que es un referente cultural" (2020, 17:58–18:08) a concept that is further detailed in the conclusion.

to “natural” disasters such as Chile’s 2010 earthquake. Their findings were a fluctuating relationship between the public understanding of the role of the state in helping those affected and the force of nature. How “natural” is natural? Again, the uneven consideration and effects on a population outlined in the introduction align with the uneven, unnatural outcome and impact of the “natural” event. I posit that invoking a natural process to represent his and Chile’s experience of the coup recognizes the external factors that exacerbated the tremors leading up to September 11th and the rupture of the day. The metaphor of an earthquake also goes back to earlier questions in this thesis related to the Anthropocene of who is responsible and who it affects. For Guzmán, the day was outside the bounds of his control and similar to an earthquake, could not be prevented. He, along with the nation of Chile, could only endure its aftermath. In the following section on entanglement (4.3), I unpack Guzmán’s working through of the tremors and disruptions through multiple encounters with the Cordillera.

In the introduction and part on dispersion, I outlined the significance and similarities of the physical and geographical dispersions caused by both earthquake and coup. Now, I am particularly interested in the similarities between the seismic phenomena known as “slow earthquakes” or “slow-slip events”— documented in Chile in 1960 and 2014 (Kanamori and Stewart, 1979; Ruiz et al., 2014)—and “tremors” in the form of slow and surmounting socio-political decisions that led up to the coup. Obara and Kato (2016) define the “slow” events as subdued movement between tectonic plates over longer periods of time rather than the more instant nature of their counterparts. The events can significantly shift the tectonic plates, sometimes more than the “fast” earthquakes, but often go unnoticed. The authors go on to suggest that while the “slow” events might not predict the occurrence of a major event, they can act as “stress meters” (p. 254). The *Scientific American Journal summarizes* (Vance, 2016) their technical research, stating, “The study of slow earthquakes may be less a tool of prediction, which many seismologists see as impossible, and more of sort of geologic barometer, showing how dangerous a fault system has become.” There are no definitive findings on the workings of “slow” earthquakes or their relation to the “fast” ones but Obara and Kata (2016) hypothesize that slow quakes may, in fact, produce tremors that put pressure on a specific area, priming them to eventually snap. But these forces can be very subtle. The “slower” indicators related to the coup, including strikes, demonstrations, and social and

political divisions, are present leading up to the coup and the *estallido social*, discussed in more detail in the conclusion of this thesis.

A similar phenomenon is explored by Jenny Wüstenberg (2023), in *Toward Slow Memory Studies*, but in her work, it is applied to "slow moving" (p. 60) global events such as climate change, gentrification, or growing disinformation. She states, "Some of these transformations gradually (or sometimes with sudden bursts) produce outcomes that are just as disruptive and traumatic as wars or authoritarianism" (pp. 60-1). There are striking similarities between the natural and cultural possibilities of 'slow' events, which can become visible in a "burst" such as the coup or stay in the gradual changes. In Guzmán's earlier documentary work on Chile, the *La batalla de Chile* trilogy acts as an expression of the slower-acting undercurrents of social unrest leading up to (1964-1970) and continuing in Allende's presidency (1970-1973). Similar to earthquakes, the slow, subdued movements leading up to the coup, detailed in the introduction, now reveal how the coup arose in Chile. As I delve into the onscreen depictions of the eruptive moment, I recognize the dispersions as consequences of the preceding events. It is not only the tremors and ripples that come before an earthquake— or coup— that makes slow memory a significant framework in my analysis of the entanglement between the Cordillera, memories of the coup, and Santiago. Later in this section, I examine those undercurrents with a focus on the day of the coup and how they compare to his portrayal of the coup in *La cordillera de los sueños*.

5.2.2 The Eruption After an Earthquake: The First Visualization of the Earthquake



Figure 5.1: An explosion, source unknown. Screenshot taken from La cordillera de los sueños *(29:27).*

In a strong auditory and visual experience, the frame is covered by a plume of smoke that signals the disruption, chaos, and fear during the dictatorship years. In Figure 5.1, we see the dusk, smoke, and disruption to the air and screen. In Guzmán's proposal of an earthquake as a metaphor, he shows us how the earthquake visually and physically impacted its surroundings—by its particles and dispersions. Throughout this scene, there

are parallel ripples: the visual ripples in a pool of water in the street and narrated ones of Guzmán right before the coup. Immediately before the sequence on the street, we are guided through Guzmán's house, which he occupied right before the coup. It was here, he tells us, where he was preparing *La Batalla de Chile* and the space he was in before the upheaval. When he heard news of the coup, he continued to protect and care for the reels of film. The shot then transitions to the reflecting pool of water in the middle of a paved street.

Given the significance of the coastlines–such as the disappearance of bodies through death flights, the sighting of U.S. Navy ships on September 11, 1973 in Valparaíso, and the discovery of Marta Ugarta's body– to the day of the coup, the violences of the dictatorship, and waterways in Patagonia in *El botón de nácar,* the reflecting pool, as a home to the ripples and tremors leading up to the exposition itself, is particularly impactful. Again, these visual images can be related to the concepts of "slow" earthquakes. The reflected water is located in the city and shows the edges of a sidewalk, again grounding the viewer in a present reality. Tree branches enter the reflection and loom over and underneath the camera frame. Guzmán, referring to the filming of *La Batalla de Chile*, says the film "es como el espejo de un pasado que me persigue" (2020, 26:25-26:30). In this still image (Figure 5.2), the tree cannot be placed or attributed to a specific time, embodying the past and present. However, the form of the tree with multi-directional branches and forms stems from the origin point of the trunk, routed in one specific physical location. Throughout the film, Guzmán is overwhelmingly aware that his roots are in Chile.



Figure 5.2: A reflecting pool in the middle of the street in Santiago. The path is visible on the left side, the tree central to the image. Screenshot taken from La cordillera de los sueños *(26:37).*

The trees, sky, pavement, and eventual plume of smoke all reflected in the pool of water become distorted by ripples. The visual conclusion is a plume of smoke which fills the entire shot as Guzmán narrates that "el golpe fue un temblor de tierra más fuerte que cambió nuestras vidas para siempre" (2020, 26:48- 26:56). At this moment, the viewer hears the rumbling of an explosion,

cause unknown. The exact origins of the smoke and noise are also unclear. In a cinematic review of the trilogy, Devooght and Colliat (2020) ask, "¿Se trata de una explosión humana o natural? ¿De una bomba o de un volcán?" (p. 5). The authors observe that the deafening ("ensordecedora") sound is used multiple times throughout the documentary, and it is an auditory signal to not forget or ignore the past (p. 5). In the documentary set in Santiago, it becomes clear that the smoke references the day of the coup—the bombing of La Moneda and the military intervention. In the broader context of the trilogy, however, the explosion or dispersion moment also links to the natural processes or longer histories of violence. In *Nostalgia de la luz*, the dispersed particles (from human and non-human origins) are scattered across the screen, enveloping the primary subject instead of obscuring it. The disruptive quality of this type of eruption in *La cordillera de los sueños*, characterizes this moment as a visual and physical separation from the moment before. Guzmán describes how the smoke and the coup caused the Chilean people to be "encerrados," totally obscured by the smoke that is on the screen. "Encerrados" can be interpreted or translated in multiple ways. Not only were the Chilean people closed off or locked up, but the outside world also had limited information as to what was happening "inside." Much of the repression was kept secret, which continues, which means that information about the disappeared remains "encerrado."

The transition blurs the screen between the reflecting pool to the rolling plume clouds that lasts for more than one minute (2020, 26:25-27:36) while the interviewees describe the tremors from military planes and feelings of insecurity during that time. The plume clouds return after a short interview, but this time from a distance. We see their immensity. In this documentary, we are not shown the coup or the bombing of La Moneda; we are only shown the moments of resulting violence on the streets of Santiago. The coup was the central moment that instigated the resulting violence. Referring to this moment and his almost immediate detention, he states in *Mi país imaginario*, "esto me marcó para siempre" (2022, 1:00:15). He has already shown the coup and now, we feel its effects. Indeed, much of the documentary is about Guzmán retracing the displaced (geographical) positioning of his life because of the coup and how it changed his relationship with Chile as an exile. Examples include visiting his childhood homes, visiting the place of his detention (National Stadium), and his focus on the Cordillera. He was forced into exile in 1973 after brief detention at the National Stadium. As he details in the film, he never returned to live in Chile and now feels apart from the country: "Me siento un poco extraterrestre" (2020, 3:13-3:15). The

legacies and physical impacts of the coup and dictatorship are palpable; however, in contrast to the natural landscape settings in *Nostalgia de la luz* and *El botón de nácar*, the setting of the city makes it clear that we, the viewer, are in the present moment.

Patricio Guzmán, as a director and exile, has already experienced and shown the world the coup d'état in his first trilogy; *La Batalla de Chile: La insurrección de la buguesía* (1975)*, El golpe de Estado* (1976)*, El poder popular* (1979)*. La insurrección de la buguesía* begins with footage of the bombing and explosions at La Moneda on September 11, 1973. However, it is only a short preview of where the events shown in the documentary lead to. We are then promptly transported six months earlier to interviews about the upcoming parliamentary elections. We do not return to the moments of the coup until the end of *El golpe de Estado*, nearly three hours of footage later. Before we arrive at the coup, Guzmán narrates a historical and geographical account of the day, beginning with the first radio announcement by President Salvador Allende in La Moneda announcing that he would not leave. During the radio announcement, the screen only shows a white screen saying, "Mañana del 11 de Septiembre. Primer comunicado del Presidente Allende" (*El golpe de estado*, 1:19:45). We then see the first images of the day not from Santiago but from the coast of Valparaíso where "la armada desencadena el golpe de estado… al mismo tiempo cuatro barcos destructores norteamericanos se acercan a las costas chilenas para tomar parte en la operación unitas. Éstos mantienen contacto permanente con los golpistas" (*El golpe de estado*, 1:19:54-1:20:10).[19] The coastline is present at multiple stages in the history of the dictatorship. From the view of the American warships in the water, the camera slowly moves over the cityscape and closer to the center of Santiago. The perspective is very similar to the fogged opening view of the city in *La cordillera de los sueños,* although the clear advancement of shot clarity marks the

[19] The appearance of U.S. Navy ships is a sight that is often referenced in documentaries, films, and testimonies but it was not until the late 1990s and early 2000 that CIA documents were unclassified, and we began to learn the extent of US involvement (Kornbluh, 2007)

time difference (Refer to Figures 5.3 and 5.4). When the viewer arrives in Santiago in *El golpe de estado*, we see the planes (that we only hear in *La cordillera de los sueños)* approaching the city



Figure 5.3: Airplanes are nearing the capital of Santiago. The audience is shown overhead images of the approaching city. Screenshot taken from El golpe de estado *(1:20:43).*



Figure 5.4: In the opening moment of La cordillera de los sueños *, the audience is shown an overhead, hazy shot of the city from the perspective of the mountains. Screenshot taken from* La cordillera de los sueños *(2:57).*

center. The planes flying toward the center are interspersed with photos of Allende's final moments, the army driving through the streets, and finally, the bombing of La Moneda (*El golpe de estado*, 1:23:08).

