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Cover image from Marissa Blackburn's
A Walk in the Woods collection.

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Faculty Reviewers *(cont.)*

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS

COLLEGE OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

Marissa Blackburn

A Walk in the Woods

"There is a pleasure in the pathless woods, there is a rapture on the lonely shore, there is society, where none intrudes, by the deep sea, and music in its roar: I love not man the less, but nature more"—

Lord Byron[1]

Abstract

For as long as I can remember, there have only been two places that I could truly escape from the stress, anxiety, and worries that typically fill my mind. One is anywhere I can feel alone with nature and truly connect with the natural beauty. The second is anywhere I can get lost and be fully emerged in the creative process of making something pleasing to my soul. The act of making art is not about the final product for me as much as it is about that feeling that comes from exploring and discovering what my materials can lead me to do. Both of these places have allowed me to let go of my fears and connect with a more centered and grounded version of myself. By being "lost" in these places, I am able to truly find who I am.

Both the acts of connecting with nature and connecting with my materials have served as a meditation for me in my life. Just as I love discovering colorful types of lichen and fungi that grow deep in the woods, I also love the process of combining my ceramic creations with my encaustic paintings. The ceramic process of building these lichen and fungi forms by pinching, sculpting, and carving the clay allows me to envision how these things might actually feel in their environments. The ceramic process allows me to not only create textures in clay, but to also explore colorful and textural glazes. Each ceramic form goes through a few different stages. They begin as a hand-built clay form, which is then fired in a kiln to harden the clay. I then hand-painted underglazes and glazes onto each form, which are fired again to create the color and texture seen on each piece. There are many happy accidents that can happen through the mixing of glazes or just from the atmosphere of the kiln itself. With the glazing, I always have a general idea of how the glaze will come out, but different factors can manipulate it slightly. Opening a kiln and discovering the results of the glaze firing has become one of the most exciting parts of the process for me.

Similarly, when I begin painting, I am never certain of the result. I don't have a sketch or a plan because that takes the journey and the exploration out of the process. I have a general concept and idea that I am envisioning for the result, but I let it come together spontaneously. I am always thinking of the colors, the fragments, the memories, the structure, and the bits and pieces of nature that inspire me, and I allow for them to seep into my work in a way that

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1   From "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage [There is pleasure in the pathless woods]" by Lord George Gordon Byron. This poem is in the public domain.

feels natural.

I began by preparing texture on the surface of the wooden panel by using Venetian Plaster. This helps create both built-up areas and flat surfaces for the encaustic to stick to. Encaustics are essentially made of wax, resin, and pigments. They must be heated to be fluid and workable. Instead of a palette, I work with the encaustics on a small griddle. I use metal tins to keep the colors separate and contained, but I can also mix colors directly on the surface of the griddle. Paint brushes and silicone brushes are then used to apply the encaustic on to the surface of the painting. In some cases, I allow for the encaustic to stay more textural by dabbing it on with a brush. While in other areas, I reheat the applied encaustic with a heat gun to create smooth pools. Throughout the entire process of painting, I continually add in my ceramic forms. Most of the forms are held on the surface by reheating the encaustics and letting them absorb into the porous side of the ceramic form. By working with encaustics and ceramics, I can slowly create an abstracted reflection of how being in the woods makes me feel.

The first image was one of several tree-inspired pieces. For these particular pieces, I wanted to convey a sense of looking at these forms growing vertically, as one might potentially spot them when walking through the woods. These pieces were hung at eye level, or slightly above for the installation. The idea was that this installation of paintings and ceramic forms would guide the viewer through looking at them in a way that felt similar to a walk in the woods. The tree-inspired pieces had an element that the ground pieces did not; on the edge of the wooden panel, they had ceramic lichen that visually folded along the side and on to the surface of the wall, as if they were growing along the painting and out onto the wall.

During my final semester, while creating this body of work for my senior show, I had the opportunity to travel to Portland, Oregon, for the *National Council on Education for the Ceramic Arts Conference*. Traveling to Oregon and seeing such beautiful and vibrant moss, lichens, and other fungi was the perfect inspiration to push my work further. This piece was created immediately after returning from this trip, and it was a crucial piece in how my work developed. In this piece, I was able to create a harmonious, abstracted vision of the sights in the woods of Oregon. The work that followed was greatly influenced by all the techniques that I had explored in this particular piece. This piece was one that I considered to be inspired by visions of things spotted on the ground. For the final installation, these were hung at a lower level than other pieces that were inspired by things that might be viewed head-on while in the woods.

MADELINE BRICE

BOOTS AND NAKED LUNCH

ABSTRACT

Boots and *Naked Lunch* are two pieces from a continuing series of self and sexual identification. These pieces are a reflection on the state of mind I inhabited following my second trimester abortion in the winter of 2014. For months, my mind could not escape the wrath of postpartum depression that unexpectedly followed. "Alone" is the only way I know how to describe it. With this continuing series, I seek to encapsulate the way in which my thoughts and mind were fixated in bed, on "the bed," stuck, unable to get up, and the various encounters that have taken place within my bed ever since, sometimes merely a figment of my imagination. My association with my bed, intimacy, relationships, and all that accompanies has become a different experience for me every day following. It has forced me to address various personal behaviors and emotions associated with the bed.

Boots and *Naked Lunch* are only two pieces of a larger body of work that were created very early on, closely following the termination, therefore reflecting some of my darkest moments. Throughout the first five pieces within this series, I show less and less of my body until I am completely out of the composition in the fifth piece; yet, shadows or remnants of self still loom. I chose to do this to further emphasize a sense of losing the self mentally and physically. I show myself surrounded by objects I had associated with happiness, or boots to symbolize the want to get up and get out, as if material objects could save me. Yet my bed became a breeding ground for dark, all-consuming thoughts.

This series is a continuation, exemplifying the ways in which I navigate relationships and the self, both sexually and emotionally, following the winter of 2014.

Boots

This piece represents a moment in time when my sense of self seemed fleeting. I felt like I was quickly deteriorating into the blanket of depression around me, represented in the slightly under-painted styling of my legs. The boots I used as a tool of symbolism to represent the want to get up, to get out, and to trek through the mess. I was ready to move on.

Naked Lunch

This piece represents an earlier moment in time following the abortion—when the sense of loss was truly setting in. The title *Naked Lunch*, based on the book by William S. Burroughs, is placed within the composition because I wanted to draw parallels between parts of the plot and my life in that moment. I incorporated a succulent plant to symbolize the growth or change that needed to take place within and around me.

Elizabeth Frazier

Archaeology and the Role of Early Islamic Architecture in the Construction of the Jordanian National Identity

Abstract

The ideals of Arab nationalism promote an identity contrary to the sense of territorial nationalism arising after the new borders of the artificial Middle Eastern state system were imposed. To build a state-centric loyalty, leaders were forced to undertake nation-building projects, in which a collective identity could serve as a source of unity within the given borders. In the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the ruling elite sought to create a Jordanian cultural identity grounded in more than the new state borders. To accomplish this, archaeological discoveries of the region's Arab-Islamic past were explicitly used to connect the modern citizen to the broader ideals of an Arab-Islamic identity, as they existed within the Jordanian territory.

Introduction

After World War I, imperial powers delineated states in the Middle East where none had before existed. The first mission of those who came to rule these new states was to foster an initial identity that would unite the inhabitants, legitimize the leadership, and create a nation for the state. Nations tend to be "understood as real entities, as communities, as substantial, enduring collectivities" with their existence taken for granted, yet how the nation comes into existence is a subject of great debate.[1] Modern nations regularly make ex post facto claims about the cultural and historical legacies of their professed, although often questionable, ancestral heritages in the pursuit of a common national identity.[2] To convince their citizens to adopt the state-defined collective identity, use of ideological power must assume both a conceptual and physical form that is able to be discussed and experienced by the public.[3] Visual representations of ideological power are remarkably impactful, considering "its ability to bypass the linguistic realm of logic and establish truth claims on a psychologically deeper level," without directly asserting the argument and

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[1]   Rogers Brubaker, "Rethinking Nationhood: Nation as Institutionalized Form, Practical Category, Contingent Event," *Contention* 4, no. 1 (1994): 3.

[2]   Juan R. I. Cole and Deniz Kandiyoti, "Nationalism and the Colonial Legacy in the Middle East and Central Asia: Introduction," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34, (2002): 191.

[3]   Jonathan Endelman, "Displaying the State: Visual Signs and Colonial Construction in Jordan," *Theory and Society* 44 (2015): 200.

exposing it to rejection.[4] The Hashemite monarchy of Jordan utilized archae-ological excavations to create a physical representation of its state-defined collective identity to connect the people with the new borders, as well as establish their legitimacy as the ruling family.

The Middle Eastern State System

Centrally located at the confluence of the European, Asian, and African continents, the Arab world encompasses the regions from Iraq to Morocco, including the Fertile Crescent, Arab Gulf, Nile Valley, and North Africa.[5] Rather than a defined political entity, the Arab world represents a fluid cultural community bound together through claims of a common language, heritage, and culture.[6] As an ideology, Arab nationalism memorializes past Arab and Islamic civilizations that united the Arab world, and aspires to reunite the Arabs into a single, independent state in the modern world.[7] The fundamental beliefs of Arab nationalism provoke a sense of loyalty distinct from that of the modern state system, which was imposed on the Middle East by imperial powers after World War I.

World War I resulted in the establishment of the modern Middle Eastern state system, which formalized foreign control in the region through the new League of Nations and fundamentally altered its political boundaries.[8] In 1915, Britain, France, and Russia—the core of the Entente powers—began to initiate a series of secret negotiations that sought mutual support for territorial claims and endorsed the practice of partitioning Middle Eastern lands as compensation for fighting their adversaries.[9] Along with the establishment of the League of Nations and its mandate system, negotiations at Versailles divided the lands of the former Ottoman Empire between France and Great Britain.[10] According to its charter, the League of Nations established mandates in the Levant and Mesopotamia in order for European powers to provide support for these "temporary 'colonies,'" until determined to be capable of self-rule.[11] However, in practice, the mandate system allowed the British and French

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4   Ibid., 204.

5   Roy R. Anderson, Robert Seibert and John G. Wagner, *Politics and Change in the Middle East* (New York: Routledge, 2011): 2.

6   'Abd al-Aziz al-Duri, "The Historical Roots of Arab Nationalism," in *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East*, ed. Kemal Karpat (Santa Barbara: Praeger Publishers, 1982): 25.

7   Shannon Fleming, "Searching for the Jordanian Nation: Archaeology and the Fluidity of Nationalism," Master's thesis presented to the *Department of Near East and Judaic Studies at Brandeis University*, (2015): 38.

8   Matthew F. Jacobs, "World War I: A War (and Peace?) for the Middle East," *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 4 (2014): 777.

9   James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011): 187.

10   Jacobs, "World War I: A War (and Peace?) for the Middle East," 779.

11   Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*, 191.

to partition the region for their benefit without any serious deliberation of whether the partitioned territories were either politically or economically sustainable.[12] The modern state system and requisite division of Arab lands after World War I contradicted the natural features of the land, and was delineated with little concern for any pre-existing identities or communities, therefore many of those familiar with the region's history consider the "frontiers erected after [as] artificial."[13]

The advent of a Middle Eastern state did not negate the Arab nationalist ideals already entrenched in the population; therefore, the leaders of these new states were tasked with creating a compelling national identity that was synonymous with the imposed artificial borders. To work toward this goal, leaders sought to create and perpetuate an identity for their peoples that would legitimize central rule in state borders that broke up the pan-Arab dream, and establish a sense of nationalism based on the territorial bounds of the state. As a theory of political legitimacy, nationalism requires "that the political and the national unit…be congruent;"[14] however, rather than an absolute fact, nationhood is a claim about one's self-identity and loyalty, which constitutes "the universal formula for legitimizing statehood."[15] Constructing a national narrative that could compete with the dominant pan-Arab discourse was the most pressing task for the rulers of post-colonial states with deeply divided populations.[16]

The main goal of the various Middle Eastern regimes was to foster a more European sense of patriotism, previously foreign to this region, alongside a type of state-branded Arabism.[17] Along with the more grandiose annual displays of identity, such as the Jerash Festival of Culture and Arts, the efficient execution of the ideological power necessary to induce a genuine adoption of the hybrid narrative requires the constant inclusion of ideologically-loaded banal symbols to be displayed in the daily lives of the population. The selection of images to be used in this process is the result of careful consideration and negotiation between the narrative that the regime would like to communicate, and what is calculated to be received best by the public.[18] Islamic art and architecture became politically useful for contemporary actors in the artificial

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12   Ibid., 192.

13   Darwish al-Jundi, "The Foundations and Objectives of Arab Nationalism," in *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East*, ed. Kemal Karpat (Santa Barbara: Praeger Publishers, 1982): 32.

14   Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006): 1.

15   Rogers Brubaker, "In the Name of the Nation: Reflections on Nationalism and Patriotism," *Citizenship Studies* 8, no. 2 (2004): 119.

16   Ibid., 117.

17   Amatzia Baram, "Territorial Nationalism in the Middle East," *Middle Eastern Studies* 26, no. 4 (1990): 425.

18   Endelman, "Displaying the State," 215.

Middle Eastern state system to foster an identity tied to the new territorial borders. For Jordan, archaeology was a way to uncover ruins of the Arab-Islamic past and symbolize the connection between the modern territory and the previously more pan-Arab/pan-Islamic civilizations.

Negotiating the Jordanian Nation

Initially created as a mandate of Britain, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan had no historical existence as an independent political entity before the imposition of the new Middle Eastern state system, despite evidence suggesting inhabitancy in the territory as far back as the Paleolithic era.[19] As part of the World War I practice of negotiating secret agreements undertaken by the Entente powers, the British sought to foster a strategic partnership with an Arabian warlord from Mecca, Sharif Hussein of the Hashemite clan. The Hashemite family claims to be descendants of the Islamic Prophet Muhammad, tracing their lineage to the same Bani Hashem clan and Quraysh tribe, a member of which has been appointed to be the protector of the Islamic Holy sites in Mecca since 480 C.E.[20] In exchange for the right to create a state among the inconclusively defined borders of primarily Arab territories within the soon-to-be defeated Ottoman Empire, Sharif Hussein committed to orchestrating a rebellion against the Ottoman Empire, known as the Great Arab Revolt. Following the success of the Hashemite-led revolt, the British appointed Sharif Hussein's son, Emir Abdullah, as the ruler of the eastern region of the Mandate of Palestine in 1922, which became Transjordan.[21] After the resolution of World War II and the creation of the United Nations, the British mandate program ended in 1946, and Transjordan attained independence as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan with Emir Abdullah (Abdullah I) named the first king of Jordan.[22]

Definition of Identity

The new Hashemite monarch was first tasked with subduing the powerful alliances between Bedouin tribes native to the area if he was to utilize the recently acquired authority to govern Transjordan. Not only was the institu-

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19   Abdelmajeed Rjoub, "The Relationship between Heritage Resources and Contemporary Architecture of Jordan," *Architecture Research* 6, no. 1 (2016): 2.

20   Endelman, "Displaying the State," 207.

21   David Myers, Stacie Nicole Smith and May Shaer, *A Didactic Case Study of Jarash Archaeological Site, Jordan: Stakeholders and Heritage Values in Site Management* (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute with the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 2010): 11.

22   Fleming, "Searching for the Jordanian Nation," 42.

tion of the modern state foreign to the territory, but the Hashemite family were also outsiders who originated from the Hijaz, the western region of modern Saudi Arabia. Unfamiliar with living under a centralized power that restricted tribal autonomy, the tribes detested the imposed Westphalian state system and did not acknowledge the colonially-created state in theory or in practice.[23] To combat the weak political legitimacy of the new leaders, the Hashemite ruling elite constructed their identity in a manner that placed them within the narrative of the indigenous tribes, while carefully avoiding any encroachment on the Arab nationalist narrative that had been established in the region.

As a part of the nation-building process, the regime created an official national identity that included varying elements, each of which appealed to a different sector of the population. The traditional tribal quality of the region was expanded to the national level, portraying the Hashemite monarch as the "shaykh of shaykhs," and head of the greater Jordanian family.[24] Genealogical ties to Muhammad bolstered the ruling family's legitimacy on the basis of its religious status, as well as its historical leadership in the greater Arab world as protector of the Holy city of Mecca.[25] While both the tribal and religious representations of Hashemite identity evoked a potential sense of loyalty to the territory governed by the monarchy, the ruling elite still had to ensure not to completely replace the ideals of Arab unity. To satisfy the pan-Arab tendencies of their people, the Hashemites, as the leaders of the Great Arab Revolt during World War I, celebrate the starting date of the revolt as a national holiday and a "reminder of the pan-Arab historical ambitions of the Hashemite family."[26]

Although the Jordanian ruling elite would ideally foster a sense of loyalty to the territorial borders that transcends any preexisting sub-state and supra-state loyalties, the presentation of this narrative had to also appeal to the preexisting Arab or tribal identity of the population. A compromise between the territorial identity desired by the ruling elite and the loyalties already held by the public resulted in the promotion of an Arab-Islamic collective identity for the Jordanian nation. The associated national project was partially undertaken by promoting archaeological displays of the Arab-Islamic past that occurred within the modern territorial borders of the Kingdom of Jordan. Not only did the claimed ancestral heritage associated with the presentations of archaeology fit within the negotiated identity, but it was also generally easier for state officials to attach a new political meaning to preexisting symbols that already held

23   Endelman, "Displaying the State," 208.

24   Ibid., 213.

25   Linda L. Layne, "The Dialogics of Tribal Self-Representation in Jordan," *American Ethnologist* 16, no. 1 (1989): 24.

26   Baram, "Territorial Nationalism in the Middle East," 439.

a sense of cultural legitimacy.[27] Constructing the Jordanian national identity on the basis of the Hashemite family's tribal, religious, and pan-Arab qualities has allowed for the complex identity to adapt to the many changing political situations that the regime had to face. This flexible national identity and the physical manifestations of its representation has produced a level of political legitimacy that is necessary to enable the foreign Hashemite ruling elite to effectively govern the artificial state.

ARCHAEOLOGY: PHYSICAL MANIFESTATIONS OF IDENTITY CREATION

Throughout the Hashemite national project, the state has sought to promote an Arab-Islamic basis for identity that is dependent upon Hashemite history, as well as the Arab-Islamic past that took place within the new borders of Jordan. Through its support and promotion of excavations occurring at Arab and Islamic sites, the regime relied on archaeology to uncover the remains of the valorized Arab-Islamic past in the territory to legitimize the new borders and the ruling elite.

A collaborative effort between Arab and British troops in 1917 brought an end to the Ottoman Empire and ushered in the Mandatory Period of Jordan's history, in which Britain assumed control over the mandate of Transjordan beginning in 1922.[28] In order for Jordan to survive as an independent entity, Abdullah I recognized the need to establish political stability and unite the people under his rule to create and foster an identity based on his Arab and Islamic qualities.[29] Historically, the Hashemites have had territorial ambitions beyond the artificial state borders, which resulted in the initial use of ancient Islamic architecture to create an identity that was not confined to the modern day state system, while also establishing the prominence of the territory that is now Jordan within this Arab-Islamic past.[30]

The importance of archaeology for the Jordanian government was first acknowledged in 1923 when Abdullah I established the Department of Antiquities (DoA), as well as the Law for Antiquities in Transjordan that followed in 1925.[31] During the Mandatory Period, archaeological efforts were directed more toward economic and social uses, focusing on the Christian sites that cultivated a tourism industry within the territory. As Transjordan gained independence from Britain and entered its Independence Period (1946-1970),

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27 Endelman, "Displaying the State," 209.

28 Myers, Smith and Shaer, *A Didactic Case Study of Jarash Archaeological Site, Jordan*, 11.

29 Fleming, "Searching for the Jordanian Nation," 37.

30 Baram, "Territorial Nationalism in the Middle East," 439.

31 Myers, Smith and Shaer, *A Didactic Case Study of Jarash Archaeological Site, Jordan*, 11.

archaeological expeditions evolved to focus on more nationalist endeavors, forming the basis of the identity project.[32]

After the assassination of Abdullah I in 1951, his grandson, Hussein, became the new King of Jordan following his eighteenth birthday in 1953.[33] Immediately, King Hussein recognized the role of archaeology in the official national identity project, as it uncovered and created a sense of Arab-Islamic nationalism in Jordan. It was this Arab-Islamic identity that created a sense of a Jordanian nation and identified Jordan as a genuine Arab-Islamic state through "a shared history and culture between past and present Arabs and Muslims."[34]

The government was more active in archaeological programs that took place in the Independence Period, as evidenced by the increase in archaeological organizations and the level of government oversight on individual projects. This increased involvement by the regime indicated the "Hashemite's search for the Arab and Islamic heritage in the land of Jordan."[35] The main sites of importance in this period were the Islamic Holy sites in Jerusalem, the cities of Jerash and Aila, as well as the Umayyad desert castles that demonstrated the area's prestigious Arab and Islamic past. The creation of this Arab-Islamic identity in Jordan united the people and strengthened Jordanian relationships with other Arab states in the region, bringing both internal and external stability to the new state.[36]

Both Abdullah I and Hussein I were personally involved in the excavations at Aila, Umayyad desert castles, and the renovation projects undertaken at the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, with the goal of creating a visible reiteration of an Arab-Islamic heritage as a part of official identity formation in Jordan.[37] The regime funded and oversaw the excavations undertaken by the Ministry of Tourism and the DoA, created museums to display the relevant discoveries, and encouraged scholarly publications related to these sites.[38] The monarchy also aimed to establish sole authority over the renovations in Jerusalem through the pursuit of legal avenues. These efforts on the part of the state were done to create a visible representation of the shared aspects of identity that connected the Jordanian peoples to the Hashemites, as well as the new territorial borders.

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32   Fleming, "Searching for the Jordanian Nation," 68.
33   Ibid., 39.
34   Ibid., 69.
35   Ibid.
36   Ibid., 71.
37   Ibid., 65.
38   Ibid.

Hashemite Control over the Holy City of Jerusalem

At the end of the 1948 war between Israel and Palestine, Jordan was able to occupy the West Bank, including Jerusalem, and officially annexed this territory in 1950, thereby establishing Hashemite control over the Haram al-Sharif ("Noble Sanctuary") and fulfilling pan-Arab territorial ambitions.[39] Located at the site of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem that was destroyed in 70 AD, the Haram al-Sharif encompasses the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa mosque, both of which represent the prominence and capabilities of ancient civilizations.[40] Jerusalem was integral to Abdullah I and Hussein I's political projects and the initial Jordanian identity; however, the personal connection formed between the Hashemites and the Holy sites was equally important due to the legitimacy it bestowed upon the regime in the domestic realm, as well as in the greater Islamic world.[41]

During the Umayyad dynasty (661-750), the construction of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem established the city as a Muslim spiritual center and declared the sovereignty of Islam in the Holy city.[42] Later Umayyad and Abbasid rulers contributed to a process of construction and renovation at the site, which continued notably until the fourteenth century Mamluk period. Although subsequent rulers from various dynasties undertook restoration projects to establish their religious and political status, the region suffered from a level of fragmentation that hindered significant renovation to the Haram al-Sharif at various points throughout history.[43]

After the West Bank was annexed, the Jordanian government referred to Jerusalem as its "second capital" and initiated a number of restoration projects at the Haram al-Sharif, both on a governmental and personal monarchical level.[44] After years of Jerusalem being controlled by non-Islamic actors, these programs, undertaken by the Hashemites, placed the Haram al-Sharif under nationalized Muslim rule once again.[45] This was a significant move for the Hashemite's to gain more political legitimacy, as control over Jerusalem figures prominently in the Arab nationalist movement, but, more importantly, Jordanian control over the sites allowed for the regime to exploit symbols related to the city in its national identity project.

From 1960 to 1967, the Jordanian government funded and oversaw a reno-

39   Moshe Shemesh, "The IDF Raid on Samu': The Turning Point in Jordan's Relations with Israel and the West Bank Palestinians," *Israel Studies* 7, no. 1 (2002): 140.

40   Barbara Brend, *Islamic Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992): 24.

41   Fleming, "Searching for the Jordanian Nation," 57.

42   Ibid., 58.

43   Beatrice St. Laurent, "The Dome of the Rock and the Politics of Restoration" *Bridgewater Review* 17, no. 2 (1998): 15.

44   Fleming, "Searching for the Jordanian Nation," 60.

45   St. Laurent, "The Dome of the Rock and the Politics of Restoration," 18.

vation project at the Dome of the Rock that focused on strengthening its structural integrity, as well as restoring the gold color of the dome for the first time since its early existence.[46] The regime promulgated its authority over the sites in Jordan and publicized the work conducted in Jerusalem through the use of propaganda. Stamps, brochures, and newspapers were circulated throughout the country, which depicted Hussein I overlooking the completed projects at the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque sites. In an effort to raise awareness of the project, the government held a celebration in 1964 in which Hussein I led a prayer and gave a speech about the renovations, with images of the Holy sites displayed alongside the Hashemite crest in the background.[47] Similar to the earlier, politically motivated restoration projects, the Dome of the Rock was used by the Hashemite regime to depict its authority and religious dedication as part of the identity project that aimed to connect the Jordanian people to their Arab-Islamic pasts.

Jordanian control of Jerusalem was imperative for the role that archaeology played in creating a national identity, marking the shift between the economic focus of the Mandatory Period and the nationalistic focus of the Independence Period. Control over the sites in Jerusalem aided the promotion of a shared history and a culture between the regime and the peoples in the territory, which now comprised the state of Jordan.[48] In 1988, Jordan legally disengaged from the West Bank, forcing the regime's official identity project to move away from its focus on Jerusalem, which was no longer under Hashemite control, thus emphasizing the Arab-Islamic heritage that took place within the internationally recognized borders of Jordan instead.[49] In order to visibly represent this identity, the focus of archaeological exploration shifted to the cities of Aila and Jerash, as well as the various Umayyad desert castles found within the territorial bounds of Jordan.

Aila and the Islamic Identity after Disengagement

The ancient city of Aila, located on the Gulf of Aqaba, was likely a city in the Nabataean Kingdom, a client of the Roman Empire.[50] During this time, the city held a strategic location at the intersection of several key roads into Syria and Palestine, where it acted as a border control point. Historically, Aila was a center of trade that rulers sought to control in efforts to develop ties

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46   Ibid.
47   Fleming, "Searching for the Jordanian Nation," 68.
48   Ibid., 65.
49   Baram, "Territorial Nationalism in the Middle East," 441.
50   Alexandra Retzleff, "A Nabataean and Roman Domestic Area at the Red Sea Port of Aila," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 331, (2003): 45.

with the East, despite the difficulty of getting there from the Mediterranean.[51] After the advent of Islam and the creation of the Suez Canal, Aila (later Aqaba) served as a meeting point for pilgrims heading to Mecca from Syria, Egypt, and North Africa.[52] Aila's location was the main factor of the city's strategic importance before and after it was conquered by Muhammad.

Although Aila held a strategic position in pre-Islamic times, the city became even more important after its submission to Muhammad in 630—the first in his conquest of Tabuk, which led to the domination of Islam in Arabia.[53] In an agreement between Muhammad and a representative of Aila, the people of Aila received protection from Muhammad in exchange for access to the city, which opened the door to Syria and Palestine for the Muslims, providing water and a place to rest before attacks were launched to the north. This agreement established Aila—originally a Roman-Byzantine, Christian city—as the first Islamic city outside of Arabia, which allowed Islam to spread rapidly from the Hijaz into the Levant, North Africa, and parts of Central Asia.[54] The relationship forged with Aila was continually important for Muslims as it also enabled Abu Bakr, father-in-law of the Prophet and first successor/caliph, to command his armies to "follow the way of Aila with Palestine for objective," after Muhammad's death.[55] The role of Aila in enabling the spread of Islam adds to the city's pre-Islamic significance in the minds of Jordanians.

After the Muslims took over the city of Aila, immigrants from the Arabian Peninsula settled in the Palestinian region, typically creating urban centers next to the preexisting settlements.[56] Since this led to a relatively high level of activity in the area, archaeologists have uncovered early Islamic items that suggest the existence of domestic settlements in the areas that surrounded Aila.[57] Beyond these domestic centers, archaeologists have focused the majority of their work on the ruins of infrastructure in Aila, including the city walls, archways, wealthy residences of merchants, and the main congregational mosque. [58] In Aila, the congregational mosque and the Dar al-Imara, an administrative building and possibly the governor's home, date back to between the mid-eighth and -ninth centuries, representing early Islamic architecture, as well as

51   Alexander Melamid, "The Political Geography of the Gulf of Aqaba," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 47, no. 3 (1957): 231.

52   Philip Mayerson, "The First Muslim Attacks on Southern Palestine (A.D. 633-634)," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 95, (1964): 170.

53   Ibid., 171.

54   Fleming, "Searching for the Jordanian Nation," 44.

55   Mayerson, "The First Muslim Attacks on Southern Palestine (A.D. 633-634)," 174.

56   Robert Schick, "Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine: Palestine in the Early Islamic Period: Luxuriant Legacy," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 61, no. 2 (1998): 88.

