International Journal of Historical Archaeology, Vol. 9, No. 3, September 2005 (© 2005)
DOI: 10.1007/s10761-005-8276-7

The Archaeology of the Gaucho
"Vago y Mal Entretenido"

Facundo Gómez Romero[1]

The purpose of this article is to explain and discuss the essential operational characteristics of the technology of power (sensu Foucault) perpetrated on the internal frontiers with the Indians in nineteenth-century Argentina. The conquest and colonization of the Pampas took shape in the establishment of military camp structures placed to create a defensive cordon, known as "the Indian frontier line." These constructions were fortlets defended by gaucho cavalry squadrons (know as Blandengues during the Spanish period, and then Guardias Nacionales after Argentinean Independence). This process is known in Argentinean historiography as "the conquest of the desert." This particular technology of power existed in this historical context and operated at every social level, impacting strongly on the lower classes that inhabited the incorrectly named "desert." Its implementation in the military field enabled the existence of an array of micro-powers that surrounded the gaucho, called vago y malentretenido—"a vagrant and lingerer"—and their women's lives. The army as institution was the locus of various forms of coercion and old forms of punishment (such as the stakes, whipping, and public executions) most of which affected peasants, nonresidents, itinerant workers, and the rural youth. This schema was adopted in different areas: in the enrolment and discipline of the gaucho soldiers, in life in the fortlet-prisons, and in the ritualism of power. The alternative chosen by soldiers to evade this technology of power and the fortlet-panopticons was escape through desertion. The utility of those observations is demonstrated, because an important part of the area of research of historical archaeology that has developed with the greatest impetus in Argentina has taken fortlets as its subject of study.

KEY WORDS: technology of power; *gauchos*; fortlets; bodily torment; *filiaciones*.

[1]Prehistory Department of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona (Spain), Edifici B, Campus de la UAB, 08193 Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallés), Barcelona, Spain; e-mail: facallvu@gmail.com.

INTRODUCTION

During most of the nineteenth century, the plains of the Argentinean Pampas were called a "desert," a metaphor which ignores two obvious facts. First, a large extent of this territory was fertile, a vast tract of grassland suitable for agriculture and livestock. Second, it was inhabited by various ethnic aboriginal groups and by the *gauchos*, the free rural inhabitants, who were of mixed race and had limited economic resources. Thus, "desert" for the Argentinean political class stigmatized an image of emptiness, of a space that could be potentially occupied and conquered. This image denied the existence of its inhabitants, branding them as useless and thus dispensable, conforming to the ideals of a country that grew with its gaze fixed on Europe. Through the concept of "desert," power delineated a geography of absences.

The territory extended east to the Atlantic Ocean, west to the Andes, while the southern boundary was marked by a frontier that began in Buenos Aires and terminated in Mendoza, and corresponded to the borders of the Argentinean State-in-formation (during most of the nineteenth century the country was merely a collection of sovereign and independent provinces. Beyond this "*tierra adentro*" ("the interior"), as it was called, extended a vast territory of green plains, hills, salt mines and dunes, broken by rivers, streams and small lakes with patches of forests, consisting either of *talas* (*celtis spinosa*) in the wet Pampas, carob trees, and *caldenes* (*prosopis caldenia*) in the dry Pampas, or *araucarias* in the Andes.

The image created of this territory had its own historical construction, as Navarro Floria explains: "Within the framework of the modern process of European expansion and, in particular, of the scientific and political expeditions conducted in the days of the Enlightenment, the territories considered especially inhospitable for travelers were known as *deserts*, whether moors, steppes, or traverses without a single drop of water or whether impassable rainforests or swamps. The western European cultural paradigm assigned the category of *desert* not to uninhabited or barren territories but to those that were neither owned or exploited according to capitalist standards" (Navarro Floria, 2002, p. 140). In his complete analysis on the concept of *desert* according to the Argentine political class, this author states that a radical change took place, going from a lack of interest to manifest interest, so that such a "vast, endless, extraordinary, uninhabited, uncertain, unsafe, defenseless, uncivilized, unlimited" geographical space (Navarro Floria, 2002) became imperatively occupiable. This viewpoint was outlined during the 1860s, codified with the passing of the Frontier Law in 1867, and implemented in the final military conquest of 1879.

The conquest and colonization of the desert took shape in the establishment of military camp structures placed to create a defensive cordon, known as "the Indian frontier line." These constructions were fortlets defended by *gaucho* cavalry squadrons (known as *Blandengues* during the Spanish period, and then *Guardias Nacionales* after independence). According to a vivid description by

Slatta (1998, p. 85), "these crude, makeshift sod huts (*fortines*) were an attempt to push back the frontier line. Poorly armed frontier troops warned ranches and villages of Indian attack, often by cannon shot. Soldiers manned rickety watchtowers to afford a longer view across the flat, treeless plains." These cavalry units made up an army that was neither professional nor voluntary, as the troops were levies, sent to the fortlets by force. This article argues for the existence of a framework of power, dramatized in the fortlets. This particular technology of power, whose main function was to make itself into the instrument of domination of one class, rested on the reciprocity between the landowning class and political power, and ensured that the land that was slowly taken away from the "wild native" would quickly fall into the hands of the dominant elite. As Tilley (1990, p. 285) has stated: "Social relations are dependent on power. It works through them, in them, and on them."

As mentioned above, the technical procedure of the application of power on the frontier was the levy of the "poor *paisanaje*" (one name for *gauchos* used at the time). This system was established through a decree that considered that the political–juridical powers could conscript any *gaucho* that was not employed, calling him, in the colorful language of the time, "*vago y mal entretenido*" ("a vagrant and lingerer"). According to Salvatore (1992, p. 41), "The army imposed the obligation of the compulsory service over a social class, the farm laborers." Nonresident itinerant workers and other "vagrants" were punished with greater severity, namely long-term service in the army. The law ensured their adjustment and insertion into a system of production. This meant the application of a very particular juridical structure, aimed at the incipient proletarianization of the male workforce of the Pampas, *sine qua non* condition for the formation of a capitalist economy in Argentina, and submitting the *gaucho* to a dominant will (for detailed studies on this matter, see Garavaglia, 1987; Halperín Donghi, 1968; Mayo, 1987; Salvatore, 1992; Slatta, 1983; for a detailed analysis of the genesis and development of nineteenth-century Argentinean cattle capitalism, see Barsky and Djenderdjian, 2003; Sabato, 1989).

The word proletarianization encompasses the transformation of an independent worker—farmer, craftsman, and small landowner—into a salaried worker, dependent for his sustenance on the sale of his labor. In short, the inhabitant of the countryside either worked under a landowner's orders on the large cattle farms (the *estancias*), a fact that had to be recorded on paper by the patron, as *gauchos* were mostly illiterate, or they were labeled *vago* and sent to the fortlets on the frontier.

In summary, a legal power existed that acted to discipline the available male labor force in the borderlands, where the will of several hegemonic sectors of society to establish a particular technology of power did not pass unnoticed. The free *gaucho* was a useless body, and law and state needed useful bodies they could manipulate; these they obtained with discipline, control and surveillance, stigmatized through the coercion of the levy and subjected to the fortlet-prison.