The importance, controversy, and lasting significance of this footage is described by Nelly Richard (2018). Her powerful comparison between the Twin Towers in New York on September 11, 2001, and La Moneda on September 11, 1973, cites the "accursed connection" (p. 122) between the two countries. In both *La cordillera de los sueños* and *La Batalla de Chile*, the plumes of smoke are key visual and sensory evocations of the military's violence. The event unseen in *La cordillera de los sueños* (the bombing of La Moneda) is indeed synonymous with September 11, 1973. Richard (2018) points out that despite greater access to archives and photos, the footage shown on the annual news cycles is the same peripheral perspective from across the street that we receive from *La Batalla de Chile.* Richard, referring to the shots of the airplanes flying across the city and the destruction of La Moneda, observes what Guzmán encompasses as a filmmaker, that "[t]he footage of the bombing of La Moneda is the technological means that verify the truth of such an unimaginable act. The objectivity of the material filmed by the camera that day serves to correct any future memory that would seek to diminish the severity of what *really* happened" (p. 120). When watching either film, the disorienting smoke clouds obscure the scenes behind them or even

work to hide the initial event. The smoke and debris disrupt the physical city landscape and views. What followed were physical and social fractures.

There are forty-five years between the release of the two documentaries. *La cordillera de los sueños*, through interviews, creates an embodied experience of the sounds, emotions, and overwhelming of the body because of the coup, without showing it. I am intrigued by this decision and contend that is not only because Guzmán has shown us the moments before, leading up to, and after the coup in previous work, but also because without seeing the source of the dispersions and earthquakes, the viewers are also left in a state of unknowing fear. A notable difference in representations is the original use of a different narrator, Abilio Fernández, who had a distinct European Spanish accent in *La Batalla de Chile* trilogy. During the digitalization process, Guzmán changed the narrator's voice to his own, as is the case in his other documentaries, to ensure a personal reflection and connection to the content (Arnal, 2013). The plumes of smoke after the explosion (of La Moneda) are not the only visual representations of the breakages after the coup: smoke from the unknown explosion (2020, 27:30), residue from past and present protests (2020, 1:13:44; 1:15:30), broken wood from Guzmán's childhood home (2020, 24:52,1:20:02), and the constant fog around the Cordillera. These "particled" broken images are visual representations of the affected present. In Chapter 3, I observed a particled appearance of memory, evoking the times of the event and a recalling of the larger, intact body. Here, the broken images are grounded and encountered in the present and are interpreted as a direct result of the coup and the dictatorship.

In this sequence, the on-screen smoke plume takes up almost the entirety of the frame, therefore closing the viewer from the cause, whether natural or unnatural; it is a direct disruption to the environment, causing smoke, residue, and broken materials. Horn's (2018) work on *Air as Medium* is particularly insightful here and builds on my analysis of water as both "image" and "screen" in Chapter 4 on *El botón de nácar* to support the visual representation of the coup as a dispersed disruption. Horn writes about "being in the air" and that "[h]uman experiences of weather and climate—of *being in the air*—is bound to a space and time that is entirely different from the scientific construction of "global climate" (p. 17). This is to say that geographical positioning affects air and is, therefore, crucial to how culture and architecture develop. Horn describes the human physical and cultural experiences of air, stating,

> We are always already engulfed by it, penetrated, transcended, and transformed by it, as we transform it in turn. Air involves us with every breath and every airplane we take, with our political choices and private lifestyles. Being in the world is *being in the air* (p. 17).

The disruption to air, Horn argues, is how we are made aware of it as a material entity. Corruption, pollution, or interruption to its body makes apparent its "global weirding" (p. 21), referring to the various manipulations that happen to air without us noticing. Horn's argument, not directly related to artistic productions, lends insight to how the eruption lingers "in the air" or in its environment. Furthermore, referencing air quality, Horn states that it has "moved from a local predicament to a global disruption, affecting not just local biotopes, landscapes and settlements but the entire life system of the planet" (p. 7). The disruptive, violent event does not just live in the local sphere, but its residues reach the global. Disruptions and interpretations of climate in artistic expressions have also been related to memory, landscape, and the body (Hulme, 2016). This thesis is not explicitly about climate change but works such as Hulme's on *weathering*—as an adjective of how humans experience the same climate or exposures over time— are valuable to my analysis of the filmic and visual interpretations of the bodies and memories affected by the coup. This becomes especially apparent in the context of earthquakes and dispersions in the documentary, as we never see the source of the eruption. The smoke is a visual disruption to what could be behind/ underneath it. According to the interviews in *La cordillera de los sueños*, the bombing of La Moneda resulted in a similar blurring to the people of Chile.

Davies (2022) acknowledges that when conceptualizing "slow violence," the violence cannot always be seen. This is the case in this sequence of interrupting the blue sky or Guzmán's longer exile. Not seeing the daily effect of slow violence cannot always be applied to this context, as the physical displacements of detention, disappearance, and exile continue to permeate the social structure. This will continue to be a tension in conceptualizing state violence in the frameworks of slow violence and slow memory. The focus on air and climate synthesizes the disruptive force of the earthquake or coup and the sensory, embodied memories of this moment. Embodiment of the coup is integral to my analysis of the coup fusing to the various images and manifestations of the Cordillera. The documentary shows the disruption to the natural environment on-screen

(obstruction of the blue sky), which tells us how the initial dispersion event transformed and "engulfed" the social environment. In *La cordillera de los sueños*, the metaphor of an earthquake allows the viewer to visualize and sense the visceral effects of the coup. In the next section, I continue the film analysis through three images of human and non-human-caused fractured paths: the fault lines in the rock of the Cordillera, webbed images such as cracked glass and spider webs, and the use of city maps. I contend that they are physical, visual, and sensory representation of the dispersions caused by the actions of state violence.

5.2.3 Webs and Maps…

I now look at other filmic expressions of "dispersed" images, building on the theories of dispersion just outlined. Examples will include webbed images that come from a singular point, such as cracked glass and spider webs, and finally, the use of maps and structural images of Santiago. For the maps, they can also be found in the other two films. The images, integral to the environments around them, weave through and under Santiago. Their origin point is not always shown. My analysis develops these images as visual expressions of the splintered realities and varied experiences within Santiago's cityscape stemming from the coup and the dictatorship. Briefly, another example related to Cordillera is its fault lines, which are shown throughout the documentary and in the overlapping of the city (maps). I only mention this briefly because it visually fits in with this analysis, but I will explore these facets of the Cordillera more in section 5.4 on witnessing.

Nearing the end of the film, Guzmán enters the former offices of Pinochet.[20] Silently walking through the building, he can sense that it is "lleno de fantasmas" (2020, 1:07:32). After the walk-through, there is a sharp cut to an abandoned car lot. Guzmán connects the two as places full of objects that are discarded, forgotten, and overlooked. In the car lot, the camera lingers over the cars, giving us an intimate look at their state of disrepair and the impacts on their physical bodies over time. In these moments, for me the passing of time is revealed in dust, spider webs, and a car

[20] In this scene, there is the first mention of the neoliberal system put in place by Pinochet. Guzmán states that "Aquí Pinochet validó el programa de las economistas de la época" (2020, 1:07:00).

window's cracked glass (2020, 1:09:55-1:10:05). Similar to my earlier discussion of the explosion of the earthquake, the origin of the crack or when the spider built its web is unknown. The viewer is only given the present moment but not how the objects or the viewer got there. We are, therefore, again, grounded in the present moment. I interpret this as how the past moments live and exist in this present. In the close-up of the cracked glass, we could be anywhere or at any time. The narration, however, is still focused on goings on in Santiago. The narration over the splintered glass tells us about the street of Santiago and that "la gente se pierde tratando de orientarse y camina pero no se encuentra. La ciudad parece un laberinto" (2020, 1:10:06-1:10:17). In the expansive city, people can pass each other without notice. Later, in the underground shots of the metro and city, Guzmán also captures this type of moving and walking. The fractures in the glass both distort the image and reveal an infinite number of paths from the rupture point. The web, like the people in Santiago creating a web of their own, is in itself a map of movement and of the spider's output into the world. The web signals the presence of non-human animals, even if not seen on film. They *were* there. Spiders create paths and labyrinths that have the potential to obscure and envelop their surroundings.

The transition between the spiderweb and the cracked glass is intriguing because they share a similar form, but in one case, the construction is uniform and intentional (spider's webs), and in the other, normally unintentional, random, and unpredictable/unknowable (cracked glass). The glass functions similarly to the reflecting pool before the scene of eruption. In both scenes, the view is altered or completely concealed. Even though this documentary, amongst the three, features more human movement, in these instances, it is only the natural and non-human elements that remain. The other poignant duality between the two is that the web is a generative, creative product while the cracked glass indicates a shattering and form of destruction. The construction of two opposing paths is not necessarily consistent with Guzmán's one characterization of the coup but is an interesting dynamic given the divisions surrounding Pinochet. Both fractured structures are the result of a singular moment or being. The unique paths fabricated in these two images contrast with the ordered maps and views of the city.

The two and three-dimensional views of the cityscape give a more uniform presentation of pathways and dispersions. Throughout the triptych, Guzmán regularly uses maps to geographically and culturally orient the viewer to the Chilean landscapes. Refer to Figure 5.5 for examples of the mapped images in the documentary, which is overlaid with the fault lines of the rock in the Andes. Maps are not only present in their physical and visual presentation but also in Guzmán's orienting of himself in present-day Chile. Devooght and Colliat (2020) describe Guzmán's purposeful construction of landscapes, histories, and images to guide the viewers as "un lenguaje cartográfico" (p.3). D'Alessandro (2022) proposes that the cartography of "lo gigantesco" (Atacama Desert, Patagonia, The Andes) always guides the viewer back to this urgent question: "¿dónde están los cuerpos de los desaparecidos durante la dictadura de Pinochet? (p. 747)." I would argue that the first two documentaries and chapters are more oriented toward this question and why there is still silence about the disappeared. *La cordillera de los sueños* is more a roadmap of Guzmán's reckoning and rediscovering of his past in the present. D'Alessandro refers to this process as a "microespacio" or a "personal autobiográfico" (p. 747).