57   Retzleff, "A Nabataean and Roman Domestic Area at the Red Sea Port of Aila," 62.

58   Fleming, "Searching for the Jordanian Nation," 46.

the wealth and significance of the city in ancient Islamic times.[59]

By focusing on these major elements that made up this city of great Islamic importance, the Hashemite-sponsored archaeology projects created a visible presence of the prestige of earlier Arab-Islamic settlements in the modern borders of the state. Also, at the time of these excavations, the Hashemites built a museum at the site housing artifacts that date back to between the seventh century and twelfth century, which represents the power of Islam and the Arabs in the region's history.[60] Efforts to create a visible awareness at the Aila site is part of the Hashemite political project of identity creation, acknowledging Aila as the first city of Arab power in Jordan, which also facilitated the spread of Islam into the greater Arab world.[61]

Aila's role as a key city that facilitated the rapid spread of Islam under Muhammad made the city an attractive option for the Hashemite regime to develop after disengagement from the West Bank, as it restored a sense of the religious legitimacy of the land, and the ruling family as descendants of Muhammad. Along with Aila, the city of Jerash is utilized by the Hashemite regime in their official identity creation project. While the ancient city of Aila demonstrates specific early Islamic activities, Jerash displays the great length of Arab power and culture in the territory of modern Jordan.

JERASH: HISTORIC ARAB SETTLEMENT IN TODAY'S TERRITORIAL BORDERS

Located in northern Jordan, the ancient Roman city of Gerasa—modern-day Jerash—has played a major role in the political-cultural program, based on the discovery and promotion of archaeological artifacts and historic architecture.[62] The earliest evidence of settlement in Jerash goes back to the Neolithic Age; however, the area flourished significantly as a result of the stability and peace provided by the Roman Empire. This era was known as the Pax Romana, in which Gerasa was located at a strategic point along the intersection of important trade routes connecting Rome and the Mediterranean with Arabia and parts of Asia.

After disengagement from the West Bank, Jerash became the focus of intensive Hashemite excavation and reconstruction, resulting in its status as the second most visited cultural site in Jordan.[63] In their role as stakeholders in the

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59   Ibid.
60   Ibid., 66.
61   Ibid., 47.
62   Myers, Smith, and Shaer, *A Didactic Case Study of Jarash Archaeological Site, Jordan*, 8.
63   Ibid., 9.

archaeological sites, contemporary inhabitants of Jerash were interviewed as part of a study by Myers, Smith, and Shaer. Most interviewees revealed a sense of pride in the city's archaeological sites, "noting that it is the most complete Roman-era city outside of Italy...and that it provides a sense of the grandeur of the architecture and culture of that time."[64] Others of those interviewed argued that Jerash "was not a 'Roman' city built and occupied by foreigners but rather a city of Arab origin built in the style and time of the Roman Empire, with some leadership from the Romans, but primarily built and inhabited by local people."[65] The study also draws attention to this distinction made by the local peoples, as it "heightened the value of the site's national and pan-national history, a source of pride for the people of Jordan who are ethnically connected to the site's ancient inhabitants."[66]

Initially, the offices of the DoA were established in Jerash, a recognition of the area's archaeological and cultural value based on its historical past and its contributions to the establishment of a visible Arab-Islamic heritage.[67] In an attempt by the state to encourage citizens to visualize and experience their Arab heritage, admission to the Jerash archaeological site includes access to the DoA's on-site museum, which houses objects discovered from the eras between the Stone Age and the Mamluk period. The cost of admission into the archaeological site is significantly lower for Jordanians than foreigners, maximizing the local exposure and understanding of the site and its history by costing locals only 0.5JD ($0.70 USD).[68] The DoA is responsible for not only overseeing all the archaeological work in Jordan, but also for raising public awareness through the museums on site and educational outreach. Working with the Ministry of Education, the DoA is continuously developing ways to enhance the manner in which the history of Jerash is taught in schools. In addition to efforts of the DoA, the Jordan Heritage Development Society (JHD) is a national organization that focuses its operations on raising public awareness of the local heritage in Jerash and training educators on how the city's history fits within that of the modern state, as well as how that connection can be best taught to school children.[69] Through the DoA's creation and promotion of educational programs relating to the archaeological site, the government is able to control what narrative is fostered and how Jordanians of all ages will interpret their Arab heritage as it relates to Jerash.

Jerash is home to Jordan's "main ideological-cultural annual event," the

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64 Ibid., 32.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
67 Fleming, "Searching for the Jordanian Nation," 29.
68 Myers, Smith, and Shaer, *A Didactic Case Study of Jarash Archaeological Site, Jordan*, 21.
69 Ibid., 31.

Jerash Festival of Culture and Arts.[70] Started by Queen Noor al-Hussein in 1981, this three-week festival is a government-sponsored event held at the Jerash archaeological site that features various artists from Jordan and the greater Arab world, such as craft exhibits and performances of music, dance, folklore, etc.[71] Not only does the popular festival aim to connect the history of ancient civilizations with that of today, but it also seeks to establish Jerash as the bridge between eastern and western civilizations of the past, as well as between Jordan and the rest of the Arab world today. The government promotes the site at Jerash as "'the eternal archaeological city' that was the 'meeting place of peoples and civilizations throughout history'…[in order] 'to join the ancient civilizational history with modern [history].'"[72] The role of this highly publicized festival is to encourage Jordanians to experience a local-territorial sense of nationalism and to visibly bolster the Hashemite-centric view of the Arab narrative, especially with the inability of the regime to depend on the symbols in Jerusalem after official disengagement.

The Umayyad Desert Castles and an Emphasis on Territorial Heritage

Other archaeological expeditions have been supported and promoted by the regime in its efforts to establish a Jordanian identity based on the territory's Arab-Islamic past, such as the projects undertaken at the desert castles of the Umayyad Dynasty. Several palaces are scattered in the desert east of Amman and were built along trade routes that facilitated travel between Syria and Egypt by the dynasty's various caliphs, successors to Muhammad's political and protectionary role rather than his religious designation.[73] Most of the building done during the Umayyad Dynasty was undertaken by the Caliph Walid I; however, those who ruled before him also tended to build their palaces in the region of Palestine and Transjordan.[74]

Most palaces discovered in Jordan are typical of Umayyad construction, following a square plan with a central courtyard surrounded by rooms and a portico.[75] The best-known palaces in the Jordanian desert are Qasr Amra, known for its lavish paintings, and the Mshatta, an unfinished, but extravagantly planned complex just south of Amman.[76] An inscription of the Greek word

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70   Baram, "Territorial Nationalism in the Middle East," 440.

71   Myers, Smith and Shaer, *A Didactic Case Study of Jarash Archaeological Site, Jordan*, 31.

72   Baram, "Territorial Nationalism in the Middle East," 440.

73   Moshe Sharon, "Notes and Communications: An Arabic Inscription from the Time of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29, no. 2 (1966): 370

74   Maurice Chehab, "The Umayyad Palace at 'Anjar," in *Ars Orientalis* 5, (1963): 20.

75   Fleming, "Searching for the Jordanian Nation," 49.

76   Oleg Grabar, "Umayyad 'Palace and the 'Abbasid 'Revolution,'" in *Studia Islamica* 18, (1963): 131.

for "victory," found near the fresco at Qasr Amra, attributes more significance to this site. Archaeologists interpreted this inscription to be representative of an Umayyad view that they were the descendants of previously conquered dynasties, as well as a symbol of the victory of the Arab-Islamic civilizations. [77]Excavations and restorations undertaken at these sites act as another visible reiteration of the valorized civilizations of Jordan's past.

The DoA oversaw projects undertaken at Qasr Amra and other Umayyad sites to preserve these areas as examples of early Islamic art and architecture, as well as to incorporate the Umayyad presence in Jordan into the Hashemite's political representation of the lands' history that was now within their territorial borders. A museum built symbolically at the Citadel in Amman, the site of a previously existing Umayyad house, exhibits artifacts from the desert castles and represents the importance of those sites in the foundation of the territory that now makes up the state of Jordan.[78] Results of the projects undertaken at the Umayyad desert castles are publicly displayed to create a visible awareness of the past in a way that is accessible to most Jordanians and visiting tourists, due to the central downtown location of the Citadel. The Umayyad desert castles are used to demonstrate the activities of the powerful elites of past civilizations that took on Jordanian lands, and are part of the regime's efforts to connect the Jordanian people with a past that is enclosed within the modern state borders.

Conclusion

Since the imposition of the modern state system in the Middle East, political identity creation programs have been undertaken by states across the region. Although the regional system is an artificial creation of the post-World War I era, some states have a greater depth of collective history from which to draw when creating a nation within the established territorial boundaries. Egypt and Turkey, for example, boast a historical collective identity that roughly encompassed the territory enclosed within their modern borders. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, on the other hand, is distinctly devoid of any sort of coherent past to naturally unify those who reside in the territorial borders. To further complicate the regime-sponsored identity creation project, the Hashemite ruling family originates from the Hijaz, and is not native to the lands that became Jordan. The regime was forced to find the most acceptable notion of identity that would not only legitimize the territorial borders and the family's personal authority to rule, but would also carefully avoid challenging

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77   Fleming, "Searching for the Jordanian Nation," 52.
78   Ibid., 66.

the appeal of pan-Arabism or the tribal loyalties already strongly held by the native peoples. The constructed identity had to carefully balance the various elements of which it was comprised or else it could be dangerous for either the regional state system or the Hashemite monarchy. Too much emphasis on the pan-Arab component of the elite-constructed identity would threaten the territorial integrity of the state, while an indigenous sense of nationalism would preclude Hashemite participation. The result of this complex and far from rigid process was a state-branded emphasis on the Arab-Islamic culture that took place in the lands that are now a part of the state, while also maintaining enough flexibility to adapt to the changing domestic and international political environments.

The Hashemite monarchy in Jordan has actively pursued an identity construction program to legitimize their rule and create a sense of attachment between the people, the land and the regime, based on shared Arab-Islamic qualities. As descendants of the Prophet and the leaders of the Great Arab Revolt, the familial history of the Hashemite ruling elites fits naturally within this discourse. To make this regime-sponsored identity accessible to all Jordanians, the government has sponsored archaeological expeditions and restoration projects of early Islamic architecture within their borders, including the cities of Jerash and Aila, the Umayyad desert castles, and the Holy sites under Hashemite control in Jerusalem. The goal of this project is for the Jordanian people to develop a personal connection to the Islamic history valorized in the Arab nationalist movement, emphasizing that which took place within the modern borders. These efforts are all part of a political program that aims to build an effective bridge between the ideals of pan-Arabism and territorial nationalism.

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Morgan Green

Reason Produces Real Monsters

Abstract

My work tends to draw from the imagery and themes employed by earlier artists, with research serving as the driving force in my creative process. I find that rather than trying to express something new, responding to previous works engages me and demonstrates their continued relevance in our culture. *Reason Produces Real Monsters* is directly influenced by plate 43 of Francisco Goya's *Caprichos* series, and is my way of continuing the conversation that he started. Plate 43, titled "The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters," explores the torment of emotions and fears without the strength of Reason to restrain them.

The relationship between logic and emotion has long fascinated and frustrated me, and I identify strongly with Goya's perspective. I consider myself a very analytical, "right-brained" person, and as such, tend to place my allegiance with logic, rather than emotions. I recognize the challenges that Reason creates as well, so I wanted to demonstrate the reverse of Goya's thesis, that Reason can uncover the bitter reality of things. Though not the nightmarish creatures of Goya's scene, the self-awareness and overthinking that comes with Reason often creates the anxiety and creative stagnation that I'm all too familiar with.

I borrowed the structure of Goya's image and reinterpreted it in the setting of a contemporary painter's studio. Pop culture prints, zoological illustrations, and art-historical references stand in for Goya's ghoulish birds and bats. What were once fears have now been overcome and embraced, leaving only the obstacle of a blank canvas. Several references were used to create the space, as it is a sort of fusion between my home and on-campus studios. Though Goya's was a black and white print, it was evident that my color palette and light structure would be paramount to matching the drama. I worked in oils to produce warm, glowing areas in an otherwise dark scene. The piece took about six weeks to create, in which features were added and subtracted a number of times before a final structure was realized.

Expressing and engaging emotion is a fundamental aspect of art, so it is fears and passions that often make the most compelling work. As a rationalist in a highly emotion-based field, the conflict between thinking and feeling, logos and pathos, is always a challenge. *Reason Produces Real Monsters* aims at the tragedy of this conflict, and my own constant struggle to create.

Reason Produces Real Monsters

SETH HADLEY

GABRIEL CONROY IN JAMES JOYCE'S "THE DEAD": A REPRESENTATION OF PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY'S RESPONSE TO FEMINISM

ABSTRACT

The following essay explores the theme of feminism within James Joyce's "The Dead." It emphasizes the focal character, Gabriel Conroy, being a representation of cultural norms within a patriarchal society. This work also discusses the way in which repetition is used within the night's events to highlight social change within gender roles. Specifically, it looks at how Gabriel interacts with Lily, the serving girl; Miss Ivors, his contemporary; and Gretta, his wife. These three encounters take place over the course of the night and work together to slowly, but surely, replace Gabriel's incorrect stigmas and stereotypes concerning women with the current truths that the women surrounding him have to offer through their experiences. All while this takes place, there is a snowstorm over Ireland. At the very end of the night, Gabriel finally has his feminist epiphany as he stares outside at the snow: the snow is a physical embodiment of the feminist change that is taking place in Ireland and within Gabriel. This essay primarily uses the source material itself, but it does reference two other scholars' works in passing for historical context within the topic of gender in "The Dead."

James Joyce's "The Dead" is a short story within his collection, *Dubliners*, which follows a young man named Gabriel Conroy as he attends his aunts' annual dinner party in early twentieth century Dublin, Ireland. During this period, Ireland was the subject of British imperialism, and its people were torn between the liberal independence movement and the conservative loyalist movement. Just as the country was frozen in time due to the uncertainty of its political future, the annual party hosted by Gabriel's aunts to showcase their musical pupils also appears to be stuck in time. On the surface, nothing changes at the dance: the same people attend as every other year, Freddy Malins drinks too much, the aunts wistfully discuss the music of the past, and Gabriel is positioned into the missing place of the patriarch of the family. However, this year, the occasion prompts a change in Gabriel as the night progresses. While he notices how certain things, like Freddy's drinking problem, are still the same, Gabriel begins to sense deep, subtle changes within the attendees, Ireland as a whole, and, finally, himself.

In "The Dead," the repetition of Gabriel Conroy's adversarial encounters with women, like the constant snowstorm in the background of the party,

accumulate to illustrate the emerging concepts of women's equality, as well as the established patriarchy's resistance and eventual acceptance of this change. Throughout Joyce's narrative, Gabriel is troubled by his interactions with women at his aunts' party. Gabriel is unable to reconcile his understanding of women with the changing realities he finds in the servant girl, Lily's, bold and deprecating attitude towards men; his coworker, Miss Ivors's, surprisingly forward criticisms of his character; and his own wife Gretta's, autonomy revealed through her past. Each of these inconsistencies between his beliefs from the past and the new feminist reality weighs on Gabriel until he despairs and develops an identity crisis. He no longer knows his place in life if he does not rule over the women in the gender hierarchy. This struggle develops in the background of the story and builds just as the snow collects from the storm during that night, and it surfaces as Gabriel leaves and is surrounded by the snow—forced to accept the change it brings, and the feminist change it represents.

The first unexpected conflict Gabriel encounters is with Lily, his aunts' serving girl. Lily, being the caretaker's daughter, has grown up in the aunts' household and has known Gabriel since she was a child. Once a small girl now transformed into a young lady, Lily is one of the few obvious markers of change in an event that, overall, stays the same each year, and this partially explains Gabriel's awkwardness with her. As he is greeted by her, Gabriel's discomfort while talking to her is shown as they discuss the weather and he mistakenly assumes Lily's future is tied to marriage (Joyce 23). This oversight results from the distance between Gabriel and Lily due to age, social class, and, most importantly, gender. Gabriel's wrongful conclusion is partially tied to his position as a man. As a man, he has been taught by the older, patriarchal society that women go through life with the goal of marrying a man. However, as Roland Garrett describes in his critical essay, "Six Theories in the Bedroom of 'The Dead,'" this value was not held by youth in Ireland at this time; marriage was uncommon for those under twenty-five years of age (120). Lily is the first female adversary that Gabriel encounters during the night, and she is the first sign of change he finds within the party and his conceptions of gender norms.

True to the sentiments of her generation, Lily reveals the new attitude toward marriage mentioned above to Gabriel. Additionally, through Lily's demeanor, Joyce shows the outrage that a woman can hold against the backward patriarchal norms as she replies to Gabriel "with great bitterness" after he assumes she cannot live without a man now that she has grown up (Joyce 23). Lily not only refutes the misogynistic idea of a woman's lifelong goal being to marry, but she also presents a disdain for the men around her when she tells Gabriel that the boys of this time are all talk "and what they can get out of

you" (Joyce 23). Her negative view of men is similar to that of second-wave feminists and is reasonable, given how she grew up in Gabriel's aunts' home, which lacks a male head of the household and instead features two independent women. Gabriel's encounter with Lily demonstrates the concept of bold women—like the feminists Lily's attitude parallels—to him. Yet, rather than acknowledging this viewpoint right away, Gabriel attempts to simply defer his guilt by tipping Lily and running up the stairs to escape her. By "[gaining] the stairs," Gabriel physically demonstrates how his actions patronize Lily by allowing him to gain upward mobility (Joyce 24). Gabriel flees this feminist change, which attacks his current outdated ideals simply because he cannot face the internal conflict it brings at this point in the night.

However, a similarly brash woman who Gabriel also attempts to condescend, Miss Ivors, awaits him in the ballroom. After proceeding into the party, Gabriel meets with Miss Ivors to dance. The woman immediately expresses the issues she has with Gabriel (Joyce 30). Miss Ivors boldly interrogates Gabriel about a piece of writing he did for a notably conservative newspaper, which she sees as an endorsement of British occupation in Ireland. Her attack on his patriotism leaves Gabriel confounded and "unable to meet her charge" (Joyce 31). This exchange is unique to Gabriel from that which he had with Lily, as Miss Ivors is on the same social level with him as a coworker—both being professors—and Joyce tells the reader that Gabriel knew better than to "risk a grandiose phrase with her" (Joyce 31). Since she is so more equitable to Gabriel, unlike Lily or even his aunts and wife, his confusion demonstrates how only gender politics could allow him to rule over her. Even the patriarchy cannot save him, as Miss Ivors breaks all of its stereotypes of women at that time; she proudly attends social functions alone as an unmarried woman, has a respected career in academia alongside her male counterparts, and speaks her mind. Miss Ivors, as Gabriel's second female foil, could be seen as an example of what happens when young girls like Lily grow up with their feminist beliefs left intact, and, likewise, Gabriel is also as intimidated by Miss Ivors as he was with Lily.

Still, while Gabriel is similarly worried by his conflict with Lily to the point that he tries to excuse his backward behavior through his patronizing tip, his confrontation with Miss Ivors shows a more lasting impact as Gabriel attempts to gain the advantage over her not only as she leaves, but even after she has left. Before she leaves, Gabriel is already planning his suppertime speech as a way to respond to Miss Ivors's earlier diatribe against his nationalism. Gabriel subtly refers to her as part of the "very serious and hyper-educated generation," and he even subsequently lashes out at his aunts to discredit Miss Ivors in his hypothetical speech—declaring them to be "only two ignorant old women"

(Joyce 35). Gabriel resists Miss Ivors's feminism by degrading the other women just as the patriarchy would fight back against feminist progressivism by demeaning women as a whole. Then, when Miss Ivors tries to leave, Gabriel attempts to patronize her by a gesture of seemingly goodwill that is actually based in misogynist norms—he offers to walk her home (Joyce 35). Gabriel makes this offer on the assumption that a woman cannot walk home alone at night. Furthermore, this is his last opportunity to show that he has risen above their argument—one last chance for the final word to show that he is better than her. Yet, Miss Ivors maintains her feminist nature and insists that she is "quite well able to take care of [herself]" and leaves the party alone (Joyce 37). At the end of the second part of their conflict, Gabriel is still left puzzled, as Miss Ivors has introduced the fully-realized concept of an independent, equal woman to him.

With these two revelations from Lily and Miss Ivors, Gabriel is left to reanalyze what he knows about the woman who should be closest to him—his wife, Gretta. Near the end of the night, Gabriel finds Gretta on the staircase, transfixed by a melody being played in the ballroom. At the start of the story, Joyce describes how Gabriel sees Gretta as an extension of himself through details such as when Gabriel imposes his will on her to wear the galoshes (Joyce 25). Yet, now, Gabriel does not even recognize her when he first sees her on the stairs. As he tries to understand her through his old patriarchal view of women, Gabriel fails and instead only detects a "mystery in her attitude" (Joyce 48). While no longer understanding Gretta as he did under the patriarchy, but still not being able to discover her enigmatic nature in his developing feminist lens, Joyce allows Gabriel to regress by simply objectifying her as a "symbol of something" (Joyce 48). In this moment, Gabriel sees Gretta as a two-dimensional piece of art rather than a three-dimensional person to preserve his crumbling ideals as a coherent body.

Likewise, as Gabriel and Gretta make their way to their hotel, Gabriel's old views begin to return. For example, he wants to "defend [Gretta] against something" and "master her strange mood" (Joyce 51–54). In other words, as Gabriel begins to distance Gretta from his misconceptions of her, his mind resists by reinstating his older perspective on women. This instinct to protect Gretta is also seen at the start of the story, as he insists she wears the galoshes to guard her from the snow's effects—demonstrating his desire to preserve her from the feminist change the snow could represent (Joyce 25). Although Gabriel's intentions may seem innocent and chivalrous, they also subsequently reinforce the patriarchal idea that women are weaker or less than men, and their corrupt nature is revealed when faced with feminism.

Gabriel's almost malicious frustration at women, like Gretta, becoming

something other than what he is familiar with manifests in his sexual desire for his wife later as they arrive at their hotel. This struggle illustrates the gender hierarchy as Gabriel considers overpowering Gretta and bending her will to his wants, and it echoes the way he forces Lily to take the tip, as well as how he tries, but is unsuccessful in making Miss Ivors accept him as her escort home (Joyce 54). Here, Gabriel's physically violent impulses of resistance to women's equality echo the song that mesmerizes Gretta while she is on the staircase at the party, "The Lass of Aughrim," which also alludes to sexual assault (Norris 487). Therefore, Gabriel is stuck as he has yet to move forward and understand women through the new ideas his encounters with the women have introduced to him, while also being unable to fully return to his oblivious role in the patriarchy.

Finally, arriving at the hotel and hearing Gretta's story about the song and her past lover from when she was a young girl in the countryside, Gabriel reaches an identity crisis tied to his role in gender politics, but he ultimately moves forward—shrugging off the misogyny inculcated into his thinking. After discovering that mystery about Gretta which previously eluded him—that she is an individual separate from him with her own experiences, thoughts, and emotions—Gabriel is initially outraged, and suggests infidelity for Gretta's desire to vacation in Western Ireland (Joyce 56). He cannot help but see her autonomy as a threat to him in the gender hierarchy, and he suddenly imagines himself as a fool subjected to both his wife and his aunts (Joyce 56). Having to face an array of strong women over the course of the night has highlighted this insecurity within Gabriel. However, after some time, Gabriel begins to correct himself by thinking of Gretta and not only of himself after he learns that her old lover had died earlier on in their youth. He considers "what she must have been" when she was young, and Joyce reveals that "… a strange, friendly pity for [Gretta enters] his soul" (Joyce 58). Gabriel now understands that Gretta is a person and not simply a part of him by learning about her past, and he knows that the role of women is changing in Ireland; a movement is coming just like the snow is coming.

Gabriel's final epiphany that pushes him to accept feminism happens as he watches the snow outside his hotel window. The snowstorm has been a constant background activity during the night, similar to the feminist movement overtaking Gabriel's patriarchal ideals. Snow is a slow accumulation which changes the world gradually as time goes on. Likewise, Gabriel's transition out of established misogyny happens slowly as his encounters with women at the party cover his misconceptions about women rooted in the past with the emerging feminist realities that Lily, Miss Ivors, and Gretta show him. On a larger scale, the snow represents feminism as a movement. Feminism works

little by little, in the background, to cover the patriarchy like the snow has "[generally fallen] all over Ireland" by the end of the night (Joyce 59). Gabriel is a microcosm reflecting the larger Ireland in this case, and, like Ireland, he defers his gender role identity crisis with a national identity crisis based on his interaction with Miss Ivors (Norris 480). It is easier for Irish society during this period to focus on an enemy outside of its borders rather than to turn inward and examine its own unstable gender hierarchy. As a result, Gabriel is unable to acknowledge the change feminism brings within him until the last second, and would rather worry about his patriotism, just as the patriarchal society will ignore the gender equality movement and focus on its relations with England until feminism overcomes the establishment.

At the start of the night, Gabriel begins unaware of feminist ideals. His distance to these concepts is first exposed through his greeting with Lily, who presents the idea of a bold woman who does not need a man to have a future. Then, the forwardness of Miss Ivors's criticism of him as a man in his country shows him how a young woman with ideals like Lily's could grow to be a fully-matured lady on the same social level as him, and question male-dominated society. Lastly, Gretta, Gabriel's wife, presents the perfect opportunity to apply what he learns from the first two encounters and finally realize the message of the feminist movement: women are autonomous individuals. As he goes through this change in beliefs, Gabriel's psyche resists to no avail. He attempts to excuse and restore his misogynistic views monetarily, morally, and physically with his responses to Lily, Miss Ivors, and Gretta respectively. However, Gabriel's epiphany is inevitable. His feminist revelation builds in the background of his mind as the night goes on, like the snow accumulating from the storm outside. Furthermore, just like the snow will only be noticed when it surely covers all of Ireland after that night's storm, feminism will eventually move to the forefront of social issues and raise the visibility of women's rights as time goes on.

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Joshua Henderson

Names for Sickness and Ghosts

Abstract

This is a piece of creative nonfiction dealing with my grandfather's failing health during the winter of 2016. It was my second semester of college, and nearly every weekend I drove to my parents' house to see my family. My grandfather, Papa, was unable to move around on his own and was relegated to a wheelchair most of the time. Meanwhile, my grandmother was often left frustrated at his weakness, with overwhelming desire for things to return to the way they used to be, and my mother would sometimes break down crying from seeing her own father deteriorate. This memoir deals with my inability to be upfront with these emotions and my failure to really stare them in the face and converse with them. It is in present tense to make it more immediate. Hopefully, it emulates the flow of living and being in the present. If so, then maybe the reader can explore the contradiction at the heart of the piece: I am more there in the writing than I ever was there.

I make the drive from Springfield to Ozark every weekend to see my parents and grandparents, but it is nothing. It is a measly thirty minutes on the highway. Thirty minutes of cold asphalt passing beneath me while the frigid air breathes fiercely around my car, rumbling as it rushes by. Thirty minutes of one of my CDs, elected graciously from the sea of them tossed about negligently in my back seat, singing electric through my speakers, and me, humming, trying to harmonize with the melody so that my girlfriend will no longer tease me for how bad I am at it. This is the drive I make every weekend during the early spring semester of my freshman year of college. These are the details that remain. I am doing it too many times to remember one specific instance, but the details flow together into one memory, one painting of myself that lasts through time. Perhaps it has color and feeling, false signs of substance, but here is what is deceiving about it if I have painted it correctly: it is nothing. I romanticize it, but it is nothing. I promise.

❧

The sickness has been with Papa long enough that we know it has no name. If we call it anything, we call it The Thing That Took Away His Tallness or The Thing That Made Him Sit, but we do not say those names aloud. We only think them. I do not know how my family sees the sickness, aside from the obvious hunch in his back and the chair-sitting, but I see it in the paleness of his skin and the way his arms move in big, loose arcs as if they're on big swivels.

I see it in the way food falls from his fork. Perhaps, for me, a more accurate title is the Sickness of Dropped Food, but I don't know if anyone else thinks that. However, that is what I think when I walk through the screen door into the living room, where Papa hunches over the dining table in the brown-cushioned chair we bought for him. *He has the Sickness of Dropped Food,* I think.

I slide the screen door shut. The clacking it makes as it runs up against the wall is a good enough announcement for most, but it is not good enough for Papa, so I stomp on the floor as I enter, being sure to make some extra noise. This does the trick; he looks up at me from the piece of toast he has been eyeing and smiles. His skin is loose and flabby, but the eyes shine through. A good day.

"Oh, hello there!" he says. "Somebody's home! Ma, would you look at who walked through the door!"

Gigi walks in from the kitchen and stands beside Papa, her eyes a few inches above Papa's head. She is short, shorter than almost everyone I know, and this is likely the only period of her life that she's ever felt taller than Papa. I am nearly certain that she calls the sickness the Thing That Made Him Sit.

I walk up to her and hug her, and when I do this, I lean my head down and rest my chin on the top of her head. I love hugging Gigi. She hugs back powerfully with all the little Scandinavian strength left in her body, and I feel like the center of the world when she does it.

Yet, that's not exactly true.

When I hug Gigi, what I really feel is how she is the center. She is Yggdrasil. Her roots tie my entire family together. They carry the memories of my ancestors: Swedish immigrants who lived in caves on the side of the river, Lutheran clergymen who preached in snow-buried churches, and her father, a scientist whose lab she almost took over when she graduated college. When I hug her, those roots pull me in. They remind me that I am Scandinavian, that I am immigrant-borne, something that the humid summers of the southern Midwest make me forget.

"Oh Joshua, how nice it is to see you again," she says, holding me tightly. Her voice is hushed and tightly knit. It is wound together with thick, dark blue-and-maroon yarn, and it is friendly, warm, and stern. Now, though, is no time for stoicism. There is no sternness. The yarn is draping. It is falling softly upon my shoulders, and I catch it. She sighs softly, and we both take a second to stand there.

"It's nice to see you, too, Gigi," I say.

