

Journal of Social Archaeology

<http://jsa.sagepub.com/>

Colonial rock art: A reflection on resistance and cultural change (16th and 17th century-Córdoba, Argentina)

Andrea Recalde and C. González Navarro

Journal of Social Archaeology published online 11 September 2014

DOI: 10.1177/1469605314548940

The online version of this article can be found at:

<http://jsa.sagepub.com/content/early/2014/09/11/1469605314548940>

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

Additional services and information for *Journal of Social Archaeology* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://jsa.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://jsa.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

Citations: <http://jsa.sagepub.com/content/early/2014/09/11/1469605314548940.refs.html>

>> [OnlineFirst Version of Record](#) - Sep 11, 2014

[What is This?](#)



Article

Colonial rock art: A reflection on resistance and cultural change (16th and 17th century-Córdoba, Argentina)

Andrea Recalde

CONICET, Centro de Estudios Históricos "Prof. Carlos SA Segreti," Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina

C. González Navarro

CONICET, Centro de Estudios Históricos "Prof. Carlos SA Segreti," Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina

Abstract

This work analyses colonial rock art documented in western and northern areas of the Sierras Grandes (Argentinean central area). We question and discuss some of the social implications of this form of expression and its role in the game of power framed in the Spanish colonial domination system in America. We propose that pre-Hispanic rock art became part of a related group of social practices that guaranteed the social reproduction of the population. This practice continued during the early colonial period, and it not only implied the incorporation of the figure of the dominant in the traditional framework but also represented a form of symbolic resistance against colonial imposition.

Keywords

rock art, resistance, cultural change, Spanish colonial domination, central Argentina

Journal of Social Archaeology

0(0) 1–22

© The Author(s) 2014

Reprints and permissions:

sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: 10.1177/1469605314548940

jsa.sagepub.com



Corresponding author:

Andrea Recalde, Centro de Estudios Históricos "Prof. Carlos S. A. Segreti," Miguel C. del Corro 308, CP 5000, Córdoba, Argentina.

Email: recaldema@yahoo.com.ar

“... and that in the representations of their conquerors is seen one of the last remaining traces of these Indians as an independent people.”

G. A. Gardner, *Rock-paintings of North West Córdoba* (1931: 131)

The territory of conquest: Submission, accommodation, and resistance

The Spanish conquest had a traumatic impact on the native people of America. However, the changes produced by this process did not immediately make indigenous cultural practices disappear; on the contrary, indigenous groups reacted differently to the new reality they had to face: sometimes they submitted, sometimes they accommodated and/or adapted, and sometimes they violently resisted the colonial impositions. The area that now covers the province of Córdoba—the central area of Argentina (Figure 1)—was colonized by the Spanish at the end of the 16th century, and this was carried out by waves of explorers coming mainly from the north of the Perú Viceroyalty (Francisco de Mendoza entered the territory in 1544, Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa in 1572, and Jerónimo Luis de Cabrera in 1573; see Levillier, 1926, T.I: 131–200), from the Kingdom of Chile (Francisco de Aguirre entered in 1553–1554; see Levillier, 1926, T.I: 131–200), and from the River Plate (Francisco de César explored this territory in 1529; see Levillier, 1926, TI: 89–95; Bixio and Berberían, 2007: 99). The Spanish presence in the area shows that when the city of Córdoba was founded in 1573, the indigenous populations had already had contact with the invaders, but they did not know what they intended to do with the land. The settlement of the city was carried out in a territory inhabited by indigenous groups, which, according to previous research (e.g. Bixio, 1998; Bixio and González Navarro, 2003, 2009; Piana, 1992), did not resist with weapons in a forceful manner or for a long time, and within few years, they were militarily defeated and submitted to the conquerors.¹

Indeed, the first clashes or “*guaçavaras*” date from the times of the early arrivals to the area, from about 1544. It was at that moment that the first collective and organized violent events carried out by the native people against the invaders were registered. After the foundation of the city (1573), there is little data of hostilities between the aborigines and the Spanish. For example, the information on Tristán de Texeda—a captain who was part of Jerónimo Luis de Cabrera’s army—describes a campaign to subjugate and dominate the people situated in the centre and north of the hills of Córdoba (Historical Archive of the Province of Córdoba [AHPC], Esc. 2, Leg. 8, F. 148r). In 1593, Texeda also went to put down uprisings in the north area of the Salsacate Valley, where the indigenous people had killed *yanaconas* (indigenous friends of the Spanish) and burnt churches (AHPC, Esc. 2, Leg. 8, F. 148r). These early sources, mostly made up by reports and declarations of the conquerors wherein their merits and services to the Crown were stressed, acknowledge the warlike spirit of the indigenous groups, particularly of the people in the northern hills of Córdoba.

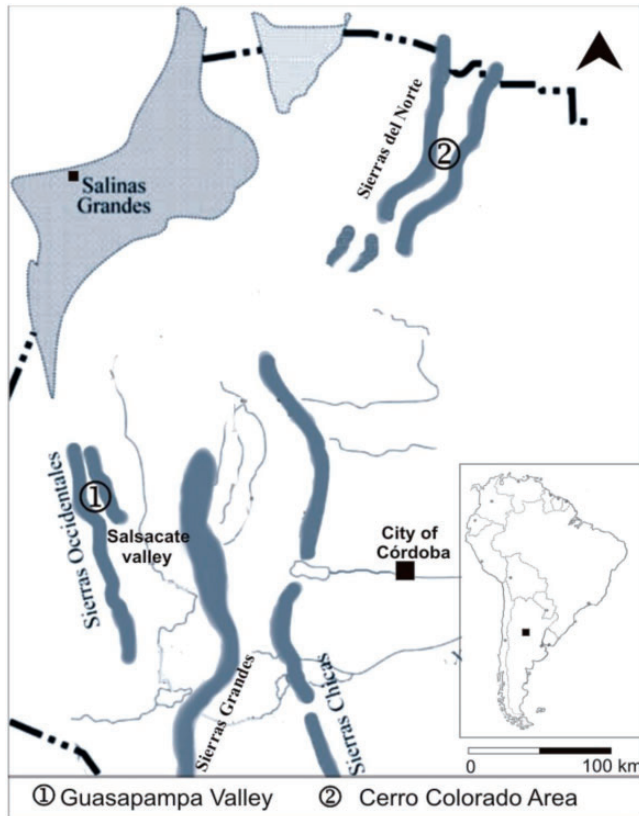


Figure 1. Map of Córdoba Hills (Argentina) indicating areas with rock art discussed in the text.

In general terms, these signs of collective and armed rebelliousness were reflected in the death of some encomenderos (like Blas de Rosales or Diego de Funes), who were the receivers of a grant as a reward for their participation in the conquest of the region, receiving from the Spanish Crown the right to extract tribute from a specified number of Indians in kind or in labor. The rebelliousness was also materialized in the uprisings of different allied groups. However, they were occasional, ephemeral, and spatially localized episodes, which were not effective in the long term (Bixio, 1998; Bixio and González Navarro, 2003). This establishes a clear difference with other people of the southern area of the Perú Viceroyalty, for instance the case of the Chiriguano and Calchaqui aborigines, who were very difficult to conquer (Lorandi, 2000).