THE PAMPEAN FORTLET LIKE A PANOPTICON PRISON

An important part of the area of research of historical archaeology that has developed with the greatest impetus in Argentina has taken fortlets as its subject of study (see Austral *et al*., 1997; Gómez Romero, 1999, 2002; Gómez Romero and Ramos, 1994; Langiano *et al*., 2000; Mugueta and Anglada, 1998; Ormazábal *et al*., 1998; Pedrotta, 1999; Pedrotta and Gómez Romero, 1998; and Roa and Saghessi, 1998). Fortlets were fortified military structures used in the Indian wars from the mid-eighteenth century until the end of the following century (Fig. 1).

A consideration of physical space is essential to understand the *modus operandi* of any technology of power. As Foucault states, "space is fundamental in

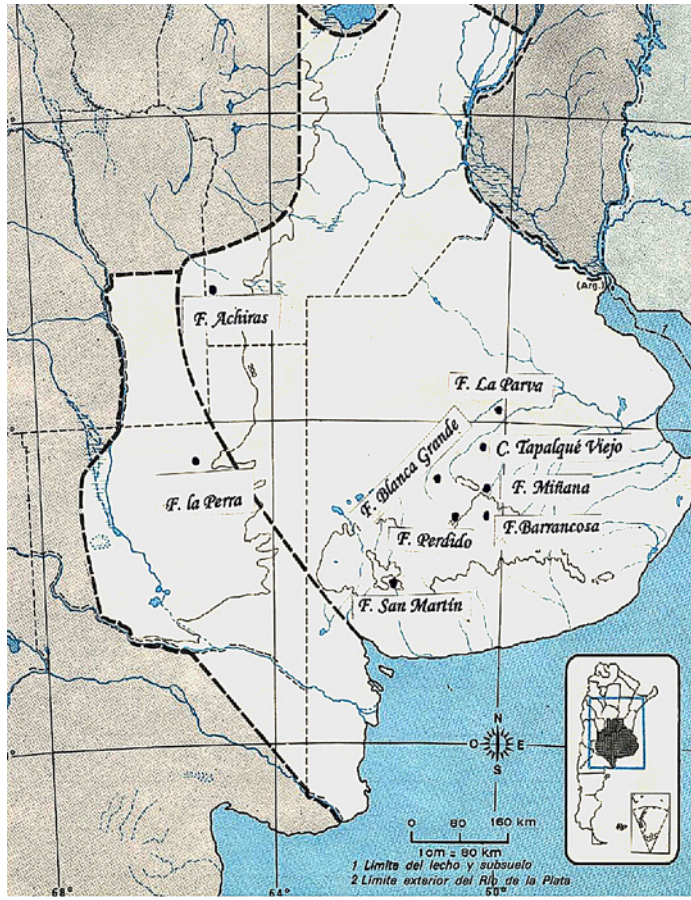

Fig. 1. Forts and fortlets subject to archaeological studies in Argentina.

any exercise of power" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 252). Orser (1988, p. 320) emphasizes that "the interrelation between space and power provides a key to the archaeological study of the past." He also proposes that, "Years of research are needed before a firm understanding of the relationship between power and archaeological remains will be attained. Nonetheless, plantations seem to provide a perfect arena in which to begin the search" (Orser, 1988, p. 321). I believe that the fortlets can be informative on this matter, which is one of the purposes of this paper.

In the current case, the fortlets comprised that space. The idea that these small outposts were prisons is demonstrated by two of their elements: architectonic and functional. Evidence for the former includes the presence of structures such as the isolating palisade, the wide ditch, and the *mangrullo* (watch tower), from where both the outside and the inside are watched (the description of different fortlets coincide regarding the existence of these basic architectonic features, see Alsina, 1977; Daireaux, 1945; Ebelot, 1968; Memorias del Ministerio de Guerra, 1873; Racedo, 1965; Ramírez Juárez, 1968; Raone, 1969; Ruiz Moreno, 2000; Sarramone, 1997; Walther, 1964; although some variation may exist in terms of the general morphology of the floor plans). Functionally, the *gauchos* were compelled to live in the fortlets, deprived of their freedom and taken there against their will, having been labeled "*vagos y mal entretenidos*" by power and so held guilty of that "crime."

One also sees the operation of a very particular—perhaps unique—technology of power at the fortlet. The soldier who kept watch from the *mangrullo* was also a comrade, the friend who could oversee the preliminaries of nocturnal desertion, because he may have been the next one to try. In effect, there was no guard. It is valid, therefore, to wonder whether the fortlet was, in fact, a type of functionally imperfect panopticon. The panopticon of Bentham described by Foucault (1977, p. 200) presents a peripheral construction divided into cells in the form of a ring with a tower in the center from where it is possible to control everything. Foucault (1977, p. 204) describes it as follows: "Hence the major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action." According to Maley (1990, p. 67), the panopticon functioned as an authentic cyclopean eye.

In this manner, the panopticon plan is applicable"—necessary modifications apart—to all establishments whatsoever, in which, within a space not too large to be covered or commanded by buildings, a number of persons are meant to be kept under inspection" (Foucault 1977, pp. 205–206). Fortlets evidently possessed these features. At the same time, some architectonic elements reinforce this analogy because both the panopticon and fortlet had a ditch, a palisade, and a central tower (Bentham, 1989, pp. 40, 76), the latter replaced by the *mangrullo* in the fortlet. There are other examples in archaeological literature where certain kinds of architectonic constructions are interpreted as panopticons of power; for instance, see Singleton's (2001, p. 105) summary of Delle's study of plantations

in Jamaica takes into consideration Foucault's analysis of panopticism: "Delle demonstrates how the placement of the overseer's houses served as a central point in the surveillance in much the same way a guard tower does. In her study of Angerona and El Padre, two Cuban coffee plantations, Singleton argues that "the bell tower . . . possibly served as a panoptic surveillance device at Angerona. Panoptic surveillance is less obvious at El Padre" (Singleton, 2001, p. 106).

It is possible, therefore, to think of the fortlet as an imperfect panopticon. The guard on duty was a comrade who was not power itself, but its momentary, incidental vehicle; thus he was a defective form of power. Watching over apparently "criminal" actions that he himself may be incited to commit, was the interstice through which the apparent monolithic homogeneity of power was dissolved, a trick that enables desertion—that most common form of escape—to occur.

In the fortlets, where observation was carried out by non-professional agents of power, was the existence of a power permitted that in *praxis* was neither particularly strict, monolithic, nor brutal? The answer again lies in what Foucault called the "microphysics of power," a concept that refers to the relations of power established among people who are relatively independent of the power used by the state. These relations have their own shape and level of autonomy, and develop a series of conditions that enable the acting out of micro-powers. They have a taste of the homemade, the familiar, dark, ambiguous, transient; occasionally awkward, eager, or voracious, and often unobservable, yet inexorably present. For Foucault (1977, as cited in Gordon, 1980, p. 39), this is one of the main characteristics that power has: "But in thinking of the mechanism of power, I am thinking rather of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives."