She lets go of me and sits back down, and as I watch her, I can't help but think about how her hair has remained a resolute stone-gray through all these years. I know that Gigi has no magical powers over her body, and that through

her sheer will she could not possibly keep her hair from turning white, but part of me wants to think so. Besides, if anyone could do such a thing on this planet, it would be Gigi.

I move over to Papa and bend down to embrace him. I cannot wrap my arms closely around him the way I can with Gigi, and my chest remains six or so inches out as I hold him. He places his arms around me like loose straw.

"Hi Papa," I say, being sure to speak clearly and enunciate. "I'm glad you got here safely."

Glass letters and glass syllables, I think. I must be clear as day. I often forget this name, but the sickness can also be called the Sickness of Repeated Speech.

He gets them easily. No need to talk like that for such a simple greeting. Not today.

"Me too," he says. Papa smiles again and I let go of him. Then he says something about food or their dog, Jack, a white, curly little thing who desires few things but to devour my brother's naked feet. If Papa has food and Jack is there, then Papa always sets the plate down on the floor and Jack licks it up with his pink tongue lapping. Food + Papa + Jack = plates with dog spit.

I finally sit down across from Papa and Gigi and begin to discuss how my semester has been so far. I mention that I have started my first creative writing class and that I'm excited for it. It's about short stories. Hearing this, Papa nods, and soon Gigi is saying that she has a lot of stories about our family that she'd like to tell me, and that she hopes that telling those stories might inspire me to write. Stories about children blinded by snow who are discovered by friendly farmers, of her father's short bout with boxing and the man who threatened him with a switchblade after a fight, and of the week after the tornado in Barneveld, Wisconsin, where Papa held service on the remaining floor of the destroyed church. All of them eventually reaching back to our Scandinavian ancestry. I look forward and nod with enthusiasm. I want to hear them and feel the strong roots reaching down into me and pulling me close. I want to see them stretch back outward through time, and further and further back to the north and the snow and the deep.

And now I am not entirely here. I blur and wobble and fade. I will hear some of the stories she wants to tell but we will never sit down to specifically discuss them like I envision, and I will not take notes in my notebook. The nothingness begins to gnaw at my throat. The memory ends.

<div style="text-align:center">❧</div>

The qualities of this memory, in list form:
Football with the family.
Bright colors: green and yellow.
Green Bay Packers.

Pigskin ball flying high into the sky as fans shout and yell and stomp and cheer.

Padded men crashing into each other.

My mother.

Papa is sitting in the blue sofa chair that he always sits in. The sofa with the remote that tilts the chair forward and backward. It is fun to play with sometimes, and occasionally my brother or I will sit on it and tilt is as far forward as possible because it feels like it will lean forward forever and forever until we are pushed over the lip of it, but this is not what it is for. It is to push Papa up, so that we can grab him by the hoop of his pants and help him to stand. But he is relaxing now. He is watching the game, or at least trying to. Half the time he's asleep with his head titled back and lilting up toward the ceiling, but he follows what happens, more or less. We watch football because it's relatively easy to see the events of the game, and because Papa cannot understand storylines in shows or movies very well, for the strings of the stories that tie the pictures together fall loosely to his feet, and all that's left are the scattered images. Football does not have this issue as much. There are crashing men. Another name for the sickness: The Thing Which Made Him Not Understand TV.

Gigi is on the big couch near the blue sofa chair, on the side closest to him, with my mother beside her. She is always there, my mother, her blue eyes open and taking everything in. Her blonde hair, with its undertones of red always winking, eager to break through, is tied behind her head in a ponytail, and her arm lies around Gigi's shoulder. She speaks up, initiates conversation and comments on the game.

"Ooooh!" she exclaims when something goes wrong for the indubitably virtuous Packers. "What were you guys thinking?"

"Gosh darn it, he shoulda caught that!"

"Come on, guys! Ya gotta get it together!"

And, occasionally, when the Packers score, a righteous exclamation comes forth.

"YES! GO, PACK, GO! TOUCHDOWN!"

It's all a show, really. It brings them in, Papa and Gigi, and it works, too. They watch the game closely, and sometimes Gigi speaks up with that yarn-wound voice of hers and weaves a small tale for Papa to better understand what happened. But other times, as it is in this moment, she admonishes him.

"We scored, Bob, we did," Gigi says, leaning forward toward Papa, straining her neck and her voice, pulling the yarn taut and twisting it together like thick rope. "The other team didn't do anything. Listen to me."

"What?" says Papa, putting one hand up to his ear. His hearing aids are acting up, and they are yelping their thin, wiry shrieks. "The other team

scored?"

"No, Bob, we scored. The Packers." She gets even closer to him. "The Packers."

"Oh! Oh! I got it now," says Papa, straightening up a bit and lifting his glasses off of his nose. "We scored. I got it, Ma."

"Good," says Gigi, sighing and leaning back into the couch.

In moments like these, I can see my mother strain silently. There's a small pursing in her lip, an unconscious gathering of her bottom lip in toward her mouth. Undoubtedly, she feels that sometimes Gigi is too hard on him.

I watch this from the other side of the couch, having had my attention drawn back into the living room by Gigi's stern words, but otherwise I am not entirely there, am only half-watching the game. My tongue is black. It's nothing but void at the moment. I'm silent. The nothingness is there and I'm deep in my laptop. I am listening to music or trying to write and only looking up when I hear yelling on the television or happen to catch something particularly violent out of the corner of my eye. I likely understand even less of what's going on than Papa.

They want me to be in the room with them, shouting and cheering, but I choose to neglect this fact like I do every time.

I'm on the internet, reading, playing games.

I'm typing away at some story I will never finish.

I am not sitting beside them; not really.

<center>❧</center>

To deal with the sickness with no name, except the ones we give it, my mother plays games. Her favorite game to play is I'm Going to Clean Things Upstairs. When she plays it, she stands in the doorway, on the border between the room where I sleep when Papa and Gigi are living here and the indoor balcony that straddles the whole length of the living room. During this particular game, I am sitting on the couch where we watch football, and I can see her when I look up. I can see her bending down to scrub or pick something up off the floor or move a box. She always works when they are here. The game is how she clears her mind. The point of the game is both the cleaning and not the cleaning. Specifically, the point is the movement of the mop going back and forth. It's the sound of forgotten trinkets clinking as she carries old boxes long stowed away. It's the small details, the distractions. Beyond that, hidden in whispers, are Papa and Gigi.

They are in the living room beside me. I am making small talk with Gigi, or I am on my laptop again. We are not doing much in the living room today. There are no crashing men on the TV screen, and there are no flying pigskins. There is just the static language of daytime television humming its sleep-song

to us. Gigi likes it, though I do not. She likes to learn about new recipes or hear about events occurring around town. Though it's possible she doesn't, and only has it on for Papa when the Thing That Made Him Not Understand TV is acting up because occasionally when he is sleeping, she watches reruns of some old British crime procedural, but it is not something I entirely understand. The people speak in odd meters and rhythms, and the editing cuts when I feel like it shouldn't, when it feels unnatural and alien. There are numerous long, belabored silences where a man with white hair stands and looks at the room around him inquisitively. It is not daytime television, but it hums the sleep-song to me, too, because I relate to the man. He always wanders about, a bit behind the actual event and action of things. It's like he's a ghost. He seems a bit like nothing. He seems a bit faded. And right now, either a food show or British detectives are lulling me to sleep, and whether my laptop is on me or not I am getting drowsy. I find my head beginning to lean sideways onto my shoulder.

However, the sleep-song is soon disrupted as I begin to hear the blue sofa that Papa sits on, straining and moaning. He is trying to get up, or is signifying to us that this is his intent. Gigi hears it too. She's ready before I am, and she stands and walks over to him. I expect her to bend down to try get ready to help him up and to ask me to come over, but she does not.

"I want you to try to get up by yourself today," she says to Papa. She looks at him, straight through his glasses and deep, deep into his eyes.

This is one of the games Gigi plays to combat the Thing Which Took Away His Tallness or the Thing Which Made Him Sit. I'm not a big fan of it. I don't give it a name.

"Okay Ma, I think I can do it today. Let me give it a try," Papa says. His voice is tinged with a child's optimism, an upward tilting of his voice that dances naively and nervously. It is always heard in these situations where Gigi asks something difficult of him. For a moment I feel that I should speak up here, that I should slow things down a bit, but I don't. My tongue is black and I stay silent. The nothingness prevails.

I stand up to get closer to Papa in case he falls. As I watch him start to get up and see his arms and legs begin to tremble with thousands upon thousands of pounds of mental preparation, I notice, too, that my mother is now beside the blue sofa, having heard something Papa or Gigi said. Gentle sweeping and bundles of dust do not distract her now.

We are gathered around him, an audience of three, hoping with the tip of our tongues curled back into our mouths that he will get up, hoping to applaud thickly and loudly with our hands, hoping to see his smile.

The wobbling of his arms and legs intensifies as he digs his palms into the

arm of the chair as it tilts forward, and he puts more stress on to his weakened muscles. Someone other than me has the remote for the chair. I hold nothing in my hands. I am just watching. I am a ghost and I am watching. The chair continues to lift and propel him upward until he is standing on the edge of the earth, voyaging into new territory, gasping at the lip of a new, but once familiar dawn. It is, at most times, a distant, dying glow.

Suddenly the chair pushes him too far forward, and he has not yet reached the point where he is strong enough to stand, so the wobbling overcomes him, and he begins slipping downward. My mother's and Gigi's hands, gripping tightly, grab him underneath his shoulders. They stop him from falling. Then I, now having materialized, now no longer the ghost I was, am reaching down to grab him too. I am a few seconds too late to be of any help to stop the falling. But I am there, at least, to hold onto him by his underwear and lift him up and guide him back up onto the chair from which he has nearly fallen to the ground.

Don't hesitate, I tell myself. I cannot allow myself to hesitate. Not again.

Papa reclines back into the blue sofa and sighs. He is okay. We are all okay and we are all sighing. We are all reaching deep into our lungs and pushing out our most precious air, that air which only comes out when fears or loves are being realized, and launching it far out into the room. It is only within a few seconds that all of this happens, and within that time, I begin to hear the sleep-song of the television return to my ears.

Before long, Gigi is standing beside Papa, and her eyes are reddening and are wet like pebbles in a river, and there are tears dripping down her face. She just wishes he would try harder, she says. She wishes he would put his feet further under with him when he tried to stand. She wishes to see him again, like the way he once was. All that yarn in her voice, all that knitting is coming undone when she says that word.

Wish.

Papa is silent for a while with his mouth agape. When Gigi calms down, Papa says calmly that he does try, and that he is going to be able to stand again, and that he is getting stronger every day.

"I love you, Ma. You know that right? It's not always my fault."

"Yes, I do, and I love you very much. Please get stronger."

I watch this conversation from another room, and I do nothing but hover. I meander around. I am the white-haired man from the TV. I am a ghost again. I lag. When I open my mouth to speak, to say something about their false hope or to ask Gigi to cut Papa a bit more slack, to let him go at his own pace, the film cuts, and suddenly I find I have not opened my mouth at all.

❧

I am on the balcony with my mother and I am hugging her close to me.

"Why does it have to be so hard, Josh?" she demands. "Why does it have to be so hard?"

"I don't know, Mom," I say. I know there is a better answer to that question in my mind somewhere, but I do not think of it. I shy away from it. I hide from the emotion and the blazing river, from the tide that is carrying my grandfather away from me, slowly and surely, weakening him and killing him. I hide from my mother, who is overcome with grief and crying there in my arms. I hide.

Afterward, I am surprised to find dried tears on my arms.

❧

Now I am making the drive back to Springfield from Ozark. The night is cool and the asphalt is even cooler. Thirty minutes of trees rushing past me in the dark, and the whoosh of the few other cars careening past me. Thirty minutes of another CD, usually one slower and darker than what I play on the way to Ozark, humming electric in my speakers, humming no sleep-song, humming the opposite. The sea of CDs sitting in the back. They are nothing but disorder. A thirty-minute drive and the nothing: hesitation. Reluctance. I am never as there as I should be. Driving home I am no ghost, for there I am listening to the car's engine and watching the earth roll underneath me and singing to my music, but there among my family, when it matters most, you can put your hand right through me.

❧

This work is dedicated to the memory of Robert "Pastor Bob" Twiton, whose incredible commitment to kindness, love, and ministry is not explored in this piece.

ABBEY IMHOFF

RIPPED

ABSTRACT

This is a collage of a candid photo of myself that was taken while on vacation with friends. The photo was chosen because it very clearly represents my sarcastic personality. Having the assignment be a self-portrait, I figured this photo gave a good insight into who I am when I am not forcing a smile to the camera. Smiling in pictures is the widely-accepted, proper thing to do, but it's hard for me to smile in front of a camera picture after picture. It becomes too easy to identify when I'm trying to force a smile, so I typically like to make funny or sarcastic, aggressive faces to break up the dynamic of the photo. I found the ripped materials around my apartment in an effort to be resourceful, while also keeping the connection between the pieces and me. Some of the materials include ripped paper scraps, brown paper bags, a balloon, and computer paper glued to the canvas. Using bright and non-local colors makes the piece more relatable with the viewers because it doesn't depict one specific person. The face in the photo looks intimidating, but it's really just a "funny face" that your grandma tells you to make, and I used the bright colors and mixed materials to bring that fun back into the piece. When other people look at this, I hope they can laugh at the silliness and relate to that same feeling of unpleasantness when taking a photo.

Ripped

Gabrielle Keller

/əˈsüm/

Abstract

We often make snap judgements about the people around us based on superficial character-istics like appearance, material possessions, or occupation. Over the last few years, I've been shocked as I learn more and more about the people I've known my entire life. I've found that my dentist is a classically trained pianist, the local tax collector a seasoned opera singer, the chief of police a beekeeper, and that my teacher was keeping the road hot as a leather-clad biker babe for years. Without digging past the surface, we come to the worst conclusions—we assume that people are ordinary when, more often than not, you'll find that they are anything but.

My interest in the subject began in my first college photography class when I was intro-duced to the work of August Sander. His book, titled *Face of Our Time*, served as a visual cen-sus and comprehensive portrait of twentieth-century Germany. The majority of the published images featured individuals in their workplaces. While Sander's work cannot be reduced to the term "occupational portraiture," there is no denying the importance one's job in the lives of those in the twentieth century. I began to wonder what this project would look like if executed in today's society. Job titles are still a common and easy way to label ourselves and others, but a larger portion of Americans have the luxury of investing their time and money into what they are most passionate about. I first came across these fascinating and atypical pairings of occupation and passion in my hometown of Mexico, Missouri. Despite the small population of just over eleven thousand, I've found a diverse group of devoted hobbyists that serve as the subjects of these photographs. Photographing individuals in their personal spaces allowed me to depict more than just a job or hobby. The space and its contents provide context and a glimpse into the complex and multifaceted lives of the subjects.

These images come from a place of pure fascination and investigation. I attempt to find some logic amidst what seems to be an illogical mix of work and play, the mundane and the unusual, the ordinary and the extraordinary. I love digging deeper, and I am pleasantly surprised each and every time I am proven wrong about someone. What motivates people to spend their weekends doing such unexpected things is a mystery which I will never solve. This study does allow for one significant conclusion: while the hobby might be uncommon, being exceptional is most certainly not.

Assume (Oxford Dictionaries)
verb I as•sume I /əˈsüm/
1. suppose to be the case, without proof.
2. begin to have (a specified quality, appearance, or extent).
3. take on or adopt (a manner of identity).

Calter of Peace Supply — Susan Corbett — Bee Keeper

Cadet — Sean Fitzgerald — Lacrosse

GENERAL MANAGER   SET DESIGNER

WOODWORKER   PIPE MAKER

Business & manufacturing owner   *Chris Mueller*   Watchmaker
Chris Mueller

Retired English Teacher   *Evelyn Zidick*   Costume Mistress
Evelyn Zidick

Student   *Joshua Keady*   Competitive Racer
                 Joshua Keady

Student   *Sam Scholting*   Cosplayer
                 Sam Scholting

Student   Grace Troesser   Dixie Grey Band

Student of emergency medicine, Matthew Newton Volunteer firefighter

Social Work   *Molly Haslag*   Ballerina
Molly Haslag

Nicplane Linguistics   Paul Baum   Historical Reenactor

RETIRED   Hans Neumann   WOODWORKER

Cadet   Stephen Fountain   Rugby

Taylor Sorenson

No Bother, Treat, Sunday Gifts

Abstract
These three poems focus on distinct memories of my life: witnessing domestic violence in my first relationship, medication becoming a necessity, and sharing candy with my father. Each piece is written in free verse and relies on vivid imagery and details of the moment. It is my hope that this collection shares the impact of the moments and their lasting importance on my life with the reader.

No Bother

Their apartment complex is small, decrepit,
hallways reeking of smoke,
thin carpet housing cigarette ash, unfamiliar stains,
no one bothers repainting doors, bedrooms,
no reason to make it pretty for tenants that keep paying,

Too small,
it crumbles with her scream,
cowers with his curse,

Their door never makes a satisfying slam,
the smack of a hand, stinging wrist is never enough,

Their perfume, hair gel is not enough to cover smoke,

Their shoes, their bare feet slap over carpet,
down the stairs, into the parking lot,

No one bothers to check on them,
no one bothers to intervene.
No one bothers.

Treat

I once begged for medicine,
thick, syrupy orange, gritty with sugar,
even begged my mother for more, though I had no fevers,
a constant in our medicine cabinet,
it was a treat unlike bubblegum and grape-flavored prescriptions,

I grew too old for tiny cups, sticky spoons,
a doctor hands over prescriptions with dosages, side effects, refill dates.

A tiny white tablet in the morning fixes my itchy nose and swelling eyes,
it only takes one,
another set of tiny white tablets, anticonvulsants, usually prevents migraines,
sedatives fix my insomnia, anxiety,
I can function for the day,

Still, I search the cabinets,
seeking tiny cups and sticky spoons,
contemplate sneaking a spoonful of sugar,
swallowing syrup,
calling it medicine

I no longer beg my mother,
no longer get flavors meant to be bubblegum or grape,
this is routine,
no longer a treat.

SUNDAY GIFTS

Skittles are a Sunday gift,
exchanged for behaving in the grocery store,
I always choose Skittles, but only the original flavors,

Dad sleeps on the left,
I settle in the middle,
I prop my chin on the headboard, picking through colors,
dropping green, orange, and yellow onto the blankets,

I eat the reds and purples,
others too sour, though I try mixing colors.

I save the others for Dad,
gathering the pile with sticky, discolored fingers,
shuffling slowly with my hands cupped,
sheltering his gift from the dogs,

I leave a pile by his computer, atop his alarm clock,
his books are special,
sticky fingers are unwelcome here,
even with his Sunday gift.

Michelle Trantham

Photography and Postmemory: Imagining the Past in Modiano's *Dora Bruder* and *Missing Person*

Abstract

Patrick Modiano, born in 1945, is a French novelist whose works center on the loss of cultural identity and existence during the World War II occupation of France. Modiano has steadily published novels since 1968, and all of his novels are set in occupied or newly liberated Paris. Modiano's novels, specifically *Dora Bruder* (1997) and *Missing Person* (1978), contain a deep yearning to remember a past that is lost and cannot be fully regained in the present. Uniquely, Modiano utilizes photographs, both real and imagined, in attempt to recreate the missing past of his characters through imaginative postmemory reconstruction in his narration of both novels. In both *Dora Bruder* and *Missing Person*, Modiano reconstructs a life from the past as best he can, but there is never any true resolution in either work. When applied to Modiano's works, Marianne Hirsch's concept of postmemory explores why photography is essential to the recovery of memory, as well as what they have to do with the imagined trauma of a generation that Modiano reveres in such a light to recover their lives from the dust.

Modiano and Postmemory

Patrick Modiano, born in 1945, is a French novelist whose works center on the loss of cultural identity and existence during the World War II occupation of France. Modiano has steadily published novels since 1968, and all of his novels are set in occupied or newly liberated Paris. Modiano is a self-described product of the French occupation during WWII (Donadio). His father, Albert Modiano, was of Jewish heritage and refused to register or wear the yellow star during the occupation. Instead, Albert "survived the occupation in Paris through black-market dealings" (Cooke 132). Albert's personal history was kept largely a secret from his son, which left a lasting impression and heavily influenced his literary works. His mother was "a beautiful Flemish actress whose family leaned right, [and she] worked for a German film company in Paris during the war" (Donadio). Modiano's complicated family history coinciding with the occupation appears in his novels as a backdrop to his reimagined Paris of the occupation. Modiano's novels, specifically *Dora Bruder* (1997) and *Missing Person* (1978), contain a deep yearning to remember a past that is lost, and cannot be fully regained in the present. Uniquely, Modiano utilizes photographs, both real and imagined, in attempt to recreate the missing past of his characters through imaginative postmemory reconstruction in his narration of both novels.

As a number of scholars and readers have recognized, Modiano's work centers around characters losing their memories or their entire existence. In *Dora Bruder*, it is Modiano himself searching for a real lost life from Paris during the war: Dora, a young Jewish girl living in occupied France. After Modiano found a 1941 newspaper article that reported that she ran away, he became fixated with researching her story and reconstructing her life through any records remaining. *Missing Person* is a fictional narrative where a detective searches for evidence of his own forgotten past. A decade before the beginning of the novel, the main character, Guy Roland, loses his memory; now he tries to piece it back together by searching through records and photographs and finding people who may have known him from before.

Written twenty years apart, these novels serve as two perspectives looking back on the WWII occupation in Paris. In *Dora Bruder*, Modiano is the narrator and speculator of the novel, inserting his history in comparison to Dora's, and imagining her life through a modern-day Paris. His thorough research to find the missing girl serves as the foundation upon which he builds this reconstructed past: a novel that is biographical, autobiographical, and fictional all at once. In comparison, *Missing Person* is entirely fictional, and has a fictional narrator and a more noir premise. Guy is a private detective searching for his own—potentially illegal and shady—background. Guy, utilizing the same methods as Modiano would use in *Dora Bruder*, searches through records and tracks down people and places with which he was associated. In both *Dora Bruder* and *Missing Person,* Modiano reconstructs a life from the past as best he can, but there is never any true resolution in either work. When applied to Modiano's works, Marianne Hirsch's concept of postmemory explores why photography is essential to the recovery of memory and what they have to do with the reimagined trauma of people from a generation ago.

In Hirsch's essay "The Generation of Postmemory," she develops the concept of postmemory through the use of photographs in Art Spiegelman's *Maus* and in W. G. Sebald's *Austerlitz.* The term postmemory is what Hirsch came to during her research about second-generation (the generation that came out of World War II) writers and artists. To Hirsch, postmemory is a "structure of inter- and trans-generational transmission of traumatic knowledge and experience. It is a consequence of traumatic recall but (unlike post-traumatic stress disorder) at a generational remove" (Hirsch 106). Postmemory is what the second-generation experiences as a result of their parents' traumatic experience during World War II. Analysts Victoria Best and Kathryn Robson explain postmemory as a "type of inherited, handed-down memory that still retains a powerful presence" in their essay "Memory and Innovation in Post-Holocaust

France" that criticizes cultural memory in France since the Holocaust (Best and Robson 4). These inherited memories are not literal, as Hirsch explains, but exist between generations—largely not discussed until there arises a need in the second-generation to explore those memories: "These events happened in the past, but their effects continue into the present…the experience of post-memory and the process of its generation" (Hirsch 107). By growing up with this generational postmemory dominated by memories that were made before their lives, the second-generation feel a pull to carry stories from the past into the present. How do they recall the pain of another generation with respect? Why should this memory be explored, for what purpose? Hirsch's complicat-ed answer is postmemory, and this concept, in which photography is central, explains the way Modiano recovers the past in his novels.

In the theory of postmemory, photographs hold a unique ability to transmit the past into the present. Hirsch's definition of postmemory hinges on the use of photographs, as they are the "fragmentary sources and building blocks" of postmemory work (qtd. in Gratton 40). Hirsch describes the relationship between postmemory and photography as this: "[Postmemory] is this presence of embodied experience in the process of transmission…best described by the notion of memory as opposed to history and best mediated by photographic images" (Hirsch 111). Photographic images are what best capture the transmis-sion of memory, not just historical fact, to the next generation. Photographs transmit memories and people into the present, but they have their limitations as well. Photographs only capture what is inside the frame: a posed moment or a part of a scene. A photograph cannot fully recreate a person or a time; it only shows an echo of a moment. The concept of postmemory and photography as a literary mode is complicated because it involves a medium traditionally for visual interpretation, not written. Modiano incorporates them in his work with seeming ease. In *Missing Person*, Modiano often describes specific photo-graphs and uses them as plot devices within the novel. *Dora Bruder* contains reprints of historical photographs along with his text, and he often refers to those printed or described in his narrative. Modiano's use of photography strengthens the presence of postmemory within his novels by tying memories with evidence that deepens the impact of remembering to his characters and to the audience.

The nature of postmemory is its incomplete recall of memories from one generation to the next, which makes it a problematic but powerful lens through which an artist can view the past. It is both true and false, built upon fact and second-hand knowledge, yet lacks in literal experience and first-hand memory. This is not the first essay to recognize the relevance of postmemory as applied to Modiano's work, as Marja Warehime briefly mentions in her essay,

"Conjugating Time and Space: Photography in the Work of Patrick Modiano" (Warehime 315). However, what has been largely unexplored in depth is the extent to which Modiano has been reliant upon postmemory recreation throughout his career and how it specifically affects *Dora Bruder* and *Missing Person*. This cultural, postmemory style of remembrance explains how the boundaries between fictionalization and reality are blurred in Modiano's works, and their prevalence indicates a need to address their inclusion in Modiano's style. When reading Modiano's work through the lens of Hirsch's postmemory, it becomes clear how and why Modiano is trying to reconstruct occupied Paris in his novels. In looking at *Missing Person* through the more recently published lens of *Dora Bruder*, Modiano recreates the past in these novels through both interpreting photography and postmemory reconstruction.

Reconstructing the Life of Dora Bruder

In 1988, Modiano ran across a record of a missing girl from 1941; Dora Bruder had run away in World War II France, and Modiano wanted to know why. In the novella *Dora Bruder,* Modiano pieces together Dora's lost life through maps, photographs, records, addresses, and postmemory imagination. The plot is supported and moved along with the appearance of information Modiano gains from these remnants of the past, yet, "it takes time for what has been erased to resurface" (Modiano 9). This resurfacing of Dora's life is Modiano's pursuit throughout the novel, but Modiano's narration is laced with the phrases "would have been" and "I imagine" when trying to piece together what remains of her life. *Dora Bruder* is an imaginative, largely speculative reconstruction of Dora's existence. In a sense, Modiano is mourning Dora and the loss of her true story. Bringing Dora into the present is a balance of work and waiting, yet, as Modiano states early on, "But I am a patient man. I can wait for hours in the rain" (Modiano 10). These hours waiting and researching amount to everything that remains of the lives of Dora and her family. The last lines of the novel encapsulate the feeling of true loss gleaned through the imaginings of Modiano:

> I shall never know how she spent her days…that is her secret. A poor and precious secret that not even the executioners, the decrees, the occupying authorities, the Dépôt, the barracks, the camps, History, time—everything that defiles and destroys you—have been able to take away from her. (Modiano 119)

The novel echoes the pain of how postmemory can never lead to a complete recall of memory. Postmemory is used to try and sort through a past that cannot be recreated, as there is no one who has literal memories of other people's traumatic experiences. Instead, in *Dora Bruder,* Modiano carries out painstaking research to establish even the most basic facts about Dora's life. There is a reality effect in this reconstruction, but it is incomplete. Dervila Cooke's essay, "Hollow Imprints," highlights Modiano's use of his personal history and of historical photographs in *Dora Bruder* in the creation of the novel, but what Cooke does not do is relate his work to Hirsch's postmemory theory. These facts, "the litany of street names, the topographical description, the references to the exact time of writing and the allusions to historical figures and institutions [in *Dora Bruder*]," are essential in the creation of a reality effect in Dora's story (Cooke 136). Ultimately, it is Modiano's self-insertion and speculation on Dora's life, and filling the gaps between records and facts, that truly makes this a postmemory narrative. Modiano's focus on postmemory reconstruction in *Dora Bruder* provides a framework or lens through which to view his other work, *Missing Person.*

MISSING PERSON: RECOVERING GUY'S IDENTITY

Missing Person is an entirely fictional account of one man's search for his own past. Set in 1960s France, Guy Roland, a detective's assistant, investigates his own past, which has ended for him a decade before. Due to an unknown accident ten years ago, Guy has no recollection of his past life: "I am nothing" (Modiano 1). Guy's amnesia, puzzlingly, does not seem to bother him for most of that decade. It takes comments and a case file from his boss, Hutte, who is retiring at the beginning of the book, for Guy to begin searching for his past. Without a job, Guy follows the evidence of his past from person to person, from address to photograph, and back again. What he uncovers is murky; no one seems to know quite who he is, or even his real name or nationality. At a bar, there is a man whom Guy refers to as a corpse due to his lack of movement the entire time he's in the bar, yet he does not seem concerned enough about it to check on him: "I fell into step behind him [his next contact], leaving the embalmed Japanese in the crypt of the bar" (Modiano 36). From this early passage, Guy senses that some things from the past are better left dead and alone, but continues on with his search.

This novel shares the backdrop of the French occupation with *Dora Bruder*. The past that Guy is missing largely takes place during this time—a time in which many people were desperate to forget their actions or the actions of others. This is the same time and space where Dora is hidden, tucked away

in this traumatic time in history. It becomes clear that Guy may have had good reason to forget most of his life when what he uncovers is laced in more mystery, death, and lies—his supposed lost friends do not recognize him, his former name may not be his real one, and he cannot sort out the truth from what his former self told others. Modiano is desperate in both of these works to recover what he can, reveal the truth of the time for his characters, and give them and their lives a chance to be remembered. True to the essence of postmemory, Modiano's characters never fully discover who they truly were in the past.

