

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24215/26840162e025>

## **Touching the living sky's body**

### Colonial struggles over Campo del Cielo meteorites

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López, A. M. (2025) Touching the living sky's body. Colonial struggles over Campo del Cielo meteorites. *Cosmovisiones/Cosmovisões* 6 (1), 15-26.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24215/26840162e025>

Recibido: 24/04/2023, aceptado: 27/11/2024.

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## Resumen

Diversos grupos humanos que han recorrido el Suroeste del Chaco desde al menos el siglo XVI coinciden en afirmar que allí, hay “cosas” que han llamado su atención. Desde la segunda mitad del siglo XX hay un consenso entre las sociedades involucradas de que las cosas en cuestión provienen del espacio celeste, aunque los pueblos originarios del Chaco ya sostenían eso desde mucho antes. En la actualidad es común que diversos actores sociales hablen de ellos como “los meteoritos de Campo del Cielo”. En trabajos previos -por ej. (Giménez Benítez et al. 2004; López 2021; López & Altman 2017)- hemos abordado diversos aspectos de las relaciones de pueblos originarios, población criolla, el estado y el medio artístico con estos meteoritos. En esta ocasión queremos aproximarnos a este tema desde un enfoque particular, centrado en las distinciones de Ingold (2010) entre objetos y cosas, y la experiencia humana sensible de los mismos.

Creemos que esto es especialmente importante por un lado para el estudio de las relaciones humanas con los meteoritos, ya que en este vínculo la experiencia multi-sensorial humana de los meteoritos es crucial, pero ha sido muy poco explorada. Por otra parte, creemos que esta aproximación puede ser muy relevante para la astronomía cultural en general. Comunmente se suele pensar sobre la experiencia humana del cielo en términos puramente visuales y como la vista es en la academia un sentido fuertemente intelectualizado, se tiende a conceptualizar y describir dicha experiencia de modos fuertemente “descarnados”. De este modo se suelen enfatizar los aspectos explícitos y más racionalizados de los vínculos humanos con el cielo. En ese sentido un abordaje de y desde los cuerpos (Citro 2010) de los meteoritos puede aportar interesantes perspectivas metodológicas para la astronomía cultural en general.

En el marco de este breve artículo nos centramos en las experiencias contemporáneas de dos grupos que están en interacción con estos cuerpos en el marco de los procesos recientes de discusión sobre la forma en que deben ser tratados: por un lado, un conjunto de artistas (dos de Buenos Aires y uno de Estados Unidos), y por otro las comunidades moqoit de las inmediaciones de la Dispersión meteórica de Campo del Cielo. En esta dirección mostramos las diversas concepciones del cosmos que están encapsuladas en estas experiencias de los meteoritos. Del mismo modo, planteamos como los meteoritos vienen funcionando como “cosas de frontera” entre diversos humanos y no-humanos desde antes de la llegada de los españoles a la región.

**Palabras clave:** meteoritos, cuerpos, cosas, Chaco, construcción social de la experiencia.

## Resumo

Vários grupos humanos que percorreram o Chaco Sudoeste desde, pelo menos, o século XVI, são unâimes em afirmar que ali existem “coisas” que chamaram a sua atenção. A partir da segunda metade do século XX, há um consenso entre as sociedades envolvidas de que as coisas em questão vêm do espaço celeste, embora os povos originais do Chaco já o dissessem há muito tempo. Atualmente, é comum que os diferentes atores sociais falem deles como “os meteoritos do Campo del Cielo”. Em trabalhos anteriores - e.g. (Giménez Benítez et al. 2004; López 2021; López & Altman

2017)- abordámos vários aspectos da relação entre os povos nativos, a população crioula, o Estado e o meio artístico e estes meteoritos. Nesta ocasião, queremos abordar este assunto a partir de uma abordagem particular, centrada nas distinções de Ingold (2010) entre objetos e coisas, e a experiência humana sensível deles.

Acreditamos que isto é especialmente importante, por um lado, para o estudo das relações humanas com os meteoritos, uma vez que nesta ligação a experiência multisensorial humana dos meteoritos é crucial, mas tem sido largamente inexplorada. Por outro lado, acreditamos que esta abordagem pode ser muito relevante para a astronomia cultural em geral. De um modo geral, a experiência humana do céu é muitas vezes pensada em termos puramente visuais e, como a visão é um sentido fortemente intelectualizado no meio académico, tende a ser conceptualizada e descrita de formas fortemente “rígidas”. Desta forma, os aspectos explícitos e mais racionalizados das ligações humanas com o céu tendem a ser enfatizados. Neste sentido, uma abordagem aos e a partir dos corpos (Citro 2010) dos meteoritos pode fornecer interessantes perspectivas metodológicas para a astronomia cultural em geral.