They prove that not all the devices of power derive from the state, nor are they exclusive to it, a condition which guarantees an infinitesimal distribution of the relations of power. Foucault (1977, cited in Gordon, 1980, p. 72) describes this point succinctly and clearly: "There is a sort of schematism that needs to be avoided here [. . .] that consists of locating power in the state apparatus, making this into the major, privileged, capital and almost unique instrument of the power of one class over another. In reality, power in its exercise goes much further, passes through much finer channels, and is much more ambiguous, since each individual has at his disposal a certain power, and for that very reason can also act as the vehicle for transmitting a wider power." Nonetheless, it is possible to see its effects as subject to a certain intermittency that results in discontinuities and irregularities, because individual passions, personal heterogeneities and behavior arising from the particular context of an exertion of power are all mixed up in its application. As Tilley (1990, pp. 285–288) has argued, based on Foucault's conception of power, "power is everywhere because it comes from everywhere . . . the working of power are everywhere. No ones escapes."

This microphysics of power impregnated all segments of society with a particular force, a phenomenon made possible by the context of the borderland areas in which it acted. These are places where it is possible, as noted, to observe laxness in the action of power, an aspect that favors the practice of micro-powers. Guy and Sheridan (1998, p. 15) explain this with reference to frontiers: "they were shifting membranes of contact between different peoples, where power was constantly being contested and negotiated and where relations of race, class and gender were different than in areas where empires or nation-states did indeed exercise a monopoly on violence."

Nevertheless, the weight of the rudimentary Argentinean state as an agent of power made itself felt on the *gaucho*-soldiers (Fig. 2). Thus, for example, the punishment for a guard for not fulfilling certain disciplinary rules was merciless (although this would hardly have been more humanitarian in any army of the time). In 1833, Brigadier General Rosas established the following punishments:

- A guard who abandoned his post without an order was to be executed.
- A guard could not talk to anybody while at his post. He had to devote his attention to his watch. He was not permitted to smoke, sit, sleep, eat, or drink.

Fig. 2. "Colorao del Monte" (oil by Augusto Gómez Romero) portraying a Federal gaucho from Rosas militia (1829–1852) (from the author's collection).

- A guard who saw someone climb or jump over the wall, ditch or fence, either entering or leaving the fortress or enclosure and did not fire or issue a warning was to be executed (CGE, 1975, p. 416).

The idea of the defective panopticon, of a prison with particular characteristics, is established by the fact that women were allowed to live in some fortlets. Therefore, the women as companions to the soldiers entered "voluntarily" to be part of this technology of power, conducting the cleaning and cooking, mending uniforms, gathering food, and sometimes also fighting in combat and receiving military commendations. Historical research (see Malosetti Costa, 2000; Mayo, 1999; Rotker, 1999; Socolow, 1998; Vera, 1994) has established the validity of the subject, revaluing the historical importance of women as significant actors in an historical process that seems exclusively male. The study of women is still pending in frontier archaeology, and I argue that we must begin to develop the conceptual tools necessary to observe the presence of women in the archaeological evidence recovered from the fortlets.

On the other hand, the relationship between power and the archaeological record, as set forth by Orser (1988), and mentioned at the beginning of this section, is taken into consideration by Baugher, who excavated an eighteenth-century hospice in New York. She found that inmates then were not forced to wear uniforms, as indicated by discovery of buttons of different kinds; some buttons had even been manufactured by the inmates themselves (Baugher, 2001, p. 189). Baugher believes that the uniform is in itself an element of control and domination, so that its absence from the inmates' wardrobe is seen by the author as a sign of the freedom of choice they enjoyed according to the power system of the time. However, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, this freedom changed irreversibly with the advent of disciplinary regimes of a capitalist kind. Surprisingly though, at Fortlet Miñana (1860–1869) none of the buttons recovered during the archaeological work ($n = 12$) correspond to military uniforms. This fact might evidence a certain degree of leniency in the disciplinary regime, although it might indicate the *modus operandi* of an army made up of non-professional levied soldiers who often lacked the basic resources needed for survival. Therefore, soldiers were allowed to dress freely according to their own, extremely limited economic resources.

AN ARMY OF TORTURE

In a recent paper, Farnsworth (2000, p. 154) argues that the systematic use of physical violence has to be considered in archaeological analyses of social contexts in which it occurred, even if evidence is weak and barely "visible" in the archaeological record, as "artifacts that speak directly to violence and punishment are rare in the archaeological record [. . .] Skeletal material may not demonstrate

the kinds of physical abuse most commonly employed." If violence is not taken in account, then one of the key factors in understanding the logic of such past contexts is ignored. Even though the above authors specifically refer to slave plantations in the south of the United States, this observation is perfectly applicable to the Argentinean fortlets during the conquest of the desert. Rodriguez Molas (1983) has produced a detailed study of the bodily torments and mechanisms of torture used in Spanish America and in independent Argentina.

The difficulties increase when we must demonstrate that certain traces of abuse result from executions, punishments, tortures, or whipping inflicted upon the victims' bodies, and to consider their representation in the archaeological record. Some research conducted in human paleoanthropology indicates the presence of actual evidence of physical punishment and mutilation that have left traces on the skeletons. Several examples appear in a 1996 issue of the *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*. One author (Anderson, 1996) refers to a series of decapitations that occurred during the Roman occupation of Ipswich, England; another author (Mays, 1996, p. 109) analyzes the traces left in human osteology by the amputation of an arm as way of punishment in medieval England. The author mentions two other cases in Eastern Europe and Sicily. Other examples derive from eighteenth-century Canada, where mutilations were detectable in skeletons of prisoners of war found at a fort site (Liston and Baker, 1996), and also on the skeletons of a group nineteenth-century American settlers killed in an episode known as "The Mountain Meadows Massacre" (Novak and Kopp, 2003).

Foucault argues that the "body has become an essential component for the operation of power relations" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982, p. 112). In reference to body punishment as a military practice, Foucault also considers that this is an explicit way to carry out justice in the military; it is armed justice, a demonstration of physical strength. In the case of the fortlets, this mechanism was put into practice in a particular way, comparable to the previous example of the comrade-guard in the *mangrullo*, because the one who dealt out the punishment was a comrade or superior; a brother-in-arms and not an agent who performed that function exclusively and is paid by the state to do so (as an executioner). Power is in the hands of someone who could be shoulder to shoulder with one tomorrow in battle, and who may share daily camp life.

Despite camaraderie, the brutality of the punishments appeared to be guaranteed, a fact that can be explained by the workings of the micro-powers developed by the common person, referred to above, and to the existence of "repressive power." According to Shanks and Tilley (1992, p. 129), "Repressive power works within institutions and mechanisms which ensure subservience to the social order (forms of legitimate authority) and ultimately rests on a sanction of violence, direct physical coercion." The operative mechanisms of these two kinds of power resulted in the milimetrical practice of a micro-power based at an individual level being the cause, while the effect showed in the resounding crack of the lash, that is, in the torture of the body. They are both expressions of power, or rather its

demonstration, but they differ because the former was generated individually and therefore has to do with the conscience of those who put it into practice. The latter referred to the hegemonic workings of the state and its need for laws to be fulfilled. Thus, the workings of both resulted in a combination that shaped an authentic "trade mark" of this borderland technology of power that extended to people's bodies as will be illustrated by the following examples.