Twenty years after the foundation of Córdoba, the resistance of the indigenous population seems to have found alternatives to armed confrontation. One of them was the *huida* (escape) of the *encomiendas* as an answer and individual action to

the colonial imposition where the possibility of a collective and armed action was impeded (Bixio and González Navarro, 2009). The indigenous who has run away could go to another area and start working, losing his bonds with the area of origin, or could go to nearby hills (impenetrable areas located on the borders of colonial control) where he would survive by hunting and gathering, or else by stealing from nearby farming states. At present, there is no information indicating that the natives created communities in the hills, as occurred in the 18th century with the African slaves who decided to run away as a means of escape from the system (i.e. Orser and Funari, 2001; Rufer, 2005). However, some previous research has also resulted in the acknowledgment of certain specific spaces where some cultural, collective, and native practices survived in underground contexts or away from Spanish surveillance. In this way, Castro Olañeta has studied the “*juntas y borracheras*,” also called “*drunkenness-dance-singing complex*,” among the Quilino indigenous, as a kind of ritual linked to the vital crises of the community (births, deaths, and puberty) and intended to strengthen social ties. In colonial times, this practice would have implied a form of resistance and negation to the imposition of Spanish values (Castro Olañeta, 2006: 174). These ritual expressions (“*juntas y borracheras*”) have been supported by the pre-Hispanic archaeological record (Pastor, 2007; Pastor et al., 2012) and also in early colonial times of areas near Quilino. However, in today’s area of Córdoba, there is still no consistent development of historical archaeology (e.g. Berberían et al., 2008; Bonofiglio, 1999; Pastor and Medina, 2013) that has produced a corpus big enough to enable us to recognize resistance and its different modes in the archaeological record.

In this paper, we propose to analyze the rock art that has been studied in the Andean region under different denominations, such as post-conquest, post-contact, or colonial rock art (Arenas and Martínez, 2009; Fernández Distel, 1992; Hernández Llosas, 2001; Querejazu Lewis, 1992), which is understood as the materialization of the indigenous account of the Spanish conquest. We use the colonial rock art concept to describe how the indigenous social practice developed in the colonial context. This practice took place at the end of 16th century and the beginning of 17th century. Then, we intend to show how this colonial rock art expressed a form of resistance from the societies that submitted to colonial domination. Nowadays, there is no agreement among scholars about what practices can or cannot be framed within the category of resistance due to its complex and multidimensional nature (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004; Liebmann and Murphy, 2010; Ralph, 2013). The study of resistance becomes difficult due to the fact that not always or under all circumstances it is clearly expressed by its agents and observed by contemporaries or researchers (Hodder, 2004; Hollander and Einwohner, 2004: 540; Silliman, 2001). Indeed, it is useful to revise James Scott’s contributions who, under the title of “*Weapons of the Weak*” (Scott, 1985), made reference to subtle, veiled, and often covert forms of resistance of subjects who could not fight or directly oppose. Folktales, jokes, songs, and images refer to this art of resistance (Scott, 1990). Accordingly, in attempting to explore the

surreptitious reactions of the dominated groups, some authors have stated that even apparent inaction or passivity can be considered a form of resistance (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004; Ralph, 2013).

In order to investigate this issue, it is essential to understand the historical and cultural context in which resistance takes place in order to examine “the conditions under which actors choose one way of resistance over another” (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004: 546). This context allows us to identify what signs can be interpreted as resistance, and what indicators in the archaeological record can be examined as manifestations of this practice (Bernard, 2008; Hollander and Einwohner, 2004; Orser and Funari, 2001; Schurr, 2010; Silliman, 2001).

Resistance is closely linked to cultural change (see Silliman, 2001); however, this relationship does not necessarily imply opposition between these two terms but a complement. In fact, contact rock art, which will be considered in the following paragraphs, accounts for the tensions between permanence and change, resistance and accommodation; as such, it is very difficult for us, in this particular situation, to recognize in these native cultural expressions an enclosed set of practices which strongly deny or definitely incorporate the contents and cultural features of the agents of colonial domination.

From pre-Hispanic rock art to colonial rock art (AD 500–1600)

The archaeological studies carried out in the Sierras of Córdoba (central Argentina; Figure 1) define an economic intensification process that began in the Late Prehispanic Period (ca. AD 500), and extended until the Spanish arrival in the mid-16th century. During this period, some changes took place in the social practices of the local indigenous communities. The principal evidences of changes refer to the processes of economic intensification and diversification linked to agriculture, the increasing consumption of small vertebrates (*Cricetidae*, *Caviinae*, *Dasypodidae*, *Tinamidae*, etc.), and wild fruit gathering (Pastor et al., 2012; Rivero et al., 2011). The archaeological record suggests the existence of open air multiple activity residential bases of discontinuous or semi-sedentary use linked to small-scale agriculture that required long periods of fallow soils and complementary hunting-gathering strategies (Medina et al., 2011; Pastor et al., 2012).² These mobility strategies involved co-residential group fissioning and a move towards landscapes such as an upper mountainous environment (i.e. hunter of camelids) and forest environment (i.e. gathering of wild fruit), with short-term or special-task use of rock shelters (Pastor et al., 2012; Recalde, 2008–2009).

The formation of politically autonomous groups was another characteristic, that would have had visibility from ca. 1000 AD. The indirect archaeological evidence (i.e. osteological analyses, the larger number and type of settlements, the designs of some projectile points) and the written colonial sources indicate an increase in conflict. Population growth enhanced the competition and tension between these groups and also within the same social and political units with different degrees of

social organization (communities, lineages, and extended families) (González Navarro, 2012; Laguens, 1999; Pastor et al., 2012; Piana, 1992). In this context of conflict, the indigenous communities built up social strategies that allowed them to ensure their cohesion and reproduction as well as strengthening cooperation and social integration between politically autonomous groups. We suggest that rock art was one of the media used to calm social tensions and negotiate territorial access conditions—as we will see in the next section—and it was one of the cultural features that could serve to promote social integration and cohesion (Pastor, 2012; Recalde, 2009; Recalde and Pastor, 2011). The starting point for this proposal is that through the interaction among individuals and objects, the groups were able to recognize and negotiate their belonging and strengthen ties with their kin (Díaz-Andreu, 2005; Hastorf, 2003; Jones, 1997).

We focus our analysis on two of the so-called rock art landscapes, understood as concentrations of sites where rock art interacts with/in the social practices of groups. One of them is the southern area of Guasapampa Valley (West of Grandes Hills) characterized as a chaco-forest environment, which has few resources mainly in the summer (January–March), associated to the rainy period and wild fruit gathering (i.e. *Prosopis nigra*, *P. alba*, and *Geoffroea decorticans*) (Recalde, 2009; Recalde and Pastor, 2011). The other rock art landscape is the Cerro Colorado area (North of Grandes Hills) where rock art is closely linked to small-scale agriculture and long-term living sites (Figure 1).

The iconographic repertoire of the panels of both regions—South Guasapampa and the Cerro Colorado area—has motifs which refer directly or indirectly to the Spanish people (i.e. horses, Spanish conquerors). These motifs and their analysis framed in the pre-Hispanic rock art (figures, designs, scenes, and social practices in relation to their performance and observance) are the corpus and the aim of our study. The investigation provides the elements to understand how and on what distinctive features Spanish culture was interpreted and represented by the indigenous populations.