Figure 5.5: A map of Santiago with the fault lines of the Cordillera. Screenshot taken from La cordillera de los sueños (3:19).

In *El botón de nácar*, discussed earlier, maps are used to show the length of the county and its impressive 4,200 kilometers of coastline. In one scene, a map created by artist Emma Malig is carefully rolled out and referenced to show where the disappeared were discarded into the water (2015, 59:01 and 1:12:12). It is of worthy note that the map takes up most of the large room and the camera is able to move over the entirety of the map, giving us its details. The impressive map evokes the topography of the country through the careful use of fabric and raised materials. In this map, there are no clear paths, only the overview of the country's shape, provided from a distant perspective. The closer we get to the map, the more texture we see, but there are still no details. While the camera searches the map, Guzmán tells the story of Marta Ugarte. In *La cordillera de los sueños*, the maps are detailed and close. The neighborhoods and city streets of Santiago are visible and tangible, particularly when we hear traffic noises and human motion overlapping the

images of the maps (2020, 3:11-30). The city noise is the background noise which accompanies Figure 34. In Santiago, nevertheless, Guzmán feels isolated and indifferent to a city that he left behind. Referring to the map in *El botón de nácar*, Devooght and Colliat (2020) track the existence of the Cordillera in and outside of the reality of maps.

> Lo que desaparece del mapa, reaparece en el centro de *La cordillera de los sueños*. Esta inmensidad inconmensurable no solo permite unir los diferentes territorios y elementos naturales que componen Chile, sino que también le permite al director acercarse a su ciudad natal, Santiago, construida al pie de la montaña… De la tierra a la tierra natal hay un solo paso que Guzmán interroga (p. 3).

The Cordillera, present in all three landscapes, physically binds these landscapes together. The different presentations in each region of the country act as a reminder of the multiple histories it holds. In Devooght and Colliat's review of *La cordillera de los sueños*, there is a particular emphasis on Guzmán's return to his "tierra natal" because of his return to Santiago; they state that "Guzmán elige explorar el elemento terrestre, como un regreso a la tierra, a su tierra natal" (p. 2). However, the varied existences of the Andes in Chile, Guzmán's stark outline of a planetary memory in *Nostalgia de la luz*, and his consistent work on the country complicate the notion of "return." The tremors and fault lines represented in the earthquake, cracked glass, and spider's web are on the surface of the city while the city map is a structural view of the city. The map's composition transitions into a different example of nature's lines in a close-up view of the Cordillera's stone. In the variegated color and cracks in the stone, a geological map appears. The city and geological map overlap in the visual blending of the two materials and times (2020, 00:03:19).

This film is markedly more personal than the previous two because of the personal map of Guzmán's past and the constant tension between those who stayed, like the heavily featured video journalist Pablo Salas, and those who did not, like Guzmán. In the 2020 interview with Patricio Guzmán and Renate Sachse, who is one of the producers behind the documentaries, and also Guzmán's wife, states that "[b]oth decisions are possible and both are valid… in *The Cordillera of Dreams*, his narration is not a VoiceOver. It becomes a first-person character" (Guzmán et al.

2020, p. 29). Here, I should be note that although Patricio Guzmán is a successful filmmaker and survivor of the dictatorship (with a relatively short detention), this does not diminish his experience of forced exile. Earlier in this chapter, I outlined how the coup and exile experience has stayed with him. Levey (2023) addresses these tensions and the myth of "exilio dorado" by studying how the experience of forced displacement persists in and marks the literary works and documentaries by the children of exiles. About the myth of the golden exile, she says "la percepción aún permanece, y que ha sido reconocido y percibido, y en algunos casos incluso internalizado, por la segunda generación de exiliados" (p. 110). Here, Levey is specifically talking about the second-generation exiles, but similar patterns can be seen in the negotiation of first-generation legacies and viewpoints.

In the final moments of the film, Guzmán states his hopes for Chile and how the past lives in him, he tells us that, "En mi alma, nunca se despejó el humo de las cenizas de mi casa destruida" (2020, 1:19:30). His separation from his home and country lives within his physical body and mind. The images of smoke, ashes, and the destroyed home are all also tied to the moment of the coup. Here, the non-human dispersions are entangled and live within Guzmán's human body. This film offers another meeting of bodies, dispersed from the moment of the coup, in these ephemeral materials. In the Irish term, *Cáithnín*, the small parts of life remain important and intrinsic to where they come from. Irish writer Manchán Magan (2018) describes the word as follows,

> a speck of dust…a subatomic particle…the goosebumps you feel in moments when you contemplate how everything is interrelated and how tiny we are in relation to the whole… a single word that brings you right around the universe from the infinitesimal to the infinite. It becomes a reminder from our past about how we once related to our environment and community, and how we might do so again

In this definition, these particles envelop us in their times of origin and also live in the body. The viewer sees one last shot of Guzmán's childhood home from an overhead perspective. This is significant because the other moment in the documentary where ash and smoke are specifically referenced is after the "earthquake" and reference to the bombing of La Moneda. The smoke, ash, and dust particles embody the physical definition of dispersion and the process of going through

and becoming part of the air around it. This particled nature to reference the coup and Guzmán's childhood home is also a continuation of the analysis of bodies in Chapter 3 on *Nostalgia de la luz*. In the next part, I analyze the visual, physical, and bodily manifestations of the Cordillera dispersed, and therefore entangled, throughout Santiago. I further my encompassed conception of *bodies* and take entanglements to refer to the coup's spatial, physical, visual, and bodily enmeshment within the material manifestations of the Cordillera and, subsequently, Santiago in *La cordillera de los sueños*.

5.3 Constructing an Entangled Narrative: "Bodies with other bodies, times with other times"[21]

I was first introduced to the ecological term "entanglement" in discussions on the Anthropocene presented in *Anthropocene in Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet* (Tsing et al. 2017). This anthology is instrumental in my understanding of a temporally fluid and dialogic memory of landscapes in Chapter 4 on *El botón de nácar* with the side titled *Ghosts in the Anthropocene* ("creation of the ghost"). For my analysis of the Cordillera as entangled, I turn to its other side, 'Monsters and the Arts of the Living.' Beginning from the title of the introduction, 'Bodies Tumbled into Bodies: What if all Organisms, Including Humans, Are Tangled Up with Each Other?', a symbiotic relationship between humans, more-than-humans, and non-human entities is formed. The work is concerned with multi-species entanglements that become apparent in the Anthropocene.

The introduction outlines monsters in nature as creatures that only become monstrous through their interaction with humans, such as jellyfish. The authors conclude that, therefore, we, too, are monstrous (p. M2). This is to say that an encounter with the human is essential to defining both ecological and cultural meanings of entanglement. The authors articulate monsters as having a double meaning: "On one hand, they help us pay attention to ancient chimeric entanglements; on the other, they point us toward the monstrosities of modern Man. Monsters ask us to consider the wonders and terrors of symbiotic entanglement in the Anthropocene" (p. M2). Chimeric entanglements refer to ecological relationships of survival. Indeed, Guzmán is also formulating a document that preserves and ensures the survival of dictatorship-era memories in *La Cordillera de*

[21] (Tsing et al., 2017, p. M7)

los sueños. Throughout the thesis, I have outlined the violences of the dictatorship as intentional ("monstrous") and specifically located in the respective natural landscapes. The intentional detention, torture, disappearances, and exile are the root cause of entanglement here. Guzmán depicts the natural landscapes as actively part of this symbiotic relationship, entangled, imbued with, and reflecting back on the intentional acts. From an environmental perspective, human actions continue to affect the Cordillera and its rivers. The construction of dams in the Andean rivers, like in Cajón del Maipo, for hydropower has significantly impacted the local community's access to clean drinking water and resulted in the river running through Santiago to be constantly in drought (Isaza, 2023). Furthermore, the Maipo River accounts for 90% of the water used for urban and residential use in the Santiago Metropolitan Region (Borgias, 2016). This is especially critical as Chile has been in a consistent drought for the last decade (Borgias 2016).

From a Memory Studies perspective, Feindt et al. (2014) conceive of entanglement as a broadening of the spatial boundaries of the European Memory Studies framework. They emphasize a reflexive approach, meaning that the researcher's "when" and "where" are also studied rather than only a localized (in space and time) analysis of a past event. Therefore, the event and its memory become entangled within other contexts. How we study events "over time" (p. 39) is a central question in the development of this framework. The authors theorize that remembering over time produces an entangled memory for two main reasons: "Every act of memory inscribes an individual in multiple social frames [...] entails the simultaneous existence of concurrent interpretations of the past" (p. 24). The importance of the individual who is remembering, especially the researcher, results in a move toward "independence" (p. 31) from the context of the event and centering the researcher's encounters and interpretations. This, however, does not fully align with my approach. In the Chilean case, the coup as an act of state violence still resonates and affects Chilean society, complicating Feindt et al.'s (2014) approach to entanglement. The importance of contextualizing events in the moments they came from is also acknowledged in Badescu's work (2019, p. 383). Moreover, given that Guzmán is reckoning with the aftermath of state violence in his own life and within Chile, the spatial and temporal realities of the past are very much alive in the text. *La cordillera de los sueños* and the trilogy are purposefully located within the natural landscapes that experienced violence. By capturing his reflections and encounters on film, the present *is* captured and intentionally located. I should note that Guzmán is no longer actively part of these places,

which might also apply to the audiences, supporting Feindt et al.'s construction of a spatially entangled memory process. My ethnographic research broadens the spatial realities of how I engage with the past event, but the site visits were intentionally located in the implicated natural landscapes. Throughout this thesis, I have detailed some of the challenges of visiting all of the sites in the three documentaries, which made the vastness and spatial distances of the landscapes ever-present. Here, I connect the current state of the landscapes (and how they relate to present-day memory, social, and ecological concerns), expanding the boundaries of how we imagine the viewed landscapes in Guzmán's work.