References to torture and bodily punishment are plentiful for the frontier army. Two French engineers who traveled through the borderlands at different times made almost identical observations. Parchappe (cited in Grau, 1975, p. 54), in 1827 or 1828, declared that "punishments are corporal and very cruel." Fifty years later, Ebelot (1968, p. 91) stated that "discipline is cruel [. . .] one, two thousand lashes was nothing." Rodriguez Molas (1982, p. 170) mentions that some of the deserters detained in 1836 were given 300 lashes, two of them were shot and the rest were sent to serve in the frontier for three more years. Mansilla (1994, pp. 32–33) remarked that the tortures the soldiers suffered were usual in the militia, and refers to overhearing the following order in quarters in Buenos Aires: "give them 2,000 blows," to which he asked, "who to?" and he was answered, "to some poor *gauchos* appointed to the army service" (Mansilla, 1994, pp. 32–33). Other testimonies are equally significant. Gutierrez (1956, p. 241) points out that the soldier of the fortlets "is made to endure staking, the Colombian stocks." Salvatore (1992, p. 30) states that "A long time in the stocks or enough blows could change rebel recruits into obedient soldiers—at least this was the general belief—."

Figueroa (1999, p. 151) describes in detail the method of torture endured in the army: "staking consisted of making the accused lie on the ground, limbs spread open and tied to stakes or bayonets stuck in the ground, which produced great pain in the joints." Darwin (1934, p. 164), in his trip across the pampas in 1833 described the torture of staking: "This is a very severe punishment; four posts are driven into the ground, and the man is extended by his arms and legs horizontally; and there left to stretch for several hours. The idea is evidently taken from the usual method of drying hides.. At the same time, the stocks (*cepo*), Figueroa (1999, p. 147) continues, "had two boards joined by a hinge, with three semi-circular cavities in each one. They were locked with a padlock, and when together three circular holes were formed which trapped the accused by the neck and ankles or neck and wrists" (also cited in Becco and Dellepiane Calcena, 1978, p. 322). The Colombian stocks were a version that, according to Figueroa (1999, p. 148), were used in the field, where "the prisoner was seated with his knees folded, under which they put a stick or rifle. He then was made to place his arms under the ends and his wrists were tied in front of his shins. This left him in a strained position that produced intense exhaustion and possibly unconsciousness." On the other hand, D'Amico, a former governor of Buenos Aires province at the end of the nineteenth century, recalls that "the stocks were always red-stained

with blood, worn, smooth, shining, polished by the frequency of torture" (cited in Rodríguez Molas, 1983, p. 32).

The arbitrariness with which these punishment were dealt out is exemplified by Santiago Avendaño's comments (as cited in Hux, 1999, p. 302), who, in 1851 served in quarters in Palermo, near Buenos Aires, where captured deserters were taken: "they dealt the most atrocious blows on the poor devils. The colonel who watched the scene from one end thought corporal Vieytes, a black man, did not deal the blows with all his strength. He approached and stopped the punishment, and pointing to negro Vieytes he said: 'This scamp seems to feel pity for them. Give him 25 strong blows so he knows how he has to punish.' When corporal Vieyte's punishment ended the colonel asked him: 'Do you like it now? Have mercy again and you'll see!.'" Thus, the moment of public punishment generated a not-at-all moderate or mitigated but brutally carried out representation, an authentic ritualization of power that aimed at producing an examplificatory impact on its audience. The implacable strength of this ritual lay in the belief that "their example must be deeply inscribed in the hearts of men" (Foucault, 1977, p. 49), turning the torture of the body into one of "the ceremonies by which power is manifested" (Foucault, 1977, p. 47). The cruel and bloody reaffirmation of power was thus generated through a pretentiously symbolic ritual, where the workings of micro-power were manifested; in this case, through the racial hatred of the black soldier by the colonel. Mixed-race soldiers such as the *gauchos* experienced similar treatment.

Countless arbitrary actions and the terrible conditions involved in army service are clearly seen in Table I, which includes a list of prisoners assigned to serve in the frontier armies in 1833.

Upon considering this document, numerous irregularities become manifest, which were typical of the justice system of those days. Under the item, "Type of Crime," 5 out of 11 of the crimes specified (45%), relate to the gaucho's inevitable resistance to the privations and punishments suffered under this technology of power. We refer to the item titled "Insubordination and armed attack against the authority." The crime of "Unitarian" has clear political connotations as the governing party was Federal, and not being a zealous supporter of the Federal party implied being a Unitarian (i.e., a member of the opposing party banned by the law). On the other hand, "Communications with the Indians" is a totally arbitrary and even ridiculous crime given that the army was composed of Indian divisions known by the government itself as "friendly Indians." Other interesting conclusions may be reached when studying the authority who sends the "criminal" to prison. The all-embracing power of the justices of the peace may be observed since they account for 78% of the cases ($n = 14$) committing the "vagrants and lingerers" to jail. These magistrates "are in our rural districts a sort of autocrats exerting their absolute willpower and deciding upon the citizens as best suited for their purposes," said Congressman Varela during the session at the Chamber

Table I. Convicts Assigned to Serve in the Frontier Armies 1833

Name	Type of crime	Committing authority	Confinement conditions	Confinement period (month)	Destination	Destination period (year)
Marcelino contreras	Homicide	La Matanza's Sheriff	Jail with 1 pair of shackles	19	Army service	6
Timoteo Leiva	Unspecified	Gervasio Rosas	Jail with 1 pair of shackles	19	Unspecified	Unspecified
José Quintana	Communications with the Indians	Gervasio Rosas	Jail with 1 pair of shackles	19	Army service	6
Benito Navarro	Cattle lifting	San Vicente's Sheriff	1 pair of shackles	18	Unspecified	Unspecified
Juan Basán	Unspecified	Lobos' justice of the peace	1 pair of shackles	15	Unspecified	Unspecified
Xavier Peralte	Unspecified	Lobos' justice of the peace	1 pair of shackles	13	Unspecified	Unspecified
José Rodríguez	Insubordination and armed attack against the authority	Captain Rodríguez	1 pair of shackles	11	Army service	2
Luciano Peralta	Lifting of horses and mares	Ranchos' justice of the peace	1 pair of shackles	3	Army service	3
Miguel Duarte	Accused of being Unitarian	Monte's justice of the peace	2 pairs of shackles	3	Army service	2
Bernardo Pereyra	Insubordination and armed attack against the authority	Monte's justice of the peace	Unspecified	4	Government escort	Duration of expedition against the Indians
Esteban Godoy	Insubordination and armed attack against the authority	Monte's Justice of the Peace	Unspecified	4	Government escort	Duration of expedition against the Indians
José Romero	Insubordination and armed attack against the authority	Monte's justice of the Peace	Unspecified	4	Government escort	Duration of expedition against the Indians
Martín Quiroga	Lifting of horses and cattle	Monte's justice of the peace	Unspecified	Unspecified	Army service	3
José Ardiles	Disturbance and drunkenness	Monte's justice of the peace	Unspecified	Unspecified	Army service	2

Note. National Archives, Room 3, 1833.

of Deputies of September 20, 1869 (cited in Rodríguez Molas, 1982, pp. 285–286).