Rock art in southern Guasapampa

The Guasapampa Valley is in the West of Grandes Hills, located between the Sierras of Pocho and Guasapampa/Serrezuela (Figure 1). La Playa River, which depends on the summer rainfall, runs through the valley. Thirty-six rock art sites with panels containing 807 motifs (198 paintings and 9 engravings) have been registered on the east side of the Sierras of Pocho (Recalde, 2009).

The excavations in the archaeological deposits related to the panels of most representative sites and five radiocarbon dates indicate recurrent events of abandonment and reoccupation during the Late Prehispanic Period (ca. AD 600–1600 DC). The evidence obtained from archaeobotanical (i.e. phytoliths of *Geoffroea decorticans* and *Prosopis* sp.) and archaeofaunal analyses (high frequency of *Rhea* sp. eggs, whose nesting period is from the end of spring to mid-summer, December–February) suggests that small groups developed their activities largely

during summer (Recalde, 2008–2009). Contextual information shows that the Guasapampa area was incorporated within the mobility paths of the pre-Hispanic groups who inhabited the central area of the Sierras of Córdoba mainly in the Late Prehispanic Period.

The Guasapampa sites, considered as domestic spaces (*sensu* Rapaport, 2001), were constructed temporarily but steadily by a limited number of individuals. Part of the year, they inhabited the bottom of the Salsacate valley or Ciénaga del Coro Valley associated with agricultural places 20 to 40 km away from the Guasapampa Valley.

Most rock art sites of the southern Guasapampa Valley cannot be observed from a distance but must be seen from within the rock shelters. The iconographic universe is made of figurative motifs (zoomorphs, anthropomorphs, and phytomorphs) and non-figurative (geometric). Despite this diversity, it is important to notice the large number of zoomorphic representations which account for 72.1 percent ($n = 582$; *Rheidae*, *Camelidae*, *Cervidae*, and *Teiidae*). The camelids are more numerous and take part in different compositions (made up the 70.9 percent; $n = 413$). The anthropomorphs are not very frequent, only 1.48 percent ($n = 12$) of the total number.

The analysis of the designs of camelids (i.e. attributes of form and proportions between animal parts) provides comparative parameters in relation to the circulation and repetition of specific design figures along time and space (Aschero, 1996). In the southern Guasapampa area, we identify five different camelid designs (from A to E), which circulate among 31 sites (Recalde, 2009). This paper describes only the D design, which allows comparisons with the designs of horses. This D design is not naturalistic, because it does not respect the proportions of the animal parts. Their bodies are linear and schematic and their extremities are drawn randomly (Figure 2(a)).

With regard to the distribution of motifs on the bedrock, the panels are the result of multiple aggregations of images made in different moments. In these panels, the camelids are the most important motifs (Figure 3). The process of aggregation of figures can be clearly seen through different tones of the motifs—that is, different intensity in the same color (Gradín, 1978)—and through the superposition of different motifs (which usually involves camelids). This is the result of sequential actions with the same codes of expression and allows us to consider panels as “open works” because consecutive drawing of figures was performed when the groups revisited the sites (Gallardo and De Souza, 2008: 92).

The evidence allows us to propose that in Guasapampa Valley, rock art played an important role in the affirmation and negotiation of identities and integration strategies of those who inhabited the sites and shared everyday practices (Recalde, 2009). The circulation in the landscape of the same specific iconography, the number and nature of their most important designs, and the aggregations of motifs in the panels suggest the same shared codes of expressions. These common features work as knowledge and communication tools that help people provide meaning to their own world (Bourdieu, 1977).

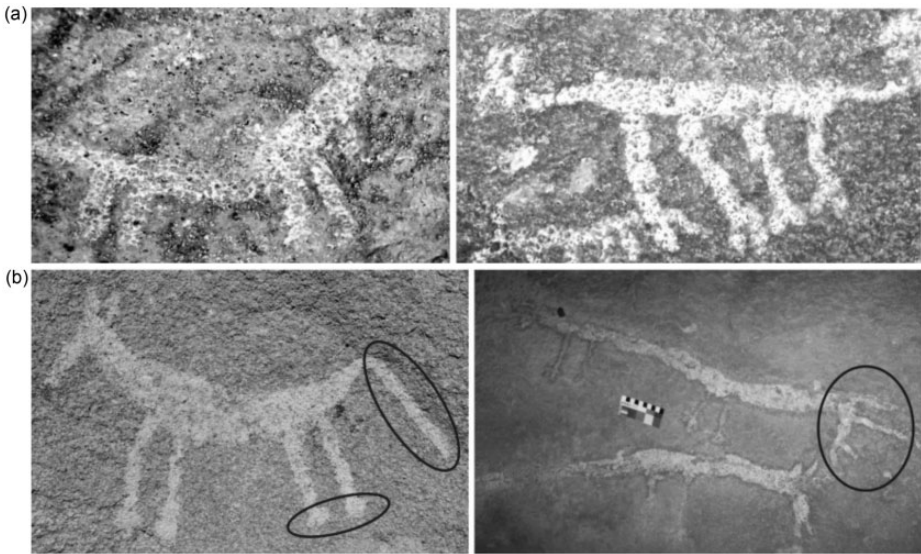


Figure 2. (a) Detail of D camelids designs of Guasapampa Valley; (b) Figures of horse, where we see the hooves and long tail (left images) and the jawbone and snout (right image).

The zoomorphic image like the principal subject in rock art is a sustained phenomenon at the moment of the Spanish-indigene contact. Indeed, the incorporation of the horse motifs shows the continuity of a preference around one kind of motifs: the zoomorphs. In fact, contact rock art only shows horse figures (Recalde, 2012), but they are not representations of horsemen or shooting scenes portraying Spanish people and horses as it happened in the southern Andes (Fernández Distel, 1992; Arenas and Martínez, 2009; Querejazú Lewis, 1992) and even in the Cerro Colorado area.

In two sites of South Guasapampa, the new figure, the horse, is defined from the construction of designs D, because their body is linear and schematic and the extremities do not have the normal proportion. They incorporate some details of the horse, such as the jawbone and snout, a long tail, and front and rear legs including the hooves, drawn by means of circles (see Figure 2(b)) (Recalde, 2012). The horse depictions are integral parts of the panel and show continuities with previously performed motives. In fact, from the analysis of tones and color intensity, we can infer that both horses and camelids are synchronous motifs because they have the same white tone and show the inclusion of new elements into traditional codes of expression (Figure 3).

Rock art in the Cerro Colorado area

The archaeological area of Cerro Colorado is situated in the northern region of Sierras Centrales (Figure 1). There are five low hills included in this area:



Figure 3. Panel of southern Guasapampa when can be clearly seen different white tones of the motifs. The horse is part of this panel.

Cerro Colorado, Desmonte, Pantanillo, Veladero, and Intihuasi. Forty-two rock art sites are located at the top and on the side of these reddish sandstone formations, which are related to Los Tartagos River and two seasonal creeks (Los Molles and La Quebrada). From some rock art sites, it is possible to obtain a wide view of the surrounding low lands where there are three open air sites and 19 milling areas.

The archaeological evidence from three rock shelters with rock art allows us to support the recurrent domestic occupation of the place. According to the low

density of archaeofaunal materials, the few ceramic fragments and lithic debris recovered from these sites make it possible to infer that the occupation was carried out by a reduced number of individuals during a short period of time. This context of occupation is supported also by the archaeological information recovered in 1961 from one rock shelter with paintings (one of them has a Spanish horse; González, 1963). The rock art was part of daily activities, promoted certain ways of doing things, and regulated social behavior (Amstrong, 2012; Aschero, 2000).