Two papers have taken an entangled approach and compared Transnational Networks (Grosescu et al., 2019) and Site Memorialisations (Badescu, 2019) between Europe and the Southern Cone. Badescu's work is of particular interest as he outlines two ongoing memorialization debates in Croatia and Chile. The Chilean case concerns the potential transformation of a torture house into a memorial site in Punta Arenas: Casa de los Derechos Humanos (p. 395). The winning proposal was submitted by renowned architect Miguel Lawner—exiled in Denmark and featured in Chapter 3 on *Nostalgia de la luz*—who proposed a site that would "reflect on wider histories of repression and torture in the area of Magallanes, embedded in a Chilean national context" (p. 395). This is the area of focus in Chapter 3 and reflects Guzmán's construction of each natural landscape. However, it is of interest that I did not come across the proposal during the planning process; I only found the article because of my search for "entanglements." Badescu's entanglement stresses Feindt et al.'s "concurrent interpretations" of not only the past event but the space in which it took place. The entangled Cordillera furthers Badescu's work that a site or, in this case, a natural structure can hold multiple, concurrent interpretations and memories. I differ in my use of "entanglement" from Feindt et al. and view spatial entanglement as how the dispersions have become physically and visually enmeshed into the spatial materiality of the Cordillera in Santiago. I therefore apply Tsing et al.'s work to my analysis of how onscreen bodies encounter, affect, and tumble into each other. Entanglement refers to the memories held in the bodily encounters. Memory Studies' entanglement conceptualizes the past in the context of its present encounters or constructions. How the past lingers in the on-screen present— as a ghostly or monstrous presence in an ecosystem—and affects the non-human bodies is possible through an ecological conception of entanglement. The central idea that Guzmán engages within the documentary and the broader

trilogy is the deep paralleled social and historical existences between humans and non-human natural landscapes. If the Cordillera can witness, as discussed in the next part, how might the dispersions after the coup also tumble into it?

Guzmán's filmic entanglement of the coup with the Cordillera preserves his memories, those of the people interviewed in the documentary, and Chile's. In the Anthropocene, it is clear that humans and more-than-humans affect and suffer because of each other (outlined in the part 2.4.1 on "force"). In this documentary, the symbiotic relationship— entanglement— does not necessarily take the form of outright visual, visceral suffering. Through the documentary, Guzmán shows us that one can hold and mark the other through sensory, bodily, and visual depictions of entanglement. The varied forms and appearances of the Cordillera are a way for Guzmán to understand and remember his experiences. After he is gone, the Cordillera will still hold those entanglements. His body— and Chile's— has tumbled into and become entangled with the longer and far-reaching existence of the Cordillera. An entangled analysis asks how the medium of film, as an expression of Guzmán's encounters with the landscape, materializes the meeting of bodies, times, and spaces. By drawing on themes of entanglement, I will now look at its visual and embodied manifestations in *La cordillera de los sueños*.

5.3.1 The Visual Entanglements: The Matchbox and the Metro

In this section, I look at two examples of the visual entanglement between the Cordillera and the city—the image of the Andes on a matchbox and a poster in a metro station—and then in the next section, two embodied entanglements between the Cordillera and the coup—cobblestones made from its stones and the musical score. The first recall of the Cordillera within the city limits and everyday life is on a matchbox. Guzmán narrates that the first image of the Andes he saw was on a matchbox and proceeds to show us multiple matchboxes with the Andes as the central image. The box in focus, Guzmán realizes, is a brand that still exists and can be found today. He states that: "Es como si el tiempo no hubiera pasado. Son las mismas cajas de hoy" (2020, 23:52–23:57). For Guzmán, this image is one of the ways that the mountains permeate the city and almost implicate a Chile that is in the past. The unchanged matchbox can function in two ways: a recollection of the past in the present and as a "puerta de entrada" into the past. The matchbox and

the Cordillera's image exist in both times and act to keep Guzmán in limbo between the past and the present. In this case, the image of the entirety of the mountains, similar to how Guzmán describes his arrival in Chile, evokes a past. In a corporeal sense, the matchbox's fractured parts (the matchsticks) are tangible microcosms of the dispersed realities of the coup.

The matchbox does transition us to Guzmán's childhood home. Guzmán shifts from the inspection of the matchbox to a view of his childhood home, stating, "Me llamaron a visitar mi barrio" (2020, 24:02) The viewer is led into his house from above. Again, this parallels how we initially descended into the city of Santiago from the Andes. Through a sequence of point-of-view shots, we linger "inside" the house for a few moments and are then returned to the image of the matchbox. The house and the box are physically paralleled. From the outside of the compact matchbox, it is a whole structure. However, when we glimpse the inside of both structures, the scattered matches resemble the scattered pieces of Guzmán's first home. The physical presentation is that of a non-human structure and being in ruins. The scattered physical pieces of both Guzmán's childhood home and the rippling effects of the coup, which are documented in this film as a loss of a physical place through exile and moments of consumption of the coup and dictatorship, are slowly pieced back together in *La cordillera de los sueños*. Guzmán's childhood home is not where he was living at the time of the coup, but it is the one he chooses to show us. From the outside, the house appears intact. However, the overhead shot and descent into the house reveal that it is in ruins. There are multiple instances when Guzmán refers to a "ruined" physical state or imagery of Chile, such as the bombing of La Moneda. These are both instances of fractures in Guzmán's and Chile's life created by the coup. The physically broken-apart home is a consistent tangible reference point in the city throughout the film that signals that Guzmán is apart from that past.

During my stay in Santiago, I looked for the same matchboxes that Guzmán shows us to see how they fit in or disappeared within daily life. I was not able to find the exact brands or images that are featured in the documentary, but I did find two additional iterations of matchboxes that display a photo of the Andes. It is unclear exactly why the image has such dominance in this case, but it could be due to the mountains being such an iconic part of Santiago and Chile. The documentary takes the matchbox out of its context and isolates it against a dark background. Guzmán and those interviewed observe that the mountains separate Santiago and much of the country from the rest

of the world, but by putting the matchbox in focus (against a dark background), it is the Cordillera that is separated. When the Cordillera appears inside the city limits—in a supermarket or the metro— it becomes lost in the background and constant motion of the city. In my search for the same matchbox, I believed the encounter would reveal how the Cordillera fits into daily life. Instead, I found that the image and the object blend in with its surroundings. My intentional search of supermarket shelves proved difficult and revealed to me that, in everyday context, the Cordillera and the matchbox are quickly capable of disappearing.

Guzmán is not able to enter and retrace the steps in his childhood home. He can do this in Pinochet's former office building, which is abandoned in the present day but is still accessible and whole. In one scene, we are led through the upper floors of the office building while Guzmán narrates the economic and social practices that were validated within the closed space. From the top floors of the building, the camera looks down onto Chile, and those inside have a similar perspective to that of the Cordillera. This now empty, far-removed space is a definitive location where terror was planned and negotiated. The intimate view of the "insides" (one in ruins and one whole) of the two buildings illustrates two paths diverged at the moments of the coup. Furthermore, for Guzmán to walk in and around Pinochet's former office building is a physical way for the body to reclaim the space. In a deeply personal recount of the day, Guzmán guides us through Santiago and into the Cordillera to piece together how the day is threaded throughout the city. Two of the constructed locations that we see are Guzmán's childhood home and the former offices of Pinochet. We are shown intimate perspectives of both places— inside the buildings and a close inspection of the ruins of Guzmán's childhood home. For Guzmán, it is not only about where the coup and subsequent Dictatorship were experienced/ enacted but also about which places still exist. The survival of Pinochet's office is also reminiscent of the slow effects of violence, indicating what structures of beings have endured in their entirety versus those broken apart. A look inside the buildings already gives a different view from the previous two films, which rarely featured indoor spaces.

The second instance where we see the Cordillera within the city limits is in the underground metro. Already, this is a demonstration of how the mountains and what they represent in the film reach

the depths of the city. This scene brings to mind the prologue of Lazzara's *Chile in Transition: The Poetics and Politics of Memory, Two Angélicas, Two Onces*. In this title, "onces" is a reference to the Chilean traditional afternoon gathering over food. It could also be a reference indicating that the histories and realities of the two women I shortly introduce exist at the same time and in the same Chile. In the prologue, Lazzara prefaces his observations on the significant memory sites in Chile with the story of two women who embody two stark viewpoints on the dictatorship that have emerged since the transition, a process detailed in the introduction. One woman is concerned with the issue of human rights abuses committed during the Pinochet dictatorship, and the other has a photo of Pinochet on the wall. For Lazzara, the two Chile's represented are already "less pronounced, less visible" in 2006. In the updated metro system, he observes how the structures of the city show how the city and country are intentionally moving on from the past, "I was amazed at how quickly and fluidly (via metro) one can move among distinct cultural and social settings in the city" (p.7).

In this context, the metro indicates not only a fast change to the city landscape but also a physical move forward from the past. As seen in Figure 5.6, the people in frame pass unnoticed and without particular notice to the mountains in the backdrop. They are going toward their destination and therefore, in this scene, they take no notice of the mountains. This is something that Guzmán has already observed about Santiago, and I highlighted with respect to the scene with the splintered glass in the previous section.[22] From the stationary point of the platform, it seems as though the metro is always moving forward and, as Lazzara (2006) indicates about Chile in its transition to democracy, "looking toward the future" (p. 1). The motion of the metro, however, is



Figure 5.6: The metro passing back and forth. In the background is a poster of the Cordillera with people passing between the Cordillera and the metro. Screenshot taken from La cordillera de los sueños *(5:21).*

[22] When describing his view on the Andes mountains, Volcanologist, Álvaro Amigo states, "Siento que Santiago le da la espalada a la Cordillera. No la mira. No la va. No la entiende" (2020, 19:45—19:50).

back and forth between two fixed points, constantly witnessing the evolving temporalities of its geographical locations. In this scene, the image of the Andes is behind the movement of the metro and the people and becomes blurred with the constant motion in front of it. The Cordillera itself goes unnoticed. How the metro line functions underneath the surface of the city as an almost obvious physical representation of the coup and dictatorship as an undercurrent to the cultural and physical landscapes of Santiago. The metro lines move unnoticed underneath the city and are part of a larger entangled linear system. Guzmán's path moved his physical body outside of Chile, but by placing the viewer on the metro platform and in sight of the Cordillera, there is the potential to step on and move between locations and times. The movement between places and times leads to the next form of entanglement. In the documentary, images of the Cordillera (proposed as a witness to the day) are embedded into the city landscape. In the next part, I look at Guzmán's suggestion that the physical being of the Cordillera also holds, not just witnessed, moments, remnants, and memories of the day.

5.3.2 The Spatial Embodiments of the Cordillera

I begin with this section on the embodied entanglements by including descriptors in the documentary that point to Chile as not only a social body but also a physical one. Both the body of Chile, "Como un órgano único" (2020, 47:25), and Guzmán's body are removed from the moment of the coup. In this section, I emphasize what the broken body of the Cordillera might have seen and the human motion that it absorbed on the day of the coup. I do this by studying the paths walked by the military and the musical connections across the trilogy. The breaking apart of the mountains is particularly relevant when speaking about the disappeared and tortured whose bodies were also, often, broken apart. The physical body of the Cordillera is found in the cobblestone streets of Santiago. We are guided along the stones until we reach a street that has commemorative signs of the disappeared. The exact location of the stones is not said but such stones can be found in front of memory sites, such as Londres 38.