No âmbito deste breve artigo, centramo-nos nas experiências contemporâneas de dois grupos que estão em interação com estes corpos no quadro de processos recentes de discussão sobre a forma como devem ser tratados: por um lado, um grupo de artistas (dois de Buenos Aires e um dos Estados Unidos) e, por outro, as comunidades Moqoit nas imediações da dispersão meteórica do Campo del Cielo. Nesta direção, mostramos as diversas concepções do cosmos que se encontram encapsuladas nestas experiências com meteoritos. Da mesma forma, mostramos como os meteoritos têm funcionado como “coisas de fronteira” entre diversos seres humanos e não-humanos desde antes da chegada dos espanhóis à região.

**Palavras chave:** meteoritos, corpos, coisas, Chaco, construção social da experiência.

## Abstract

Since at least the 16<sup>th</sup> century, various human groups journeying through the Southwest of Chaco have concurred that there are “things” that have captured their attention. Since the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a consensus has emerged among these societies, affirming that these phenomena originate from the celestial space—a long-held certainty among the Chaco native peoples. Today, it is common for different social actors to refer to them as “the Campo del Cielo meteorites.” In previous studies (e.g. Giménez Benítez et al. 2004; López 2021; López & Altman 2017), we have investigated different aspects of how indigenous peoples, the *criollo* population, the state, and the artistic milieu interact with these meteorites. In this instance, however, we aim to approach the subject from a specific perspective, drawing on Ingold’s (2010) distinctions between objects and things and examining the sensory human experience thereof.

We believe this exploration is particularly significant for studying human connections with meteorites, as the multisensory human experience of celestial bodies plays a pivotal yet largely unexamined role. Furthermore, we suggest that this approach has broader relevance for cultural astronomy. Typically, human interactions with the sky are framed through a purely visual lens; however, because sight is a highly intellectualized sense in academia, this often leads to a tendency

to conceptualize and describe these experiences in a disembodied way. Consequently, the explicit and rationalized aspects of human relationships with the sky are usually overemphasized. By shifting the focus toward the embodied experiences (Citro 2010) of meteorites, we can offer valuable methodological insights for the field of cultural astronomy.

In this brief article, we focus on the contemporary encounters of two specific groups engaged with these celestial bodies amid ongoing debates about how they should be approached. One group consists of artists (two from Buenos Aires and one from the United States), while the other includes members of the Moqoit communities near the Campo del Cielo meteorite strewn field. Through this exploration, we aim to highlight the diverse cosmological perceptions embedded in these meteorite experiences. Moreover, we propose that meteorites have long served as "boundary things" between various humans and non-humans, even before the arrival of the Spanish in the region.

**Keywords:** meteorites, bodies, things, Chaco, social construction of experience.

## Meteoric conflicts

The presence of metallic meteoric masses on and beneath the surface of the Campo del Cielo area has served as a focal point for peaceful gatherings among various ethnic groups since pre-Columbian times. Later, informed of these objects by the indigenous people yet skeptical of the celestial origin attributed to them, the Spaniards sought to determine whether these masses could be exploited as valuable mineral veins. The search for large meteorite fragments captivated many non-indigenous people during the formation of the Argentine national state. However, it wasn't until the 1960s that Argentine scientists, together with a U.S. team led by William Cassidy, committed to a systematic scientific study of these fragments as objects from outer space. Local and provincial authorities sporadically considered the meteorites' potential for tourism, while *criollo* settlers associated them with a divine selection of the Chaco territory, apparitions of the Virgin Mary, and speculated about a possible connection with the Star of Bethlehem. By the 1980s, the research of Cassidy and his team led to the unearthing of the "El Chaco" meteorite, weighing 37 tons —the second heaviest in the world and an emblem of the province. In 1990, meteorite hunter William Haag from the USA attempted to steal the "El Chaco" meteorite, sparking a wave of indignation and prompting the strengthening of legislation to protect meteorites as provincial assets. Throughout this period, the indigenous population's interest in and relationship with these meteorites remained alive and vibrant, as demonstrated by a series

of public expressions from the Moqoit people, including their first medium-length film ([https://youtu.be/7iC7Glj\\_eJA](https://youtu.be/7iC7Glj_eJA)).