The low lands show two different occupations: open air sites and milling areas. This pattern of residential occupation in potential fields for agriculture (according to variables such as slope and humidity) is frequent in other valleys of the Sierras Centrales (Pastor et al., 2012).

According to evidence recovered in four rock art sites and one open-air site, the occupation of the Cerro Colorado region occurred mainly during the Late Prehispanic Period. In addition to this, the analysis of the morphology of the projectile points recovered in previous field work supports this hypothesis, because the small triangular bone and stemmed projectile points were adopted by regional groups throughout the Late Prehispanic Period (Rivero and Recalde, 2012). Another clue to the relative chronology is provided by the artefacts represented in the rock art, because the bow and arrow were introduced in the region of Sierras Centrales after 500 AD (González, 1963).

This evidence allows us to propose an articulation between both the daily practices at the rock art sites and the residential/productive sites. The rock art sites were occupied throughout the year by groups that were living in the residential sites of the low lands. Rock art—strategically placed in the hills—dominates the surrounding environment. This idea supports the classification of the Cerro Colorado area as a rock art landscape.

There are 42 rock art sites, with 2675 painting motifs in Cerro Colorado. The iconographic universe is made by figurative representations (zoomorphs, anthropomorphs, and phytomorphs) and non-figurative representations (geometric), performed with white, red, and black paint. There are only three engraving motifs. Unlike South Guasapampa, the Cerro Colorado assemblage contains 39.17 percent ($n = 1048$) of animals. This group exhibit a large internal variability (*Felidae*, *Teiidae*, *Cathartidae*, and *Canidae*) drawn with great skill and accuracy. Despite this, the camelids, as in Guasapampa, make up the 70.51 percent ($n = 739$) of the animals repertoire and is drawn in 36 of the 42 rock art sites. One of the special features of the area is the large range and variability of anthropomorphs representing the 15.73 percent ($n = 421$) of the figurative representations.

In Cerro Colorado, we identified seven different designs of camelids, which are present in 36 of 42 rock art sites. For the purpose of comparison, we will only describe two of them. The first one (design A; Figure 4(a)) is characterized for the elliptical body form, respecting the proportion between the body and extremities of the animals. The second one, the H design, shows a non-naturalistic form because the body of the animal tends to be a square. They do not show a normal proportion because both neck and extremities are short (Figure 4(b)).

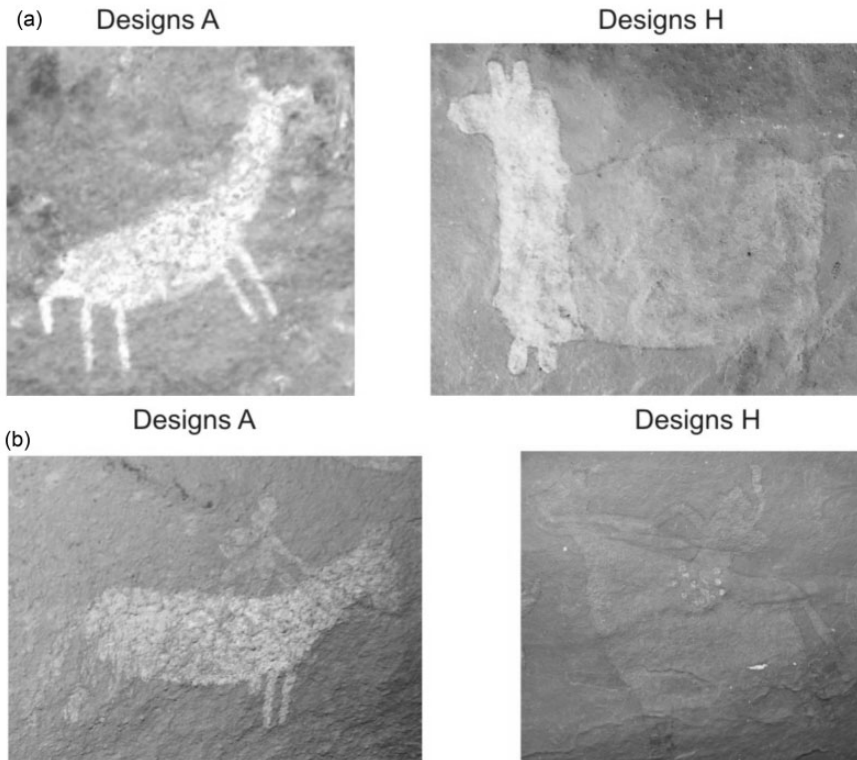


Figure 4. (a) Details of camelid designs A and H; (b) Details of the horse design, in this case horsemen from Cerro Colorado.

The human figures are linear and schematic. These motifs do not include facial details. Torsos can vary in the thickness of their lines, and sometimes are drawn without arms. Conversely, they show important cephalic or dorsal ornaments, with “V”-shaped lines on the head or big dorsal appendages (Figure 5(a)). Another distinctive feature is the representation of bows and arrows in front of the body. All these attributes allow us to identify them as indigenous. Their focus is on showing their distinctive elements.

With regard to the distribution of motifs on the bedrock (camelids and indigenous motifs), the panels are not only conglomerate of isolated motives but also conglomerate of different scenes (Figure 6). Similar to what happens in Guasapampa, many of the motifs are painted in successive moments respecting the old figures. The redrawing of previous figures and the different tones or intensity in colors of some motifs and scenes show the sequential actions occurred over a limited period of time. This evidence suggests that the different panels were made up every time that the group returned the sites. The repetition over time of a similar

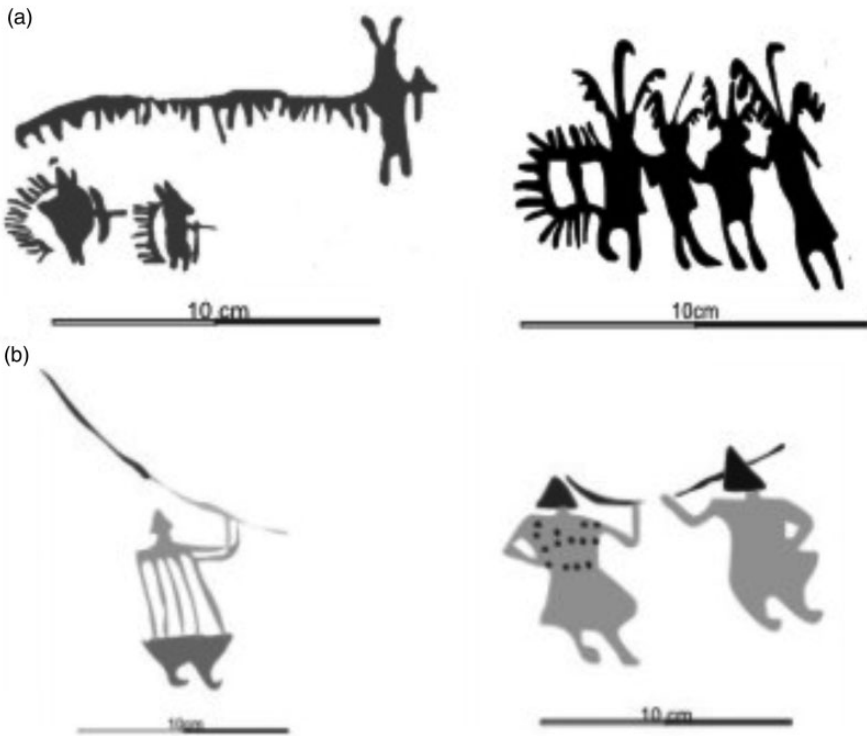


Figure 5. (a) Details of the weapons (bows and arrows) and appendages (heads and dorsal) in the anthropomorphic motives of Cerro Colorado area; (b) Spanish on foot motives with weapon (picas on the left and swords on the droit) identified in different sites of Cerro Colorado area.

social code was the medium to create identity, to make up a message for themselves (Aschero, 2007; Gallardo and De Souza, 2008).