In addition to the visual entanglements of the Cordillera within the city limits, Guzmán also uses auditory and sensory techniques to propose a relationship between the mountains and the city and as my reading argues for, the history and being of Chile. The musical accompaniment to the

triptych is quite minimal, but one particularly striking moment is the use of the same piece in *Nostalgia de la luz* and *La cordillera de los sueños*. In *La cordillera de los sueños*, we hear the piano keys that played when Violeta Berrios and Vicky Saavedra from *Nostalgia de la luz* were looking at the telescope as the camera moves upwards onto the image of the mountains. Eventually, we realize that this is the image of the Cordillera that is found in the metro station in the documentary. The use of the same music evokes a sense of nostalgia and a deep search into the natural past. Both moments of the film point to a gateway into the past. The telescope that looks at the stars, which also witnessed the disappearances in the Atacama Desert, is replaced by a natural landscape with the same ability. The Cordillera as a witness, felt, heard, and saw the actions of the military. For Guzmán, there are fragments of the universe in the rock of the Andes, like there were in the celestial stars in *Nostalgia de la luz*. He states, "Encontré fragmentos del universo en la Cordillera… piedras que caen del cielo son pequeños pedazos de planetas que vienen de muy lejos" (2015, 1:22:10).

The other example in *La cordillera de los sueños* of the cobblestoned streets, connects the dispersions of the coup and their entangled representation in the film. In Guzmán's narration, we are directed to another type of physical body, in the cobblestoned streets of Santiago made from Andes' stones. We are guided through the street and along the cobblestones until we reach stones with engraved names and life dates of some of the disappeared. The stones are in the city center in front of the former detention center and now memory site, Londres 38. The cobblestones with the names of the disappeared indicate that Londres 38 was the last known location of the disappeared person. While standing in front of the building when I visited in 2023, I slowly walked back and forth with my head down in search of the same stones with the names of the disappeared. On this day, beautifully crafted red artisanal fabrics draped over the building and onto the cobblestones. The textile project was part of a larger movement called "sangre de mi sangre" which began in the Plaza de la República in Guadalajara, Mexico to protest against femicides and disappearances in Mexico.[23] The red fabrics draped over the building and around the cobblestones with the names of the disappeared crafted a spatially entangled and interwoven memory between the two Latin American countries. In this case, the color red recalls the blood spilled during the dictatorship.

[23] For more information, refer to this website: https://colectivahilos.com/sangre-de-mi-sangre/.

The "blood" draped over the building and stones echoes Guzmán's contemplations of what the Cordillera experienced and what it could recount too.[24] He states, "Si las piedras de la Cordillera pudieron hablar, hablarían de la sangre que corría sobre ellas" (2020, 57:18–57:26). The engraved cobblestones show this history, therefore Guzmán contemplates that they not only saw the blood run over them but contain they the knowledge of where the disappeared were taken, positing that "Si pudiéramos traducir lo que dicen las piedras, hoy tuviéramos las respuestas que no tenemos" (2020, 50:18–50:26). The cobblestones, also existing on the day of the coup, hold a valuable position. The paths and footsteps of not only the disappeared, the exiled, and victims of the dictatorship but also the perpetrators of the violence were felt in the stones. The stones were "los primeros que sintieron los pasos del terror marchando por la ciudad" (2020, 56:23-56:30). The audience and I similarly experienced the stones, slowly with caution. Guzmán's camera carefully approaches the engraved stones and shows close-ups of eight names. As we come across each name, as is the intention of this type of memorial, we stop and take the time to read and consider each person. The experience of the stones is not just a visual experience but a bodily one.[25]

I argue that the entanglements materialized in the Cordillera in this chapter support my proposal of the Anthropocene as a framework that allows a closer inspection of the relationship between human and non-human bodies and their bodily interactions. In this example, convergences between the two take place in multiple temporalities. First, the moment of the coup fused with the stones of the Andes, creating what I explored in the previous chapter: a "site of convergence." Second, is the creation of memorial stones which remember the victims of the Dictatorship whose fate was catalyzed by the coup. Finally, because of the placement of the memorial stones and original cobblestones (made up of part of the Cordillera) on the ground, any interaction with them is at the same time intentional and not intentional. For the memorial stones, it is easy to walk over them and miss them and therefore, it is normally a purposeful engagement with the memorial if I, or someone else, stops to read and consider them. For the original cobblestones, there are parts of

[24] I have also explored the fluid connection of blood in Chapter 3 through the physical and ancestral connection in the documentary *Mi vida con Carlos*.

[25] In the following quote, Guzmán suggests the Cordillera as a witness to the goings on of Santiago and particularly its "piedras," connecting the potential for the cobblestones to witness in a similar way as the entirety of the Andes. "Durante todo el tiempo de la dictadura la Cordillera ha permanecido en su lugar. Tal vez ella nos miraba sin que lo supiéramos. No lo pensé antes, pero creo que la montaña es un testigo. Ha visto cosas que nos querían esconder. Si pudiéramos traducir lo que dicen las piedras hoy, tuviéramos las respuestas que no tenemos" (49:50- 50:24).

the city centre where you cannot walk without walking over them, intentionally or not. In the next section, I contend with the culmination of the physical and visual entanglement of the coup's dispersion within the Cordillera.

5.4 A Constant Presence: The Cordillera as "Un Testigo"[26]

In this section, I focus on the development of "un testigo" as presented by Patricio Guzmán in *La cordillera de los sueños*. In section 5.1, I discussed the moment of the coup as a moment which triggered a spatial and visual dispersion both in the documentary and outside of the filmic context. Section 5.2 engaged with the Cordillera's entanglement between the coup, and Santiago. Here, the viewer understands how the mountains can seep into the imagination of a specified time and place, making clear that the Andes have been present during critical historical moments. The idea of a witness opens the question of what and where something was seen. And by whom? In the Spanish "presenciar," there is a dual meaning that could refer to the bodily presence or to the act of witnessing. It is not just who can witness or *see*, but what beings were present. The visual entanglement of the Cordillera in the film foregrounds how the mountains move through the city and people's imagination. Theories from Memory Studies and entanglement support the temporal connection of the different periods shown in the film (Feindt et al., 2014; Badescu, 2019), while eco-critical approaches to entanglement lay the groundwork for analyzing how the coup (Tsing et al., 2017) has become physically entangled with the materiality of the Cordillera. In this section, I detail how the image/presence of the Cordillera is used as a reference point for both an evoked and physical sense of the past running through the cityscape of Santiago. I tie this into the Andes' presentation in the documentary of a witness. First, I return to the concept of slow memory (Wüstenberg, 2023) as it relates to the potential of the non-human witness *La cordillera de los sueños*. Second, I engage with Guzmán's perspective of the Cordillera to understand his relationship with the mountains and what they might see and embody.

[26] *La cordillera de los sueños*, 50:09.

5.4.1 The Cordillera as a “Slow" Witness

Wüstenberg (2023) outlines a potential shift in what memory scholars point to in working toward a conception of slow memory: “As indicated in the qualifier ‘slow’, one of our core objectives is to rethink the temporal premises of memory studies, by shifting attention from ‘eventful’ and ‘sited’ pasts to those that are slow-moving” (p. 60). Viewing the Cordillera in *La cordillera de los sueños* as a physical embodiment of slow memory connects the analysis of dispersion and entanglement to the following conversation of “witness.” I have previously stated that, in this trilogy, we are not shown the moment of the coup but only its aftermath. This is to say, we do not need to see the “eventful” past to understand how it resides in the everyday. In the small moment of walking by the poster of the Andes in the metro, picking up a matchbox, walking on the cobblestones, or the other everyday account related in the film analysis. It is in this way that the Cordillera and its physical manifestations in the documentary act as a witness. Guzmán conceives of the Cordillera as a witness because of its consistent presence over Santiago and, as I found, in many Chilean landscapes. Studies on Slow Memory are concerned with uneventful— or slow—(past) events and how we remember them. In the documentary, we instead see how the past appears in the ‘uneventful’ moments of the present. I read the Cordillera as an embodied witness to the day of the coup and its physical dispersions. The Andes are not only visually entangled (metro, matchbox, childhood home) within the city, but Guzmán invokes its bodily (cobblestones, music) form to hold moments related to the coup, therefore *appearing* the difficult past in the every day of Santiago.

The concept of witness and who can witness has been of recent interest in the time of the Anthropocene. Nixon (2011) identifies issues of who can witness—and therefore remember—stating,

> Contests over what counts as violence are intimately entangled with conflicts over who bears the social authority of witness, which entails much more than simply seeing or not seeing. The entangled politics of spectacle and witnessing have implications that stretch well beyond environmental slow violence (p. 16).

The Andes are not capable of seeing as humans do, but in contrast, they are constantly *seen*. This is not unique to the Andes, per se, as other non-human beings also exist in this way in their ecosystem. I do think the Andes is unique, however, because of its expansive form throughout Chile and its viewpoint over Santiago and other Chilean landscapes. The often-used view of Santiago from above performs a sense of "seeing" or perspective of the mountains. It is Guzmán, who, through the various iterations of the mountains and survivor testimonies, imparts this task to the Cordillera. If conceiving of the Cordillera as a slow witness, the "slow" ecological and social-political processes emerge. Another presence of the "slow" is the physical sense of the word, which was felt in the Atacama Desert and the heaviness of the air.

In this third documentary, two types of witnessing appear that also apply to the triptych. The first is that of the physical landscapes— the Cordillera, the Atacama Desert, and the water— as a type of non-human witness, and the second is the documentaries. In *Visual Testimonies of Atrocity*, Gómez-Barris supports the potential of the visual to expand what it means to witness. Stating that "visual evidence can create moments of rupture in the dominant collective memory, fracturing coherent narratives in ways that resist in renarrativization of events" (2010, p. 418). *La cordillera de los sueños* is interesting because, as detailed in section one of this chapter, it does not show the event moment associated with rupture. For the first time in the triptych, we see archival footage of protests, relevant sites, and detainments by the military. This type of direct or "objective" visual witnessing, however, is not how the witness always emerges in Guzmán's work. The Cordillera or natural landscapes hold the memories of the dictatorship and, in some cases, the physical remnants of the disappeared. In this case, the glimpses into the moving past are unequivocal looks into what the Cordillera witnessed. The trouble is that it is a non-human witness that cannot translate for itself. The triptych attempts to do this. Gómez-Barris further states that "[t]he act of witnessing is never a complete act. Witnessing can be a melancholic refusal to let go of the ghosts or traces of the past" (p. 417). I find this interesting in the case of the two witnesses in Guzmán's work because the natural landscapes hold memories in the film but physically move forward, and in so doing, often bury the physical remnants of the past. If the documentaries also act as witness, perhaps they are held in their multiple pasts.