Consistent with postmemory characteristics involving photography, physical places also retain traces of the past for Modiano and his characters. In the later novel, *Dora Bruder,* Modiano reprints historical photos of Dora and her family. Looking back to *Missing Person,* we can pick out the similar significance of photographs in this novel, despite there being no actual reproductions of them in the text. As the novel progresses, Guy's evidence trail is unreliable and full of dead ends. However, he never seems to be in a hurry or rush to find out his past. He waited years to begin looking, and even that seemed like a reluctant step. Guy seems unenthusiastic to resurrect his ghosts. For all his searching, Guy fails to retrieve a useful memory until almost halfway through the book when he stands in a room he had lived in before. This memory is a shock and it spurs him to investigate the area a little more outside his old residence: "I believe that the entrance halls of buildings still retain the echo of footsteps of those who used to cross them and who have since vanished" (Modiano 84). Soon after he visits one of his previous addresses, Guy begins to get the feeling that Paris is not a safe location for him—or, at least, was not in his lost past. Next in the narrative, Guy goes down a few different trails of evidence that contradict each other—at one point he is sure he is a Jewish man from Greece caught up in shady business during the occupation, and at another he is a corrupt diplomat from South America. Two-thirds of the way into the novel, everything he experienced has either changed, or he is having false memories. He is not sure what is true and what is not, and neither is the audience: "Is it really my life that I'm tracking down? Or someone else's into which I have somehow infiltrated myself?" (Modiano 160). Guy never gives up and refrains from rushing in a panic; he just continues on his quest to find himself from one photograph to the next.

Photography: Capturing the Past

Modiano's consistent use of photography in both *Dora Bruder* and *Missing Person* as plot elements and narrative cruxes reinforces the prevalence of postmemory in his works. Postmemory thrives in the presence of a photograph. In her essay on Modiano's use of photography in his novels, Warehime states that photographs are vital to the concept of postmemory because they "provide evidence of a lost past, and allow comparisons with the present that sometimes blur into *surimpressions* [overprint]" (Warehime 312). Her article discusses other Modiano books and only briefly mentions *Dora Bruder* in the context of postmemory. However, his use of photography pervades his work, not only in *Dora Bruder* and *Missing Person*. This in-between space of memory and reality creates an impression of the past, bleeding into the future, and is where Modiano creates his narrative—somewhere between the truth of a photograph and the speculated past behind it. Modiano uses photographs of the past in both *Dora Bruder* and *Missing Person* as points of fact and speculation—evidence that this person existed and knew other people, and points of reference to build imaginatively upon. He uses photography to peer into the past specifically because of photography's faulty nature of real life versus what is staged or left out of the frame—a smile can be forced and a background carefully chosen. Yet, photographs are essential to the integrity of his work in both *Dora Bruder* and *Missing Person* and in the pursuit to bring that past into the present. Photography of the French occupation connects the pasts of his characters, the Holocaust generation, to that of the generation after and beyond. Hirsch states that the medium of photography is hugely powerful in that it has the ability to transmit entire events and the existence of people from the past into a reality that largely remains unimaginable (Hirsch 107-108). In *Dora Bruder,* photographs serve as both proof and prompt for Modiano. Photographs that Guy in *Missing Person* receives prompt him to investigate his past and begin to connect people and places in attempt to reconstruct what he has lost. Photographs serve as the narrative building blocks of Modiano's stories.

The key tool that Modiano uses to bridge the gap between past and present are these images: "Modiano's references to photography allow him to conjugate time and space, to bring an objectified past into a narrative present" (Warehime 312). Photography in these narratives allow Modiano's characters to begin to reconstruct their lives. The short interval between pages 23 and 27 in *Dora Bruder*, Modiano describes nine different photos of Dora and her family, and presents two of them for his readership. One photo, printed in the text, shows Dora with her mother, as Modiano describes her toward the end of the novella, with childlike features, rounded cheeks and a white dress that could have been worn on a school assembly day (Dora 74). The photographs

show visual proof of her existence to the readers as much as they reassure and prompt Modiano throughout the novel. Modiano consistently comes back to the photographs, especially near the end of the novel when he is running out of factual evidence: "She holds her head high, her eyes are grave, but a smile is beginning to float about her lips. And this gives her face an expression of sad sweetness and defiance" (Modiano 75). He returns to her image from the front of the book to reflect on her being eternalized as a photograph. The characterization of Dora comes strongly through the photographs of the past. Modiano has a unique power to reconstruct part of someone's life through a photograph. He does not permit himself to characterize Dora any further than her expression that he sees in the last photograph of her. To do so would not be genuine and would ring false in what he tries to recreate as the past, yet photographs of Dora are the one true thing that prompts the whole recreation of her life, in Modiano's words.

The evidence in *Missing Person* is fictional, but it presents itself in a similar way as in *Dora Bruder*. There are no reproductions of photographs in *Missing Person* as there are in *Dora Bruder*, but Modiano uses narrative descriptions of them as key evidence in Guy's history. In Guy's case, photographs and their inscription on the back lead him from place to place in search of his identity as it relates to anyone he speaks with. At one point, he acquires some photos from a man named Mansoure and studies them intently. In the second photo, the subject is standing stiffly with a walking stick and in Guy's mind, the man begins to come alive: "Gradually he detaches himself from the photo, comes to life, and I see him walking down a boulevard, under the trees, and limping" (Modiano 104). The more photographs he sees, the more he hopes they will turn into a memory. Yet, aside from occasional sparks of memory, all he truly sees is a face with a name attached to it. These photographs are his most tangible evidence in discovering what his past held and even that it existed in the first place: "Historical photographs from a traumatic past authenticate the past's existence" (Hirsch 116). Photos are what he relies on to prove his own existence before the identity of Guy Roland, even if no one else seems to remember him. They are the link that leads him to people who knew him, or at least one of his possible identities.

As Guy Roland goes from address to person as evidence comes forth, photographs are the fragmentary remnants of his past life that he uses to prompt others to remember him. In an era when many did things they would like to forget, Guy somehow literally wiped his memory, a gesture rich with symbolism considering that the period he is missing has to do with France during the occupation. The people from his past that Guy meets with—Styoppa, Waldo, Bob, and more—often give him their evidence to keep in the form of a box

of pictures or a magazine cover. More often than not, they do not want these memories back either. In her essay, Hirsch points out the traumatic nature of photographs: "More than oral or written narratives, photographic images that survive massive devastation and outlive their subjects and owners function as ghostly revenants from an irretrievably lost past world" (Hirsch 115). This haunted past that Guy has forgotten is one that others do not want to remember as Guy comes along to pick up the pieces. He is seeking these remnants out desperately, yet the memories never seem as important to others in the narration:

> While photographs take on value in collections of memorabilia or old magazines and newspapers that Modiano's narrators [pour] over trying to make sense of a past that is not their own, photographs also accumulate as worthless and cumbersome memorabilia or documents jumbled together and relegated to suitcases, empty candy boxes or old cookie tins. (Warehime 312)

At Styoppa's house, Guy's first real lead, Styoppa gives him a box of photographs and refuses Guy's offer to return them (Modiano 29). When, at a different location, Bob gives Guy another box of memories, Guy observes, "certainly everything ended with old chocolate or biscuit or cigar boxes" (Modiano 63). All of his leads who give him evidence of his lost past seem to agree with a statement made early in the book: "One must live in the present" (Modiano 13). Guy does not know if his present or future is worth living in until he gets closure on his past, which seems a fruitless hope for all of the dead ends and false trails on which he finds himself. The boxes of photographs and other visual evidence of his past are all that Guy has to rebuild his past during the occupation. Modiano's use of photographs in *Missing Person* is interesting because he does not produce recreations of them in the text, and some characters' ambivalence toward them is contrary to the power they hold in the narrative. Guy wants them desperately whereas others seem nonchalant about giving them away to a near stranger. Guy must continue his search, even outside of the novel's boundaries, to understand what truth and life lays beyond his photographs.

Postmemory Recreation

While photography aids Modiano in recreating the past in postmemory constructions, photographs can only capture a second of a pose, or a fraction of a backdrop. Anything they cannot convey or hold within their frame is lost

forever: "We shall never know the number of this door" because it is outside the frame of time the photograph captured (Modiano 90). Saint-Coeur-de-Marie, the school that Dora attended, had been demolished in the years since the occupation, but when Modiano does not have photographic evidence of something that was destroyed, he seeks proof by finding the buildings on a map (Modiano 33). He pushes past the bounds of fact and into post memory, never ceasing to search, even when no records remain of Dora's life. When Modiano visited the Tourelles barracks, he sees a sign on their gates: "Military Zone. Filming or Photography Prohibited" (Modiano 109). For a moment, Modiano can see no record of a past there, and what behind that wall lies a "no-man's land of emptiness and oblivion…Yet, from time to time, beneath this thick layer of amnesia, you can certainly sense something, an echo, distant, muted, but of what, precisely, it is impossible to say" (Modiano 109). The lack of photographs from such a place reduces its history and memory so much so that Modiano only sees emptiness or faintly senses a history there. This echo he feels in a place full of history is another platform on which he retraces Dora's life. As Jonnie Gratton observes, to supplement or in spite of the absence of paper records and photographs, Modiano "walks the streets of the areas of Paris where Dora lived and went to school, seeking out further traces and clues by making himself a receptor of what he calls 'impressions' or 'sensations,'" that he is walking in Dora's footsteps, allowing himself to more factually imagine her life (Gratton 43).

Dora Bruder contains word-for-word records of her addresses, actual letters from people who experienced similar fates and even, when he had no concrete evidence of her whereabouts, weather reports: "History is frequently reduced to itineraries" (Warehime 313). These itineraries are the framework of Dora's life that Modiano has to work with. Without records, it seems that Dora does not exist for months on end (Modiano 73). Modiano tries to fill in the gaps any way he can, even by researching what the weather was like during times with no other records. Yet, through all of his research and dedication, Modiano still knows that there is more to her story—more to her family and more that should not have been lost so easily during the Holocaust: "I have a sense of absence, of emptiness, whenever I find myself in a place where they have lived" (Modiano 21). This absence cannot be filled by Modiano's postmemory creation throughout the novel because it is the nature of postmemory to be an echo, not a simple statement of truth. After his painstaking research and care of Dora's life, Modiano continues to wonder about the lost life of Dora: "I walk through empty streets. For me, they are always empty, even at dusk… I think of her in spite of my self, sensing an echo of her presence in this neighborhood or that" (Modiano 119).

Dora haunts Modiano, as she haunts the audience, but it is only her presence in *Dora Bruder* that holds any anchor of her existence to the present—her smile in a photograph and her name on a school record. *Missing Person* holds a similar truth for Guy Roland. Every shred of evidence that he collects is nothing more than the sum of its parts—a photograph is just a photograph without the truth behind it, a house is just a former residence without his memories, no matter how hard he attempts to regain his whole past. Guy tries to recreate an important incident in time for him by visiting the town where it took place, but everything feels wrong, so he turns back to pursue another course of evidence (Modiano 158). Neither Guy's story nor Dora's ever come to a moment of realization of identity, or to a solidity of the past. Instead, we are left with their postmemory recreations and speculations.

Conclusion

In his works, Modiano purposely mixes fact and fiction, stressing the importance of memory and imagination alongside fact and record to recreate the past. In *Dora Bruder*, the presence of fiction is undeniable, if relatively small, in the background of Modiano's musings (Cooke 133). *Missing Person*'s fact is in record as well, and the line between what is real and not real is blurred even more so than in *Dora Bruder*. Both stories are undeniably about reconstructing one life that has been lost, but in different ways. Best and Robson state that "In France, as in other European countries, memory—in both its individual and collective forms—has become an increasingly dominant cultural obsession since the incommensurate horrors of the Holocaust" (Best, Robson 1). Modiano has this obsession with memory as well—memory from the time of the occupation. His characters' losses of self enables Modiano's consistent use of this postmemory obsession. Postmemory is so entwined within Modiano's works that his style is unique from other recreations of the past. His fascination with the recreation of the past is the driving forces in his storytelling. In *Dora Bruder* and *Missing Person*, Modiano and Guy search for a past that has been lost. Guy's life resides in photographs and memories shared outside a dark bar. Dora's past was cut short by the Holocaust, but enough traces remain in records and photographs to prove that she had a life, a voice, and a story. Modiano gives his audience a hundred maybe's to a dream of a definite answer.

Dora Bruder and *Missing Person* are linked by Modiano's ubiquitous obsession with postmemory investigation and speculation. Modiano treat the past with respect, careful to represent what happened in a genuine way. Because of this, Modiano's characters never come too close to an absolute: "The answer

no doubt lies in the notion that some things should not be overly fictionalized, including, and perhaps especially, the unspeakable events of the Holocaust" (Cooke 133). Modiano tends to skim the surfaces of those horrible events, addressing the trauma of the time quickly and factually before moving on, and yet they are ever looming over the book and the characters' lives, as well as in the mind of the reader. Cooke calls it a "respectful distance," yet Modiano's accounts stand no less powerful in both emotion and voice" (Cooke 133).

Modiano never tries to recreate his characters' experiences in a concrete, blatant way because they represent real or fictional victims and witnesses of the French occupation. It is postmemory that motivates his stories, his characters, and yet, due to the inherently speculative nature of postmemory, his stories confront the genre in a unique, ever-reaching style that constantly yearns for the reality of the past. Modiano's goal and fixation, above all else, is to bring light to the lives lost and damaged in the recent past of World War II: "In writing this book, I send out signals, like a lighthouse beacon in whose power to illuminate the darkness, alas, I have no faith. But I live in hope" (Modiano 35).

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COLLEGE OF BUSINESS

ALICIA PRY

ARCHITECTURE-INSPIRED SENIOR COLLECTION

ABSTRACT

For fashion design and product development students at Missouri State University, the Senior Collection is something that they look forward to during every year of classes. This is your big finale, the chance to show your skills, to demonstrate who you are on a creative level, and to share what you love. I wanted to use this as my opportunity to "wow" everyone with what I have to offer, but I decided to explore a different route than I normally would with my garment designs. While I am typically the bright, fun, and loud type of designer, I wanted to use this big chance to show how skilled I am with precision. I wanted to show that I can make amazing clothes that are both professional and eye-catching. I am very proud of the results that came from this choice.

While designing my collection for the fashionable professional, I chose to reach into one of my favorite forms of inspiration: architecture. There is a breadth of variations that people have done with what used to simply be four walls: a roof, some windows, and a door. Architects have made the possibilities endless and I wanted to show this through my collection. I want any woman wearing clothes from my collection to feel like they stand out from the crowd, ro feel that they are fashion-forward, and to feel confident that they look amazing in these precision-focused clothes.

Each shape, color, and style detail was meant to be industrial and architectural. I used many geometric shapes throughout my designs that would bring out this style. Also, the silhouettes of each outfit were meant to be professional, flattering, and make the women feel comfortable and proud in what they are wearing. Throughout the process, I held many fitting sessions with my models to make sure that the garments would fit perfectly to be displayed as they should, while also showing off the model as well as possible.

Everything, from the fabric choices to the seam details, was thought out in detail to create looks that were high quality on both the inside and the outside. The structured, reversible, heavy, double knit fabric was used to add cohesiveness throughout the collection. To do so, I used both sides of the fabric to keep the same color palette in my garments, and used the fabric's body to build up my designs and add interesting shapes for the women's bodies. When the garments needed to be reversible, or have seams that looked professionally finished on both sides, I sewed with French seams or enclosed the seams in foldover elastic to allow the seam to continue stretching as needed. I also used the foldover elastic as a way to bind edges and make them easier to attach to other parts of the garments. The structure was very important to consider, as I could use the fabric's body and drape to create interesting shapes on the body. As I started building my individual pieces, I had to use a practice fabric that would imitate the movement and structure of my final fabric as closely as possible to guarantee that my collection would come out as I had hoped.

To add a special something, and to help take my structured garments one step further, I reached out to a student in the Art + Design Department to help me with some metallic sculptural pieces that were stylish and still comfortable to wear. Made from a moldable foam called Worbla, which is known for its use in cosplay armor, three out of the four looks for my collection utilized these pieces that melded form and shape together. Once the Worbla was painted and attached to my garments, the looks built a collection that truly displayed my hard work.

Square Draped Top and Pencil Skirt

By utilizing both sides of my reversible double knit, as well as my additional white scuba knit fabric, I created an ombre effect out of the layers for the Square Draped Top. Each layer was specifically designed to give an interesting square look, which was then mimicked in the Worbla collar piece that I hand-sewed on after binding the edge in foldover elastic. These various shapes and layering are reminiscent of architecture seen in so many cities around the world. Also, to accentuate my model's waist, I designed the shirt to tightly end at the natural waistline. I also designed the pencil skirt to rise to the natural waistline and continue the sleek appearance that would help show off the wearer's features, while creating an interesting overall shape. The closure on the skirt was also an important decision. I chose to use a black exposed fashion zipper down the entire length of the center back to add to the industrial look that can be found throughout my collection.

Structured Sleeve Top and Pants

With inspiration from unconventionally shaped buildings and large-scale treehouses, I aimed to create a statement detail that was directly built into my piece. This was done through the sleeves of my Structured Sleeve Top. While practicing with scrap fabric, I folded the double knit in many ways directly on the arm of a dress form until I found a shape that was satisfactory. While creating an interesting shape, I also made sure that the construction was stable enough to hold up on its own and would still provide enough space for the arms to move around as much as possible. To keep the focus on this design detail, I decided to keep the rest of the top slightly tight fitted and to design the pants to be skinny fitting. However, I added a folded-up hem to display the reverse side of the fabric on the pants to make it more cohesive with the top and keep the pants from falling into the background too much.

Short Sleeve Reversible Jacket, Long Sleeve Top, and Striped Pencil Skirt
While looking simple, this Short Sleeve Reversible Jacket required a detailed and thought-out plan for both the inside and the outside of the garment. To make it reversible, a great deal of concentration was required when constructing and designing the seams. I used kimono sleeves, foldover elastic binding, flat-felled seams, and a built-in collar to make the piece as appealing from the inside as it is from the outside. I also added a Worbla piece to the closure for extra "wow factor." For the layer beneath the jacket, I chose to create a simple fitted long sleeve top that would not distract from the complexity of the jacket. To finish off the look, I created a black pencil skirt with two thick white stripes down each side.

Spiral Staircase Dress

While searching for inspiration for my collection, I came across an image of a gorgeous stainless steel spiral staircase. This staircase stayed in my mind while I was developing designs and it served as the main source of inspiration for this garment. I chose to design this Spiral Staircase Dress for such a time when a business professional must attend a formal event. The high cut of the sweeping asymmetric hem at its highest point and the dramatically finished cut at its low tail provide an intensity and elegance that is very reminiscent of the round-and-round effect of a spiral staircase. While thinking back to the original inspiration, I decided that a design detail based on a beautiful railing could add even more to the look. Just like a railing that somebody holds on to, a silver Worbla neckline is what the dress holds on to so that it can stay up. It is a dramatic start to lead the eye down the length of the whole dress.

Kelsey Ellis and Dr. Amy Hulme

Kinetics of HIV-1 Uncoating in Microglial Cells

Abstract

Human immunodeficiency virus type 1(HIV-1) is a lentivirus that infects CD4+ T cells of the immune system through the process of the HIV-1 replication cycle. A critical step to the HIV-1 replication cycle is uncoating, which is the disassembly of the virus's conical capsid structure and the release of the viral RNA genome into the host cell. It is known that the uncoating process is required for the HIV-1 replication cycle to be completed; however, the specifics as to which viral and cellular factors are involved in the process, and when, where, and how the capsid is able to dissociate are still being researched. The viral capsid is composed of monomers of the p24 capsid protein (CA) that are arranged largely into hexamers and held together by hydrophobic residues, forming a cone-shaped structure. The CA protein and the early replication cycle step of reverse transcription have been shown to influence the uncoating process. Through previous research, mutations in CA have been shown to alter capsid stability and decrease infectivity. CA mutant N74D has been shown to significantly decrease the rate of uncoating in owl monkey kidney (OMK) and HeLa-TC cells, in comparison to wild type CA protein. Here, analysis is extended further to TCN14 cells, a line of CHME3 microglial cells of bone marrow origin. When HIV-1 infects the human body, the virus primarily infects microglial cells, thus these experiments provide a more accurate representation of the HIV-1 uncoating process. In the CsA washout assays performed, the CA mutation, N74D, influenced the rate of uncoating within TCN14 cells when compared to wild type HIV-GFP. N74D mutant virus uncoated more slowly than wild type virus and had a half-life that was nearly double the half-life of HIV-GFP wild type virus. Data obtained further proves that viral and cellular factors are significant in regards to the uncoating process.

Background

   Human immunodeficiency virus type 1(HIV-1) is the lentivirus responsible for the development of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). HIV-1 infects CD4+ T cells of the immune system, thus compromising the immune system, through the process of the HIV-1 replication cycle (Figure 1). HIV-1 virions attach to the surface of target cells and the two membranes fuse. The conical capsid housing the viral RNA genome is released into the cytoplasm of the target cell. The capsid disassembles through the process of uncoating to release the viral RNA genome that is being reverse transcribed into DNA by reverse transcriptase (FIG 2B). In the nucleus, integrase can stably integrate this viral DNA into the host cell's DNA. The newly integrated DNA, with aid from protease, will direct the formation of mature progeny virions to ultimate-

ly be released from the host cell to infect new target cells (1,2). Focusing specifically on the viral capsid protein, the conical capsid core, and the uncoating process, it is clear that these factors play important roles in the mediation of critical infection events.
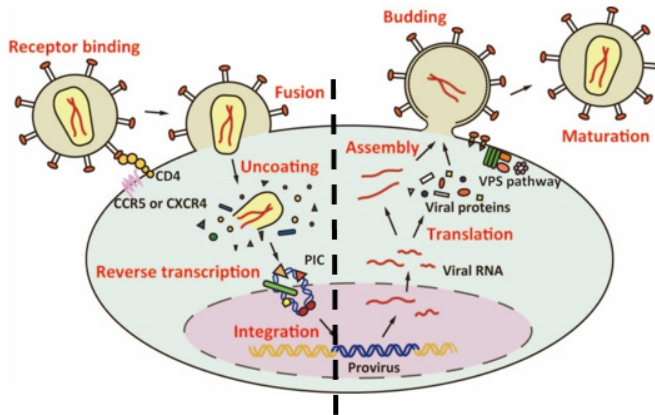

Figure 1 HIV-1 replication cycle involving nine general steps classified as either early events or late events. Early events start with receptor binding and end with integration; these steps serve to establish infection of the cell. Late events consist of transcription/translation and all steps that follow; the function of these steps is to produce more virions.

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Uncoating is the disassembly of the virus's conical capsid structure, which releases the viral RNA genome into the host cell for integration. Through previous research, it has been established that the uncoating process is required for the HIV-1 replication cycle to be completed. The specifics as to which viral and cellular factors are involved in the process and when, where, and how the capsid is able to dissociate are still being researched. The viral capsid is composed of monomers of the p24 capsid protein (CA) that are arranged largely into hexamers and held together by hydrophobic residues, forming a cone-shaped structure. Within the capsid are two copies of the viral RNA genome, nucleocapsid, reverse transcriptase, integrase, and viral accessory proteins. The capsid maintains the viral RNA genome and reverse transcriptase within a closed environment (1,3). This can serve to shield the viral genome from host factors and to ensure effective initiation of the reverse transcription step. The CA protein and the early step of reverse transcription have shown to influence the uncoating process. Through previous research, mutations in

CA have been proved to alter capsid stability and decrease infectivity (3,4,5). To establish the importance of the capsid, von Schwedler et al. tested 48 CA surface point mutations. CA mutations were analyzed for their effects on capsid assembly and infectivity. Over half of the CA mutations reduced viral infectivity 20-fold; nearly all of the 48 mutations reduced infectivity 2-fold (5). All data suggests a complex relationship between the uncoating and the reverse transcription steps.

A

B
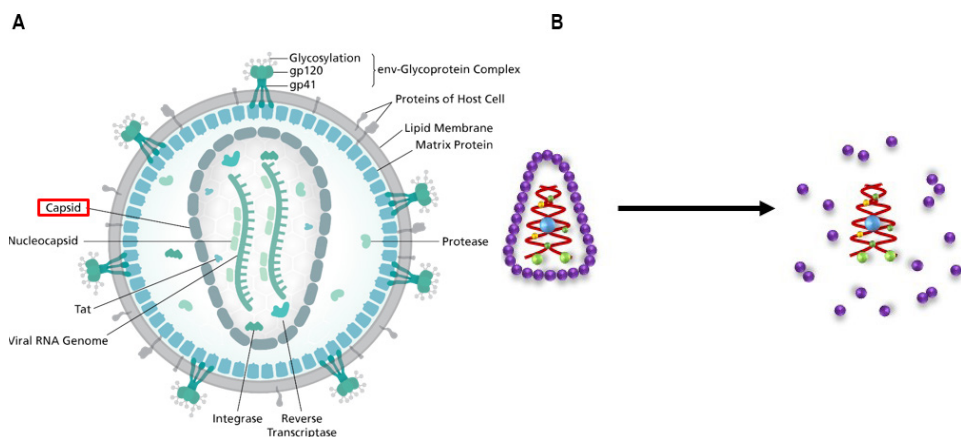
Figure 2 Structural representation of mature HIV-1 virion and the HIV-1 CA protein forming the conical capsid structure. (A) Positions of the major viral proteins MA, RT, PR, IN, TM (gp41), SU (gp120), and NC are indicated. Capsid proteins (CA) are shown in dark gray, forming the conical capsid structure housing the viral RNA genome; each virion has two genomic RNAs. (B) Uncoating is the disassembly of the virus's conical capsid structure. This early step in the HIV-1 replication cycle releases the viral RNA genome for integration into the host cell.

2A: "Diagram of HIV" by Thomas Splettstoesser is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0.

2B: Image courtesy of Dr. Amy Hulme.

To further investigate the timing of uncoating, as well as the relationship of uncoating and reverse transcription, cyclosporine washout assays with TRIM-CypA can be utilized. TRIM-CypA is derived from a family of proteins that restrict viral infection (6). For this assay, uncoating is detected through the action of the protein TRIM-CypA that is within TCN14 cells. This cellular protein blocks infection by either blocking nuclear import or binding the viral capsid and inducing degradation of the capsid (7,8).

Previously, Hulme et al. utilized a CsA washout assay with TRIM-CypA to detect intact capsids; infectivity was inhibited at varying times post-infection (4). The CsA washout assay used in this experiment is based on the binding of

TRIM CypA to the viral capsid. The CsA washout assay monitors the kinetics of HIV-1 uncoating within infected cells by withdrawing CsA at various time-points. To do this, the assay relies on two major characteristics of TRIM-CypA binding. TRIM-CypA binds the CA protein hexameric arrangement within the HIV-1 virion, thus only the coated viral capsids should be detected by TRIM-CypA. Furthermore, CsA inhibits the binding of TRIM-CypA to the viral capsid in a reversible manner (9-11). Once CsA is removed, TRIM-CypA is able to bind the coated viral capsids and restrict infection; any virus lacking a CA protein array after uncoating lacks a place for TRIM-CypA to bind, thus the virus can escape restriction and infect the cell (4,12).

From this experiment, results indicated that within one hour of viral fusion, the half-life of uncoating occurs (4). Hulme et al. then took their research further, studying the effects of specific CA mutations on the kinetics of uncoating, as well as the cellular environment's impact on uncoating. E45A, N74D, G89V, P90A, A92E, and G94 mutations were investigated in owl monkey kidney (OMK) and in HeLa cells through CsA washout assays, Nevirapine addition assays, and CsA addition assays. Through previous studies, these mutations have shown to have effects on other aspects of HIV replication besides uncoating. Specifically, N74D mutations have shown to employ an alternative nuclear import pathway from wild type HIV and alter the integration site preference of HIV (3).

Collectively, Hulme's experiments observed differences in uncoating between the two cell lines, indicating that the cellular environment plays a key role in the capsid uncoating for both wild type and mutants. HIV-GFP uncoated faster in HeLa-TC cells than in OMK cells. Uncoating was delayed in both cell lines with the N74D mutant virus; however, HeLa-TC cells showed a greater delay (3).

Here, analysis is extended further to TCN14 cells. As stated, CA mutations have been previously analyzed in OMK cells and HeLa cells. The N74D mutation is actively studied for its similarity to wild type virus and its effects on multiple aspects of replication, so it was chosen to be analyzed in this experiment for its effects on kinetics with TCN14 cells in a CsA washout assay. TCN14 cells make up a line of CHME3 microglial cells that express the TRIM-CypA protein. In addition to infecting T cells, upon infection in the human body, HIV-1 will also infect the microglial cells in the brain (13). The experiments done here will provide for a more accurate representation of the HIV-1 uncoating process because uncoating will be observed in a more relatable cell line that is actively infected in HIV-1 positive individuals. N74D has been shown to significantly decrease the rate of uncoating, in comparison to wild type CA protein and both OMK and HeLa cells. Therefore, it is

hypothesized that these results will remain consistent for TCN14 cells as well. Previous research has shown that uncoating rates vary between cell lines, so while it is anticipated that this CA mutant will decrease the rate of uncoating, it is expected that uncoating rates for N74D and wild type virus will vary from uncoating rates in HeLa and OMK cells.