The representation of the Spanish universe in Cerro Colorado is depicted in horse motifs, Spanish on horseback and Spanish on foot, whether as isolated figures or forming part of complex compositions (Figure 6). These representations made up 5.69 percent ($n = 155$) of the total number of motifs and were found in 14 of 34 rock art sites. The human figures on foot ($n = 39$) do not include facial details and sometimes they have short arms. We could recognize their quadrangular or triangular bodies, always at the front, where both legs and one or two arms are identified. Hands are not always depicted and in their place we can observe, as the extension of the arms, long spears similar to the Spanish *picas* (Figure 5(b)). They sometime show military uniform, helmets, and swords (Figure 5(b)). The human figures show a general design that makes possible the individualization and identification of the conqueror.

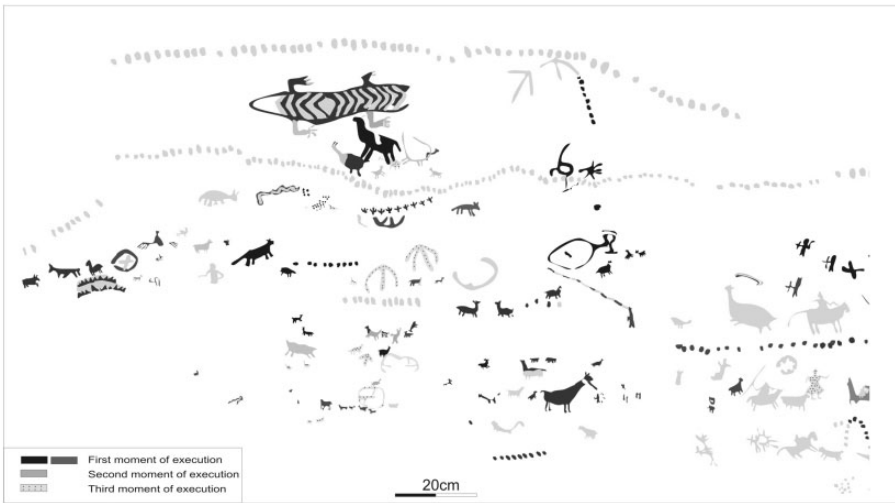


Figure 6. Cerro Colorado panel with Spanish complex compositions where it is possible distinguish different white tones.

The Spanish horse figure ($n = 59$) is highly noticeable because there is no distinction between animal and horseman, the man's legs and arms are not depicted, and they melt into a single line together with the rein (see Figure 4(b)). Among some recurrent elements, details of clothing such as hats and/or helmets stand out, and they are associated to some kind of weapon, such as swords and/or clubs.

As in Southern Guasapampa, in the Cerro Colorado the horse design shares similarities with the camelids. The horses follow the basic characteristics of design A of camelids (elliptic body and proportion among parts), but some typical elements of this Hispanic animal are incorporated: longer tail and thicker neck (see Figure 4(b)). However, in those equestrian motifs where the horse motif is similar to the H design, there are more elements related to the horse: long tail and thicker neck and head than the camelid. In both horse designs, the transformation process appears unfinished; this is so because there are not horse's hooves but the "V" fingers of the camelids. This serves as evidence to show that an unknown and new feature is added to their frames of reference. These new Hispanic features are integrated with previously performed motifs in the panels both as isolated motifs or scenes.

Colonial rock art seen as a form of symbolic resistance

Rock art is a social practice that is part of a symbolic system, a structuring and structured structure. Bourdieu asserts that symbols are the instrument par excellence of "social integration": as instruments of knowledge and communication, they make possible the consensus on the sense of the social world, which makes

a fundamental contribution toward reproducing the social order; logical integration is the precondition of moral integration (Bourdieu, 1977: 407).³ Then, the reiteration through time and space of certain ways of doing (Hodder, 1990) painted representations, work as symbolic resources that emphasize the distinctive features of the groups that made it.

For the pre-Hispanic communities inhabiting Guasapampa and Cerro Colorado rock art was a key element in their culture, which made possible the negotiation between the use of space and resources, the reduction of social tension and the construction of different identities. This is clearly shown in the fact that both environments—Cerro Colorado and Guasapampa—were socially construed as rock art landscapes. This fundamental role in the reproduction of groups can be seen in the fact that the panels of these rock art landscapes were not the product of a unique and exceptional moment in the historical process; on the contrary, they were the product of a sequential action which was carried out all along the Late Prehispanic Period (from AD 500 to 1600). The return to those sites in Guasapampa valley in the summer season and in Cerro Colorado at different times of the year was accompanied and reinforced by the observation and sometimes resignification of what was previously made in the panels and by the inclusion of new motifs. So, the visual preferences showed in rock art are a means to express a shared way to imagine and experience social diversity (Gallardo and De Souza, 2008). Consequently, the repetition of some kind of iconographic repertoire and even the designs of camelids and anthropomorph motifs through time enables us to say it was a common knowledge which moved in the space and was transmitted from generation to generation, and by doing so strengthening the social memory.

In summary, the Guasapampa and Cerro Colorado rock art was a part of that culture that produced it, since by preserving and reproducing the symbolic system it promoted certain ways of doing things and regulating social conduct (Amstrong, 2012; Gallardo and De Souza, 2008). Rock art can therefore be interpreted as a key access point to understand changes in social life, because the two change together. The Spanish conquest and colonization (in the second half of the 16th century) is one of the most important moments when it is possible to see the role of rock art in processes of cultural change. Rock art endures over time but transforms from the inclusion of both the horse figures in a universe dominated by camelids and the human figure with details of dress, armors, and weapons. Rock art embodies, absorbs, and dominates the foreign, the strange, the new, and the other within a structure previously built to support it, signify it, and appropriate it, at least in the symbolic field (Arenas and Martínez, 2009). Therefore, tensions develop between the new and the old, the own and the foreign, and they end up in the construction and production of an art that reinforces identity and at the same time changes, resists, and accommodates moving forward and backward. The traditional background and visual definitions helped to translate (Gallardo et al., 1990) and fit the new realities into the old practices and materialities, and led to not-quite new representational solutions. As Arenas and Martínez have asserted, Andean contact rock art is about “continuity with changes” (Arenas and Martínez, 2009: 9).