The category that displays the ruthless arrogance of power in its most eager attempt to appropriate brutally the convict's body appears under the heading of "Confinement Conditions." In the eight cases providing details of imprisonment, all indicate that prisoners were kept in shackles. Half of the cases had a period of confinement extended beyond 1 year, so that it is easy to imagine the physical damage to the joints of anyone kept in such conditions. Furthermore, the worst conditions of confinement (two pairs of shackles instead of one) were suffered by Miguel Duarte, a Unitarian accused of perpetrating ideological crimes. The final categories describe the future destination of convicts and how long they had to remain in that destination. Another interesting conclusion may also be reached with regard to the frequency of "Insubordination and armed attack against the authority," as all the cases with the shortest period of confinement relate to this crime (see Table I).

In the fort at Azul, where the military headquarters of the front lines of the southern section were located, a military decree was written on July 7, 1857, that revealed the inhumanity of the punishments imposed on the troops that garrisoned the frontiers. This document refers to "the pernicious effects of the use of a knife inside the fortlets in view of the fights that were evident between the men." For this reason, the decree ordered, "As from today every individual soldier in whose belt a knife is found will be punished with 200 blows in front of all the troops," adding that if the offender was a sergeant, "his rank will be stripped without applying the punishment." It was also ordered that, "Every individual soldier that wounded another army man in a fight with a knife, stone or blow will be irremissibly punished with 800 blows in front of his regiment." And finally, the last article of the decree established that, "If [the victim] died because of the wound the aggressor will suffer the punishment of being shot in front of the army instead of the blows" (cited in Luna, 1996, p. 122).

This example shows the cruelty of the torture inflicted upon the victim's body, as well as their ritual and exemplificatory nature, since they were public and it was public representation that this mechanism of power needed. This power was "a power that not only did not hesitate to exert itself directly on bodies, but was exalted and strengthened by its visible manifestations; [. . .] a power that asserted itself as an armed power whose functions of maintaining order were not entirely unconnected with the functions of war; [. . .] a power that presented rules and obligations as personal bonds, a breach of which constituted an offence and called for vengeance" (Foucault, 1977, p. 57).

Foucault (1977, pp. 109–110) described this aspect of power, which believed deeply in the coercive power of the exhibition: "In physical torture, the example was based on terror: physical fear, collective horror, images that must be engraved on the memories of the spectators." In the case of the penalties applied for the use

of knives, the punishment is a ritual—as well as being a political act—that has deep social significance because it impacts strongly on a determined class and obeys the social hierarchy. The non-commissioned officer, in this case the sergeant, was to be punished in a different way to the soldier. In general, among the troops in the fortlets, the officers belonged to the bourgeois families from the cities, primarily Buenos Aires. On the whole, the officers did not hesitate to exert despotically the superiority of the position that had given them their post and their white skin, repeatedly imposing brutal punishments on the mixed-race *gaucho*-soldiers. One of the few documental references on Fortlet Miñana (Gómez Romero, 1999) refers to the desertion of a sergeant because of the beatings the commander had given him (AMEA, Document 1, 1863). Joaquín Granel, representative for Santa Fé Province, confirmed this practice: "Punishment by blows is only applied to soldiers, and in no case is it extended to superiors or officers, although they had committed the same crime" (cited in Rodriguez Molas, 1983, p. 30). Thus, the ritualization of these body tortures were plainly obvious in the unequal relation of strength that gave power to the law, a law that was always attentive, in *praxis*, to the management, consolidation and survival of certain privileges.

Although physical punishments were always present, some incentives did exist to relieve the soldier's suffering. As noted by Salvatore (2000, p. 425): "In addition to coercion, the army used a whole array of incentives. Whether they joined involuntarily or out of self-interest, soldiers received a salary, a ration composed of meat, salt, and *vicios* (tobacco and *yerba*), and a uniform."

The Santa Fé Congressman Granel, along with the Corrientes Deputy Torrent, submitted a bill to Congress to lift corporal punishments in the armed forces, namely, blows, open-air staking, the stocks, and so forth. This bill caused a heated debate among congressmen, and after lengthy discussions nothing changed. As Roland Barthes (2003) states: "The authority, even in its most bloody manifestations, was a mere décor; one need only stare at the props to see them collapse." Seventeen years had to elapse to correct the shortsightedness of most of the country's ruling class, when in November 1881, the stakes were officially banned at last.

DESERTION AND THE *FILIACIÓN* SYSTEM

Imagining a prison also implies envisioning a method of escape. Soldiers escaped the fortlet-prison by deserting. Desertion was perhaps the *gaucho*-soldier's most important form of resistance against the coercive mechanism of the authoritarian state, and it constituted a constant problem for power. During the Rosas period (1829–1852), desertion was the most common crime (Salvatore, 1998, p. 346). Furthermore, it was the topic of many debates over its causes and solution (for example, the report by Minister of War, Gelly y Obes, to the Chamber of Deputies in 1864, related in detail the magnitude of the problem). As mentioned

above, a traditional concession aimed at reducing desertions was to allow soldiers female companions, who could, if they so desired, live in the fortlet. Ebelot (1968, p. 184) writes that "A regiment without women, dies of boredom and of dirtiness, and the number of desertions increases remarkably."

Another possible "solution" to the problem of desertion was to increase the severity of punishment to death. The written references are eloquent in this respect. Marcos Paz, a colonel assigned to the Chaco frontier, stated: "The conscripts give me a lot of trouble. They are unparalleled outlaws, and some of them have already deserted [. . .] I've given them a good dose of beatings and I've chained them again. Tomorrow I'll shoot Benjamín Bradán, and from now on I'll do the same to those I catch deserting" (cited in Rodriguez Molas, 1982, p. 219). Daza (1975, p. 51) described how the soldier Mardonio Leiva from the Puán fortlet was caught by his own comrades, who were ordered to shoot him. When their Remingtons were aimed at him, he shouted: "shoot fellows, for you kill a man!" Similar references can be found in Barros (1957), Ebelot (1968), Mansilla (1969) and Prado (1968) (Fig. 3).

The bureaucratic scribes, the *cagatintas* (pen pusher) secretaries of the Justice of the Peace, in service to this technology of power, wrote the so-called *filiaciones* (posted descriptions of deserters). These were circumscribed, brief, and obviously police descriptions of the captured deserters or those still at large. However, some present certain exceptional characteristics because they do not comply with the usual aridity of most military texts. The details of these descriptions are vivid, lyrical portraits of people that really existed, of anonymous *gauchos* whose lives

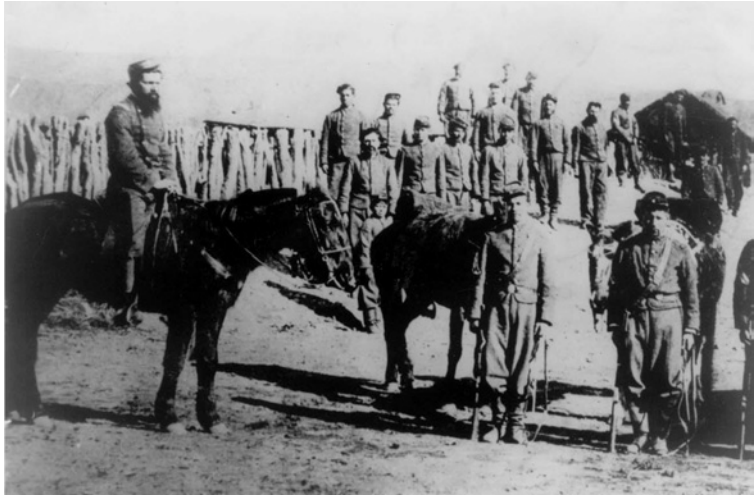

Fig. 3. Fortlet garrison during the 1870–1880 decade (photo from Archivo General de la Nación, archive of the author).