Materials and Methods

Cell Maintenance

For optimal growth, 293T and TCN14 cells were maintained in an incubator of 37 °C and 5% CO2. 293T cells were cultured in Dulbecco's modified Eagle medium, 10% fetal bovine serum, and 1% penicillin-streptomycin-glutamine and split using trypsin. TCN14 cells were cultured in Dulbecco's modified Eagle medium, 5% fetal bovine serum, 1% penicillin-streptomycin-glutamine, and 1% Na pyruvate and split using phosphate-buffered saline (PBS) and trypsin. The TCN14 cell line was previously generated using a TRIM-CypA-expressing retroviral vector.

Virus Generation

293T cells were transfected, in accordance with Table 1, with HIV-1 green fluorescent protein proviral plasmid (HIV-GFP) or CA mutant, along with vesicular stomatitis virus g protein (VSV-g) and 40 μl of 1 mg/ml polyethylenimine (PEI) to produce VSV-g pseudotyped virus stock.

Table 1: Plasmids for Virus Transfection

Plasmid	Concentration (μg/μl)	Quantity Used (μg)
HIV-GFP	1.478	6
HIV-GFP N74D	1.837	6
VSV-g	2.742	4

*The HIV-GFP contains a mutation in the envelope gene, preventing multiple rounds of infection.

48 hours after transfection, virus was harvested and filtered. Virus stock was stored at -80 °C until use.

Virus infectivity of 293T cells was verified with an 8 well serial dilution. 2000X stock of Polybrene was diluted with culture medium to reach a 1X concentration for wells 2-8 and a 2X concentration for the first well. 100 µl of virus was added to well 1 and mixed; 100 µl was transferred to the next well. The serial dilution was continued for the remaining wells in the row. A virus with confirmed positive infectivity was used as a positive control; wells not exposed to the virus served as the negative control. 48 hours after viral transfection, cells were harvested with 100µl trypsin and fixed with 100µl cell fix, 1 part 1X PBS, and 1 part 4% paraformaldehyde. The percentage of GFP positive cells was determined using Accuri C6 flow cytometer to confirm sufficient virus infectivity.

CsA Washout Assay

Cyclosporine A (CsA) was prepared in ethanol for a concentration of 5 mM and stored at -20 °C. CsA will be used at a final concentration of 2.5 µM. EtOH served as the carrier control for CsA and was used at a 1:2000 dilution. Polybrene was prepared in ddH_2O at 10 mg/ml. Polybrene will be used at a final concentration of 5 µg/µl.
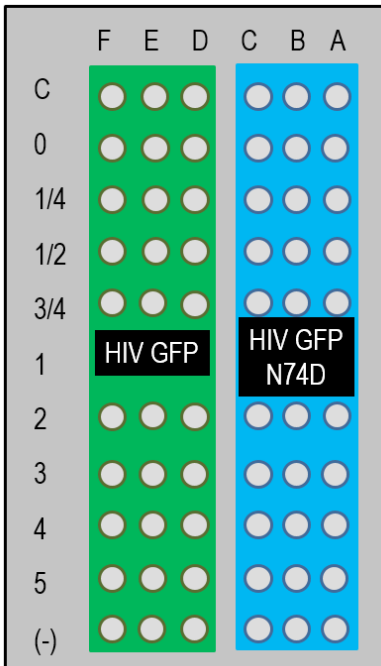
TCN14 cells were plated in 96-well plates to allow for each control or experimental reaction to occur in triplicates (See Figure 3 for plate set up). Inoculation medium containing HIV-GFP or N74D mutant, 10mg/ml Polybrene, and 5 mM CsA or EtOH was added to cells in accordance with Table 2.

Table 2: Washout assay conditions in TCN14 cells

Reagents	Volumes for 1 reaction (µl)	Total volumes used for 40 reactions (µl)
Media	39.9	1596.0
Polybrene	0.05	2.0
CsA or EtOH	0.05	2.0
Virus	60	2400.0
Total	100 µl	4000 µl

Cells were incubated for 1.5 hours at 16 °C. Inoculation medium was then exchanged for warm media containing Polybrene and either CsA or EtOH.

The zero time point reaction was washed out and given standard culture medium. Washout was continued for the following time points: 0 hr, 15 min, 30 min, 45 min, 1 hr, 2 hr, 3 hr, 4 hr, 5 hr. Between each washout time point, cells were incubated at 37°C . 48 hours after the washout assay, cells were harvested with 100μl trypsin and fixed with 100μl cell fix, 1 part 1X PBS and 1 part 4% paraformaldehyde. The percentage of GFP positive cells was determined using Accuri C6 flow cytometer. The CsA washout assay was repeated three times to support results obtained. The ethanol washout was used as the negative control. Triplicate wells with no CsA treatment and continuous CsA treatment also served as controls. The percentage of GFP positive cells in the ethanol control was subtracted from the CsA reactions percentage of GFP positive cells for each time point of the reaction. This served to determine the true percentage of infected cells over the background. A line of best fit was established for the two data points neighboring 50% uncoating so that the half-life of uncoating could be determined. The half-life of uncoating was compared between wild type and N74D mutant viruses.


Figure 3 Representation of 96 well plate set up for a CsA washout assay. TCN14 cells were plated in 96-well plates to allow for each control or experimental reaction to occur in triplicates. The ethanol washout was used as the negative control. Triplicate wells with no CsA treatment and continuous CsA treatment also served as controls. HIV-GFP was used along with N74D mutants to provide a wild-type control for comparison.

Results

Prior to performing CsA washout assays, the virus was tested for infectivity in 293T cells. 293T cells were transfected with HIV-1 green fluorescent protein proviral plasmid (HIV-GFP) or CA mutant, along with VSV-g and PEI to produce VSV-g pseudotyped virus stock. Virus infectivity of 293T cells was verified with an 8 well serial dilution. The flow cytometry results indicating effective viral infectivity are shown in Figure 4. Infectivity of both HIV-GFP wild type virus and N74D mutant virus was tested.

Both N74D mutant virus and HIV-GFP wild type virus showed similar infectivity in 293T cells. The highest infectivity was shown at dilutions of ½, ¼, and ⅛. With the remaining dilutions, the percentage of positive GFP cells steadily decreased. Both viral strains were deemed sufficient for use in the remainder of the experiment since both viruses generated showed similar infectivity. The same volume (60 µl) of both N74D and HIV-GFP was used for each CsA washout assay since both averaged approximately 70% GFP positive cells and showed similar infectivity with each dilution (Figure 4).
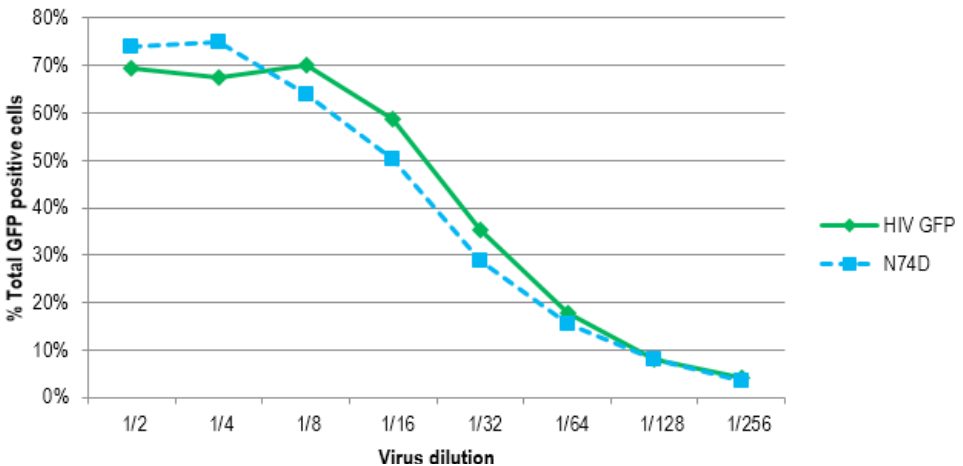
Figure 4 Infectivity of HIV-GFP and N74D mutant virus. Representative Accuri C6 flow cytometer data confirming virus infectivity. The percentage of GFP positive 293T cells was measured through a viral serial dilution. A virus with confirmed positive infectivity was used as a positive control; wells not exposed to virus served as the negative control. Both N74D virus and HIV-GFP wild type virus showed similar infectivity.

The CA mutation N74D influenced the rate of uncoating within the TCN14 cells, when compared to wild type HIV-GFP. To observe the effects of the CA mutation on uncoating in HIV-1 infected TCN14 cells, three CsA

washout assays were performed with N74D mutant virus and HIV-GFP wild type virus. TCN14 microglial cells expressing TRIM-CypA were infected with either HIV-GFP wild type virus or CA mutant N74D virus in the presence of CsA. CsA was washed out and replaced with warm media for the following times post-infection: 0 hr, 15 min, 30 min, 45 min, 1 hr, 2 hr, 3 hr, 4 hr, and 5 hr. 48 hours after infection, cells were harvested. The percentage of GFP positive cells indicating infected cells was determined using an Accuri C6 flow cytometer. The percentage of infected cells indicated the percentage of uncoated virions. To determine the true percentage of infected cells over background, the percentage of GFP positive cells in the ethanol control was subtracted from the percentage of GFP positive cells from each CsA reaction at each time point. To normalize the data, the percentage of GFP-positive cells was set to have the curve level off at 100%. A line of best fit could then be established and the half-life could be calculated. N74D uncoating kinetics was tested in parallel with the wild type control virus. The same dilution was used for N74D and HIV-GFP since both exhibited similar infectivity.
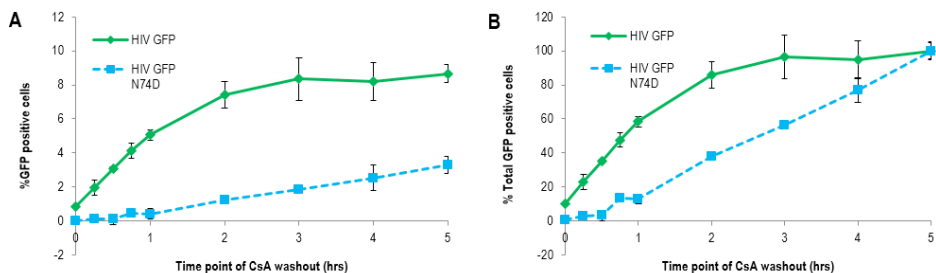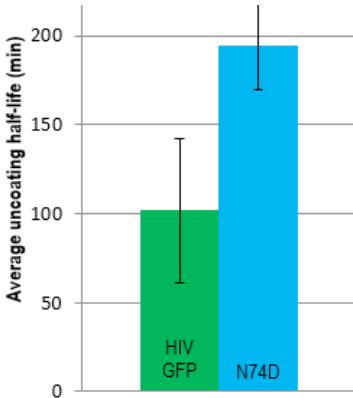

Figure 5 N74D mutant uncoating rate in comparison to HIV-GFP. CsA washout assay was performed in three independent experiments on TCN14 cells with HIV-GFP and N74D mutant. Line graphs are from one representative washout assay. Error bars signify standard errors. (A) Average CsA values after the percentage of GFP positive cells in the ethanol control was subtracted from the CsA reactions, eliminating background. (B) Data was normalized by setting the values so the percent of GFP positive cells curve levels off at 100%. The N74D mutation delayed the uncoating process in TCN14 cells in comparison to HIV-GFP wild type.

In the CsA washout assays performed, the N74D mutant uncoated more slowly than wild type virus, as shown in Figure 5 and Figure 6. N74D infected a significantly smaller number of cells at a much slower rate than HIV-GFP (Figure 5A). HIV-GFP wild type virus infected rapidly within the first two hours post-infection. After the second hour post-infection, the percentage of

GFP positive cells leveled off as infection slowed down. N74D, however, did not see any rapid infection rates. N74D-infected cells at a steady, gradual rate over the 5 hours post-infection (FIG 5B).

Figure 6 Average N74D mutant uncoating rate in comparison to HIV-GFP. The bar graph shows a comparison between HIV-GFP and N74D for the average half-life of uncoating for the three experiments done. Error bars signify standard errors. Average uncoating half-life was 101.73 minutes for HIV-GFP and 194.74 minutes for N74D. The N74D mutant significantly decreases the rate of uncoating in comparison to wild type HIV-GFP.

N74D had a half-life that was nearly double the half-life of HIV-GFP wild type. The average half-life was calculated from the three independent experiments conducted. The average half-life of uncoating for N74D was 194.74 minutes, which was a significant increase when compared to the HIV-GFP average half-life of 101.73 minutes (Figure 6).

Discussion

The CsA washout assay allowed for uncoating kinetics to be examined for both HIV-GFP wild type virus and N74D mutant virus in microglial cells, based upon the infectivity observed. In previous research, N74D mutations have been shown to employ an alternative nuclear import pathway from wild type HIV and alter the integration site preference of HIV (3). In in vitro assays, the N74D mutation does not alter capsid stability and typically uncoats similarly to wild type virus (4). In a CsA washout assay, however, N74D showed a delay in uncoating in TCN14 cells when compared to wild type virus. Thus, capsid mutants have an effect on uncoating in cultured cells.

Based on knowledge of the specific N74D mutation and previous studies, it was hypothesized that N74D would significantly lower the rate of uncoating in TCN14 cells; this was supported by the observed results. When comparing N74D to HIV-GFP, a nearly 2-fold difference was observed for the half-life

on uncoating. This difference is significant enough to cause a decrease in the overall infectivity of the N74D virus.

Differences in uncoating rates of just 10 minutes correlate with different states of the reverse transcribing genome since HIV-1 reverse transcriptase has a processivity of 2-3 nucleotides per second. As discussed previously, there is a complex relationship between the processes of uncoating and reverse transcription. This relationship indicates that changes in uncoating could potentially lead to decreased infectivity. The observed effects of the N74D mutation on uncoating is likely more severe than indicated by data since the CsA washout assay requires virus to uncoat and establish a provirus to yield a positive read (3).

The results obtained in these experiments are generally consistent with the experiments performed by Hulme et al. in Identification of Capsid Mutation That Alter the Rate of HIV-1 Uncoating in Infected Cells. In these experiments, the same uncoating assay was performed with N74D and HIV-GFP on OMK cells. Data showed that the N74D mutation significantly decreased the rate of uncoating, when compared to wild type virus. Thus, in both OMK and TCN14 cells, the N74D mutant delayed uncoating; however, there is a notable difference in the way in which they altered the rate of uncoating. In OMK cells, the N74D mutant infected cells at a steady increase for the first three hours post-infection, very similar to how HIV-GFP wild type virus infected cells (3). In contrast, TCN14 cells were infected by N74D at a gradual rate over the five hours post-infection, but were infected by HIV-GFP rapidly within the first two hours post-infection. These experiments could be taken further by observing the effect other CA mutants have on uncoating kinetics in microglial cells. By observing the mutants in a new cell line and comparing results to previous studies done with those mutants, more conclusive results could be drawn regarding the effect of viral and cellular factors on uncoating.

Collectively, these data indicate that other factors are involved in uncoating in vivo. TCN14 cells showed similarities to both OMK cells and HeLa cells. When infected with wild type virus, TCN14 cells had an average half-life of 102 minutes, which relates more closely to OMK cell's half-life of 64 minutes. However, when infected with N74D mutant virus, an average half-life of 195 minutes was observed in TCN14 cells, which more closely relates to the average HeLa cell half-life of approximately 130 minutes (3). HeLa and TCN14 cells both showed a more obvious delay in uncoating with the N74D virus, when compared to OMK cells. There is no clear relationship with uncoating that can be established between TCN14 cells and HeLa or OMK cells. This variation in half-lives observed further supports the involvement of cellular factors, in addition to viral factors, for the uncoating process. Further

experiments to determine the rate of viral fusion in TCN14 cells could provide additional information about relationship of TCN14, OMK, and HeLa cells, thus further clarifying the importance of cellular factors in uncoating. The pronounced uncoating delay in HeLa and TCN14 cells suggests that the cellular environment in each of these cell lines can have varying of effects on uncoating, facilitating delayed uncoating with mutant virus and faster uncoating with wild type virus. As previously mentioned, N74D employs an alternative nuclear import pathway, utilizing different host factors than those used by wild type virus. Results further support the potential possibility that the host factors employed by N74D could be involved in the differential effects in both HeLa and TCN14 cells.

In the current replication cycle model, the process of reverse transcription facilitates HIV-1 uncoating in the cytoplasm of infected cells. These experiments served as a good model for the uncoating of HIV-1 because HIV-1 actively infects microglial cells. In the CsA washout assays done here, and in those done in previous research, the majority of the uncoating that occurred within the five hours post-infection was observed to happen within the first three hours, indicating that uncoating happens prior to the completion of reverse transcription (4). Data obtained supports a replication cycle model where the early steps of reverse transcription aid in facilitating HIV-1 uncoating.

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Madelaine Lafferty and Jennifer Kerr

Issues Related to Anxiety and Depression in Persons with Aphasia: Foundational Information for the Speech-Language Pathologist

Abstract

Aphasia is a language disorder obtained by adults that can be caused by a stroke or a traumatic brain injury. People with aphasia are typically described as falling into one of two groups: those with fluent aphasia and those with non-fluent aphasia. Many of these individuals may have symptoms of depression or anxiety. Having aphasia can affect a person's emotional wellbeing including factors of infrastructural exclusion, interpersonal exclusion, and personal exclusion. Emotional wellbeing can have an effect on whether or not a person with aphasia (PWA) may have symptoms of depression or anxiety, which are documented disorders in this population. There are several tools that have been used to evaluate depressive symptoms in PWA, including the Visual Analogue Mood Scaled (VAMS), the Visual Analogue Self Esteem Scale (VASES), the Stroke Aphasia Depression Questionnaire (SADQ), and the Structured Assessment of Depression in Brain Damaged Individuals (SADBD). To support PWA, speech-language pathologists should possess counseling skills and use them to ensure that the client knows what kinds of resources are available to them. Counseling is not a widely emphasized aspect of speech pathology in the academic field and many skills are learned in field work instead. Interviews were conducted of PWA to discuss depressive and anxious symptoms to further explore the topic. Additional research is recommended to better understand depression and anxiety within this population to help create a larger body of information for clinicians to better serve PWA.

Introduction

Speech-language pathologists help persons with aphasia (PWA) learn to communicate again after their strokes or brain injuries. There are different treatment approaches based on the type of aphasia each PWA has. The goal for each PWA is to have clients function within their own environments and not what the speech pathologist might think their environments to be. Especially with PWA, it is important to understand the emotional well-being of the individual. Mood states can affect how meaningful treatment is. A depressive or anxious mood state in a PWA can have detrimental effects on how quickly he/she is able to recover post-stroke. PWA measure their mood states based on many different aspects. Several unique tests have been developed and adapted to screen for depression and anxiety in PWA. Effective counseling strategies

can help to initiate therapy and provide ways for PWA to prepare for therapy sessions that will keep their emotional wellbeing in mind. PWA often experience anxiety, depression, and social exclusion in accordance with their aphasia, and several different articles and books have been written about how to screen for and counsel these individuals to effectively treat their communication disorder.

Background

Aphasia is an acquired language disorder that usually occurs as the result of stroke or traumatic brain injury, with additional causes including focal brain tumors, brain infection, or dementia (*Aphasia*, n.d.). Aphasia impacts an individual's speech production, auditory comprehension, written expression, and reading comprehension, all with varying degrees of severity depending on the location and extent of brain damage. According to the National Stroke Association, there are 80,000 new cases of aphasia every year in the United States alone (*Aphasia*, n.d.). From the National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke, there are approximately one million people living with aphasia in the United States today (*Aphasia*, n.d.). Aphasia as the result of a stroke is more common in older adults than in younger adults. After their first ischemic stroke, "15% of individuals under sixty-five years of age experience aphasia, which increases to 43% of those eighty-five years and older (Aphasia, n.d., Incidence and Prevalence section, para. 3).

There are two broad classifications of aphasia based on the speech output characteristics of the individual: fluent and non-fluent. This binary system is not all-inclusive as there are many different types of aphasia, several of which incorporate both fluent and non-fluent characteristics, and symptomatology is highly dependent on the brain areas involved.

Fluent aphasia is characterized by speech production that is effortless in its onset and contains natural prosodic contours, but little to no meaning may be attached to the words and phrases being spoken (*Common Classifications of Aphasia*, n.d.). In its most severe forms, speech may sound like jargon and contain non-real words, known as neologisms. A person with fluent aphasia may not be aware of their speech errors due to impaired auditory comprehension, and will often not understand why their communication partner does not follow their conversation (*Common Classifications of Aphasia*, n.d.). For example, when trying to say, "The dog is chasing the boy," a person with severe fluent aphasia may say, "And, see, here it is and there you go, it's all right nukado," where "nukado" represents a neologism, or non-word. In milder cases, a person with fluent aphasia may be highly verbal, producing few speech errors, but

may be tangential and experience frequent word finding problems. They may say something like, "That furry thing that barks. Dog, yes, that's it. The dog is chasing the ball." Fluent aphasia types include Wernicke's aphasia, transcortical sensory aphasia, anomic aphasia, and conduction aphasia.

Non-fluent aphasia is characterized by speech output that is labored, halting, and telegraphic, containing primarily content words, such as nouns and main verbs, and an absence or reduction of filler words (*Common Classifications of Aphasia*, n.d.). The person will be able to attach meaning to words, but will produce speech in an effortful and slow manner. For example, when attempting to say "The dog is chasing the ball," they may say, "Dog…chase… ball." People with non-fluent aphasia may have relatively well-preserved auditory comprehension and is often well aware of their errors, which often results in high levels of frustration when trying to communicate. Non-fluent forms of aphasia include Broca's aphasia, transcortical motor aphasia, and mixed non-fluent aphasia (*Common Classifications of Aphasia*, n.d.). The same resource states that global aphasia is considered a non-fluent aphasia type as well, though these individuals experience greater deficits in auditory comprehension than is seen in those with other non-fluent aphasia types. Primary progressive aphasia (PPA) is a rare focal dementia characterized by gradual loss of language in the presence of intact memory and personality in the early stages. Persons with PPA are typically aware of their progressive language deterioration (*Common Classifications of Aphasia*, n.d.). There are different characteristics that make up these different types of aphasia, but each have a few qualities in common that allow them to fall into either the fluent or non-fluent type.

The devastating language disorder of aphasia, both fluent and non-fluent, can prevent people from interacting in ways that they were able to before their brain injuries. A change like this can affect the emotional wellbeing of PWA. A 2012 study from Norway found that this disruption from normal life caused "a condition characterized by fear, uncertainty, despair, and frustration" (Bronken, Kirkevold, Martinsen, & Kvigne, p. 7). The study entitled "Psychosocial Well-Being in Persons with Aphasia Participating in a Nursing Intervention after Stroke" included seven individuals who were between four and twelve weeks post-stroke, and investigated the effectiveness of intervention surrounding the psychosocial wellbeing of individuals following stroke through a "dialogue-based, collaboration and problem-solving process between the stroke survivors and a trained nurse" (Bronken et al, 2012, p. 2). Depression and anxiety can be a common condition associated with PWA. A multitude of factors can contribute to these feelings, like a sense of threatened identity, changes in relationships, social exclusion, unemployment, as well as a loss of a sense of

self (Bronken et al., 2012, p. 1). According to the *Stroke Connection Magazine* published by the American Stroke Association, "depression affects between 33%-66% of stroke survivors...[and] anxiety affects about 20% of survivors" (Caswell, n.d., para. 2–3). Often times, these feelings of depression are most acute during the first year following the injury, yet sometimes such despair extends to two to three years post-stroke (Code, Hemsley, & Hermann, 1999, p. 8). Depression in PWA can be caused by the stroke itself because of the change in brain functionality, or because of feelings brought on by the fact that he/she is living with aphasia.

Emotional Wellbeing and Social Exclusion

Many facets are considered to be important toward contributing to the emotional wellbeing of a person. In general, these aspects can include confidence in one's abilities, a social support system, financial stability and freedom, the ability to monitor one's stress and control tension, and an acceptance of flaws (DuBay, Laures-Gore, Mathenhy, & Romski, 2011, p. 1017). DuBay's study included seventy-two individuals overall, including thirty-one PWA, twelve individuals with right brain damage, and fourteen individuals from the general population (2011). It included a test entitled the Coping Resources Inventory for Stress to evaluate the individual's ability "to assess the perceived availability of coping resources" (DuBay et al., 2011, p. 1020). Limitations for this study included self-reported scores for a test intended for the general population, instead of PWA, as well as the help of another individual. PWA place specific focus on relationships with people, friends in particular (DuBay et al., 2011). A focus is placed on friends because there is a sense of duty surrounding family members that is not necessarily present in friendships with non-relatives. PWA feel that their family members are obligated to stay with them through their illness, and many times friends seem to fall away. A friend of a PWA may feel unsure of how to communicate in a new way, and thus avoids contact. However, this is not the case for everyone. In some instances, a person with aphasia will not want to reveal their disordered speech, perhaps because of embarrassment, and in this case, they choose to avoid contact. In the case of people with non-fluent aphasia with effortful speech and generally intact auditory comprehension, it could be especially difficult to interact with friends since the PWA's speech is usually lacking in content, and because of this, the person's speech may sound elementary. In Bronken et al.'s study, a PWA was interacting in a therapeutic setting and the PWA's friend approached (2012, p. 6). Instead of speaking in the manner with which the PWA had been during therapy, the PWA elected non-verbal means of gesture and sign to communi-

cate with the friend. When asked about this shift in communication styles, the PWA expressed embarrassment of their new speech (Bronken et al., 2012, p. 6). It is entirely possible that friendships fall away based on both sides of the relationship, from PWA by restricting how they interact and from friends by simply not knowing how to interact.

Social isolation and diminished social participation are all common to people with aphasia (DuBay et al., 2011, p. 1023), but these factors may not pertain to all PWA. Social exclusion is a broad idea that encompasses many different aspects. In some instances, exclusion can involve being left out of networks that support most aspects of daily life, like "family, friends, community, and employment" (Parr, 2007, p. 98). There are three different types of social exclusion discussed in detail in the following paragraphs. Parr's study on social exclusion investigated each of these three in-depth. Parr's study involved twenty people who were visited and documented over three separate occasions. The researcher took elaborate field notes documenting the PWA's interactions, environments, and personal feelings about their situations. In some cases, the researcher was the one communicating with the PWA, but other times it was another person, such as the doctor, caretaker, nurse, etc., within the environment. Supported communication was used to facilitate the PWA's communication.

The researcher's investigation into infrastructural exclusion showed losses for PWA in work and supporting themselves financially. There are several indicators of social exclusion, including "limited access to employment; inadequate income; services (health, housing, education, leisure)" (Parr, 2007, p. 106) along with others. Only one of the twenty participants had a paid job, and many family members needed to give up their own employment to care for the PWA (Parr, 2007, p. 106–107). As a result, there was greater dependence on welfare from the government and frustration for both individuals involved in the relationship. With increased time spent together in a financially unstable situation, strain was created in the relationship. Within this same concept of infrastructural exclusion, appropriate services such as access to community activities for those with communication disorders, the inability to communicate health issues, and other health and social services, were not provided for PWA. Instead, communication breakdown often occurred, and individuals and family members had never received guidance in dealing with these issues (Parr, 2007, p. 108). When services were provided, some were inappropriate for those with difficulties in communication. Parr stated that in one particular case, a physiotherapist was talking about how her patient would not listen to her, but he simply did not understand the concept she was trying to communicate to him because of his diagnosis of aphasia (Parr,

2007, p. 108–109). In this study, the researchers proposed that the physiotherapist should have ideally been educated regarding the disorder to then modify her communication strategies and best administer therapy to the individual. Other clinicians working with the aphasia population may assume that since communication is not their area of expertise, they do not need to worry about it. However, as communication is all-encompassing and is directly related how one copes with and adapts to daily life, this is obviously not the case. There should be a collaboration between professionals to provide the best outcome for each individual in therapy.

Parr's (2007) study found three issues with interpersonal exclusion: "close personal relationships, relationships with service providers, and relationships with other service users" (p. 111). Indicators of interpersonal exclusion are described as "limited association with groups and places in society, family, neighbors, friends, workmates" (Parr, 2007, p. 106) and several others. The same author gives many examples of exclusion with people in close, personal relationships. Many PWA's friendships had fallen away. Family members described that the friends "…did not know how to communicate and seemed to feel awkward and even frightened" (Parr, 2007, p. 112). Some people within the PWA's life took up habits that were disrespectful to the PWA: "talking about rather than to the person; teasing; insisting on words and phrases being repeated; or simply not acknowledging the person" (Parr, 2007, p. 111). These ways of interacting can cause the PWA's to feel like the people in their lives are treating them as if they are incapable. Because of the frequency of these disrespectful habits, many PWA chose to become reclusive (Parr, 2007, p. 111). Additionally, new relationships were created with service providers because of the diagnosis of aphasia. Many of these service providers were great examples of respectful communication with a PWA, while many others displayed poor communication and disrespect for the individual (Parr, 2007). In Parr's study, several of the PWA experienced teasing by their service providers, where their speech was imitated in a crude way, or their service providers did not put effort into communicating directly with them (Parr, 2007, p. 113). In reference to relationships with other service users, many PWA seemed to lack this connection. Specifically, one PWA was an unwilling member of a social group, and a different PWA acted as if she was staff at her care center because she saw herself in a temporary situation (Parr, 2007, p. 113). Instead of interacting with her peers, this PWA chose to help around the care center because she felt she did not need to create relationships with her peers. In many cases, PWA choose to isolate themselves because of the lack of recognition and education by other people. If society was offered services to increase awareness of how to interact with PWA, perhaps there would be less social exclusion.