In this context, the indigenous groups of the Guasapampa Valley and Cerro Colorado were not very different from others in America. Although in the presence of the Spanish they showed similar reactions, they expressed in different ways: paintings, poems, accounts, and ideograms that speak about the appropriation of what is foreign and its inclusion in old practices (e.g. Gruzinski, 2007; Portilla, 2003; Wachtel, 1971, 2001).⁴

The “old/new” practice materialized in colonial rock art contributed to create a space of relative autonomy from the colonial system that would allow for—though not consciously—the perpetuation and reinforcement of group identities. In front of the new actors and events, the indigenous in Sierras of Córdoba adopted strange elements and incorporated them within their context of meaning in the framework of a very old practice of rock art. In this sense, the construction of the horse based on camelid figures, fundamental in the iconographic repertoire, and in some specific designs (D camelids designs in Guasapampa; A and H in Cerro Colorado), makes evident the appropriation and reinterpretation of what is new based on what is known. In the same way, the inclusion of the Spanish figure with their particular elements (armors, hats, and weapons) repeats the previous model of self-definition of the indigenous that pointed out distinctive attributes (dorsal and head ornaments and weapons—bow and arrow). That is to say, the Spanish were included into the repertoire with the same degree of detail as indigenous figures, which allowed them to recognize and at the same time differentiate the Spanish conqueror. To sum up, the other was incorporated to the iconographic repertoire based on a pre-Hispanic reference framework.

If resistance, as Scott (1997) affirms, can be understood as a manifestation or form of opposition to dominant groups or domination, we suggest that rock art was one more part in the game of power that led to the confrontation of the indigenous and the Spanish. Colonial rock art had a clear meaning for the native communities, in connection not only with the strengthening of their identity but also with a type of “symbolic resistance” (sensu Smith Finnley, 2013), understood as the use of less obvious methods and resources of resistance which are based on shared social and cultural practices (see also Silliman, 2001). Contact rock art allowed indigenous groups to express and construct their own historical narrative (see Weiss, 2005) from their subjective perception of European conquest and colonization. However, they did not generate in the Spanish observers a feeling of threat to the current order, contrary to what had happened in the Andean world under similar circumstances. In fact, in the central Andean area, colonial rock art was resisted and damaged by idolatry extirpators, imposing by force the material presence of the cross in order to eradicate all negative influence on the people they intended to evangelize (i.e. Duviols, 1977; Martel et al., 2012; Martínez, 2009; Strecker, 1992).

This silence can be explained by the evangelization process, which was weak and late, and the marginal position of the rock shelters in relation to the centers of Spanish political power (i.e. Lima, Perú—capital of the viceroyalty and Santiago del Estero, capital of the Government of Tucumán). Indeed, from the foundation

of the city of Córdoba in 1573 until the first two decades of Spanish occupation, the evangelization process was weak due to the limited priest services in the jurisdiction (Peña, 1997; Piana, 1992). In 1590, there were only 36 priests belonging to the Franciscan and Jesuit orders and to the diocesan clergy in all the region of the government of Tucumán (it covered the north-east and central areas of Argentina) (Arancibia and Dellaferrera, 1979). On the other hand, the geography, the location of indigenous communities situated in areas difficult to access, and the diversity of languages became other obstacles to the evangelizing task.⁵

Finally, we can say that most probably those representations were not interpreted as a risk for the colonial system.⁶ As Martínez asserts, in Andean rock art, silences can be interpreted for many reasons and one of them can be the Spanish conquerors' incapacity to understand the indigenous rock art. In the same line of thought, Weiss indicates that in the case of South-African rock art, the colonizing project at the end of the 19th century did not have the conceptual categories that enabled them to understand or classify these expressions (Weiss, 2005: 64). In this context, silences are not signs of indifference but of lack of understanding.

In this respect, it is important to point out that the Intihuasi Hill—in the area of Cerro Colorado and where there are some important panels—was the central point of the judicial measurement of the land grant of Intihuasi carried out in the year 1625 (Calvimonte, 1997). This situation makes evident that the Spanish knew the place very well; however, no reactions of disapproval or preoccupation for the paintings were registered.

On the other hand, in Guasapampa Valley silences can be explained differently. This valley was not so well known or travelled by the Spanish in times of the conquest due to the fact that it was not economically exploited by the Spanish, probably because of the limitations of the Chaco-forest environment. This situation could explain the conquerors' neglect of rock art.

Final considerations on resistance and cultural change in colonial rock art

As Sahlins points out, “An event is not just a happening in the world; it is a relation between a certain happening and a given symbolic system” (Sahlins, 1985 [1977]: 153); therefore, a happening becomes recognized as such only when it is interpreted in the cultural framework of the groups involved, from their own historically valid conceptions, beliefs, and categories. In this sense, the specific conditions of contact between Spanish and indigenous led to relatively new and unexpected consequences (Sahlins, 1985 [1977]: 138). The Spanish invasion created a conflict in practices and relations that led to changes, which were inevitable to keep the pre-Hispanic structure.

We are unable to determine how long indigenous people kept on painting or when rock art landscapes and the social practices that took place there (e.g. performing rites, negotiating and updating social links) were abandoned. However, we can infer that when the colonial system was consolidated in the region and the

indigenous communities were integrated into the *encomienda* system (between the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century) it was more difficult to keep up communal pre-Hispanic practices such as rock art. In fact, the historiography of the colonial period accounts for the acute process of disintegration suffered by the indigenous communities of the area and their fast integration to the productive system in areas close to the Córdoba city; this system was based initially on livestock, agriculture, and the manufacture of ordinary fabrics. This process brought along a deep process of change in the configuration and organization of the native society, dismemberment of communities, and their resettlement in different places (González Navarro, 1999, 2005; Piana, 1992). The incorporation within the colonial system and other modes of exploitation such as “personal service,” which meant absolute submission to the *encomendero* and limited freedom, were certainly obstacles to the continuation of the art.

Rock art became the field wherein the contradictions and tensions of the European invasion were expressed by the indigenous groups of Cerro Colorado and Guasapampa. The composition of images—old and new—accounts for this complex socio-cultural process and needs an approach that can consider “resistance” and “cultural change” as mutually inclusive aspects, in other words, as part of the same process. Although the colonial system quickly broke old practices, the collective memory reflected in rock art contributed not only to extending traditions and feelings linked to it, but also to creating a space of autonomy whose contents and meanings could not be apprehended or appropriated by Spanish invaders.

Acknowledgements

A shorter variant of this article was presented at La Vitalidad de las Voces Indígenas Congress in June of 2010. This work integrates the research project “Conditions of possibility of social reproduction in pre-Hispanic and early colonial societies in the Sierras Pampeanas (Argentina Republic),” funded by the CONICET (PIP 112-200801-02678). We thank to Beatriz Bixio, Romina Grana, and Valeria Franco Salvi for their useful comments on an earlier draft. Our gratitude goes also to Teresa, Fernando, Diana, Teresa, Alberto, Lulú Colombo, Waltercito, and many other people from La Playa and Cerro Colorado for their unconditional support and generosity. We thank M. Magdalena González Navarro for the translation of this paper. Finally, we thank the anonymous reviews for their helpful suggestions and critical reading that helped improve the original paper. We are solely responsible for the ideas presented here.