were destined to pass by in the margins of the official discourse. Nevertheless, as in the case of *The Life of Infamous Men* (Foucault, 1996), they were temporarily examined and superficially dissected by the pen of power. Because, as Foucault (1996, pp. 124–125) argued, "For some of these lives to come to us it was necessary that a light beam, during at least an instant, laid on them, a light that came from outside: what pulled them out of the night in which they could have and may be should have stayed, it was its meeting with the power . . . that marked them with a lash of a claw." One such description is as follows:

> Dated 14 October 1846, Chascomús (Buenos Aires Province). Classification of Juan Aguirre, deserter. Age 14, single. Address: San Vicente district; farmer; illiterate. Brown, curly hair, belongs to the farm-laborer class. Horse rider, suitable for cavalry. Dressed in a scarf tied around his head, old flannel *ponceau* undershirt, woolen *ponceau chiripa*, underpants and barefoot. *Signs of a beating on chest and back* that he received at Melincué Fortlet (Santa Fé Province), from where he supposedly deserted (AMEA, Document 9, 1846, emphasis added).

The next is an uncommon *filiación*, as the deserter escaped with a woman who is also described:

> Dated 15 January 1847, Monte (Buenos Aires Province). Particulars of the deserter Eugenio Galván, age about 30. Married. Average height. Plump. Indian-like olive- skinned. Straight black hair. Sparse beard without a moustache, black eyes, average nose, average mouth. Dressed in plush white hat, woolen coffee-colored jacket, long underpants, *chiripa* and "*botas de potro*" [colt-leather boots]. Description of Romualda Acosta, who is travelling with Galván. Daughter of Gregorio Acosta and Petrona Gongora, resident of Ranchos district. Age about 15. Olive-skinned, straight black hair, black eyes, snub-nosed, small thick lips. Dressed in a *chali*, purple dress with black buttons [with *ponceau* little flowers, taking a woolen bedspread, white, *ponceau* and green socks (AMEA, Document 129, 1846).

Ricardo Salvatore cited another *filiación*: "Martín Garay was a militiaman enrolled in the Second Squadron of Lancers at Chascomús . . . In June 1846 his commander sentenced him to 300 strokes (floggings) for missing two military formations (listas). Unwilling to suffer this punishment, Garay escaped from jail and ran away. Though by doing this he risked the death penalty, the militiaman could not tolerate the idea of being flogged in public. He was later arrested in Las Flores" (Salvatore, 2000, p. 439).

Unfortunately, due to the scanty evidence available, the opinion of the subordinate classes in written historical records must be subject to the testimony of the dominating classes, which is generally misleading and incomplete. The filter inevitably distorts and misrepresents the truth; however, historian Carlo Ginzburg (1982, p. 5) when referring to these unavoidable filters states that "The fact that a source should not be 'objective' does not mean it cannot be used." We agree with his statement which can certainly be applied to the above documents. Having analyzed them and gone beneath the crust of the official language, it is possible to read between the lines and appreciate the abundance of revealing and carefully described details. Thus, they become fertile sources for conducting research into historical archaeology, despite some inevitable partial judgements.

As can be seen, a distinctive characteristic of these *filiaciones* was the description of the deserter's dress. This was essential because it determined both the social status of the recruit or deserter, and whether he belonged to an urban or rural environment. The gauchos carried the signs of their social identity that showed their potential culpability. They dressed in *chiripa*, *botas de potro*, native ponchos; while dress coats and frock coats—the basic distinctive elements of urban clothing, the natural attire of "decent people"—were missing. This fact, of course, was recorded in detail in the *filiación*, as it was an important part of the identification of the deserter. In short, these brief accounts refer to real people; their freedom, misfortune and at the very least their destiny were perhaps decided on these words. As Foucault (1996, p. 125) has stated: "The most intense point of those lives, that in which its energy focuses, lies precisely there where it collides with the power, fight with it, try to reuse their strength or escape from their traps."

Apart from these *filiaciones*, which inevitably describe individual cases, historian Mónica Quijada has perceived the importance of these gaucho deserters as representative characters in frontier life, and how Gruzinski's concept of *passeurs culturels* may successfully be applied to them. The *passeurs* would be "those social agents who, from an often liminal position and standing astride two cultures, facilitated exchanges and communication between seemingly incompatible universes, by mediating in many unusual ways and thus aiding their interrelation and frontier permeability (Quijada, 2002, p. 127) Therefore, these hinge elements conveyed cultural patterns and standards as if they were "human messages" from one side to the other of the frontier lines. Their historic significance is thus quite patent because thanks to their porous texture, a variety of constantly interacting lifestyles became manifest as the typical lifestyles of a border area.

CONCLUSION

In this article I have given an account of the many state-level and personal devices of power that operated on popular sections in the rural areas of the so-called Indian frontier in nineteenth-century Argentina. The most reliable representatives of these areas, the *gauchos*, were compelled—not without resistance on their part—to interweave their lives with a complicated framework of power which was entirely beyond their will and made them the target of a series of relations of domination. When the "conquest of the desert" finally ended and the dominant groups no longer needed the *gaucho*-soldiers they sentenced him to marginalization and oblivion.

The marginalization of these mixed-race soldiers is understandable starting from the perspective of the model of nation that the Argentinean leading class aspired to, and into which the *gauchos* did not fit. They were the bearers of traditions and modes of life that differed from the ones they had imposed upon them; in short, they were inassimilable. They were the faces that a white,

pro-European Argentina was not inclined to tolerate. The white ideology conditioned the development and operation of a coercive technology of power that controlled Argentina in the nineteenth century. The marginalization also worked on the memory of the *gauchos*, as Argentinean liberal historiography has made relative the contribution of the *gauchos* and their women as significant social actors in the history of the country; an example, as such, of one of Foucault's arguments, that the manipulation of collective memory is an essential factor in the fight for power.

In this respect, the action of a number of micro-powers (*sensu* Foucault), minute requests for individual power, an uninterrupted drainage of power that often acted under the umbrella of state power like autonomous parasites, became essential in the development of this historical process. Its image becomes diffuse and distorted, an alteration generally produced by the action of different gradations of authority temporarily in the service of various aspects of personal power. This is detectable in the pseudo-surveillance of the sentry at the fortlet, the brutality of the "executioner" on duty, or the insidious meticulousness of the secretary of the Justice of the Peace; in short, minimum bifurcations of the exertion of power that yet can be transcended to an understanding of the essence of its domination. These were tiny mechanisms of power whose combined effects form a generally abject facet of the technology of generalized power.