Personal exclusion seems to be less clear cut than infrastructural exclusion and interpersonal exclusion. There are several indicators of personal exclusion discussed in Parr's article, including "alienation, isolation, lack of identity, low self-esteem, passivity" (2007, p. 106) and a few others. Parr claims that many of the participants in the study did not experience this (Parr, 2007, p. 114). However, the study breaks down personal exclusion into isolation, boredom, and depression; identity and personhood; lack of control; and frustration and anger" (Parr, 2007, p. 114). As mentioned previously, many PWA experienced teasing, which discouraged them from participating in activities outside their home, leading to a depressed state of boredom and isolation (Parr, 2007, p. 114). Several PWA in this study seemed to lose a sense of identity. Parr states that many PWA are referred to instead of spoken to, and specifically that they may lose their personhood because they are unable to communicate (2007). Regarding PWA in institutional settings, the author states that they are often depersonalized because of the focus on "the mass and not the individual" (Parr, 2007, p. 115). In this study, PWA seemed to lack control over most aspects of their lives. When interacting with people unfamiliar with them, the message was abandoned after little effort by both the PWA and the unfamiliar person. People within the context of the environments of the study also showed little knowledge concerning how to interact with PWA. Parr also makes an important point that caregivers experience a loss as well as the PWA, which is expressed by a caregiver from the study (Parr, 2007, p. 115). Communication trouble commonly leads to frustration and anger, expressed by both caregivers and participants within this study. Aspects of both interpersonal exclusion and infrastructural exclusion can lead to personal exclusion because if the person believes that someone will not put in an effort to interact with him/her, he/she may not initiate communication.

To summarize, Parr's (2007) study identifies three aspects of social exclusion experienced by PWA: infrastructural, interpersonal, and personal. Each level shows losses in a PWA's life that could lead to social exclusion. Starting with the bigger picture, PWA often experience a change in their jobs and, effectively, their roles in society. Then, their relationships with others are changed. Both of these changes can result in changes within themselves, where they may pull back from creating or maintaining relationships with others, resulting in personal exclusion. Some of these aspects of social exclusion may be experienced by PWA, or some PWA may experience little to no social exclusion depending on their situations. Ultimately, these aspects of social exclusion have an effect on the emotional wellbeing of PWA.

Depression, Anxiety, and Aphasia

Depression is a common concern for individuals who have had a stroke. Many PWA have been documented to be at risk for depression as well. Åström, Adolfsson, and Asplund tracked the prevalence of post-stroke depression (PSD) over the course of three years; 25% of patients showed signs of a major depressive syndrome immediately after the stroke, which rose to 31% three months post-onset (Åström, Adolfsson, & Asplund, 1993). At twelve months post-onset, 16% of individuals showed symptoms, but this number increased to 29% at three years post-onset (Åström et al., 1993). This spike at two to three years post-onset can be a result of a lack of achievement toward desired goals. Initially and at one year post onset, PWA may still be hopeful to regain their levels of pre-injury ability. At two to three years post-onset, they may be less hopeful as their rates of progress slow and their abilities begin to stabilize.

A study by Code et al. (1999) reviewed how post-aphasia affect can be significantly influenced by the pathophysiology of the precipitating neurological event (p. 7). In other words, the location and extent of the brain damage has much to do with post-aphasia psychological symptoms. In this review by Code et al, a depressive affect is more commonly noted in individuals with a Broca's type (non-fluent) aphasia, while individuals with a Wernicke's type (fluent) aphasia "present[ed] with an abnormally positive, sometimes euphoric, affect" Code et al., 1999, p. 9). People with Wernicke's type aphasia do not have an awareness of their disorder, and therefore, do not draw any negative self-perceptions from their difficulties. Code et al.'s (1999) review expresses that many studies have claimed that an organic etiology, caused by physical damage to the brain, can lead to PSD; the author states that damage closer to the frontal lobe seems to result in a higher instance of depressive symptoms (1999, p. 10). This same article makes a note to say that one cannot decide that since with a Broca's type aphasia, they will have depressive symptoms. Instead, clinicians should note the tendencies presented to best gauge an individual's emotional wellbeing and make proper referrals if necessary.

In addition to the influence of the location of neurological damage, a person's mood can have a significant effect on the outcome of their therapy. In PWA, instituting counseling immediately following the brain injury is especially important for improvement of communication. The sooner people are able to communicate wants and needs, the less likely they are to experience a sense of loss in certain aspects of functional communication. Mood states can have an effect on a person's outcome in therapy: "positive mood promotes better outcomes than depressive or negative mood states" (Code et al., 1999, p. 17). A positive mood state can allow therapy working on the PWA's speech,

language, and cognition to be more effective. Counseling immediately following a stroke or brain injury can help to promote a positive psychosocial adjustment period, which can "significantly improve cognitive state, and possibly impact the rate and degree of language recovery" (Code et al., 1999, p. 18). An increased rate of recovery results in a quicker return to life as it will be, if there are functional limits to recovery or life before injury, which is the ultimate goal of treatment.

There is documented evidence of anxiety occurring in PWA, yet published studies about this subject are scarce as researchers have trouble evaluating these individuals because of limited language performance and understanding (Cahana-Amitay et al., 2011). Cahanna-Amitay, Albert, Pyun, Westwood, Jenkins,Wolford, and Finley (2011) state that people with aphasia have "compromised linguistic skills" that cause patients "extreme concern about the clarity and accuracy of their verbal communication" (p. 594). With extreme concern about verbal communication comes a lack of confidence in skills, possibly resulting in linguistic anxiety, as described by Cahana-Amitay et al. A person with linguistic anxiety is described as someone intentionally attempting to produce language and expecting an error in production, becoming ultimately concerned with a communication breakdown and misunderstanding (Cahana-Amitay et al., 2011, p. 603). People with linguistic anxiety will be less likely to interact with people they are unfamiliar with because of this perceived threat. PWA may not be scared to participate in an activity, like skating, that they were able to do before their injury, but they may be more concerned about interacting with the clerk at the front of the skate park. Emotional wellbeing as a whole can be linked to a "person's capacity to engage in human interaction" (Cahana-Amitay et al., 2011, p. 595). As cited in the same article, Burvill et al; Astrom, Leppavouri, Pohjasvaara, Vataja, Kaste, & Erkinhuntti; Barker-Collo; and Sagen et al all report that 14-21% of stroke patients exhibit symptoms of post-stroke anxiety (Cahana-Amitay et al., 2011, p. 596). PWA "experience more emotional reactions to stress, such as anxiety, aggression, and crying" (DuBay et al., 2011, p. 1024) than people without aphasia, suggesting PWA are unable to monitor stress levels and stressful environments appropriately. In a 2011 study by Hilari, 93% of the PWA in the study experienced high psychological distress, compared to 50% of stroke survivors without aphasia. However, after six months, this disparity disappeared within the study and PWA experienced similar amounts of distress as those participants without aphasia (Hilari, 2011, p. 216). This abrupt height in anxiety immediately following stroke could be a result of the inability to communicate effectively, and the equal amounts of distress between PWA and other stroke survivors at six months post-stroke could be due to becoming accustomed to life with aphasia.

Evaluating Symptoms of Depression in PWA

Depressive symptoms in PWA should not be evaluated based on data normed to a non-aphasic population. Instead, many different tests have been researched and shown to be better able to assess depression in this population. To assess depression in PWA, Brumfitt (1998) stated that the Visual Analogue Mood Scales (VAMS) "have been shown to be valid and reliable measures of internal mood states" (p. 117). However, the VAMS does not directly measure depressive symptoms in PWA. In reaction to this discovery, Brumfitt collaborated with Sheeran to develop the VASES (Visual Analogue Self Esteem Scale, which consists of 10 sets of pictures consisting of two pictures each (Brumfitt, 1998, p. 118). As described in this article, each set had one picture representing an optimistic scenario and one picture representing an unoptimistic scenario; these each had a written label to facilitate understanding. The VASES was utilized in four different studies to establish reliability and validity, showing that it monitored self-esteem immediately following the stroke and monitored attitudes during treatment (Brumfitt, 1998, p. 119). The same author states that this evaluation was designed to be filled out individually, as well as with a clinician if necessary. The VASES was also noted to "provide the basis for a conversation about feelings and expression of distress which would otherwise have been difficult to start" (Brumfitt, 1998, p. 119). Even though this scale was not appropriate for evaluating depressive symptoms in PWA, it served a special purpose in opening the conversational table for a discussion of this issue and other difficult topics.

Mood scales developed specifically for PWA include the VAMS (discussed above) and the Stroke Aphasia Depression Questionnaire (Ross, Winslow, Marchant, & Brumfitt, 2006). The Stroke Aphasia Depression Questionnaire (SADQ) consists of 10 items, identifies depressed mood, and can "be used to monitor changes in mood over time" (Sutcliffe & Lincoln, 1998, p. 512). This test is not diagnostic in nature. Instead, it is used to identify PWA warranting further evaluation for depressive symptoms by a licensed professional, such as a psychologist or counselor (Sutcliffe & Lincoln, 1998, p. 512). This test has limitations in that caregivers complete the questionnaire using a Likert scale, so it is possible the caregivers will express their own feelings instead of reporting the objective behavior of the PWA. However, the SADQ is shown to be reliable over a period of time. Researchers were able to acquire consistent results over a four-week period of time (Sutcliffe & Lincoln, 1998). Additionally, the Structured Assessment of Depression in Brain Damaged Individuals (SADBD) was developed (Spencer, Tompkins, & Schulz, 1997). The authors states that this test was designed with a factual style of questions which elicits yes or no responses that can be repeated until understood, and

visual cue cards that accompany the spoken questions (1997, p. 134). Again, this test distinguishes between individuals with brain damage and depressive symptoms and those who do not have depressive symptoms, and the SADBD will not differentiate the severity of depression within a person (Spencer et al., 1997, p. 134). The SADBD is not diagnostic in nature and should be used in conjunction with several other reports, similar to the SADQ above; this test is also for individuals with brain damage in general and is not specifically only for PWA (Spencer et al., 1997). With these specific tests designed as screening tools for PWA, speech pathologists are able to determine whether a referral to a counselor or psychologist may be necessary, especially since depression and anxiety could be hard to communicate for a PWA.

Counseling

To be an effective clinician, many steps need to be taken in addition to understanding characteristics of disorders and implementing therapy techniques. Counseling is an important aspect of clinical activities that is often neglected. Students in graduate programs are encouraged to take courses on this subject, but they are usually not required to do so. Most graduate programs, in fact, do not include a counseling curriculum, as they have had to incorporate increased coursework focused on normal and disordered speech and language processing (Kendall, 2000, p. 102). New clinicians most often find themselves developing counseling skills without any formal training as they are simultaneously learning how to plan and execute evaluations and treatment programs (Kendall, 2000). The lack in formal instruction results in a large learning curve during the first few years as a new clinician. Notably, however, speech-language pathologists are not certified counselors or social workers, and should not claim to be. While aspects of counseling—effective listening, reflective commenting, and affirmative responses—should be a part of the skill set of any speech-language pathologist, these clinicians apply such methods within the context of providing information and coaching related to the communication disorder and its impact on one's life participation. For issues related to psychosocial adjustment and mood, for example, the speech-language pathologist must refer clients to certified professionals.

A book by Audrey Holland (2007), entitled *Counseling in Communication Disorders: A Wellness Perspective*, provides a multitude of tips on how to approach clinical counseling, and the book is a compilation of research on counseling persons with communication disorders. It is important to note that speech-language pathologists often feel reluctance toward counseling. Holland proposes that this may stem from the negative connotation the word counsel-

ing possesses and the lack of formal education that clinicians receive on the subject (Holland, 2007, p. 2). As a result, speech pathologists need to become more comfortable in their role as counselors for communication disorders in general.

The first steps to becoming an effective counselor include introspection and acknowledgment of the importance of one's own personality characteristics. To be a productive counselor, clinicians first needs to know their character strengths. Holland recommends clinicians take the Values in Action (VIA) assessment to identify a patient's strengths (2007). The VIA is a "principled attempt to provide a foundation in psychology for the scientific study of character" (Holland, 2007, p. 34); it is ultimately a system designed to classify aspects of character across cultures (Holland, 2007, p. 35). To provide correct and helpful information to clients and families, an extensive knowledge base about the disorders speech-language pathologists are treating is integral (Holland, 2007). For aphasia in particular, the clinician should be able to provide a general estimate of recovery when asked by the family. It should be cautioned that there is no way to truly know how recovery will progress for each individual (Holland, 2007, p. 163). Speech-language pathologists should provide optimistic and honest information for their client's recovery, but not overly so (Holland, 2007, p. 163). As counselors, speech-language pathologists toe the line between maintaining client happiness and providing real information about the potential outcome of a PWA's recovery. As a service to their clients, speech-language pathologists should identify when they are unable to provide the help their clients need, based on their experience, or lack thereof, and resources available to the clinicians. Especially with PWA, speech-language pathologists should attempt to co-treat with a psychologist or social worker if possible as a PWA's communication deficits may prevent these professionals from being able to communicate effectively (Holland, 2007, p. 57). For example, talking therapies may be difficult for PWA, especially for those also experiencing depression, because of their diagnosis of aphasia. In addition to this information, an effective clinician should provide community resources to clients. These resources can include referrals to senior citizen centers, public transportation for those with disabilities, support groups, and internet resources (Holland, 2007, p. 57). Importance should be placed on treating the client as a whole, as the person with a communication disorder and not just as a communication disorder. For example, it is appropriate to refer to "John, who has aphasia," versus "The aphasic."

Once speech pathologists knows their own strengths and weaknesses in regards to counseling abilities, it is important to acknowledge what the PWA is experiencing. The communication disorder may not be their only diagnosis

resulting from their stroke. As discussed previously, PWA may be experiencing different aspects of social isolation or dealing with a physical disability along with aphasia. Holland recommends the PWA retell their stroke story to reiterate how far they have come since their diagnosis of aphasia (2007, p. 155); this is most effective not immediately after the stroke, as the facts of their disorder and present experience are still setting in at that point. It is widely known to individuals familiar with aphasia that there is no clear-cut answer about how much PWA will improve in their communication abilities over the course of their recovery. With that being said, clinicians should be optimistic and not provide false hope about their clients' abilities, yet it is incredibly important to note progress. Emphasizing progress in a session can help to renew motivation toward a goal. Along with these general tips listed, Holland breaks down counseling into four categories as they are relevant to the clinician: 1. at the onset of aphasia, 2. acute intervention, 3. during the rehabilitation phase, and 4. during the chronic phase, or in the long term (Holland, 2007). The categorization of stages is helpful to organize information and counseling strategies for what will be most helpful for each individual PWA a clinician may treat.

At the onset of aphasia, Holland emphasizes that counseling involves providing general information. Specific questions asked by families quoted by Holland from Avent et al. (2005) include: "What is stroke," "What is aphasia," "Where can we get more information about aphasia," "What is the best that we can expect," "What can we do," and "What resources are available once we leave the hospital?" (as cited in Holland, 2007, p. 166). At this point in a PWA's recovery, a counselor should be able to provide answers to any questions, especially those listed above, as well as listen to how these people are thinking and feeling to help clarify ideas about aphasia and their post-stroke lives (Holland, 2007). The speech pathologist becomes a resource for these individuals and families alongside their role in treating the communication disorder.

The acute intervention stage of counseling is similar to the onset, but more specific. Holland claims that counseling should be interspersed into intervention activities, instead of making them two separate activities (2007, p. 167). By doing this, the clinician should be helping the client and family to focus on the abilities the PWA has retained instead of only the deficits they are experiencing. A clinician can intertwine counseling activities into intervention through conversation. Additionally, it is suggested to have the client's family keep a log of communication activities, production, and comprehension in which the PWA is a participant (Holland, 2007, p. 169). With the communication log, the speech pathologist will be able to understand where the breakdowns in communication occur. As a result, treatment can be tailored even

more to the PWA's needs.

During the rehabilitation stage, emphasis should be placed on the fact that gains during this stage are not the extent to how much the PWA will improve, which is a common ideal held by clients and families (Holland, 2007, p. 171). Counseling should be provided toward questions that families and clients may have; many of these questions from Avent et al. (2005) may include: "What is the purpose of testing," "What is the purpose of treatment," "Can we watch or participate in treatment," "How can we improve interactions," "How can we help," "What other things should we be aware of," and "Is there someone we can talk to who has gone through this?" (as cited by Holland, 2007, p. 172). Supported communication should be taught to families at this point as well, which involves using external aids and modified inputs to aid interactions, such as using visuals, writing key words, and speaking with as slower rate to aid comprehension (Holland, 2007, p. 172). It is the responsibility of the clinician to provide information about supportive communication to the client and family. At a certain point (typically the chronic phase), the PWA becomes the expert in living with aphasia, and clinicians need to understand and appreciate this perspective.

For the chronic stage of aphasia, counseling remains an important factor. Families still often have additional questions from Avent et al. (2005) like: "What alternative therapies or activities are available," "Whom can we call when we have questions," "What else can help at home," "Where can we get travel information," "Is job training available," "What support services are available," and "What resources are available for long-range planning?" (as cited by Holland, 2007, p. 177). At this point in therapy, it is important for clients to learn to live with the disorder, rather than attempt to eradicate it completely, especially when that is not a realistic possibility. Remembering to treat the individual as a whole and not the disorder becomes extremely important. If this concept is kept in mind by the clinician during all aspects of treatment and counseling, then the best outcome has the possibility of coming to fruition.

Group intervention can be an important aspect of counseling as well as individual treatment, as it may help the person to cope and to accept the long term implications of the disorder. In order to be an effective counselor during a group session, a clinician should "be a good listener" (Holland, 2007, p. 183). With that in mind, clinicians need to recognize that they are the only non-disordered individuals in the group, and that they should be wary of dominating the conversation. Another important skill emphasized by Holland is the act of "brokering communication" for other individuals in the group (2007, p. 183), meaning that the clinician may be responsible for interpreting the information

for the other PWA to ensure that the intended message is communicated. Group therapy sessions can help the PWA's to practice their skills to communicate more effectively and can provide a much appreciated source of peer support, fostering camaraderie and the feeling of community for the PWA's.

Interviews

Individual interviews were conducted in November 2016 with four PWA by the author of this paper to enrich the personal perspective of the information provided. Volunteers were recruited from Missouri State University's Speech and Hearing Clinic with the assistance of Jennifer Kerr, MS, CCC-SLP, Clinical Assistant Professor. Each volunteer had a diagnosis of aphasia and agreed to allow the information provided to be shared anonymously in this paper. Interviews were recorded on an audio device and were reviewed to provide correct information, with each volunteers' permission. Interview topics included questions about pre- and post-stroke depression and anxiety, communication abilities immediately following stroke, counseling, emotional support, and specific personal experiences. Specific questions are listed in the Appendix at the end of this document. Two of the four interview participants were not as responsive to the list of questions as they were anticipated to be. However, this individual still gave important insight from their experiences as a PWA. As a result, there is less information and interpretation available for this section.

All of the individuals interviewed sustained a stroke within the last six years. Some participants suffered a stroke due to complications during or following surgery, while others sustained a stroke with no precipitating medical event. All four volunteers indicated that they did not have many debilitating communication issues related to their aphasia at this point in time, aside from a few issues with word finding. Regarding their abilities following the immediate onset of their aphasia, only one person indicated issues with language comprehension following the injury, while the rest remembered having trouble expressing themselves. As stated earlier in this paper, 33-66% of people with aphasia are affected with depression and 20% of people with aphasia are affected with anxiety (Caswell, n.d., para 2–3). Of the four people interviewed, two expressed that they had been diagnosed with depression as a result of their injuries and resulting diagnoses of aphasia. One person indicated that he/she had a diagnosis of anxiety, not solely as a result of their aphasia diagnosis, but as a result of other medical issues from the same injury. None expressed a previous diagnosis of depression or anxiety before the stroke leading to aphasia. It should be noted that no medical records were reviewed before or after these interviews, and only self-reported information by the PWA was utilized.

Two PWA expressed that they perceived a lack of warmth from the hospital staff during their post-injury rehab. These two people claimed mistakes were made, and they wished their medical staffs were more caring toward them. One PWA shared a story about being rudely awoken by a nurse so that she could take blood. As she was leaving, he asked her to move him outside so that he could get some sun. However, the nurse simply unlocked his wheelchair and sent him on his way, but he was not able to open the door and wheel himself out. When asked about emotional support, one respondent indicated an increase in support after her injury. She claimed that many members of her family began to come around more often than they did before her injury. Some respondents communicated that they felt an immediate loss of friends following their injury. However, as many of the PWA have been living with aphasia for several years and have improved their communication skills, they have since rebuilt friendships or made new ones. One PWA, who experienced a non-fluent type aphasia post-injury, told a story about reconnecting with friends five years after the injury. He called this friend while cleaning out contacts from his phone, and his friend realized that he (the PWA) was able to communicate again. The PWA explained that he had lost touch with his friend after his injury, and his friend had only visited with him one time in the hospital. This reconnection was felt to be a result of his friend realizing that he no longer had as many problems associated with aphasia, and could now communicate more easily. No PWA expressed a lack of emotional support in the present within the context of these new and old friendships.

When asked about counseling following their diagnoses of aphasia, only one respondent indicated seeking services. Notably, all of the respondents have participated in or are currently participating in group communication therapy; therefore, it is possible that this experience has contributed to their communicative confidence as well as provided emotional support. Still, speech-language pathologists may be the only contacts with any form of counseling that some PWA may experience. Often, poor experiences by PWA early in their recovery can have a lasting impression on how they interact with medical professionals. Counseling is a skill learned by speech pathologists on the job as a result of trial and error, not through academic instruction. As a result, many clients may not be as effectively treated. With experience in counseling, clinicians can become more effective implementers of intervention. All four PWA interviewed do not recall having any counseling regarding their aphasia, despite the reputable importance of counseling and the impact it has on the outcome of the acceptance of the disorder. Counseling in the first few days post-stroke can help the PWA to employ appropriate coping mechanisms. Having interviewed these individuals, the importance of treating each individual as such,

as an individual, is evident. People have their own life experiences, as well as experiences with aphasia. PWA are experts regarding their own communication abilities and needs, and speech-language pathologists need to adapt their communication styles and treatment plans to treat them within the context of the clients' individual environments. Not only individualized treatment is paramount to the success of the clients, but so are the skills and coping strategies PWA learn to navigate their new lives. These skills and information should be implemented by a speech-language pathologist that has had formal training to provide the most recent and evidence-based strategies to help their client. These four individuals who were interviewed could have potentially benefitted in the long run from more counseling about this disorder.

As PWA work with speech-language pathologists, they are apt to express frustration, worries, hopes, and ambitions related to the impact of their aphasia. If their spouses or other communication partners are involved in treatment, they too are likely to have counseling needs related to coping with aphasia and needs related to issues beyond the scope of the speech-language pathologist. As such, speech-language pathologists need to be mindful of how they approach treatment, how they address concerns, how they deliver results and recommendations, and how they broach the need for clients and caregivers to seek the expertise of professional licensed counselors, if needed.

Conclusions

Emphasis on the individual, not the disorder, should be a main focus when the speech-language pathologist approaches intervention when working with individuals with aphasia. As such, the clinician may be better equipped to perceive potentially debilitating signs and symptoms of poor psychosocial adjustment, and make necessary accommodations. Additionally, emotional wellbeing is an indicator for how well someone will perform in therapy. In other words, a better emotional wellbeing equates to a higher likelihood of a good outcome, thus there are significant implications for therapeutic benefit based on emotional state. Many PWA measure their emotional wellbeing based on their relationships with other people, especially friends. An important factor affecting emotional wellbeing is social exclusion, encompassing infrastructural exclusion, interpersonal exclusion, and personal exclusion. Depression is prevalent in PWA, however few studies specifically covering anxiety in this population. There are many different methods that have been developed to screen for depressive symptoms in PWA, including the VAMS, VASES, SADQ, and SADBQ. Although not diagnostic in nature, these screening tools can assist the clinician in their understanding of the impact of the disorder on their cli-

ents as well as counseling efforts. Despite the existing and emerging evidence regarding the prevalence and impact of depression and anxiety in PWA, current graduate programs in speech-language pathology offer little to no formal training in this area, which should further be explored as a research topic to ascertain how many graduate programs offer courses about such material. As such, new clinicians are thrust into the working world often needing to learn counseling techniques on the job. From *Counseling in Communication Disorders: A Wellness Perspective*, which is a compilation of research into counseling in communication disorders, it is evident that there exists a good amount of information available regarding counseling and speech pathology that has been provided by practicing clinicians. However, this information is not being integrated into speech-language pathologist graduate curriculums. Holland suggests many strategies for PWA and for those working with them, including how to initiate therapy and what kind of expectations should be provided for the family and client. Additionally, Holland details what information should be provided at each stage of therapy, including at the onset of aphasia, the acute intervention stage, the rehabilitation phase, and the chronic stage. Holland also speaks to the importance of group therapy. To provide a personal perspective, four interviews were conducted with volunteer stroke survivors regarding aphasia, depression, and anxiety. Respondents shared interesting experiences during these discussions, and revealed that as one recovers from aphasia to the point of being able to converse and socialize, feelings of depression diminish as friendships are either established and/or renewed.

Additional research regarding depression and anxiety occurring in people with aphasia is needed for speech-language pathologists to better understand the psychosocial impact of the disorder. Speech-language pathologists can learn and implement appropriate counseling techniques and refer PWA to appropriate counseling practitioners as needed throughout the various stages of recovery. A rich body of research will facilitate a holistic approach to planning and executing speech-language pathologist diagnostic and treatment programs for PWA across care settings, and may encourage educational programs to infuse this needed information into their curricular and clinical training programs.

Appendix

Interview Quesitons

1. What caused your aphasia: a stroke or a head injury from an accident?
2. Tell me about how you communicated immediately after your injury while in the hospital.
3. Tell me about how you felt when interacting with healthcare providers. Did you feel like you were able to be understood?
4. Who first provided you with information about aphasia? A doctor? A nurse? Did you gain this while you were hospitalized or after?
5. How long have you had aphasia?
6. How much support have you had since your diagnosis? From family? From friends?
7. How would you rate any feelings of depression on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being none to 5 being "often very high" right after your injury to the best of your knowledge. A few months after? Currently? Did you have any pre-existing conditions related to depression before your hospitalization?
8. How would you rate any feelings of anxiety on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being none to 5 being "often very high" right after your injury to the best of your knowledge. A few months after? Currently? Did you have any pre-existing conditions related to anxiety before your hospitalization?
9. Were you on any medications for anxiety or depression pre-injury (stroke or head injury)? How about after stroke?
10. What, if anything, caused you stress or anxiety while in the hospital? What could have been helpful?
11. What, if anything, causes you to worry now in relation to your stroke or aphasia?
12. How did you alleviate stress prior to your stroke? What do you do now?
13. Have you ever participated in counseling? Before your diagnosis? After your diagnosis? From whom did you receive this counselling from? (Clinician vs. a counselor)
14. According to my research, people with aphasia have reported that they tend to lose emotional support after a stroke. Would you agree with that? Why or why not?
15. Do you feel that people in public have treated you differently since you developed aphasia?
16. Do you feel restricted in what you say or do in public since your diagnosis? How does this make you feel?
17. Who did you primarily interact with before your diagnosis? After? Did

these interactions change in any way with the people you maintained contact with?

18. What kinds of interactions cause you the most anxiety? Interacting with a family member? Ordering at a restaurant? Why would this situation cause you more anxiety than another?

19. Has anyone ever talked for you? How did that make you feel?

20. Do you feel like there was anything that could have been done differently to help your transition into life with aphasia? By the healthcare system? Your speech pathologist?

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SHAYLYNN RACKERS

PAINTING THE FORGOTTEN SIDE OF A WAR: THE *LIENZO DE QUAUHQUECHOLLAN* AND THE INDIGENOUS ROLE IN THE CONQUEST OF GUATEMALA

ABSTRACT

The conquest of Guatemala is usually considered a footnote in history, and history generally credits the Spanish conquistadors with the glory of victory. However, the Spanish were not the only conquistadors in the New World. The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, an indigenous document written in the Nahua pictorial language, portrays a far more complex situation. This painted cartographic history places the subjugation of Guatemala firmly within an indigenous framework.

The people of Quauhquechollan, a small polity in the Mexica Empire, allied themselves with the Spanish newcomers to gain agency and freedom in the changing political structure. When Jorge de Alvarado led Spanish men and indigenous allies into Guatemala to conquer the Mayan kingdoms, the Quauquecholteca joined the army as co-conquistadors. The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* tells the story of this venture and asserts the Quauquecholteca's new self-identity as conquistadors.

This paper examines the narrative of the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*. I rely on the work of Florine Asselbergs, who first interpreted the document in 2004, along with other scholars of Mesoamerican writing, art, culture, and history. My research covers the Nahua pictographic language, the history of the *lienzo* genre, Mesoamerican colonial history, and an analysis of the pictorial narrative told in the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*. Finally, the paper examines the process by which allies become conquistadors, conquistadors become victors, and victors become victims. Although the Quauhquechollan did not ultimately gain the independence and the power that they fought for, their painted history gives a new perspective on the study of the Spanish conquest by illustrating the monumental role that indigenous peoples played in the conquest of the New World.

Image 1: The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* (ca. 1530) digitally restored in 2009 (Sourced from Wikimedia Commons. This image is in the public domain in both Guatemala and the United States).

INTRODUCTION

"Just like the Spanish, we died in battle and we sought war."