5.4.2 Guzmán's View of and from the Andes

The film opens with the slow, fogged appearance of Santiago and the Cordillera in the background. The first moments are quiet, with hints of almost triumphant-sounding music that backgrounds the camera's dive into the city, signally a deep exploration of the cityscape and its structures. The opening scenes of *Nostalgia de la luz* and *La cordillera de los sueños* both feature mentions of Guzmán's past sense of self and home in Chile. The first spoken words in *La cordillera de los sueños* are "[c]ada vez que paso encima de la Cordillera, yo siento que estoy llegando al país de mi infancia. Al país de mis orígenes. Cruzar la Cordillera es llegar a un lugar muy lejos en el pasado" (2020, 2:42–3:05). In this introduction, there are already two senses of the past. The one associated with "orígenes" but, in contrast with *Nostalgia de la luz* where Guzmán refers to the search for the origins of planetary life, here he is referring to the time and place that formed his self. The second sense of the past is physical as Guzmán *arrives* in a place separated from the rest of the world and, therefore, feels in the past by crossing the mountains. To Guzmán, the appearance of the Cordillera signals that his childhood and the Chile of then are physically located in a past no longer visible on Santiago's landscape. The slow beginning and allusions to Guzmán's childhood immediately evoke a retrospective atmosphere that lingers throughout the rest of the film. In the opening, multiple senses of the multiple pasts, now unfamiliar or unknown, are reflected in the physical presence of the Cordillera.

The Andes mountains are intrinsic to the view of Chile, especially the city of Santiago. The view from Santiago, such as the postcard (Purbrick, 2018) in Chapter 3 and my own experience, shows us that the Cordillera is always in the background. This documentary offers a new perspective on the view from above and how mountains *see* the city. Their image and their histories are tied to each other. The potential in the representation of their connected histories is expanded on by Tenorio and Cerda (2023):

> Guzmán se desplaza entre los intersticios de esa memoria geológica para emitir un discurso sobre su memoria individual y conformar también una memoria generacional, y de un archivo, junto a las voces de los entrevistados que aparecen en el documental (p. 31)

The poetic connection between geological and generational memory illustrates the similarities between the broken pieces from the Cordillera (physical or its image) and the temporal and spatial impacts of the coup. Both appear in the city in various forms. Guzmán's desire to film the smaller pieces of the Cordillera is similar to how he shows us the pieces of his childhood and homes.

There is a delineation between geological and human senses of time or "earth history and world history" (Chakrabarty, 2018, p. 6). Chakrabarty outlines that we have reached a point in human history where we cannot ignore the human impact on "geological scales," such as climate change on everyday life, evoking the concept of slow memory once more. I reiterate that in the Anthropocene, there is a convergence point that forces a reckoning between the human and non-human relationship, such as climate change or the coup in Chile. Chakrabarty's text is also crucial in navigating the Cordillera's significance to the cityscape of Santiago. I contend that evaluating the interaction between the physical and cultural layers of the Cordillera through an anthropogenic lens allows for a valuable conversation about how we might contend with post-dictatorship memory, particularly in the wake of the current political struggles in Chile.

Using the Cordillera to represent multiple times, experiences, and understandings of a place suggests a different approach to the relationship between human and non-human spaces and temporalities. In this documentary, the Cordillera brings forth many pasts while continuing to exist with us in the present. For Guzmán, the mountains not only remind him of the past but also, when arriving in Chile, make him acutely aware of where he is. Existing as a manifestation of or gateway to various pasts, the documentary understands that the *being* of the Cordillera lives in parallel with Santiago, Chile, and its people. A central question that Guzmán struggles with, given his exile, is his relationship to Chile now, of his childhood, and of the dictatorship. What does it mean to be in flux between two places (working in Chile and living outside of the country) and two temporalities (depicting his life to filmic representations and reflection on the Chilean coup and dictatorship while living in the present)? In Chakrabarty's *Anthropocene Time* (2018), the author asks,

> what does it mean to dwell, to be political, to pursue justice when we live out the everyday with the awareness that what seems 'slow' in human and world-history terms may indeed be

> 'instantaneous' on the scale of Earth history, that living in the Anthropocene means inhabiting these two presents at the same time (p. 30)

Guzmán, in the three documentaries, creates a narrative where the "instantaneous" human moments in Earth's history might also be its "slower" ones. *La Cordillera de los sueños* deals with the coup as a moment that slowly and continually becomes entangled within the Chilean imaginary; the Cordillera and its entanglement with the city are the visual manifestation of the spatial dispersion for which he and Chile do not yet have an answer. The Cordillera, as it exists in parallel to Santiago, holds a slower form of geological history and memory in its structure therefore causing a slowing down in how we live and interact with the legacies of the past. The social, political, cultural, and structural processes of reckoning with the legacies of the dictatorship present in and outside of *La cordillera de los sueños* are forever under the gaze of the Cordillera.

5.4.3 Geological Memories of the Andes

A central argument and reflection in this documentary is that the Andes mountains can act as ‘un testigo” (2020, 50:09) to the dictatorship past as referenced in the documentary. Guzmán shows this potential through the perspectives of the city and small moments of the Cordillera appearing inside the closed areas or invisible areas of the city. From the beginning, the perspective of the Cordillera is the first to appear with an overview of the city. A powerful invocation of the Andes’ sight is through the use of archival footage by filmmaker Pablo Salas. It is the first time in the triptych that we see moving images of the past, especially on the day of and after the coup. In *El botón de nácar*, Guzmán uses Martín Gusinde’s photographs to show the indigenous Selk’nam people in Patagonia. The images are incredibly valuable, but it is not a past in motion. By using the archival footage, we experience the past and understand the impact of the coup on the cityscape of Santiago. Guzmán narrates that “Con sus imágenes hoy podría reconstruir los años perdidos de la historia de Chile” (2020, 35:30). In the footage, we see moments of protest, military suppression, and control of the people. In one scene, a helicopter flies through smoke coming from a fire on the streets (2020, 44:24). The smoke and ashes of the past are carried through the present in the plume of smoke and ashes in Guzmán’s soul. They were never fully put out or receded and continue to blind and obscure that which is in their path.

The volcanologist, Alvaro Amigo, sees the past in the material body of the Cordillera, stating "Cuando miro la Cordillera, veo millones de años que están expuestos ahí. [...] Pero, además, va avanzando en el tiempo, y a medida que uno ingresa a la Cordillera, y camina y avanza, la Cordillera, cada vez el tiempo es mayor." (2020, 19:54–20:22). In this way, the further you go into the mountains, the more of the past you see. He continues to say that the stones and structures of the Cordillera are "reflejos del mundo" (2020 20:24) which is accompanied by long views of the cracked, waved, and hidden parts of the Andes. On May 27-8, 2024, I attended a training school on Slow Memory Theory funded by the Slow Memory COST Action.[27] Here, it was brought to my attention that the ways in which geological and human history can be seen in mountain stones are similar to studies on tree rings and embodiments of the past. Other scholars working in the Latin American context have identified the capability of landscape witness and decentering of the human perspective, such as Jenckes' (2017) *Witnessing Beyond the Human: Addressing the Alterity of the Other in Post-coup Chile and Argentina*. However, the most paralleled research on a non-human witness comes from work on trees in the South of the United States that were indeed witnesses and present for historical moments, such as the Civil War (Miller, 2013; Hammon, 2018).

It is not only that the Cordillera sees and has a bodily experience of what is happening throughout Chile but also that the geological and accompanying human history is found in its core. The question of how can the Cordillera act as "un testigo" is similar to the central theme of *El botón de náca*r, how does water hold memory? While reflecting on the colonial and dictatorship past in Patagonia, Zurita refers to its waters that have been "ensangrentado" (2015, 1:14:04), which can be taken as a physical infusion of the past into a body of water that still exists. In the previous chapter, I argued that the meeting of bodies in Patagonia means that the water has a physical connection and embodiment of violent histories. As previously stated in Chapter 4, both Zurita and Guzmán posit that water has the capability to hold memories and, potentially, a voice to relate them to us. However, In *El botón de nácar*, how we might listen, hear, or interpret the voices of the water is largely left up for interpretation. I provided an anecdote of water's voice in two

[27] For further information on the Action, please reference their website: https://www.slowmemory.eu/.

memory sites as a potential response (Part 3.2.3). Nevertheless, in *El botón de nácar*, there are many instances when Guzmán has us listen to the water and focus on its movements. This is similar to the perspectives offered by overhead footage and integrations of the Cordillera's image within the city, which lets us *see* from the perspective of the Andes *La cordillera de los sueños*.

In *La cordillera de los sueños*, the artists who are inspired by the mountains begin the interpretation of how they perceive the mountains and its comforting, yet isolating, presence. The Andes mountains are presented as not only physically changed and affected by the dictatorship's past but, more significantly, as a witness and a recaller of the critical moments in history, such as the coup. The sensory abilities awarded to the Cordillera—such as feeling the footsteps of the military on September 11, 1973, and witnessing the bombings and murders along the country— imitate Guzmán's experience of how the coup ruptured his life and still exists within him. In contrast to the intimate moments left bare in *El botón de nácar* of the water's movements and sounds, the Cordillera's artistic renderings and its perspective are left to translate those experiences.

5.5 Conclusion

In my analysis of *Nostalgia de la luz* and *El botón de nácar*, I grappled with how physical particles or bodies that are (in)visibly left behind might converge in the given landscape and bring forth the past. In this chapter, I was interested in how the moment of the coup (the moment itself) and the pathways it created became visually entangled and embodied in the Cordillera and spatially within the cityscape of Santiago. To construct this argument, I incorporated theories on the dispersive qualities of earthquakes (Kanamori and Stewart, 1979; Ruiz et al., 2014) and how they relate to previous scholarly descriptions of eruptive events related to the Chilean dictatorship (Wilde, 1999; Richard, 2018; Gray, 2022). In comparing the metaphor of an earthquake to Chile's history of such events, I argued for spatial "dispersion" as a new way to characterize and visualize the effects of the coup. In developing entanglement, I drew on ecological theories of interspecies relations (Tsing et al., 2017) and spatial entanglements (Feindt et al., 2014; Grosescu et al., 2019; Badescu, 2019) to explore the human/ non-human relationship between the Cordillera and the human memories pertaining to the coup.