In this context, starting in 2006, Goldberg and Faivovich, a duo of artists from Buenos Aires, began their exploration of meteorites, making them the focal point of their artistic pursuits. Their work encompassed a variety of activities, from a postage stamp project to the reunion of the two halves of a meteorite that had been split for research purposes. Throughout these efforts, they were driven by the belief that they were the first to give proper attention to Campo del Cielo. This led them, in 2012, to attempt to move the "El Chaco" meteorite to the dOCUMENTA (13) exhibition in Kassel, Germany, an endeavor carried out without meaningful or transparent consultation with the Moqoit population, local *criollos*, or local experts and institutions. This unilateral action triggered staunch opposition from the Moqoit people, scholars, environmentalists, and others, ultimately thwarting the intended transfer. Subsequent writings by the artists, the exhibition's director, and some art critics dismissed the opposition to the project, claiming that it stemmed from outdated views on heritage. From their standpoint, the artists' initiative aimed to acknowledge the independent agency of the meteorites, allegedly suppressed by "small", "misguided" groups of scientists, activists and indigenous people. However, these assertions stood in stark contrast to the Moqoit view of meteorites as sentient entities with their own will. Our study delves into the conflicts revealed by this incident to analyze the differing sensory experiences of the meteorites behind these conflicting perspectives<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This work, conducted from 1998 to the present, draws on extensive ethnographic research into the Moqoit and their relationships with the meteorites. Additionally, as a result of my investigation and of the bonds established with the Moqoit communities, I became involved in protest movements against an attempt to take the "El Chaco" meteorite to Germany for the dOCUMENTA (13) exhibition without proper consultation. In this context, I engaged in discussions about this issue with the artists responsible for the project (who got acquainted

## Meteorites as artistic objects

In this analysis, we will first describe the work of the aforementioned artists, Goldberg and Faivovich. In short, the approach of these artists—both as they describe it (Faivovich & Goldberg 2021), and as it has been characterized by their artistic supporters at the Kassel exhibition (Christov-Bakargiev 2012; Speranza 2012) and by some scholars (Lucero 2022)—consists of an "institutional engineering." This approach can be seen as a kind of surgical procedure in which the artists attempt to extract the meteorites from the network of human relations they are immersed in, ostensibly to align with the speculative realism of contemporary philosophy and allow the voice of the meteorites themselves, their "sameness" to speak directly to us. The vocabulary they use frames the issue in terms of a technical action, akin to "management," thereby sidestepping the central point: the political nature of their actions, which aimed to engage solely those who endorsed their artistic project as interlocutors. When this was achieved, as in the case of the exhibition they organized in Germany to "reunite" the two halves of the "El Taco" meteorite, which had been split for scientific studies (Faivovich & Goldberg 2010: 28; Speranza 2012), or the display of the "El Mataco" meteorite at the Dr. Julio Marc Provincial Historical Museum in Rosario, Argentina (Vignoli 2020), the focus shifts to a meteoric "sameness." This sameness

is understood as the existence of these entities in "space," as endless travelers of the empty "cosmos," with no humans. The important thing with the meteorites would be their exhibition in solitude, in isolation, that is, separated from its human ties and with the human, alienated from all social relations. This is why many of the displays aimed to exclude or conceal any traces of humanity, designed so that viewers experienced the supposed "outer space" or "cosmic" essence of meteorites, torn away from all ties with the human, to be restored to its pristine pre-human "nature." This revealed that, for the artists, beyond their purported theoretical assertions, meteorites are seen as "objects" in Ingold's sense, that is, "inert" or "enclosed" fragments of matter whose identity is contained solely within themselves. In this way, their rarity transforms them into "precious objects" in the sense described by Godelier (1998)—rare, yet exchangeable. The two halves of the "El Taco", positioned facing each other in an empty room, aimed to recreate the experience of a magnetic force (enhanced by their metallic nature) that tried to reunite them, thus reversing the human action that separated them. The dark, sloping setting in which "El Mataco" was displayed sought to conjure up the crater, and beyond that to evoke the solitary journey through space prior to impact. As it seems, from the artists' perspective, the meteoric masses appear static, still, or rather, held against their will, trapped. They have fallen, accidentally colliding with the Earth, and are condemned to a place where humans possess them. They are both prisoners of these humans and of the planet. They are also