From a sixteenth century Oaxaca Nahuatl-language title [1]

Image 2: Quauhquechollan lord Calozametl greeting Spanish conquistador Hernan Cortés. Image courtesy of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

The Spanish conquest of Mesoamerica saw a brutal collision of two worlds. Conquest does not happen quietly, and the indigenous peoples would not see peace after the conquistador Hernan Cortés landed on the shores of mainland Mexico. The traditional narrative states that Cortés and his men, looking for gold and glory, overcame the vast Mexica Empire through their superior weaponry, intelligence, bravery, and leadership. The tens of thousands of indigenous allies with whom they fought receive only a brief mention in Cortés's letters to the Spanish king. Yet, in the 1530s, after the Spanish solidified control over the Mexica Empire, a group of indigenous craftsmen from a small Mexican polity called Quauhquechollan created a large document, which asserted that the Spanish were not the only conquistadors. On a piece of cotton as tall as two people, they painted a tangle of roads filled with people, animals, rivers, and hundreds of other objects. This *lienzo* painting did not contain any alphabetic writing, but used the Nahua pictographic writing system to tell the story of

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1   *The Nahuatl Title of Mexicapan, Oaxaca* trans. Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano, *Mesoamerican Voices: Native-Language Writings from Colonial Mexica, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 67.

the conquest of Guatemala.

The events in the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* took place just after the Mexica Empire fell and conquistadors were conquering the rest of Central America. In the 1520s, Pedro de Alvarado and his brother Jorge de Alvarado gathered indigenous allies and marched on the Mayan kingdoms in Guatemala. The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* depicts the campaigns in Guatemala from a purely indigenous point of view; the Quauhquecholteca are the protagonists and the narrative reflects their self-identity, political concerns, and ideology. The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* and similar pictographic and cartographic histories, reveal the extensive role in which indigenous conquistadors, such as the Quauhquecholteca, played in the conquest of the New World.

PAINTED HISTORIES

With flowers you write,
Oh Giver of Life!
With songs you give color,
With songs you shade
Those who must live on the earth.

Later you will destroy
Eagles and tigers;
We live only in your painting
Here, on earth.

From an ancient Nauhat'l poem, recorded in Romances de los señores de la Nueva España in 1582[2]

Lienzos

The pre-hispanic people of Mexico had a rich tradition of written history and narrative, which they recorded in their pictographic writing by using a variety of formats and structures.[3] *Lienzos* are a specific genre of Mesoamerican history painting, which tells stories specifically tied to land and polities.[4] These histories were painted on large pieces of portable cloth and supported the Mesoamerican oral tradition; few have survived until today. Although each *lienzo* told different narratives, these cartographic histories all focused on a specific territory and the people who ruled over it.

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2   Writing with flowers is a reference to poetry. Elizabeth Boone, *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 20.

3   Brownstone, 16–17.

4   Boone, 128.

The word *lienzo* is derived from the Spanish word for cloth because these paintings consisted of large pieces of rectangular fabric (usually cotton) sewn together and often stretching up to fifteen feet in length.[5] The craftsmen, or *tlacuiloque*[6], painted these *lienzos* using indigenous pigments. After the Spanish arrived in Mesoamerica, some *talcuiloque* added pigments of European origin to their palette. Due to the large scale, indigenous scribes and nobles commonly displayed *lienzos* on a wall, table, or floor.[7] Since *lienzos* are not stand-alone texts, the indigenous readers did not read them silently and/or in private, as Europeans often read their alphabetic texts. Instead, storytellers used the pictographic narrative of *lienzos* to present oral traditions to an audience. Although the stories may have varied with each telling, the pictorials served as fixed authority, which helped pass the stories down through generations with fewer changes and less contestation. The *lienzos* did not employ registers[8] or pages[9], so the entire story appears to be shown in one diagrammatic "chunk." In format, *lienzos* resemble both maps and historical or narrative timelines. The extant *lienzos* were produced primarily in the Mixtec region (especially Puebla and Oaxaca[10]), in the liminal space between the Mexica Empire and its Nahua culture, as well as the more southern Mixtec, Zapotec, and Mayan kingdoms.

Writing in Pictures

The Mesoamerican cultures did not have an alphabetic writing system, but developed a pictographic way of recording information. Written histories and stories were considered the authoritative backbone of their oral culture. As the historian Elizabeth Boone explains, "Although they recounted long-gone peoples and events in oral stories, songs, and performances, the Mexica relied principally on the painted books to keep the past firm."[11] Their books and documents, painted with red and black inks, did not encode verbal language. Instead, they used pictograms to record *meanings* so that oral memory could be more authoritative and last longer. Their painted documents were repositories of knowledge that were considered more trustworthy than memory. The Spaniard Fray Diego Durán, writing in the 1570s, recalls asking a native wise man for details about a Mexica god. "He [the wise man] went to his home and brought a painted manuscript. Within this document was to be found in

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5   Brownstone, 20

6   Florine Asselberg, *Conquered Conquistadors: The Lienzo de Quauhquechollan: A Nahua Vision of the Conquest of Guatemala* (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2004), 12.

7   Asselbergs, 14.

8   Boone's introduction in Brownstone, xv.

9   Brownstone, 17

10   Brownstone, 20.

11   Boone, 20.

almost unintelligible signs the entire life of Quetzalcóatl and his disciples."[12] The peoples of Mesoamerica valued their painted documents, which recorded histories, genealogies, and stories in pictures.

The form of pictographic writing in the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* was used by the Nahua people in what is now modern-day Mexico. This cultural group included the Mexica Empire (commonly called the Aztec Empire) and many smaller surrounding groups, such as the Quauquechollans. The Nahuan language and culture influenced the Mixtec people, who lived south of the Mexica area. More southern indigenous cultures, such as the Mayans, also valued written information, although their writing systems varied some from Nahuan pictography.

Mesoamerican pictograms are not simply illustrations, which depict a moment in time and usually support a written text. Instead, Nahua pictography is a form of writing. The key difference between Nahua pictography and most written languages is that pictograms encode meaning, not phonetic language. The glyphs can be voiced in any language, and the meaning will remain clear. For example, Mixtec rulers often used numbers and animals as parts of their names. The name-glyph for the Oaxacan warrior queen "Lady 6 Monkey," was a picture of a woman, six dots, and a monkey. This glyph could be read aloud in any dialect of Nahua, Mayan, and even English. Unlike alphabetic writing or the ideograms and logograms used in Chinese, Egyptian, and ancient Middle Eastern cultures, Nahua pictography was a mixture of representative icons and standardized notations. It is classified as a *semasiographic* system—as Elizabeth Boone clarifies, "These are systems of writing that do not detour through speech to be understood. They function independently of language, although they operate on the same logical level as spoken language and can parallel it."[13] Glyphs contain a vocabulary—a person in European dress carrying a sword, for instance, represents a Spanish conquistador—and other visual aspects constitute syntax. Like mathematical or musical notation, aspects such as size and relative placement contain as much meaning as the glyphs themselves. Yet these meanings are not phonetic.[14]

Traditionally, artisans called *tlacuiloque* drew pictograms in a linear style with red and black ink, leading any format of painted knowledge (murals, codices, screenfolds, *tilpas*, and *lienzos*) to be called "the black, the red." [15]Historians today study the meanings of these glyphs more than the visual

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12   From Fray Diego Durán's writings, trans. by Ferndando Horcasitas and Doris Heyden, as recorded in Boone, 245.

13   Boone, 30.

14   Based on Boone, 30

15   Boone, 21.

styles[16], but Mesoamerican cultures developed regional schools with variations in glyphs, linework, pigment use, and color mapping.[17] One can assume that the Old World styles affected "the black, the red." For instance, modelling (showing depth through highlights and shadows), calligraphic lines, certain types of compositions, and uses of mathematical perspective were not part of the pre-Columbian visual tradition. Europeans certainly affected the glyphic vocabulary; indigenous writings began to use phonetic associations for Spanish names which did not have indigenous meanings and which were not easily pictured.[18] And, since pictographic conventions were not as structured as alphabetic writing, painters and narrators could interpret the glyphs in different ways. Even with these complications, the pictographic languages recorded in "the black, the red" could communicate stories and other information to indigenous peoples across generations, languages, and cultures. Mesoamerican cultures greatly valued these repositories of painted knowledge.

The Nahua people of Central America[19] had long used pictographic writing for a variety of reasons, including politics and history. As Elizabeth Boone explains in her book *Stories in Red and Black*:

> History painting was a deep-seated tradition before the Spanish conquest. Every independent polity had its history, likely in multiple versions and variations, which supported the political and social order. Historians could choose to organize their stories from a range of presentational structures, depending on which aspects of their history they wished to privilege.[20]

The Nahua sometimes structured their writings with maps. Cartographic histories, like *lienzos*, related events spatially over time.[21] This is the format of the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, and it can be difficult for western eyes to understand. On these maps, characters traveled through both geographic space and historical time on one image. Sometimes, the actual order of spatial or temporal travel was discarded to show events in an episodic manner. This *res gestae* organization worked in the same way that modern comic strips work; people and places could be repeated in each new "scene" on the same page, and

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16   Donald Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period: the Metropolitan Schools* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 4.

17   Robertson, 4.

18   Boone, 36-37.

19   An ethnic group which included the people of the Mexica Empire, known to us more commonly as the Aztec Empire.

20   Elizabeth Boone, in the introduction to Arni Brownstone, *The Lienzo of Tlapiltepec: A Painted History from the Northern Mixteca* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), xvi.

21   Boone, 77.

each scene could telescope time or jump to a different location. In *Aztec Art*, Ester Pasztory explains that "Aztec art [and pictographic writing] is primarily concerned with being, relationships, and transformation, and naturalistic space and settings are quite rare…There is no interest in natural appearance or the illusion of perspective."[22] Their understanding of space is conceptual. The *tlacuiloque* had to compromise between chronological and spatial organization:

> Events and three-dimensional objects can be represented easily enough on a writing/painting surface, for we have learned to read the two-dimensional graphic image as the three-dimensional whole, but the fourth dimension of time makes the situation that much more complex and problematic. Semasiographic writing systems must then achieve a four-dimensional narration of space-time on a flat surface. […This can be achieved by using] a timeline, as a string of events, or as a map.[23]

The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* made use of all three ways of representing narrative space-time: it contained a linear string of events taking place along a road (footprints on the road indicated directionality through both space and narrative time), and placed all actors and events on a map. Most other cartographic histories often also contained the genealogy of the ruling family in the polity. Nahua map-stories, such as the *lienzos*, laid out pictograms on to a map, and oral storytellers would decode the narrative order to share cultural knowledge about politics and history.

History and Structure of *Lienzos*

Although scholars believe that Mesoamerican peoples used cloth cartographic histories, all extant *lienzos* date from the time of the Spanish conquest.[24] The Europeans discovered *lienzos* very soon after their arrival on the Mexican mainland. In his letters to the king of Spain, Hernán Cortés wrote about indigenous maps painted on cloth.[25] The Spanish recognized Mexica pictorials as a type of writing system and allowed indigenous painted records to be used in legal proceedings.[26] The format of the *lienzo* would have been somewhat familiar to them, since Europeans had a history of oral traditions. Much

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22   Ester Pasztory, <u>Aztec Art</u> (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1983), 87.
23   Boone, 65.
24   Brownstone, 18.
25   Brian Harley, "Rereading the Maps of the Columbian Encounter," <u>*Annals of the American Association of American Geographers*</u> 82, no. 3 (1992): 525.
26   Boone, 28.

of the Old World's population was illiterate—including famous conquistadors like Pizarro—and they had memories of oral societies. The Israelites, for example, had an oral tradition which produced the Old Testament, and the Greeks similarly produced the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The Spanish would also have been familiar with the Nahua cloth paintings about wars, ruling families, and migrations because the Spanish had their own traditions of tapestries that depicted wars and dynasties. Although the *lienzos* date from the time of the Spanish conquest, the *tlacuiloque* craftsmen did not paint them to communicate to a Spanish audience.

Lienzos present a specifically indigenous view of Mexican history because they were created for internal use among indigenous people. In *Conquered Conquistadors: The* Lienzo de Quauhquechollan: *A Nahua Vision of the Conquest of Guatemala*, Florine Asselbergs explains that the format was intended for a Nauha public and that Nauha polities, such as Quauhquechollan, used them "to help community members structure and acknowledge their collective memory and history, to offer a framework for understanding certain events and for establishing identity and self-recognition[…]Most pictorials were created above all to legitimize the position and power of the rulers of the community in question."[27] In fact, *lienzos* continued to serve as community land titles throughout the colonial era.[28] *Lienzos* told the story of a polity and its relationship to the land and to other peoples. The *Lienzo de Tlapiltepec*, for example, is the story of the Coixtlahuaca Valley city-states over many generations, from the vantage point of the dynasty which commissioned the *lienzo*. The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* covers a much shorter period of time, but tells the story of the Quauhquecholteca's newfound identity as conquerors. In this *lienzo*, the Quauhquecholteca, rather than the Spanish or other Nahua allies, are the protagonists in the conquest of Guatemala. *Lienzos* told stories about localized people and events, and provide great insight into how these communities viewed themselves.

There are several basic elements to the structure and organization of a *lienzo*. Florine Asselbergs classifies these pictorials as "cognitive maps."[29] The historian Elizabeth Hill Boone identifies the three storytelling aspects of most *lienzos*: A description of the divine and/or human foundation of a polity, a list of successive rulers, and a conceptual map of the events and territories that were important to the community.[30] Some painted histories, such as the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* and the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, however, can more properly

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27   Asselbergs, 224.
28   Boone, 128.
29   Asselbergs, 209.
30   Boone, 128

be understood as "war paintings"[31] and focus exclusively on the third aspect. The *Lienzo de Tlapiltepec*, however, includes all three aspects. It is an excellent example of the typical *lienzo* genre because it is less complex than the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, and a brief study of it will provide context to the analysis of the Quauhquechollan document.

Example lienzo: Tlapiltepec
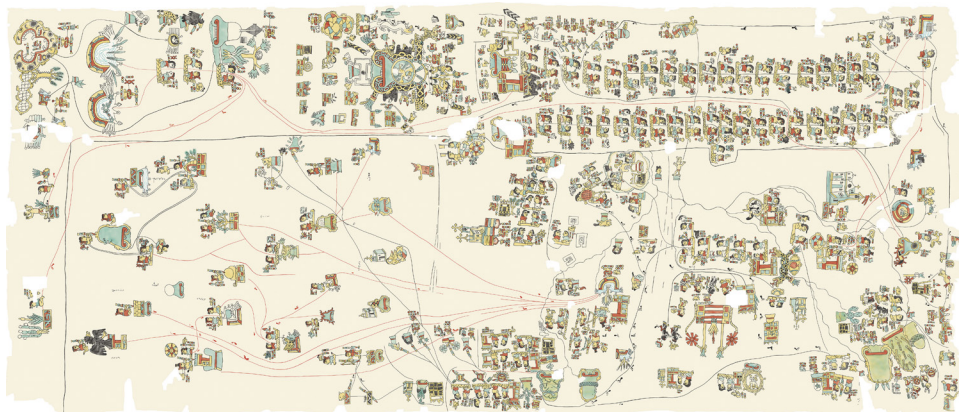
Image 3. The *Lienzo de Tlapiltepec*, mid-16th century, displayed 90 degrees clockwise from typical orientation. With permission of the Royal Ontario Museum © ROM.

The *Lienzo de Tlapiltepec* tells the story of the Coixtlahuaca kingdom, once a major power in Southern Mexico. It is more representative of the *lienzo* genre than the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, and is an example of the mixing of indigenous cultures prior to the colonial age. The name *Tlapiltepec* comes from a Coixtlahuaca town in which an early scholar assumed it was painted.[32] The *lienzo* was commissioned by the young king of Coixtlahuaca in the decades after the initial Spanish invasion and "constructs a past that supports the aspirations and probably also the struggles of the colonial present."[33] The first aspect of a *lienzo*, the polity's foundation, is also the first part of the *Tlapiltepec* narrative. In the lower left section (which cartographically corresponds to "north")[34], the *tlacuiloque* painted a seven-chambered cave and mythological ancestors rising out of dual rivers. These are two stories about the divine origin of the Coixtlahuaca[35] that speak to the multiethnicity of the Coixtlahuaca kingdom. The Nahua ethnic group (which also encompassed the northern

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31   Brownstone, 20.
32   Brownstone, 36.
33   Boone introduction in Brownstone, x.
34   Brownstone, 142.
35   Brownstone, 124.

Mexica kingdoms) had a shared mythology, in which the ancestors of seven tribes emerged from a northern "place of the seven caves," Chicomoztoc.[36] However, the Nahua peoples were not the only settlers in the Coixtlahuaca region; the Mixtec groups were also a significant part of the population. Thus, the origin story also contained the traditional Mixtec beginnings, in which ancestors were born from "trees, rivers, or the earth."[37] Both the Nahua and Mixtec origins are connected by lines and joined to the place-glyph for Monte Verde, which is the central location for the Coixtlahuaca kingdom. This place-glyph is the largest image on the *lienzo*, indicating its primacy in the story.[38] From there, the *lienzo* focuses on two ruling dynasties. These dynasties rise from the divine founders of Coixtlahuaca, indicating the status and importance of the ruling families.[39] Full, unbroken lineages take place over time, but the actual length of any individual reign is not noted.[40] The lineages are indicated by married royal couples (images of a man and a woman seated on a mat facing each other), who are identified by name-glyphs and place-glyphs.

The second half of the *Lienzo de Tlapiltepec* is an event-oriented cartographic map of the valley. It contains place-glyphs of subject villages, which are arranged according to broad, spatial relationships. Actual distance is squashed and stretched between locations. Throughout the map, red and black lines connect various people and events. These scenes tell the story of important people in Coixtlahuaca history and the events and conquests that gave rise to their powerful positions. However, these scenes are not arranged in temporal order, and only some are marked by dates. The *Lienzo de Tlapilpetec* format does not encourage a linear reading, but rather focuses on the overarching themes of Coixtlahuaca's history. The Coixtlahuaca are seen as the center of the world and the protagonists in a story of the dynasties and historical events that shaped the Coixtlahuaca Valley.

Lienzo *as War Painting*

Like the *Lienzo de Tlapilpetec*, the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* tells the story of an indigenous polity and from that point of view. However, the Quauhquecholtecan *tlacuiloque* did not create a grand history of their people and their rule over the land. Instead, the Quauhquechollan document is set in a foreign land (Guatemala, to the south of the Quauhquechollan kingdom), and narrates the Quauhquecholtecan war of conquest against the Mayans living in Guatemala. The purpose of this *lienzo* was not to reiterate the history and

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36 Brownstone, 128.
37 Brownstone, 128.
38 Boone, introduction in Brownstone, xii.
39 Boone, 19.
40   Boone, introduction in Brownstone, xv.

strength of the Quauhquecholteca, but rather to consolidate a new identity for the people as conquerors. The war in Guatemala encapsulated a microcosm of Quauhquechollan history, but its creation also served as a major turning point in how the Quauhquecholteca viewed themselves.

The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* does not include a comprehensive history, and the native audience would have understood how the Guatemalan narrative fit into their history and worldview. Before analyzing the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, it is necessary for us to understand the Quauhquacholtecan role in the pre-Columbian Mexica Empire and their participation in the Spanish's early mainland conquests.

Quauhquechollan History

> *"I saw the said don Pedro de Alvarado in the city of Oaxaca, when he came with two hundred Spaniards to conquer Guatemala; and with him came many Indian allies from Mexico and from Tlaxcala, and they arrived in Guatemala and were involved in the conquest until it was peaceful, and this I know; and the marquis Cortés stayed in Mexico."*[41]
>
> **Letter to the King of Spain by Tlaxcalan and Mexica Conquistadors, written in Guatemala, 1547**

The Quauhquecholteca were a group of Nahuatl-speaking people who settled in central Mexico around the eleventh century[42], and they shared a culture with other Nahua peoples. Their growing community settled southeast of Tenochtitlan, in the region of Puebla, and created an *altepetl*, which is an indigenous political structure similar to a city-state with supporting villages. During their early history, the Quauhquecholteca entered into a number of alliances with other *altepetl*, and their lords intermarried with neighboring nobles. In the fourteenth century, the Quauhquecholteca were pushed into a new territory further south than their original *altepetl* and founded the city of Quauhquechollan (modern-day town of San Martín Huaquechula[43]). By the fifteenth century, the Quauhquechollan *altepetl* was governed by four ruling towns. They were situated in the middle of many trade and communication

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41 As translated in: Matthew Restall and Florine Asselbergs, *Invading Guatemala: Spanish, Nahua, and Maya Accounts of the Conquest Wars.* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 83.

42 Asselbergs, 36.

43 Where is Quauhquechollan? "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest.* Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. www.lienzo.ufm.edu/en
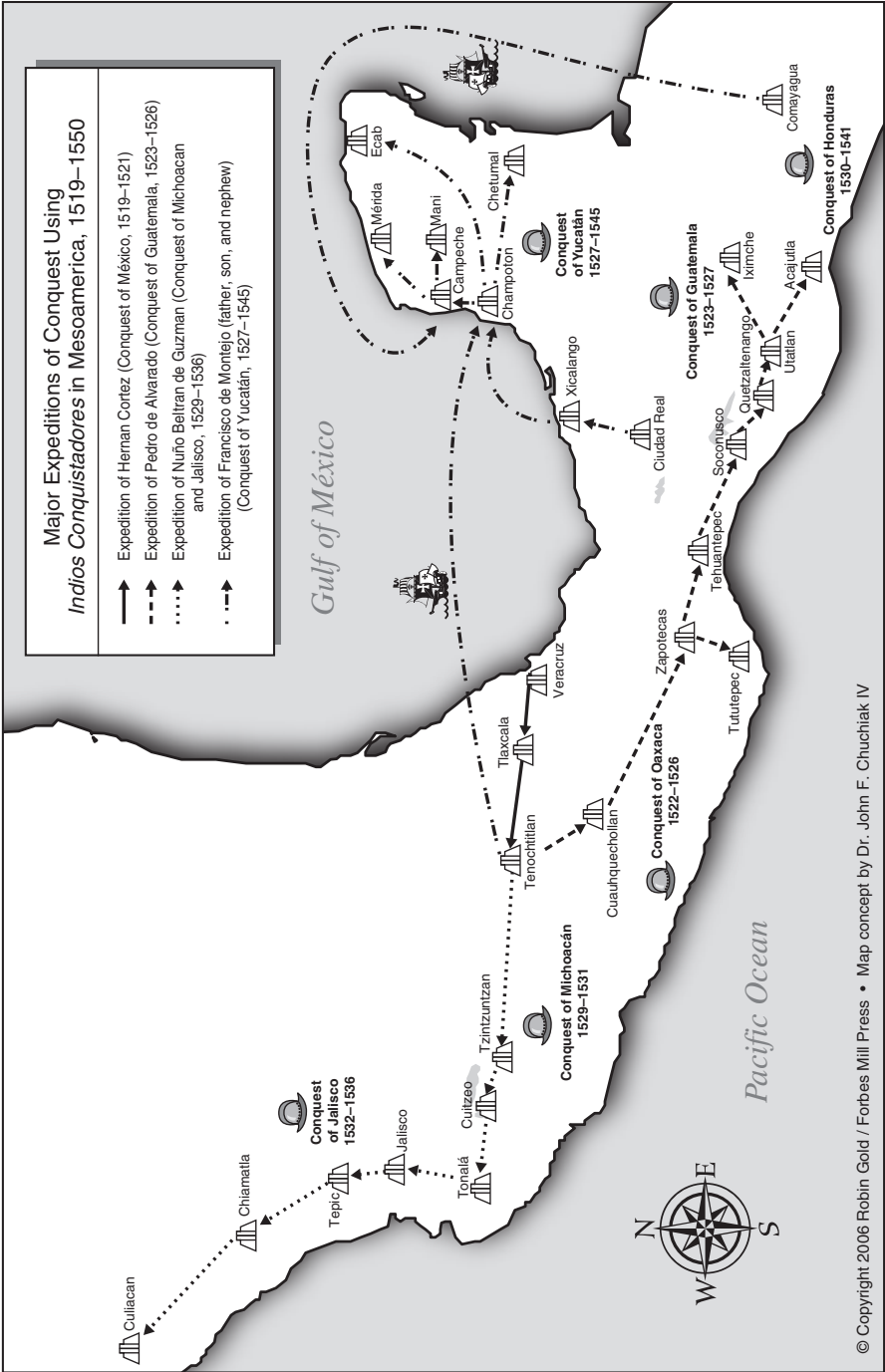
Image 4. Map of Mesoamerica and Spanish conquest routes, rotated 90 degrees counterclockwise. Image courtesy of Dr. John Chuchiak IV.

routes and the area grew wealthy.[44] In 1447, however, the Mexica[45] Triple Alliance Empire expanded and brutally conquered the Quauhquecholteca region. Florine Asselbergs found reports stating that "3,200 Quauhquecholteca were captured, taken to Tenochtitlan, and sacrificed" as part of a show of power.[46] The Quauhquecholteca did not enjoy the benefits of empire, which, in general, brought about "regional peace and stability in Central Mexico."[47] Quauhquechollan's neighbors repeatedly rebelled against the empire, causing constant instability in the region. One nearby *altepetl*, Tlaxcalteca, was never conquered, but was repeatedly invaded by Mexica armies; the Tlaxcala people were essentially treated as a training ground for new Mexica armies, and as a supply base for human sacrifice.[48] Although the Quauhquecholteca were allowed to retain aspects of their sovereignty[49], they suffered under the constant military skirmishes and chafed under the Mexica tribute system.

Alliance with the Spanish and Expansion of a New Empire

When Hernán Cortés and his small company of men arrived on the Mexican mainland in 1519, they quickly decided to invade the heart of the Mexica Empire. The indigenous peoples that the Spanish encountered near Veracruz and along the Gulf of Mexico were on the outskirts of the Triple Alliance's Empire, and were only too happy to find an ally who would free them from the heavy tributes that they paid to their rulers. The Spanish conquistadors and their new allies marched inland and encountered the perpetually oppressed Tlaxcala. During this period, the Spanish conquistador Pedro de Alvarado first traveled through Quauhquechollan land.[50] The Spanish did not yet fully understand the Mexica power structure, and waged several battles with the Tlaxacala.[51] However, the Spanish and Tlaxacala quickly gained mutual respect and realized that they shared a common goal: the conquest of Tenochtitlan.[52] They established a close alliance, which was recorded in a Mexica account, as well as Cortés's:

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44   Asselbergs, 40.

45   In English-speaking countries today, the Mexica and neighboring allies are called the Aztecs.

46   Torquemada's *Monarquia Indiana* (1723, Madrid), paraphrased by Asselbergs, 40.

47   Asselbergs, 40.

48   Ross Hassig, *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 256.

49   Such as the retention of local nobility, subject villages, and their own banner in war. Asselbergs, 42.

50   Asselbergs, 43.

51   Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico* (London: Yale University Press, 1986).

52   The Tlaxcala lord Xicotencatl gave his royal daughters doña Luisa and doña Lucía to Pedro and Jorge de Alvarado. These women gained high status with the Spanish "as their 'doña titles show." Matthew Restall and Florine Asselberg, *Invading Guatemala: Spanish, Nahua, and Maya Accounts of the Conquest Wars* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 19.

Then they [the Tlaxcala] guided them [the Spanish] to the city; they brought them there and invited them to enter. They paid them great honors, attended to their every want, joined with them as allies, and even gave them their daughters.[53]

Native allies were crucial to Spanish success. As one Nahua ruler from a polity called Xochimilco wrote:

So that [Cortés] could take Mexico City, we gave him 2,000 canoes in the lake, loaded with provisions, with 12,000 warriors, with which they were aided and with whom they won Mexico City. As for the Tlaxcalans, since they came from a distant land, fatigued and without supplies, they were aided also.[54]

The new allies prepared to move on to the Mexica capital. Quauhquechollan was on the frontier between the Tlaxcala and the Mexica, and a large Mexica garrison was stationed there "to protect the Mexica territory and, as Cortés explained, to prevent the inhabitants of the area from collaborating with the Spaniards" or with the Tlaxcala.[55] The Quauhquecholteca, unhappy with the presence of the violent army, secretly sent messengers to the Spanish, offering an alliance. In his 1520 letter to the king of Spain, Cortés described the battle to take Quauhquechollan from the 30,000 Mexican troops[56] stationed in the city:

I sent thirteen horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers to accompany them together with some thirty thousand of our Indian allies. We agreed that they should travel by roads where they would not be discovered, and once they were outside the city the chief and inhabitants and all his other vassals and supporters would be alerted and surround the place where the captains were quartered, so they might seize and kill them before their people had time to come to their assistance.[57]

This is essentially what happened[58], and with the Mexica gone, the Quauhquechollan captains and soldiers joined the ranks of Spanish allies in 1520.

53   Miguel León-Portilla (ed.), *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006), 39.

54   *Letter from the Nahua Nobles of Xochimilco to the King of Spain, 1563*, adapted from translations in both Restall and Asselbergs, 18, and in Restall, Sousa, and Terraciano, 67.