In the nineteenth-century Pampean region, two punishment approaches coexisted: physical punishment as a ritual reassertion of power, a vindictive and cruel power acting in an exemplary manner directly upon the convict's body. A somewhat stale mode of punishment for the times, perpetrated by justices of the peace, rural sheriffs, and army men stationed in the fortlets and ideologically supported by the majority of Argentina's leading class. On the other hand, some political leaders analyzed a way of redefining punishment, and advocated banning corporal torture and improving discipline so as to reform individual conduct. A dilemma that was historically marked by the rapid spread of capitalist domination structures. In part, it relates to the whole theoretical discussion expounded by Foucault in *Discipline and Punish* (1977), which revolves time and times again around this historic change in the modalities of punishment.

If applied to our case study, the practical demonstration of this argument reaches its momentum in the debate held in the Chamber of Deputies in 1864. The discussion related to the banning of corporal punishment in the army, on the basis of a bill submitted by two congressmen, Torrent and Granel. They believed that other punishments were possible to regenerate the individual and to prevent destroying him for good with the scalpel of torture that plunged deep into the very core of the individual and violated his personal integrity, cultural standards, and innermost beliefs. However, the remaining Argentine politicians did not share their views, as it became evident in the parliamentary debate, probably because they already foresaw that the country's development was bound to hinge upon a radical change in the lifestyle of both *gauchos* and Indians. And they possibly

regarded corporal punishment as an excellent persuasive means. Also, their minds were influenced by social Darwinian ideas and reasoned that the inhabitants of the Pampas who could not adjust to the new rules of the game would be seen as living fossils from an ancient era and were inevitably doomed to extinction (the work by the intellectual champion of the final campaign against the Indians in 1879, Estanislao Zeballos, is a perfect example of this line of thought).

This was how punishment and observation worked during this period in Argentina through the implementation of a technology of power that was deeply embedded with class interests. This power determined that one of the duties of the fortlets was to function as actual prisons, defective panopticons where the imposition of a mixture of repressive power of mainly state action, and micro-powers manipulated in a personal way, was articulated. In other words, they were fruitful fields for relations of power to prosper. In conclusion, it would be interesting to evaluate the potential application of these arguments and their implications through future archaeological work, as well as their ability to broaden the spectrum of extant analyses of these particular problems. This argument is equally relevant in analyses where physical spaces were involved in the generation of an authentic reality by power, and where the technologies of power that changed men and women's lives at a given time and place can be uncovered.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the archaeologists Benjamín Alberti, Carmen Curbelo, Jordi Estévez, Vicky Pedrotta, Ernesto Piana, Gustavo Politis, and Asunción Vila for their helpful comments, criticism, and discussion. Special thanks go to the entire research team of The Miñana and Otamendi Fortlets Project and my colleagues of the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (UAB) and the CSIC (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas) for their continuous comments on various points in this article. Rosa María Torlaschi translated this difficult text from Spanish to English. I owe a debt of gratitude to my cousin, the noted artist Augusto Gómez Romero, who produced the illustration. Finally, thanks to the *IJHA* Editors, James Delle and Charles E. Orser, Jr. I take full responsibility for the opinions expressed in the text.

REFERENCES CITED

Alsina, A. (1977). *La nueva Línea de Fronteras. Memoria especial del Ministerio de Guerra y Marina, año 1877*, EUDEBA, Buenos Aires.

AMEA. (1846a). Document Number 9. *Juan Aguirre, Filiación.* Museo Etnográfico y Archivo Histórico "E. Squirru," Azul, Provincia de Buenos Aires, Argentina. (Unpublished publication).

AMEA. (1846b). Document Number 129. *Eugenio Galván, Filiación.* Museo Etnográfico y Archivo Histórico "E. Squirru," Azul, Provincia de Buenos Aires, Argentina. (Unpublished publication).

Anderson, T. (1996). Two decapitations from Roman Towcester. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* **6**: 400–405.
Austral, A., Rocchietti, A. M., Tamagnini, M., Loderseto, A., Gili, L., Olmedo, E., Fernández, M. V., and Criado, R. (1997). Arqueología del fuerte de Las Achiras (1832–1869) en la línea de la frontera del sur, Córdoba. Paper presented at the *Actas del XII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Argentina* **3**: 395–404.
Barros, A. (1957) *Fronteras y territorios federales de las pampas del sud*, Hachette, Buenos Aires.
Barsky, O. Y., and Djenderedjian, J. (2003). *Historia del capitalismo agrario pampeano, la expansión ganadera hasta 1895*, Universidad de Belgrano y Siglo XXI, Buenos Aires.
Barthes, R. (2003). *Ensayos críticos*, Seix Barral, Barcelona.
Baugher, S. (2001). Visible charity: The archaeology, material culture, and landscape design of New York city's municipal almshouse complex, 1736–1797. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* **5**: 175–202.
Becco, J., and Dellepiane Calcena, C. (1978). *El gaucho, documentación-iconografía*, PLUS ULTRA, Buenos Aires.
Bentham, J. (1989). *El Panóptico*, Ediciones de La Piqueta, Madrid.
CGE. Comando General del Ejército. Dirección de Estudios Históricos (1975). *Política seguida con el Aborigen* **2**(3): Círculo Militar, Buenos Aires.
Daireaux, G. (1945). *El fortín: tipos y paisajes criollos*, Ed. Agro, Buenos Aires.
Darwin, C. (1934). In Barlow, N. (ed.), *Diary of the voyage of H.M.S Beagle*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Daza, E. (1975). *Episodios militares*, EUDEBA, Buenos Aires.
Dreyfus, H., and Rabinow, P. (1982). *Michel Foucault: beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Ebelot, A. (1968). *Recuerdos y relatos de la guerra de fronteras*, Hachette, Buenos Aires.
Farnsworth, P. (2000). Brutality or benevolence in plantation archaeology. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* **4**: 145–158.
Figueroa, L. (1999). *El gaucho, sus tradiciones y costumbres en el campo argentino vistas desde mediados del siglo XIX*, Ediciones Casa Figueroa, Buenos Aires.
Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish. The birth of the prison*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
Foucault, M. (1996). *La vida de los hombres infames*, Altamira, Buenos Aires.
Garavaglia, J. C. (1987). Existieron los gauchos? *Anuario del IEHS* **2**: 42–52.
Gómez Romero, F. (1999). *Sobre lo arado: el pasado, Arqueología Histórica en los alrededores del Fortín Miñana 1860–1869*, Biblos, Azul.
Gómez Romero, F. (2002). Philosophy and historical archaeology: Foucault and a singular technology of power development at the nineteenth century, Argentina. *Journal of Social Archaeology* **2**: 402–429.
Gómez Romero, F., and Ramos, M. (1994). Miñana's Fortlet: Historical archaeology research. *Historical Archaeology in Latin America* **2**: 15–30.
Gordon, C. (1980). *Power(knowledge: Selected interviews andother writings 1972–1977 by Michel Foucault*, Pantheon, New York.
Grau, C. (1975). *El fuerte 25 de Mayo en Cruz de Guerra*, EUDEBA, Buenos Aires.
Ginzburg, C. (1982). *El queso y los gusanos, el cosmos según un molinero del siglo XVI*, Muchnik Editores, Barcelona.
Gutiérrez, E. (1956). *Croquis y siluetas militares*, EUDEBA, Buenos Aires.
Guy, D., and Sheridan, T. (1998). On frontiers: The northern and southern edges of the Spanish empire in the Americas. In Guy, D., and Sheridan, T. (eds.), *Contested Ground: Comparative frontiers on the northern and southern edges of the Spanish empire*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson, pp. 3–15.
Halperín Donghi, T. (1968). La expansión ganadera en la campaña de Buenos Aires (1810–1852). In Di Tella, T., and Halperín Donghi, T. (eds.), *Los fragmentos del poder*, Siglo XXI, pp. 23–73.
Hux, M. (1999). *Memorias del ex cautivo Santiago Avendaño*, Elefante Blanco, Buenos Aires.
Langiano, C., Merlo, J., and Ormazábal, P. (2000). Modificaciones en el basural del Fuerte San Martín o Sauce Corto (Cnel. Suárez, Buenos Aires). Paper presented at the *I Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Histórica Argentina*, Mendoza.