<sup>1</sup> (continuation) with the relationship of the locals with the meteorites when I introduced the topic to them back in 2006) and with the director of DOCUMENTA (13), Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev. Furthermore, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork among various individuals involved in the project and in the reactions to it, in Chaco, Buenos Aires, and Germany. I also performed a qualitative analysis of the written and audiovisual productions of the artists whose relationships with these meteorites are examined here. In addition, I have advised the province of Chaco during the ongoing process of heritagization of these meteorites.

exceptional, lying in a solitary and wild expanse, in an indolent oblivion, unable to express their true nature. Indigenous people, state agents, scientists, and smugglers try to speak for them, thus forcing the meteorites to silence their true message. The artists, however, seek to restore their voice. As Ingold (2010) notes, these artists seem to navigate their daily lives in an "objectified" world, the "disenchanted West." A world of dead, opaque materialities that they attempt to "animate" in order to revive them, granting them agency in a way that parodies or imitates human agency. However, this is done by treating the world as a collection of isolated objects or subjects, each defined inside their borders by their essences, and "samenesses," which are often perceived as if they could be restored to their "original state." In this pursuit, "human attachments" and stories are eradicated, viewed as contaminations to be removed.

Strangely, despite being conceived as ready made objects in Duchampian terms, the meteorites only seem to gain the agency the artists assign to them through their artistic operation. Far from being "erased" in exhibitions, the artists appear with their full names and stand out for their ability to execute. In contrast, those who oppose their endeavors are presented as a shapeless, nameless crowd, whose arguments they ridicule. Although the meteorite's fall was accidental, its transport to Germany represented a deliberate act, transforming "El Chaco" into a "transitional object" in Winnicott's sense (Christov-Bakargiev 2012)<sup>2</sup>, which would let us overcome childish modes of relating to the world. An object that would speak of the absence of national borders, of the cosmic character, the place, etc. According to the exhibition director (Christov-

Bakargiev 2012), the meditative contemplation of an exhibited object "allows the mind to merge with matter," enabling us "to see the world not from the point of view of the discerning subject, the detached subject, but from within so-called objects and outward." Thus, this supposed agency or will, and this supposed desire to continue a journey that was randomly halted by the Earth is imagined and projected onto the meteorite. And the artistic endeavor is conceived as a means to fulfill the assumed meteorites' desire to leave the Chaco region, to visit the "World" and keep travelling.

In contrast, it is interesting to consider the work of the artist from the United States Harry Dodge. In his book *My Meteorite* (Dodge 2023[2020]), the author ponders over a much smaller scale meteorite project and a somewhat different experience. Purchasing a fragment of a Campo del Cielo meteorite on eBay —unaware of the legal and ethical implications— unleashed an intense series of aesthetic, intellectual, and emotional responses in the artist. The meteorite affects, seduces, fascinates, and terrifies him. Above all, the mention of a "fold," a "groove," evokes a "plastic" or "rubbery" past in Dodge that contrasts with the meteorite's "hard" and "iron" present. But that same definitive "fold," as he calls it, leads him to compare the meteorite with parts of living entities: "dog head," "hand," "heart." Dodge not only talks about the experience of looking at the meteorite but also engages other senses: he touches, feels, and even caresses it. This reveals a fundamental quality—its ability to attract: the meteorite is both "beautiful" and "magnetic." In its striking weight, Dodge perceives a will and the intention "to move on" (Dodge 2023[2020]: 88), not to stay

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<sup>2</sup> According to Winnicott, this type of object plays a role in child development by helping the child transition from an early stage—where they experience themselves as one with the mother and do not distinguish between their internal and external worlds—to a later stage, where they begin to perceive the mother and the external world as separate from themselves.

on Earth (analogous to Goldberg and Faivovich). He also has a dream experience where he gathers all the fragments to reconstruct the primordial meteoroid, which would trigger a “Big Bang in reverse” and simultaneously destroy and recreate humanity, enhanced, elsewhere. While the idea of that original and cosmic sameness is still present, an additional facet is seen, a more sensual reaction, oscillating between terror and desire, and sensorially richer. The artist gives voice to the meteorite, but from the subjective experiences imposed on him through its contact.