Notes

1. The indigenous groups who occupied today’s province of Córdoba before the conquest were characterized by a complex and fragmented political and social organization. These several identities becoming blurred and denied by the Spanish colonial system through the creation of one ethnic group: the “*comechingones*” (Bixio, 1998; González Navarro, 2012).
2. In the regional archaeology, the absence of superficial architectonic structures has forced scholars to define certain criteria for determining whether places are considered residential. In this sense, the presence of the following attributes is necessary: (a) a high diversity

- of material remains (ceramic fragments, lithic artifacts, animal remains among others); (b) high density of archeological features per square meter (more than five items); and (c) a superficial dispersion of the materials has to be superior to 0.5 ha (Pastor et al., 2012).
3. Translation of the original French text (Bourdieu, 1977).
 4. In the same way, the Spanish used the well-known categories of their culture to describe what they were in contact with; in the early colonial sources they often referred to camélids as “sheep of the land,” to cougars as “lions,” to indigenous societies with limited or no political leadership at all as “behetrías,” etc. In both, there is recognition of “otherness” or intent to include it within their own world (see Gruzinski, 2007).
 5. In the jurisdiction of Córdoba, there existed at least two linguistic groups, the sanabirón and the comechingón. The last one included two different dialects: the henia and the camiare. Because of this diversity and also because of the high level of dialectalization, the preaching of the Gospel was done using the general language of Perú—Quechua—which was a widespread language in the area of Córdoba since the Spanish arrival (Bixio, 1998).
 6. This was, however, not the case with drunkenness and other rituals that were seen to take the natives away from their duties or incline them towards practices that could put their soul at risk, so stated in the Councils of Lima and the Synods of Tucumán.

References

- Amstrong (2012) Engraved memory: Petroglyphs and collective memory at Los Mellizos, Illapel, Chile. *Rock Art Research* 29(1): 19–34.
- Arancibia J and Dellaferrera N (1979) *Los Sínodos del Antiguo Tucumán celebrados por Fray Fernando de Trejo y Sanabria. 1597,1606–1607*. Teología. Buenos Aires: UCA.
- Arenas MA and Martínez JL (2009) Construyendo nuevas imágenes sobre los Otros en el arte rupestre andino colonial. *Revista Chilena de Antropología Visual* 13: 17–36.
- Aschero C (1996) Adonde van esos guanacos? In: Gomez Otero J (ed.) *Arqueología Sólo Patagonia. Ponencias de las Segundas Jornadas de Arqueología de la Patagonia*. Puerto Madrin: Centro Nacional Patagónico, pp. 153–162.
- Aschero C (2000) De cazadores y pastores. El arte rupestre de la modalidad *Río Punilla* en Antofagasta de la Sierra y la cuestión de la complejidad en la Puna meridional argentina. In: Fiore D and Podestá MM (eds) *Tramas en la Piedra. Producción y uso del arte rupestre*. Buenos Aires: World Archaeological Congress and Sociedad Argentina de Antropología, pp. 103–140.
- Aschero C (2007) Iconos, *huanacas* y complejidad en la Puna Sur Argentina. In: Nielsen A, Rivolta C, Seldes V, et al. (eds) *Producción y Circulación prehispánicas de bienes en el sur andino. La vivienda, la comunidad y el territorio*. Córdoba: Editorial Brujas, pp. 135–165.
- Berberián E, Rivero D, Pastor S, et al. (2008) Arqueología histórica colonial temprana hasta la actualidad en el predio del Colegio de Escribanos de Córdoba. *Revista Notarial* 90: 331–357.
- Bernard J (2008) *An archaeological study of resistance, persistence, and culture change in the San Emigdio Canyon, Kern County, California*. PhD Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Bixio B (1998) *Identidades étnicas en Córdoba del Tucumán: 1573–1700*. PhD Thesis, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Córdoba.
- Bixio B and González Navarro C (2003) Práctica de la justicia y resistencia indígena: Córdoba del Tucumán (siglos XVI y XVII). *CLAHR* 12(1): 1–24.

- Bixio B and Berberían E (2007) Primeras expediciones al Tucumán: Reconocimiento, valor del espacio y poblaciones indígenas. *Andes* 18: 99–127.
- Bixio B and González Navarro C (2009) Dominación, resistencia y autonomía en el extremo sur del Virreinato del Perú (siglos XVI y XVII). *Revista Diálogos* 13(3): 371–399.
- Bonofiglio M (1999) La instalación española en Río II. *Actas del XII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, TI, pp. 413–422.
- Bourdieu P (1977) Sur le pouvoir symbolique. *Annales, Economies, Société, Civilisations* 32(3): 405–411.
- Calvimonte LQ (1997) La merced de intihuasi o casa del sol. su desmembramiento (1625–1950). Hoy Cerro Colorado. *Actas de las III Jornadas de Historia de Córdoba*. Córdoba: Junta de Historia de Córdoba, pp. 469–489.
- Castro Olañeta I (2006) *Transformaciones y continuidades de sociedades indígenas subsidiarias en el sistema colonial. El pueblo de indios de Quilino a principios del siglo XVII*. Córdoba: Alción Editora.
- Díaz Andreu M and Lucy S (2005) Introduction. In: Díaz Andreu M (ed.) *Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*. London: Routledge, pp. 1–12.
- Duviols P (1977) *La destrucción de las religiones andinas. (Conquista y Colonia)*. México: Universidad Autónoma de México.
- Fernández Distel A (1992) Investigación sobre el arte rupestre hispano indígena del N.O. de la república Argentina. *SIARB. Arte rupestre colonial y republicano de Bolivia y países vecinos* 3: 172–198.
- Gallardo F and De Souza P (2008) Rock art, modes of production, and social identities during the early formative period in the Atacama desert (northern Chile). In: Domingo Sanz I, Fiore D and May S (eds) *Archaeologies of Art. Time, Place, and Identity*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, pp. 79–97.
- Gallardo F, Castro V and Miranda P (1990) Jinetes sagrados en el desierto de Atacama: Un estudio del arte rupestre andino. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 4: 27–56.
- Gardner GA (1931) *Rock-paintings of North West Córdoba*. Oxford: Calderon Press.
- González RA (1963) Las pinturas indígenas del Cerro Colorado. *Revista Gacetika* 63: 14–19.
- González Navarro C (1999) *Espacios coloniales. Construcción social del espacio en las márgenes del río Segundo. Córdoba 1573–1650*. Córdoba: CEH Carlos S.A. Segreti.
- González Navarro C (2005) *Construcción social del espacio en las sierras y planicies cordobesas (1573–1673)*. PhD Thesis, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Córdoba.
- González Navarro C (2012) Una aproximación al territorio indígena prehispánico. Córdoba siglo XVI. *Revista Andes* 23: 37–67.
- Gradín C (1978) Algunos aspectos del análisis de las manifestaciones rupestres. *Revista del Museo Provincial* 1: 120–133.
- Gruzinski S (2007) *La colonización de lo imaginario*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económico.
- Hastorf C (2003) Community with the ancestors: Ceremonies and social memory in the middle formative at Chiripa, Bolivia. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 22: 305–332.
- Hernández Llosas MI (2001) Arte rupestre del noroeste Argentino. Orígenes y contexto de producción. In: Berberían EE and Nielsen A (eds) *Historia Argentina Prehispánica*. Córdoba: Editorial Brujas, Tomo 1, pp. 389–446.