The structure of the Cordillera is an overwhelming presence in Santiago and, from my journey into the mountains, is not more knowable as you approach. Drawing on my ethnographic research and encounters with the Cordillera, I expanded on Guzmán's reflection that the Andes mountains was a witness/ presence to the moment of the coup. Questions on agency (Latour, 2014) and responsibility (Gómez-Barris, 2017; Chakrabarty, 2018) within the Anthropocene contributed to this analysis and who, in fact, can witness initial acts of violence and their long-term effects. The Cordillera is then uniquely capable of embodying the memories of past events because of its natural characteristics. I argued that Guzmán's use of the Cordillera's manifestations in the film formed a non-human "slow" witness capable of remembering and conveying the violent past. Ideas of the "slow" came not only from the seismic, geological events of earthquakes but developed from theories of "slow violence" (Nixon, 2011) and "slow memory" (Wüstenberg, 2023).

Furthermore, the triptych is narratively formed around events of the past and their presentation in the present natural landscapes around Chile. However, the third film sets itself apart because of how the natural landscape (the Cordillera) in focus interacts with the bodies of the past and their particular setting. In this film, the Cordillera is not the environment in which terror—as in the Atacama Desert and Patagonia cases— was finalized but the *being* that "witnessed" it. A significant distinction in this film is that what is not seen, the "disappeared body", does not directly refer to the political disappearances during the dictatorship (or the extraction of natural resources from the land) but to how the coup of September 11, 1973, is largely invisible from the surface of the city center. This chapter outlined how Guzmán visually demonstrates temporal entanglements through the Cordillera, resulting in a non-human witness in the Cordillera that exists not only apart from the city but has become infused into its very materials and construction. Guzmán shows how the image of the Cordillera and its historical significance infiltrates the city in seen and unseen ways. From its found imagery in places like the supermarket (matchbox) and the metro to its physical embodiments in the streets throughout the city, and finally, its constant presence and viewpoint. In the series of interviews, the sculptor Vicente Gajardo categorizes the Cordillera as both a physical and cultural reference. This is not something he can define; it is a feeling embodied within him. He says: "Eso no lo puedo definir porque lo respiro. Soy, pertenezco a un paisaje con ciertas características" (2020, 18:10-20). This reiterates how the constant visibility and presence of the Cordillera transforms into a bodily experience of the landscape. The physical presence of

the Cordillera remains close to the body. Guzmán explores the entangled bodily experience of the multiple pasts through the constant presence of the Andes. In *La cordillera de los sueños* the mountains not only oversee Santiago but become part of people's and city's body, the national body.

Guzmán's childhood home and the physical matches in the matchbox are the pieces that are reconstructed and connected throughout the film. These two contained spaces visualize the loss of place and time after the coup that Guzmán expresses throughout. *La cordillera de los sueños* observes the overwhelming existence of the mountains and their image throughout the city while I have observed its existence throughout Chile. The artistic interpretations of the Cordillera build a whole image and construction that attempt to make visible the entangled times. Through the Cordillera, we are given a view into the past. This is clear when we see Gajardo building a test sculpture with mountain rocks and materials. In this scene, Gajardo's hands, the worktable, and the blocked sculpture are illuminated by sunbeams from above, and we hear the blocks placed upon each other. As he approaches the table and lays his first block down, he blows dust off them (Figure 5.7). From its origin point, before being disrupted, the dust comes up like a cloud, casting a momentary shadow over the sculpture. This scene works similarly to the moments shown of the bombing on the day of the coup and the subsequent obstruction to visibility. Dust, ash, and smoke are repeated images of the scattering of particles throughout this film that also parallel the multiple particled appearances in *Nostalgia de la luz*.



Figure 5.7: Artist Vicente Gajardo working on the blocked sculpture. Moments before blowing the dust off of the stones. Screenshot taken from La cordillera de los sueños *(17:35).*

The miniature sculpture of the final work that belongs to the desert has the same form and base structure as the video archives of filmmaker Pablo Salas. They are stacked along a shelf and many of them are labeled. In reference to the archives, Guzmán says "son testigos de una página de

historia chilena. Mantienen intactos y visibles los miles de rostros de la resistencia popular" (2020, 1:16:45–1:16:58). For this reason and thanks to Salas, Guzmán narrates, that it is impossible to erase the past and claim that it did not happen. The artists, the Cordillera, and the archival footage hold the images and sensations of the past. The archive of films and the sculpture both show a generational and geological memory of the dictatorship in Chile. Simultaneously, both a geological and generational archive. Each is represented in the other.

Chapter 6: Conclusion: "No hay vuelta atrás"[28]: Conclusions on Guzmán's Triptych (2010-2020)

To conclude this work, I begin with a final personal anecdote about my experience with Chile during the thesis and while watching Guzmán's documentaries. I will then briefly review the three main chapters and how, in their analysis of Guzmán's triptych, they navigate the bodily, temporal, and spatial questions that emerged in the post-dictatorship era and the arrival of the age of the Anthropocene. Again, I draw on both the frameworks of Memory Studies and Environmental Humanities to explore the potential of natural landscapes and film to reimagine how, where, and when we remember acts of state-perpetrated violence. In the latter half of this conclusion, I engage with Guzmán's latest work, *Mi país imaginario* (2022), as an epilogue to the triptych.

From the first time I saw *Nostalgia de la luz* in 2015 to the last words of the thesis, I have watched the three documentary films countless number of times. Each time, I saw something new even the through the final watch. In the viewings, I encountered and came to know histories and parts of the world that would have otherwise stayed remote to me. Certain everyday words such as stars, button, or matchbox will forever remind me of the PhD work, Chile, Patricio Guzmán and all the histories/sites held in *Nostalgia de la luz*, *El botón de nácar*, and *La cordillera de los sueños.* This not only speaks to my overall argument about the capacity of film to challenge who, where, and what remembers but the significance of Guzmán's work in the memory-making processes. The landscapes of the Atacama Desert, Patagonia, and the Andes left their mark on me as I documented throughout the chapters. At times, during my fieldwork, I was the only person who was visibly engaging with the particularly violent and difficult histories of each landscape. Nevertheless, the landscapes made an impression on the other tourists whose excitement and awe I would overhear and on other researchers with whom I shared photos of my experience.

But it is not only the words or visions of the landscapes, but the *bodily* experience of the documentaries- unique to the medium- which then became a reality in February to March 2023. The three documentaries will stay with me in the same ways I argued they expand the fields of Memory Studies and Environmental Humanities: bodily, temporal, and spatial. In the bodily, it is the key words and connections made in Guzmán's trilogy, the impactful soundtrack, the music I

[28] Mónica González, a Chilean journalist in *Mi país imaginario* (35:36).

listened to while completing the PhD, and the physical experience of learning, writing, and being at the sites. The temporal nature comes forth in the memory of the sites and histories recalled in the future due to the bodily experience just described. I bring these memories and the thesis outside of their original context (Chile) and medium (documentary film), creating a spatially fluid engagement with Guzmán's work and the histories they hold.

6.1 Review of Chapters

Guzmán effectively illustrates how the three natural landscapes of the Atacama Desert, Patagonia, and the Andes hold physical remnants of the past and embody layers of non-physical knowledge and memory by highlighting the layered physical and social histories of the lands. The integration of both human/geological histories and their material parts, challenges traditional notions of memory and history, suggesting that the natural world is an active participant in remembering. Understanding the landscapes as holding a dual role—as both material and mnemonic entities—was essential to my understanding of the documentary's construction of filmic bodies. Throughout the chapters, the dialogue between human and non-human bodies demonstrated the long history of interconnectedness between ecological and social justice, showing how environmental degradation and human rights abuses are often intertwined. Moreover, my ethnographic research contributed to this discussion by bridging the gap between the historical and contemporary, the human and non-human, and the on-screen and off-screen realities. I detailed the environmental and human rights issues that converge in the Desert, waterways, and the mountains, ensuring that these issues are not just peripheral but deeply embedded in the respective landscapes that Guzmán depicts.

In this thesis, I argued that Guzmán's filmic triptych offers a new way to engage with cultural representations of post-dictatorship memory and the relationship between filmic bodies (human and non-humans). Guzmán's three documentary films explore the effects of intentional human violence during the Pinochet dictatorship against other humans and how those events and their associated bodies linger within a landscape. In the chapter, on *Nostalgia de la luz*, I stepped outside the filmic realm. I contrasted the history of the disappeared with the extraction processes of natural resources occurring in the Atacama Desert, arguing for a connection between the two and their affected bodies as *reappeared* (Lazzara, 2006; Orge, 2017) in Guzmán's use of particled star/dust. I specifically engage with cases that represent whose and what bodies are visible and not visible

in the desert landscape and how what is visible on the natural, open landscape critically reflects outside political and social motivations. This is to say that the desertscape of the Atacama is a place that is not only capable of reflecting Chile's history but also one of the places where the tremors leading up to the dictatorship are present.

In the second chapter on *El botón de nácar*, I outlined the argument for a temporally fluid dialogical relationship between bodies—water, celestial, Indigenous, and disappeared— that expands spatial and temporal boundaries of remembering. I was interested in Guzmán's use of waterscapes as a medium, perspective (Gómez-Barris, 2017; Díaz 2021), and "screen/image" (Watson, 2022) to transition the narratives but also the moments in time while emphasizing their relationship with the element of water. In the transitions, I imagined a "site of convergence" between the human and non-human body that was created in a moment of violence but, in the documentary, exists through time. Drawing on ecological and cultural memory studies' views on haunting (Gordon, 1997; Tsing et al., 2017), I connected the living Patagonian landscapes to the one created by Guzmán on the screen. The watery, liminal transitions offer a fluid approach between bodies and relates back to the over-time effects of violence (Nixon, 2011; Craps et al., 2018). Questions about landscape and how they might remember and live with the past prefaces the final chapter on *La cordillera de los sueños*. In the fourth chapter, I offered a way to conceptualize the spatial (detention, disappearance, exile, etc.) consequence of the 1973 coup d'état through images of dispersion in the documentary. Reading the coup as a dispersion moment— forcing alternative geographical paths in its aftermath— I then explored how its debris became visually and spatially entangled with the Cordillera and the cityscape of Santiago. To work towards artistic entanglement in *La cordillera de los sueños*, I looked both to environmental multi-species entanglement (Tsing et al., 2017) and spatially concerned ideas of entanglement from cultural memory studies, especially in the Chilean context (Grosescu et al., 2019; Badescu, 2019)

The final argument of Chapter 5 imagined the Cordillera as a "slow" (Nixon, 2011; Obara and Kato, 2016; Wüstenberg, 2023) witness. The idea of the mountains as witness and present ("presenciar") during the coup and through the dictatorship, can be found throughout the triptych but is most present in the third film. In *Nostalgia de la luz*, the stars were present to the disappearance of the 26 (echoed in the amnesty project), and in *El botón de náca*r, Zurita and

Guzmán poetically reflect that the water holds memory and has a voice. Particled memory, dialogic "sites of convergence," and entangled dispersions all deal with how Guzmán's trilogy represents that past violent memories are not lost to the land. They persist because of the filmic and non-filmic relationship between humans and non-humans. I contend that through filmic relationships and visual blurring between *bodies* in the documentaries, a unique way to engage with cultural representations of post-dictatorship memory emerges. Positioning this project between cultural Memory Studies and Ecological critiques born from the age of the Anthropocene, I examined how the violences during the Pinochet dictatorship, as intentional human acts, were infused into the longer histories of the natural landscapes (The Atacama Desert, Patagonian waterways, and the Andes mountains) in Chile and remembered by them. The specifically located works of Guzmán call for an anthropogenic approach to memory, expanding the bodily, spatial, and temporal boundaries of what it means to remember acts of state-perpetrated violence. These cases and documentaries are particularly revealing in the wake of the *estallido social* and negotiations for a rewriting of the constitution. In Chile and in Guzmán's documentaries, the longer histories of violence are multi-faceted, including colonialism, extractivism, and dictatorship-era human rights abuses. I now look at Guzmán's latest documentary work, *Mi país imaginario*.