## Meteorites as sky bodies and “significant” things

As already mentioned, since 1998, we have been studying the relationship between the Moqoit indigenous people, who inhabit the region near Campo del Cielo, and the meteorites found there. Our research reveals that their mythical narratives have often been misinterpreted by some people who insist on searching for memories of the fall of these objects in such stories. However, we have observed that the Moqoit in their relationship with meteorites, do not focus on an event from the past. When they speak of these entities’ arrival on Earth, it is not described as a fall—nor is it considered a chance event. Rather, the Moqoit emphasize the intentionality of the meteorites and their landing on the ground. They regard meteorites as “señas” or clues, i.e. they manifest the intentions and desires of non-human beings that are part of the world and are associated with abundance and fertility. For the Moqoit,

meteorites are not helpless and static objects; they are living beings in motion. They reach the ground, bury themselves, and rise slowly so that the person they wish to favor can find them. Moreover, these beings act on others—not only seeking specific individuals but also making their power and strength felt. They do that, for instance, through their unusual weight when manipulated and which is perceived as an expression of will. Here, weight is not just a quantity that places meteorites in a ranking of passive resistance. On the contrary, it refers to the experience of a force expressing a desire and an intention that impose themselves on the human will. This aligns with Gordillo’s (2020) concept of *gravity* as a crucial component of the *terrain* as “three-dimensional” textured materiality [...] in their capacity to constrain or facilitate human action” (Gordillo 2020: 161). But they also appear in dreams in various forms to those who sleep nearby suggesting courses of action. They are active entities that fertilize the soil in which they are hidden and promote rainfall. Their matter goes beyond the limits of their visible extension, emanating a power that can be perceived by humans in the waking body (through tremors and shivers, generating emotional states of fear and fascination) and in the ecstatic body (through dreams and visions)<sup>3</sup>. These meteorites are landmarks in the landscape, often hidden underground yet perceptible. Their areas of highest concentration likely served as traditional gathering sites, where diverse groups met to forge alliances and celebrate abundance. Despite their unique characteristics, the meteorites are not viewed as separate entities but as part of a broader network of powerful entities. They are strong in an assemblage of strong entities. As we have noted in previous

<sup>3</sup> This is *quesaxanaxa*, a very specific type of “energy” or “power,” with effects on people. In that sense it is something very different from the vague “energy field aboveground caused by the density of pure iron core present in its materials” mentioned by Christov-Bakargiev (2012)

works (López & Altman 2017; López 2021), the Moqoit conceive and experience a socio-cosmos populated and shaped by numerous intentional, social entities —both human and non-human. It is a cosmos defined by perpetual movement and change, where any “unity” is temporary and the result of effort and labor. In line with Ingold’s (2010) perspective, we might say that in the Moqoit cosmos, there are “things” rather than “objects”—things understood as temporary “nodes” in a web of flows, threads, and processes. Thus, the things making up the Moqoit cosmos are not static, closed objects; rather, they constitutively and necessarily require the confluence and divergence of the flows they are part of, demanding work and effort from various agents. In this way, the surfaces of things are not the boundaries of an isolated identity but rather the means and conditions for exchange. Things are nodes of encounter or interaction between flows, parliaments or meeting points; and the “environment,” an intertwined structure of lines (Ingold 2010: 10). For the Moqoit, these lines described by Ingold are itineraries and the very being of things, as manifested in the central idea of *nayic* or path. In this type of world experiences, the properties of materials, of things, are narratives (Ingold 2013: 38).

In the Moqoit cosmos, many “things” are also understood as “bodies,” i.e. sensory expressions of beings with will, desires, and intentions. While this is true for many things, it is not universal, as is also the case among the Ojibwa (Hallowell 2002[1960]: 24-26). When they are perceived as such, these entities are non-human social beings with whom humans engage in relationships similar to those between human individuals. There are gradations of power between humans and non-humans, linked to various forms of sensory manifestation. Menard (2018) reports similar things for the Mapuche case. Within this spectrum, meteorites are especially powerful for the Moqoit, serving as foundational presences of

the cosmos and its origins.