- Hodder I (1990) Style as historical quality. In: Conkey M and Hastorf C (eds) *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 44–51.
- Hodder I (2004) The “social” in archaeological theory: An historical and contemporary perspective. In: Meskell L and Preucel RW (eds) *A Companion to Social Archaeology*. Boston, MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 23–42.
- Hollander JA and Einwohner R (2004) Conceptualizing resistance. *Sociological Forum* 19(4): 533–554.
- Jones S (1997) *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London: Routledge.
- Laguens A (1999) *Arqueología del Contacto hispano indígena. Un estudio de cambios y continuidades en las Sierras Centrales de Argentina*. Oxford: BAR, International Series, p. 801.
- Levillier R (1926) *Nueva crónica de la conquista del Tucumán*. Varsovia-Buenos Aires: Nosotros.
- Liebmann M and Murphy M (2010) Rethinking the archaeology of “rebels, backsliders, and idolaters.” In: Liebmann M and Murphy M (eds) *Enduring Conquests. Rethinking the Archaeology of Resistance to Spanish colonialism in the Americas*. Santa Fe, NM: SAR Press, pp. 3–18.
- Lorandi AM (2000) Las rebeliones indígenas. In: Tandeter E (ed.) *Nueva Historia Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, Tomo II, pp. 285–329.
- Martel A, Rodríguez Curletto S and Del Bel E (2012) Arte rupestre y espacios de memoria: Las representaciones del sitio confluencia (Antofagasta de la Sierra, Catamarca, Argentina). *Revista de Antropología* 25(1): 121–162.
- Martínez JL (2009) Registros andinos al margen de la escritura: El arte rupestre colonial. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 14(1): 9–35.
- Medina M, Rivero D and Teta P (2011) Consumo Antrópico de Pequeños Mamíferos en el Holoceno de Argentina Central: Perspectivas desde el Abrigo Rocoso Quebrada del Real 1 (Pampa de Achala, Córdoba). *Latin American Antiquity* 22(4): 618–631.
- Orser CE Jr and Funari P (2001) Archaeology and slave resistance and rebellion. *World Archaeology* 33(1): 61–72.
- Pastor S (2007) “Juntas y cazaderos.” Las actividades grupales y la reproducción de las sociedades prehispánicas de las sierras centrales de Argentina. In: Nielsen A, Rivolta M, Seldes V, et al. (eds) *Procesos sociales prehispánicos en el sur andino: La vivienda, la comunidad y el territorio*. Córdoba: Brujas, pp. 361–376.
- Pastor S (2012) Arte rupestre, paisaje y tensión social: Un caso de estudio en Córdoba, Argentina. *Revista Chilena de Antropología* 26: 7–32.
- Pastor S and Medina M (2013) Prácticas resistentes, elusión y reproducción social en un contexto histórico adverso: Una mirada a los indígenas de Córdoba (Argentina) en tiempos coloniales tempranos. *Memoria Americana* 21(1): 65–92.
- Pastor S, Medina M, Recalde A, et al. (2012) Arqueología de la región montañosa central de Argentina. Avances en el conocimiento de la historia prehispánica tardía. *Relaciones XXXVII*(1): 89–112.
- Peña G (1997) *La evangelización de indios, negros y gente de castas en Córdoba del Tucumán durante la dominación española (1573–1810)*. PhD Thesis, Universidad Católica de Córdoba, Córdoba.
- Piana J (1992) *Los indígenas de Córdoba bajo el régimen colonial. 1570–1620*. Córdoba: Dirección General de Publicaciones de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba.

- Portilla ML (2003) *Los vencidos*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Querejazú Lewis R (1992) Introducción. *SIARB. Arte rupestre colonial y republicano de Bolivia y países vecinos* 3: 6–27.
- Ralph S (2013) An interdisciplinary approach to the study of violence. In: Ralph S (ed.) *The Archaeology of Violence. Interdisciplinary Approaches*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 1–13.
- Rapaport A (2001) Theory, culture and housing. *Housing, Theory and Society* 17: 145–165.
- Recalde A (2008–2009) Movilidad estacional y representaciones rupestres. Primeras evidencias de ocupaciones estivales vinculadas con la explotación de ambientes chaqueños en las sierras de Córdoba. *Anales de Arqueología y Etnología de Cuyo* 63–64: 57–80.
- Recalde A (2009) Diferentes entre iguales: El papel del arte rupestre en la reafirmación de identidades en el sur del valle de Guasapampa (Córdoba, Argentina). *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino* 14(2): 39–56.
- Recalde A (2012) Análisis de la construcción de las figuras equinas en el arte rupestre del valle de Guasapampa como evidencia de una apropiación simbólica del conquistador (Córdoba, Argentina). *Chungara* 74(1): 73–83.
- Recalde A and Pastor S (2011) variabilidad y dispersión de los diseños de camélidos en el occidente de Córdoba (Argentina). Circulación de información, reproducción social y construcciones territoriales prehispánicas. *Comechingonia* 15: 96–116.
- Rivero D and Recalde A (2012) El uso del arco en la guerra durante el Prehispánico Tardío de las Sierras de Córdoba. In: Martínez J and Bozzuto D (eds) *Armas Prehispánicas: múltiples enfoques para su estudio en Sudamérica*. Buenos Aires: FJN Felix de Azara, pp. 151–171.
- Sahlins M (1985) *Islands of History*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Schurr M (2010) Archaeological indices of resistance: Diversity in the removal period potawatomi of the western great lakes. *American Antiquity* 75(1): 44–60.
- Scott J (1985) *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. London: Yale University Press.
- Scott J (1990) *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Scott J (1997) Formas cotidianas de rebelión campesina. *Historia Social* 28: 13–39.
- Silliman S (2001) Agency, practical politics and the archaeology of the cultural contact. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1(2): 190–209.
- Smith Finnley J (2013) *The Art of Symbolic Resistance. Uyghur Identities and Uyghur-Han Relations in Contemporary Xinjiang*. Leiden: Brill.
- Strecker M (1992) Arte Rupestre Colonial y Republicano en Quilima, Dpto. de La Paz, Bolivia. In: Lewis RQ and Bozzuto D (eds) *Arte Rupestre Colonial y Republicano de Bolivia y países vecinos, No. 3*. La Paz: SIARB, pp. 82–94.
- Wachtel N (1971) *La vision des vaincus. Les Indiens du Pérou devant la Conquête espagnole (1530–1570)*. Paris: Bibliothèque des histories.
- Wachtel N (2001) *El regreso de los antepasados. Los indios urus de Bolivia del siglo XX al XVI. Ensayo de historia regresiva*. México: FCE.
- Weiss L (2005) The social life of rock art: Materiality, consumption, and power in South African heritage. In: Meskell L (ed.) *Archaeology of Materiality*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 46–70.

Author Biographies

Andrea Recalde completed a PhD in History at the National University of Córdoba (UNC) and works as an Assistant Professor in the same university. She is also a researcher at the National Council for Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET) and at the Center of Historical Studies (CEH) “Carlos S.A. Segreti.” Her research interests and principal publications focus on rock art, especially on the role of visual representation, seasonal mobility circulation paths, and identity and social landscape, particularly concerning archaeology of central and north area of Sierras de Córdoba (Argentina).

Constanza M. González Navarro completed a PhD in History at the UNC and works as an Assistant Professor in the same university. She is also a researcher at the CONICET and at the CEH “Carlos S.A. Segreti.” Her main works concern the indigenous population under colonial rule, production structure, social and economic relationships, and colonial society and mestizaje during the 16th and 17th centuries in the former territory of Córdoba del Tucumán.