Liston, M., and Baker, B. (1996). Reconstructing the massacre at Fort William Henry, New York. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* **6**: 28–44.
Luna, M. (1996). *Delitos y delincuentes. Historia de ilícitos en el Azul del siglo XIX*, Biblos, Azul.
Maley, W. (1990). Undermining archaeology: from reconstruction to deconstruction. In Bapty, I., and Yates, T. (eds.), *Archaeology After Structuralism*, Routledge, London, pp. 62–77.
Malosetti Costa, L. (2000). Mujeres en la frontera. *Historia de las mujeres en Argentina* **1**: 87–111.
Mansilla, L. (1969). *Una excursión a los indios ranqueles*, Editorial Cultural Argentina, Buenos Aires.
Mansilla, L. (1994). *Rozas, ensayo histórico-psicológico*, A–Z Editora, Buenos Aires.
Mayo, C. (1987). Sobre peones, vagos y mal entretenidos: el dilema de la economía rural rioplatense durante la época colonial. *Anuario del IEHS* **2**: 25–32.
Mayo, C. (1999) La frontera; cotidianidad, vida privada e identidad. *Historia de la vida privada en Argentina. País antiguo de la Colonia a 1870* **1**: 86–105.
Mays, S. (1996). Healed limb amputations in human osteoarchaeology and their causes: A case of study from Ipswich, UK. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* **6**: 101–113.
Memorias del Ministerio de Guerra (1873). Imprenta Americana, Buenos Aires.
Mugueta, M., and Anglada, C. (1998). Informe preliminar del basural secundario en el Cantón Tapalqué Viejo. Paper presented at the *I Jornadas Regionales de Historia y Arqueología del siglo XIX*, 83–87, Tapalqué.
Navarro Floria, P. (2002). El desierto y la cuestión del territorio en el discurso político argentino sobre la frontera sur. *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* **28**: 139–168.
Novak, S., and Kopp, D. (2003). To feed a tree in Zion: osteological analysis of the 1857 Mountain Meadows massacre. *Historical Archaeology* **37**(3): 85–108.
Ormazabal, P., Langiano, C., and Merlo, J. (1998). Arqueología de puestos fortificados en el camino a Salinas. Paper presented at the *I Jornadas Regionales de Historia y Arqueología del siglo XIX*, 12–17, Tapalqué.
Orser, C. E., Jr. (1988). Toward a theory of power for historical archaeology: Plantations and space. In Leone, M., and Potter, P. Jr. (eds.). *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology of the Eastern United States*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, pp. 313–343.
Pedrotta, V. (1999). Caracterización de los procesos naturales de perturbación del sitio Fortín Miñana (Azul. Pcia de Bs As). *Arqueología* **9**: 131–161.
Pedrotta, V., and Gómez Romero, F. (1998). Historical Archaeology: An outlook from the Argentinean pampas. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* **2**: 113–131.
Prado, M. (1968). *La guerra al malón*, EUDEBA, Buenos Aires.
Quijada, M. (2002). Repensando la frontera sur Argentina: conceptos, contenido, continuidades y descontinuidades de una realidad espacial y étinca (siglos XVIII y XIX). *Revista de Indias* **62**(44): 103–142.
Rabinow, P. (ed.) (1984). *The Foucault Reader*, Pantheon, New York.
Racedo, E. (1965). *La Conquista del desierto*, Plus Ultra, Buenos Aires.
Ramírez Juárez, E. (1968). *La Estupenda conquista*, Plus Ultra, Buenos Aires.
Raone, J. (1969). *Fortines del desierto, mojones de civilización*, III Tomos. Biblioteca del Suboficial, Buenos Aires.
Roa, M., and Saghessi, M. (1998). Investigaciones arqueológicas en el Fortín Recompensa, Partido de Guaminí, Provincia de Buenos Aires. Paper presented at the *I Jornadas Regionales de Historia y Arqueología del siglo XIX*, pp. 89–93.
Rodriguez Molas, R. (1982). *Historia social del gaucho*, Centro Editor de América Latina, Buenos Aires.
Rodriguez Molas, R. (1983). Torturas, suplicios y otras violencias. *Todo es Historia* **192**: 8–46.
Rotker, S. (1999). *Cautivas, olvidos y memorias en la historia Argentina*, Ed. Ariel, Buenos Aires.
Ruiz Moreno, I. (2000). *Los ingenieros en el ejército argentino*, Ed. Patria armada, Paz honrada, Buenos Aires.
Sabato, H. (1989). *Capitalismo y ganadería en Buenos Aires: la fiebre del lanar 1850–1890*, Sudamericana, Buenos Aires.
Salvatore, R. (1992). Reclutamiento militar, disciplinamiento y proletarización en la era de Rosas. *Boletin del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana "Dr. E. Ravignani"* **5**: 25–47.
Salvatore, R. (1998). Consolidación del régimen Rosista (1835–1852). *Nueva Historia Argentina* **3**: 323–380.

Salvatore, R. (2000). Repertories of coercion and market culture in nineteenth-century Buenos Aires Province. *International Review of Social History* **45**: 409–448.
Sarramone, A. (1997). *Historia del antiguo pago del Azul*, Biblos, Azul.
Shanks, M., and Tilley, C. (1992). *Re-constructing archaeology, theory and practice*, Routledge, London.
Singleton, T. (2001). Slavery and spatial dialectics on Cuban coffee plantations. *World Archaeology* **33**: 98–114.
Slatta, R. (1983). *Gauchos and the vanishing frontier*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
Slatta, R. (1998). Spanish colonial military strategy and ideology. In Guy, D., and Sheridan, T. (eds.), *Contested Ground: Comparative frontiers on the northern and southern edge of the Spanish empire*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson, pp. 83–96.
Socolow, S. (1998). Women of the Buenos Aires frontier, 1740–1810 (or the gaucho turned upside down) In Guy, D., and Sheridan, T. (eds.), *Contested Ground: Comparative frontiers on the northern and southern edges of the spanish empire*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson, pp. 67–82.
Tilley, C. (1990). Michel Foucault: Towards an archaeology of archaeology. In Tilley, C. (ed.), *Reading Material Culture, Structuralism, Hermeneutics and Post-structuralism*, Blackwell, London, pp. 281–347.
Vera, P. (1994). *Las Cuarteleras*, Planeta, Buenos Aires.
Walther, J. C. (1964). *La conquista del desierto*, EUDEBA, Buenos Aires.