The three documentary films fall within a ten-year timespan, and *La cordillera de los sueños* had just been released when I began this project in October 2020. Since then, Patricio Guzmán has released one more documentary. His latest work, *Mi país imaginario,* premiered in May 2022 at the 75th Cannes Film Festival and is about the October 2019 *estallido social* in Chile and the sociopolitical undercurrents present in Chile today. In this conclusion, I consider the endings of the three documentary films and how *Mi país imaginario* fits as the current "ending" to these films. I do this for two reasons: to clearly designate the three documentary films as a trilogy and to emphasize the role of the natural landscapes in building and holding a temporal, spatial, and bodily connection between the land and experiences of the dictatorship. In the analysis, *Mi país imaginario* clearly shows the interconnectedness of the trilogy in its focus on natural beings, consistent narrative structure, and slow moments in the respective landscapes, and the aesthetic composition of the films. *Nostalgia de la luz*, *El botón de nácar,* and *La cordillera de los sueños* are situated in their then-present. Guzmán shows the landscapes as they exist at those moments, including interviews with people on the landscapes and intensive inspections of the land's natural

features. Through Guzmán's framing of the natural landscapes, I have argued that multiple temporal realities exist and are present at once. In *Mi país imaginario*, the interview style and focus on a type of landscape (Santiago and the Chilean people) remains, but for the first time, there is a clear divide between Guzman's framing of the past and the people and landscapes he shows. He continually references the period before and during the dictatorship, includes similar music to that in the trilogy, and repeatedly admits to being held to the past. In contrast, the people interviewed are driven toward the future and its concerns of women's rights, environmental rights, and a sustainable way of life. I highlight for a final time the unique connection between the theoretical concepts of eco-criticism, memory studies, the Chilean context, Guzmán's reflections, and my own experiences of the sites. While distinct in concept, each documentary ends with a character study of a singular object or material that embodies the history of the landscape and Chile. Marbles, raindrops, and stones from the Cordillera hold a multitude of times and physicalities. The dialogue between bodies, temporalities, and spaces is woven throughout the documentary films and chapters but is amplified when considered together.

6.2 *Mi país imaginario*

Where are we now? *Mi país imaginario* was released in October 2022, and the first vote on the constitution was held in September 2022. In Chile, economic and constitutional policies from the Pinochet dictatorship (1973-90) remain in place. In 2019 student-led protests resulted in a successful (nearly 80%) vote for a new constitution (Jubilation as Chile votes to rewrite constitution, 2020). The continued debate over the constitution referendum which held an estimated 13% about the rights of nature — that failed in 2022 and 2023— exemplifies the current convergence of memory and ecological struggles in Chile. Additionally, many of the natural landscapes (Atacama Desert, Patagonia, etc.) that are undergoing processes of extraction (mining, tourism, privatization of resources) and environmental degradation are also places that have been witness to colonial and dictatorship-era violence.

The ending of *Mi país imaginario* is particularly relevant as it exemplifies a past that cannot be escaped or abandoned in the documentaries of Patricio Guzmán. The film ends with the December 2021 victory speech of President-elect Gabriel Boríc. However, the final images we are left with are of rallies for Salvador Allende (year unknown). These joyful images are placed alongside the credits and accompanied by the song "La Muralla" by the folk music group Quilapayún. The images of Allende culminate in a final sequence where he is waving to an unseen crowd. Finally, the camera focuses on a group of men standing in the back of the truck and seemingly waving back or toward the camera. As the men fade into the credits, the music continues. Notably, the film also begins with scenes of rallies for Salvador Allende. Acting as bookends to the film, the rallying scenes from the beginning and end are accompanied by contrasting musical scores. In Chapter 3, I mention the musical choices and the similar features that appear in *Nostalgia de la luz* and *La cordillera de los sueños* as a way to connect the pasts and places that are featured in each film. In the two films, dreamy music composed of piano keys and orchestral strings is played during moments that recall the multiple pasts of the landscapes and bring forth a sense of nostalgia. In *Mi país imaginario*, the music functions similarly and is an important accompaniment to the film's connection with the pre-and post-dictatorship times.

In the first scene of *Mi país imaginario*, the use of a similar score evokes moments from the trilogy—the scene when Vicky Saavedra and Violeta Berrios are looking through the telescope in

Nostalgia de la luz and scenes when the camera is overlooking the Andes and the cityscape in *La cordillera de los sueños*. It signals a connection between *Mi país imaginario* and the three films. The musical group Miranda y Tobar (comprised of Chilean musicians and composers José Miguel Miranda and José Miguel Tobar) composed the original music in the four documentaries and other notable films such as *Machuca* (2004) and *Mi vida con Carlos* (2008).[29] Their projects often deal with questions of memory and searches for the disappeared in Chile. The final scene of *Mi país imaginario* with Allende with *La muralla* in the background is the first time in these four films that Guzmán uses music with lyrics. The lyrics are taken from the poem of the same name by Cuban revolutionary poet Nicolás Guillén and the music was composed by the group Quilapayún. Upbeat in tone, the song is blended with the final spoken animated words of President Gabriel Boríc. This is also different from the triptych, where Guzmán's voice always guides the final reflections on the chosen physical elements of the film and how the natural element intersects with his own evolving relationship with Chile. The final voice is Guzmán's.

In the fragment of Boríc's speech that is highlighted in the documentary, Boríc touches on three key themes that run through *Mi país imaginario* and the trilogy: Boric's origins on the borders of Chile ("del sur"), the historical lineage of fighting for human rights, and the importance of women in political events in Chile.

> "Sé y tengo claro que la historia no parte con nosotros. Me siento heredero y siento que nuestro proyecto es heredero de una larga trayectoria histórica la de que eres de diferentes posiciones, han buscado incansablemente la justicia, la ampliación de la democracia, la defensa de los derechos humanos, la protección de los libertades […] Estamos ante un cambio de un ciclo histórico. No lo podemos desaprovechar" (2022, 1:19:20-1:19:59).

This speech fades into the scenes of Allende and the people who were excited about his presidency. The blurring of times is not subtle. The direct comparison between Allende and the political mindset of the time is directly referenced throughout this documentary. In the interviews with women who are advocating for a new constitution and involved with the *estallido social*, Guzmán

[29] For a full list of their works and access to their compositions refer to their website: https://mirandaytobar.cl/.

consistently notes the differences between his political realities and struggles and those of the present day. The most notable difference is the lack of associations with political parties now which Guzmán has a difficult time coming to terms with.

In comparing Allende and the hopes and excitement shown in the footage of him speaking to a crowd to similar footage of Boríc, the past again creeps into the present but only through the lens of Guzmán. In the interview shown in the documentary with feminist group Las Tesis, in addition to many other activists, the conversation centers on how the *estallido* will benefit future generations and look toward a social and ecological future, The interviews are not about the past and yet Guzmán is captured in it and shows this to the audience. His amazement is clear throughout the documentary as if the current social and political activism and the people driving it are completely new to him. His recollection of the current state of Chilean politics was not as clear in the previous three films. I highlighted moments of hope in the Women of Calama (Chapter 3) looking up at the telescope in *Nostalgia de la luz* and his consistent wishes for people to remember the past throughout the documentaries. In *Mi país imaginario*, Guzmán is brought back to a similar sense of excitement for the future as he did during Allende's presidency. He states, "Yo nunca pensé que volver a ver esto aquí como lo viví hace más de cuarenta años" (2022, 48:40). Throughout the triptych, it is clear that Guzmán is still working through multiple layers of his and Chile's past but in each documentary, there is a guiding point for him and the viewer—the calcium, the button, and the mountains. In *Mi país imaginario*, Guzmán is an unfamiliar narrator from the triptych. In the three documentary films in this thesis, Guzmán is in clear control of how the audience views and encounters the landscapes. He guides the viewer through them, their histories, and the connections between the past and present, creating a very specific portrait of the natural landscapes. This is in contrast to *Mi país imaginario* where Guzmán does not have a clear interpretation of how to frame the present which is probably due to the contemporaneous nature of the film.

There is a clear difference in structure between *Mi país imaginario* and the three previous documentaries. The trilogy is, as I state throughout the thesis, in a narrative style of storytelling. This is to say that Guzmán's interpretation of the natural landscapes is thoughtfully constructed, and the times and locations are carefully chosen. In *Mi país imaginario*, there are again scenes of

the past like we saw in *La cordillera de los sueños*. However, there is no construction of landscape like in the other three films. Santiago is not the subject as the natural landscapes were. The people interviewed, and the event of the *estallido social* are the focus. And it *is* about the future even if Guzmán himself is enveloped in the past. When talking about the national stadium where he and thousands of others were detained during the dictatorship, he admits that this is something that he cannot let go of and has appeared in almost all his films. He says "esto me marcó para siempre" (2022, 1:00:15). Throughout the triptych, Guzmán as a narrator of his own coming to terms with the past and of the three landscapes' histories, is always in negotiation with past histories, bodies, and the sites they inhabit(ed). My analysis of the films also acknowledges and relies on Guzmán's bringing forth of the past to the present and to the dictatorship in my conceptualization of *bodies* and their particled potential to reappear the past, "sites" of convergence and dialogue between times, and a physical and visual entanglement between past and present.

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