In this sense, the Moqoit understand meteorites as containing a multitude of voices and phenomena that seek to be heard and shape or influence the flow of actions and processes, which is a political process (López 2021). The Moqoit recognize a diversity of human and non-human actors in this process, each bringing its own agendas, interests, power, and negotiating capacity. In a context marked by oppression, the Moqoit demand a place and voice at “the table.” They believe that non-humans speak for themselves and manifest themselves to humans through various signs —phenomena, dreams, visions, and sensory experiences—that humans must endeavor to interpret. From this perspective, positions on the appropriate course of action in each circumstance are not rigid, but subject to evaluation within the specific context of the possibilities for negotiation and/or confrontation with all the actors —both human and non-human—involved.

## Closing words

As we see in these brief sketches of connections with meteorites, diverse models and experiences of the cosmos emerge around them. Some artists approach meteorites as “objects,” to which they attempt —through various operations—to restore agency, seeking to return them to their “purity” before their “fall” to Earth. This “original” condition would tell us something about the essence of these objects, linked to an empty, distant, aseptic pre-human space. The impact with Earth is seen as a chance event, an accident that interrupts the solitary future of the original meteoroid —a true “fall,” a kind of stain or impurity that contaminates the object with human bonds. Humans are thus a contaminant that obscures the nature and

voice of the meteorite, which is “beyond.” This encounter between humans and the “totally other” evokes either a glimpse into the origins or a cosmic fascination mixed with terror. In Gordillo’s (2009: 45) sense, meteorite fragments become actual “ruins” of a cataclysm, imbued with a fetishized value attributed to their own materiality, “beyond the relations of sociality that they articulate.” These meteorites are primarily experienced through sight and touch, their heaviness being a sign of the extraordinary or monstrous and referring to the “cosmic” by their massive weight. Only certain expert human agents are considered apt to “give voice” to the meteorites, thus leading to the exclusion of those deemed too “narrow-minded” to allow the meteorites to express themselves. In the search for a supposed freedom of expression of non-human agencies, the usual circuits of human coloniality are replicated. In some of the other artistic expressions analyzed, we have noted that a connection emerges with a voluptuous emotional experience, intertwined with desire and fear.

For the Moqoit, the world is fluid, with all unity being provisional and constantly redefined. This is a cosmos of “things” rather than “objects,” entities shaped by relationships and tensions. Many of these things are “bodies”—expressions of wills, intentions, and desires—engaged in ongoing political negotiation with one another. In this context, meteorites, descending from the fertile and feminine celestial space, are active entities that manifest to humans as part of a motley set of non-humans that shape the cosmos. While artists may perceive meteorites as “ruins” in Gordillo’s sense, for the Moqoit, they are

closer to “rubble,” as Gordillo also describes (Gordillo 2018). That is, they are materials with generative potential, capable of becoming “bright things”<sup>4</sup> that call for people’s attention, not as simple memorabilia of an old event but as nodal points for their present lives (Gordillo 2018: 123). The experience of meteorites as bodies exceeds the sensory experiences of sight or touch. It includes the perception of an energy understood as a capacity for action and will, felt directly in the body through sensations (like tremors, excitement, and chills), and manifesting in both waking and ecstatic states (through visions and voices). In this sense, meteorites are territorial landmarks even when invisible, bearers of fertility, and covenant offerings. They are entities that can be beneficial but, if mismanaged or manipulated, may also trigger climate disasters. Moqoit ideas thus imply a true cosmopolitics as an inherent part of life. And they include meteorites as a key part of it, giving texture to their experience of the sky, also transforming it into a *terrain* (Gordillo 2020: 169). Our approach demonstrates that, although it may seem straightforward what we mean when we talk about a meteorite, this is not the case. In fact, we believe that meteorites have served as “border things”<sup>5</sup> in Campo del Cielo long before the arrival of the Spanish. As such, they function as nodes around which disparate meanings are loosely articulated. These meteorites are potential points of articulation among diverse human groups, enabling common actions without requiring detailed consensus on the thing in question. Instead, there exists a loose and diffuse shared definition of the entity, while each group maintains its own specific—and sometimes contradictory—definitions. For

<sup>4</sup> We use here “things” instead of “objects” as in the original expression (Gordillo 2018: 123) to reproduce Ingold’s distinction between a thing and an object.

<sup>5</sup> Idem, we use here “things” instead of “objects” as in the original expression (Star 2010) to reproduce Ingold’s distinction between a thing and an object.

this very reason, meteorites become nodes of power struggles for the hegemony over naming, defining, and imposing a classification of what these things are, which ultimately defines the groups that display interests in them (Huvala 2011). This perspective sheds light on the complex dynamics at play in the ongoing processes of heritagization of meteorites.

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