55   Asselbergs, 43.

56   Cortés, (*The Second Letter*), 148.

57   Cortés, (*The Second Letter*), 149.

58   Asselbergs, 45.

Their alliance with the Spanish brought increased wealth and status for the Quauhquecholtecan nobility, and more independence for the community.[59] On their part, the Spanish welcomed more indigenous allies for their conquest efforts. Quauhquechollan was also an important crossroads as it was "in a perfect geographic position to influence and control trade, monitor military movements, and gather intelligence."[60] The Spanish, like the Mexica before them, wanted to have a foothold in Quauhquechollan in addition to having more soldiers and tribute. The Quauhquecholteca participated in the subjugation of the Mexica Empire and earned privileges from the Spanish for their services.[61] Spanish conquistador Jorge de Alvarado received the Quauhquechollan *alteptl* as an *encomienda*, a type of grant in which the *adelantado* (the owner or governor) owned not the land, but the rights to the fruits of the land and the labor of the people living there. *Adelantados* could extract taxes and forced labor from all natives living and working on the land. Jorge de Alvarado frequently called upon the natives in this *encomienda* and others to join in any conquests he undertook. Interestingly, while the Tlaxacala also participated in Spanish conquests, they received special privileges not granted to the Quauhquecholteca, including exemption from the *encomienda* system. To the Spaniards, the Quauhquecholteca were far from the most important of their allies.

In the years after the Spanish gained control and some level of stability in Tenochtitlan, they pushed for control over more of Mesoamerica. In doing so, they exploited the Mesoamerican idea of sequential conquest. Ross Hassig explains this concept, in terms of the Mexica:

> Cities were often attacked sequentially, with the resources, intelligence, and, sometimes, the soldiers of the latest conquest aided in the next one…The Aztec's unprecedented expansion took them to regions where they had no traditional enemies but where they were sometimes able to exploit local antagonisms by siding opportunistically with one adversary against another.[62]

The Quauhquecholteca participated in many of these military campaigns "to the Chichimeca region, for example, and to Guatemala."[63] It is this conquest of Guatemala that is the subject of the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*.

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59   *News from the Conquest: Why Ally with the Spanish?* "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest.* Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. www.lienzo.ufm.edu/en

60   *Why Ally with the Quauhquecholteca?* "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest.* Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. www.lienzo.ufm.edu/en

61   Aselbergs, 47.

62   Hassig, 21.

63   Asselbergs, 47.

The natives of Guatemala, while Mesoamerican, did not share the Nahua culture of the Mexica, Tlaxacalateca, Quauhquecholteca, and other Central Mexicans. Their civilization was ancient—several thousand years old[64]—but divided. Great city-states had risen and fallen, and at the time of the conquests, dozens of small kingdoms divided the Guatemala region into small polities without any sense of ethnic solidarity.[65] They did not have any of the Mexica's sense of overarching identity and their shared language. These Mayan kingdoms often warred with each other[66], and their lack of alliances, combined with the devastation of Old World diseases, rendered them especially weak against Nahua/Spanish expansionism. The Triple Alliance had tried, on occasion, to invade Guatemala, but for the most part relied on them for trade. The Mayan kingdoms remained on the periphery of the Mexica Empire.

At the time of the Spanish conquests, two Mayan city-states, K'iche and Kaqchikel, fought for dominance over the Guatemalan highlands. The K'iche people, with a capital at Utatlán, had previously dominated the region and, at that time, waged war with the growing Kaqchikels people, based in their capital city of Iximche.[67] When Cortés's men and their allies conquered Tenochtitlan, the K'iche and Kaqchikels sent ambassadors to gain information about the new power structure in the Nahuan lands. At this time, Cortés reported in his fourth letter that:

> . . .there came some hundred natives of those cities sent by their lords to offer themselves as the subjects and vassals of Your Caesarean majesty. I received them in Your Royal name and assured them that if they remained true to their promise they would be very well treated and honored by me and all my company in Your Highness's Royal name.[68]

The historians Matthew Restall and Asselbergs posit that this was purely "a cover for a fact-finding mission; the Mayas must have been keen to learn as much as they could about the Spaniards and their leader, and also to explore the possibility of an alliance that might allow them to defeat their highland rivals once and for all."[69]

Shortly thereafter, Cortés received reports that the Mayans were harassing Spanish settlements. He declared them rebels against the Crown and sent Pedro de Alvarado, who had a reputation for being unusually cruel and hun-

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64   Restall and Asselbergs, 4.
65   Restall, 50.
66   John Chuchiak. "Arming and Outfitting a Conquest Expedition: Old World Issues & New World Realities" (UHC 410 lecture at Missouri State University, Springfield, MO, Oct 4, 2016).
67   Restall and Asselbergs, 5.
68   Cortés, *The Fourth Letter,* 300.
69   Restall and Asselbergs, 6-7.

gry for power and wealth, to conquer them and create Spanish settlements.[70] Alvarado brought 120 horsemen and 300 Spanish foot soldiers[71] and high-ranking relatives, such as his brother Jorge de Alvarado, along with Nahua allies. He had "thousands of native allies" and "took advantage of [the] Mexica-Tlaxcala type rivalry."[72] The native allies vastly outnumbered the Spanish; the ruler from Xochimilco recounted the participation of just this one polity:

> We served Your Majesty in the conquest of Honduras and Guatemala with *Adelanto* Alvarado, our *encomendero*. We gave him 2,500 warriors for the journey and all the provisions and other things necessary. As a result, those territories were won and put under the royal crown, because the Spaniards were few and poorly supplied and were going through lands where they would not have known the way if we had not shown them; a thousand times we saved them from death.[73]

The truth of these numbers is hidden from the typical Spanish telling of the Guatemalan conquest. Cortes rarely mentions indigenous allies in any of his writings, and when he does, he never emphasizes their massive strength. The Spanish did not conquer through their own power; they conquered by manipulating the complex structures of native politics. Alvarado's strategy in Guatemala was the same as Cortes' in Tenochtitlan: befriend the enemy's enemy, devastate the region, and take advantage of the turmoil.

Pedro de Alvarado and company traveled through Oaxaca and the Mixtec region between the Mexica Empire and the Mayan kingdoms, passing through cities, such as Tehuantepec, along the Pacific Coast.[74] The first part of his campaign, in 1524, culminated in the conquest of the K'iche city of Utatlán. The K'iche's enemies, the Kaqchikel, quickly entered into an alliance with Alvarado to destroy the Ki'che's remaining strongholds. The Kaqchikel recorded the defeat of the K'iche in their *Annals*:

> This was truly the year when the Castilians suddenly arrived. […] On the day 1 Q'anel, the K'iche's died because of the Castilians. […] A messenger from Tonatiuh[75] soon came to the Kaqchikel lords, an order

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70   *Cedula real sobre la esclavitud de los indios rebeldes*, August 24, 1529, Archivo General de las Indias, Ramo de Indiferente General, Vol. 737, Number 5.

71   Cortés, *The Fourth Letter*, 317.

72   Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 48.

73   Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano, *Mesoamerican Voices: Native-Language Writings from Colonial Mexica, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala*. (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2005), 67.

74   John Chuchiak. "Arming and Outfitting a Conquest Expedition: Old World Issues & New World Realities" (UHC 410 lecture at Missouri State University, Springfield, MO, Oct 4, 2016).

75   Pedro de Alvarado. Tonatiuh comes from the Nahuat'l for "sun," the ideographic name given to Alvarado due to his blonde hair. *A Kaqchikel Maya Account of the Spanish-Nahua Invasion, Excerpted from the Annals of the*

for warriors: 'Let the warriors of the Ajpo Sotz'il and Ajpo Xajil come here to kill the K'iche' men!' Thus spoke Tonatiuh's messenger to the lords. As soon as Tonatiuh's orders were fulfilled, 400 warriors went to kill the K'iche's.[76]

The Kaqchikel went on to describe an alliance with the Spanish and how their capital city, Iximche', became the site of Alvarado's nascent Spanish-Nahua colony:

> The Castilians arrive here in the town of Ixmche'. Tanatiuh was the name of their lord. Immediately, Tonatiuh was greeted by the lords B'eleje' K'at and Kaji' Imox. Tonatiuh's heart was good toward the lords when truly he arrived in town. There was no war; Tonatiuh was happy when truly he entered Iximche'.[77]

However, according to Restall and Asselbergs, "Alvarado's energetic six-month campaign of 1524 had left him in tenuous control of small pockets of the Guatemalan highlands—and yet this was achieved through a level of violence and brutality that was excessive even for a Spanish conquistador."[78] His excesses undermined the Spanish-Kaqchikel alliance. In the Kaqchikel's own words, Alvarado began demanding heavy tribute in gold.

> The lords [of Kaqchikel] tried to have it reduced; the lords cried before him. But Tonatiuh did not want to do it. He just said, 'Deliver the precious metal! You have five days to give it up. If you do not deliver it then, you will know my heart!'[79]

After just a few months, the Kaqchikel began a rebellion, which would last continuously for six years.[80] Pedro de Alvarado left to travel north and meet with Cortés, leaving Guatemala in a state of turmoil. The Spanish strategy had begun to work; by deepening the historical divides between the Mayan city-states, the Spanish left the Mayan populace devastated.

Although Pedro de Alvarado is often credited with the conquest of Guatemala (due to receiving the *adelantado* license for conquest[81]), his brother Jorge

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Kaqchikels, Written in the Sixteenth Century as recorded in Restall and Asselbergs, 105.

76   Restall and Asselbergs, 104-105.
77   *A Kaqchikel Maya Account of the Spanish-Nahua Invasion*, in Restall and Asselbergs, 107.
78   Restall and Asselbergs, 12.
79   *A Kaqchikel Maya Account of the Spanish-Nahua Invasion*, in Restall and Asselbergs, 107.
80   Asselbergs, 89.
81   Restall and Asselbergs, 7.

de Alvarado actually consolidated Spanish-Nahua rule over the region. From 1527-1529, he led a series of campaigns into Guatemala. Kaqchikel documents testify to the war's intensification in 1527:

> Los castellanos comenzaron de nuevo a matarnos y la gente se batió con ellos en una guerra prolongada. Nuevamente la guerra nos hiriò de muerte, pero todos los habitantes de la comarca se negaron a pagar el tributo.[82]

It is at this point that the Quauhquecholteca traveled to Guatemala in company with Jorge de Alvarado, and the story begins.

The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*

Image 5. The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, ca. 1530 (see Appendix). Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* is a cartographic history of the Quauhquecholtecan journey into Guatemala under the banner of Jorge de Alvarado. It is the first known map of Guatemala, and the only firsthand indigenous account

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82   Kaqchikel document quoted in Asselbergs, 91. Rough translation: "The Castilians began again to kill us and the people beat with them in a prolonged war. Again the war wounded us to death, but all the inhabitants of the region refused to pay the tribute."

of the conquest.[83] The Quauhquecholteca present themselves as willing volunteers who hoped to regain wealth and status by becoming co-conquistadors. They created it for their own peoples' use, and it presents a unique view of the Quauhquecholteca people and the ways they were asserting a new identity for their people. This history gives important insight into the world as the Quauhquechollans, rather than the Spanish, saw it.

Description, Provenance, and Interpretation

The Quauhquecholteca *tlacuiloque* artisans painted the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* in the early 1530s. It depicts the Guatemalan invasion against the Kaqchikel Mayan rebels[84] in the second wave of the Spanish conquest, led by Jorge de Alvarado between 1527 and 1529.[85] Like other *lienzos*, it is a cartographic history painted on cloth with natural pigments. It measures 5'8"x10'6"[86] and is made of fifteen pieces of cotton sewn together,[87] but the right-hand side is torn and part of the narrative is missing. Based on her research, Asselbergs estimates that a full third of the *lienzo* has been lost, and the lost section probably showed battles in eastern Guatemala.[88] The cloth is also torn and faded in many areas. A stylized ocean illustration borders two sides of the cloth, and the rest of the *lienzo* is filled with tightly-packed pictorials of people, places, and events, which follow a tangle of switchback roads. At one point, an unknown reader glued paper glosses on to the cotton with alphabetic descriptions of the pictorials. However, due to the way that owners and archivists displayed, folded, and stored the *lienzo* over the centuries, the glosses are in bad repair, and it is impossible even to tell if the alphabetic writing is the in Spanish or the Nahua language.[89] For many years, scholars could only identify the place-glyph for Quauhquechollan, and they assumed that the *lienzo* discussed some form of conquest in the Mexica territory. However, in 2004, Asselbergs published her research on the *lienzo*, identified Guatemalan place-glpyhs, and reconstructed the narrative. Her book, *Conquered Conquistadors: The* Lienzo de Quauhquechollan: *A Nahua Vision of the Conquest of Guatemala*, is the primary source of scholarship on this document. The Universidad Francisco Marroquín in Guatemala sponsored a high-resolution digital restoration of the

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83   Giancarlo Ibárgüen, "The Lienzo de Quauhquechollan: A Map That Tells a Story," Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009, 3.

84   Asselbergs, 132.

85   Asselbergs, 227.

86   *View the Lienzo* "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest.* Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. www.lienzo.ufm.edu/en

87   *Restoration Process* "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest.* Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. www.lienzo.ufm.edu/en

88   Webmap, part H: *War and Punishment in the South.* "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," <u>Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest</u>. Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. http://webmaplienzo.ufm.edu/lienzo/

89   Asselbergs, 226.

lienzo in 2007. Today, it is stored in a museum in Puebla, Mexico.

There are a variety of interpretations of the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan's* overarching purpose. Like most cartographic histories, this lienzo is intended for an internal audience, but unlike the *Lienzo de Tlapiltepec*, the narrative does not enforce the strength of a specific ruling family since the beginning of its civilization. Instead, the *lienzo* focuses on the Guatemalan conquest and the subsequent migration. It could have been commissioned by the warriors to ensure that their victory and bravery would be remembered. It could also have been a legal document explaining their role as co-conquistadors so that the Quauhquecholteca could have a record of their involvement and subsequent privilege in the new colonial political system (Spaniards produced *probanza* documents for this same legal reason).[90] Additionally, the *lienzo* may have been created by the Quauhquecholtecan contingent while in Guatemala as an account of their experiences and the glory, which Quauhquecholtecan lives and money purchased. However, today, the overarching theme of the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* is the identity that the Quauhquecholtecan people assert throughout the narrative. It is a story of changing identity, in which the once-oppressed Quauhquecholteca fight glorious battles with their co-conquerors and become a new power in the Mixtec region. In most history books today, the Guatemalan conquest is usually seen as a Spanish victory. The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* challenges this Eurocentric viewpoint by portraying the Quauhquecholteca as the protagonists.

Reading the Pictures

The *lienzo* uses the Nahua pictorial writing system to tell the story of the Quauhquecholteca. These conventions are foreign to the Western eye, but as historian Elizabeth Boone explains: "many, perhaps most, pictographs must be learned, although the resemblance between the image and its meaning usually becomes clear once it has been explained."[91] There are four major classifications of glyphs on the *lienzo*: actors, places, concepts, and events.

Actors

The actors in the *lienzo* include Quauhquecholtecan, Spanish, and Guatemalan Mayan warriors, along with a variety of minor characters. With a few exceptions,[92] the characters in the *lienzo* do not represent specific individuals,

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90   "News from the Conquest: Why Paint the Lienzo? Where is Quauhquechollan?" "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest*. Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. www.lienzo.ufm.edu/en

91   Boone, 34.

92   Such as specific Quauhquecholteca leaders and the depictions of Jorge de Alvarado.

but instead represent groups of people. Spaniards are easily recognized by their appearance; they have white skin, wear European clothing, hairstyles, and beards, and carry Spanish weapons and emblems. Only Spaniards are shown on horses [Image 6]. The Quauhquecholteca, on the other hand, wear their native dress and carry native weapons. Many wear animal uniforms representing different ranks. Some Quauhquecholteca wear bear insignias, which identify their family or community;[93] the Spanish had this same tradition, but since Spanish heraldic devices were not as important to the Quauhquecholteca, they are not depicted. The Quauhquecholteca are easily distinguished from other indigenous peoples by their skin color and size. Conquistadors from Quauhquechollan are always shown with white skin. This is one of the ways in which they visually allied themselves to the Spaniards, and did not necessarily reflect their actual appearance.[94] Skin color was an important indicator to the Quauhquechollan, who had never seen white Europeans before the arrival of the Spanish. They also focused on the color of the African slaves, freeman, and conquistadors who crossed the Atlantic with the Europeans. An African man features prominently depicted in the *lienzo*, with distinctive black skin [Image 7]. The Quauhquecholteca are drawn in a larger scale than their enemies [Image 8]. The Nahua pictorial writing used a hierarchical system, so larger characters carry greater authority or importance to the story. The Guatemalans, on the other hand, are depicted as small and darker-skinned. Indigenous warriors on both sides carry shields with emblems of their homes [Image 9]. Some Quauhquecholteca carry valuable Spanish swords as symbols of their alliance. Other minor characters are also depicted, including women [Image 10], merchants (possibly playing the role of spies), *tamemes* (burden-bearers), and Africans. Some of the primary individuals are depicted many times, including Jorge de Alvarado. This is another indication that the *lienzo* is not merely an illustration of one scene, but a narrative that spans a long length of time.

93   *Reading the Pictures: Why Use the Double-Headed Eagle? Where is Quauhquechollan?* "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest.* Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. www.lienzo.ufm. edu/en

94   Webmap, Part B, March to the South. *Where is Quauhquechollan? "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest.* Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. http://webmaplienzo.ufm.edu/lienzo/

Image 6. A Spaniard, depicted with white skin, European dress, and European sword, riding a horse. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Image 7. The Spanish brought both African slaves and free African conquistadors across the Atlantic with them. The indigenous people of Mesoamerica were struck by the dramatic difference in skin color and hair between themselves and both the European and African newcomers. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Image 8. On the left: Mayans from Guatemala, shown with dark skin and native clothing. On the right: Quauhquecholtecan warriors depicted in larger hierarchical scale with white skin, native animal uniforms signifying rank, and weapons of both native and Spanish origin. The mountain and parrot are the name-glyph for the battle location. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Image 9. Mayans (left) battle with the Quauhquecholteca (right). As part of their uniforms, the Quauhquecholteca carry shields with identifying insignia. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Image 10. A minor character; a Quauhquecholtecan woman grinding corn. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Places

The setting of the *lienzo* is a map of Quauhquechollan, the Mixtec territory, and Guatemalan cities. Locations are indicated by place-glyphs. These place-name glyphs all followed a standardized convention: a bell-shaped hill with a bar across the bottom symbolized the concept of "place," and a conceptual glyph qualified the location's name [Image 11]. Identifying glyphs included a wide assortment of plants, body parts, roads, animals, flowers, feathers, and abstracted shapes which signified landmarks, famous products of a community, or phonetic referents.[95] For example, the city of Quetzaltenango is on a hill topped with quetzal feathers. Every location discussed on the *lienzo* is depicted

95   Boone, 32.

with this sort of place-name sign. Their spatial relationships on the map are not accurate representations of geographical distance. Space is often compressed on the *lienzo*—Quauhquechollan is much further from the Pacific Ocean and the Mayan cities than a Western reading of the *lienzo* would indicate—but broad spatial relationships are maintained. Quauhquechollan was located in Central Mexico, and during the 1527-1529 invasion, the Quauhquecholteca and Spanish marched south through Mixtec communities towards the Pacific Ocean then east and slightly north into the heart of Mayan Guatemala. The left and bottom edges of the *lienzo* contain a border of blue pigment with wavy lines, fish, shells, and turtles. This represents the "Southern Sea," or Pacific Ocean[96] and Mixtec cities along the coast are represented in the southernmost region of the *lienzo*. The battles took place in Mayan territory, and while these battles take up the bulk of the space on the *lienzo*, they are all located in the top and left regions (the northeast). However, to the authors of the *lienzo*, geographic relationships were secondary to the conceptual relationships. Cities irrelevant to the narrative are excluded entirely. Three Guatemalan cities (Chimaltenango, Quetzaltenango, and Olintepeque[97]), are depicted multiple times on the *lienzo* [Image 12], even though these cities only had one physical location each. The repetition indicates the importance of these locations, which were all military bases that the Spanish and Quauhquecholtecan armies repeatedly returned to. Nahua pictorials are a writing system with vocabulary and syntax; things like hierarchical scale and repetition are rhetorical devices used to emphasize important elements.

Aside from place-signs, the *lienzo* contains other cartographic symbols. Blue glyphs with wavy or spiraling black lines and decorative motifs bordered with white dots indicate rivers [Image 13], and these rivers correspond to actual rivers that the Quauhquecholteca encountered on their conquest campaign. Lakes are circles with wavy lines and white dots. Trees, pineapple plants, volcanos, and black markings signifying topography[98] all give the reader geographical clues. The eye is drawn along a series of circuitous roads marked with footprints and hoof prints [Image 14]. They gave the oral storyteller a path to follow:

> These roads serve as graphic links to provide temporal order to the scenes, and they indicate the reading direction of the text. Roads in pictorial manuscripts are generally signs of movement or migration,

96 *Reading the Pictures: What Images Represent Geographic Landmarks?* "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest.* Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. www.lienzo.ufm.edu/en

97 Asselbergs, 176.

98 *Webmap, Part A: Two Eagles Unite.* "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest.* Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. http://webmaplienzo.ufm.edu/lienzo/

referring to the routes by which the people in the narrative traveled.[99]

The roads unite geographic space and temporal narrative. They show the route which the Quauhquecholtecan army took. All place-signs and geographic glyphs follow the path of these roads.


Image 11. The bell-shaped mountain is a glyph for a place-sign. The human head is an identifier; in this case, it marks the location as the city of Huehuetlan.[100] Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Image 12. The city of Olintepeque was important in the Guatemalan campaign. The *lienzo* indicates this through repetition on the semi-geographic map. In this figure, the repeated place-glyph for Olintepeque is shown in color. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

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99   Asselbergs, 127.
100   Huehuetlan is one of Quauhquechollan's Nahua allies. Webmap, Part B: *Two Eagles Unite*. "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest*. Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. http://webmaplienzo.ufm.edu/lienzo/
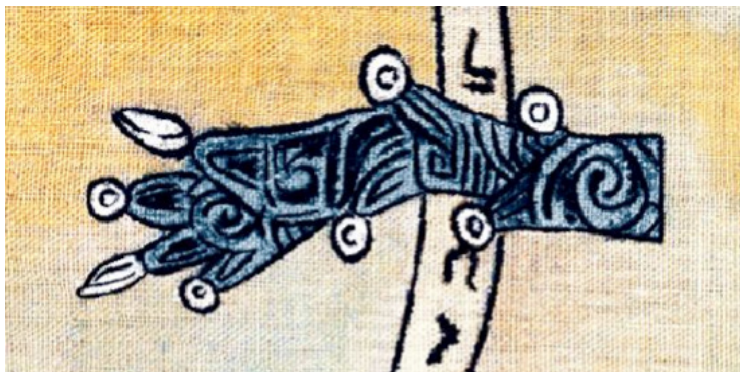
Image 13. This blue glyph with decorative black lines and white border designs signifies a river. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Image 14. The road, marked by hoof prints and footprints, follows a circuitous path around a place-glyph with three lilies representing the city of Cotz'ij (or Xochitepec in Nahua; modern-day San Antonio Suchitepéquez). The blue and black ocean border on the bottom indicates the southernmost part of the map; Cotz'ij is relatively near the coast of the Pacific Ocean. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Cultural and Abstract Concepts

In addition to pictorial representations of actors and places, the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* contains glyphs for concepts important to the narrative. For instance, the concept of "conquest" was represented by a place-glyph pierced with a sword [Image 15]. This symbol is seen throughout the *lienzo*. The Quauhquecholteca asserted their military prowess by depicting so many conquered cities. Other concepts also had standard conventions. Authority figures had impressive sizes and costumes, and are the only figures seated in chairs. Unidentified Spaniards sitting in chairs represented Spanish authority in that

particular place or during that particular event [Image 16].[101] Two or more warriors fighting was an emblem for battle, and the larger warrior positioned on a higher plane represents that that polity was victorious [Image 17].[102]

In the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, the Quauhquecholteca with their rhetorical white skin and identifying shields are always shown vanquishing Mayan enemies, who are identified by a place-glyph near their bodies. The Quauhquecholteca are also shown performing war dances while carrying drums and feathers, which were part of celebrations, rituals, and shows of power.[103] Tiny houses represented camps, villages, and new colonies that the Spanish, Quauhquecholteca, and allies established.[104] Some places of cultural importance, like marketplaces, have their own pictographs [Image 18]. The Quauhquecholtecan society depended on trade for wealth and information, so these marketplaces were important to them. They indicated the presence of a marketplace by drawing a circle with individuals seated inside (often of different color skins, and holding quetzal feathers).[105] Less friendly cultural symbols were used, too. Barricades resembling cross-picket fences represent rebellion[106], and the Kaqchikel traps are shown in many cities throughout the *lienzo* [Image 20]. These traps were deep holes filled with spikes and debris hidden by grass. These death traps left an indelible impression on the invaders, and the Kaqchikel themselves wrote about the importance of these weapons:

> The Castilians were opposed by the Kaqchikels. Trenches were dug, pits for horses were made, with stakes to kill them. Truly war was waged again by the people. Many Castilians died, and also many horses died in the horse pits. The K'iche's and the Tz'utujils were dissolved; all the kingdoms were thus dissolved by the Kaqchikels. The Castilians distinguished themselves, but the whole [Kaqchikel] kingdom also distinguished itself.[107]

The invaders fell prey to these traps but, apparently, once they discovered the traps, the Spanish then used them as deadly punishment for captured Kaqchikel.[108] All of these cultural pictographs help to define the events in the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan.*

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101 *Reading the Pictures: How Are Concepts Represented?* "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest.* Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. www.lienzo.ufm.edu/en

102 Asselbergs, 128.

103 Asselbergs, 135.

104 *Reading the Pictures: What Images Represent Cultural Landmarks?* "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest.* Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. www.lienzo.ufm.edu/en

105 Asselbergs, 135

106 Ibárgüen, 3.

107 *A Kaqchikel Maya Account of the Spanish-Nahua Invasion,* in Restall and Asselbergs, 108.

108 Asselbergs, 134.
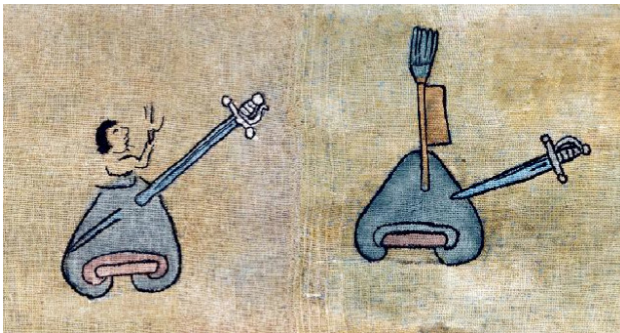
Image 15. These two place-glyphs are pierced with a sword, a sign they have been conquered. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Image 16. The seated Spaniard represents authority. The presence of the Spanish soldier with a spear emphasizes authority backed up by military strength. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Image 17. A Quauhquechollan warrior (right) defeating an enemy (left). The Quauhquechollan warrior's higher position indicates victory. Throughout the *lienzo*, these two warriors represent entire polities (here, a Quauhquechollan army is defeating a rebellious Nahua polity before traveling south to Guatemala). Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Image 18. A marketplace. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Image 19. An unfortunate Quauhquec-holtecan falling prey to a Kaquikel trap. Image courtesy of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

A Story of Conquest

"Each new recovery of the past carries its own point of view. These principles, assumptions, and points of view govern what features of the past are gathered and how they are arranged. They create hierarchies that characterize certain features as being central to the story while other elements are not, and they call forth structures to shape how the elements are presented."

Elizabeth Boone, **Stories in Red and Black, *17.***

The actors, geography, and conceptual glyphs all exist to support the narrative of a Quauhquecholtecan campaign in Guatemala. The document covers a two-year timeframe as the Quauhquecholteca travel from their homeland

into southern Guatemala, and then northeast into the heart of the K'iche and Kaqchikel kingdoms. There are stories of espionage, deadly traps, heroic enemies, rebellions, torture, slavery, victory, and celebration. However, one scene in particular provides insight into the Quauhquecholtecan identity. It challenges the prevailing idea that the Spanish, with their superior weaponry and cunning tactics, conquered Mesoamerica through their own might. The introductory scene in the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* depicts a native alliance with the Spanish from the native perspective.

From the Quauhquecholtecan point of view, the 1527-1529 campaign in Guatemala began with their 1520 alliance with the Spanish. The founding of this alliance is shown in the primary scene on the top left-hand side of the *lienzo* [Image 20]. This initial scene contains a double-headed eagle, the glyph for Quauhquechollan, and a meeting between Spanish and Quauhquecholtecan lords. Both cultures valued the eagle symbol; the Spanish Habsburg coat of arms is a double-eagle surrounding a shield, and the Quauhquechollan place-glyph contains an eagle (*quauh* in Nahuat'l[109]). The golden leftmost eagle on the pictogram carries an indigenous sword, and the black eagle on the right carries a Spanish sword. The two powers are creating a military alliance, and their power is symbolized by the crown that they share. By creating this alliance-glyph, the Quauhquecholteca connected themselves to the new Spanish power without giving up their already established identity as a people, symbolized by an eagle.[110] Between the eagles, where the shield would be on the Habsburg coat of arms, is place-glyph for Quauhquechollan [Image 21]. The location is further emphasized by the walls and river (with a hummingbird motif naming the river), both prominent features of the Quauhquechollan city.[111] The walls and river sit on top of the eagle, and above them are several place-glyphs with Spanish swords piercing them. These represent places in Mexica territory which the joint Spanish-indigenous forces conquered between 1520 and 1527. Below the eagles are five large human figures and a horse. This is an illustration of the meeting between Hernán Cortés and the Quauhquecholtecan lord Calozametl [Image 22].[112] Calozametl is accompanied by a lord presenting gifts to the Spanish, and Cortés is accompanied by his indigenous wife Malinche and a Spanish captain who has been identified as either Pedro or Jorge de Alvarado.[113] The *tlacuiloque* who painted the *lienzo* gave this alliance

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109   Webmap, Part A: Two Eagles Unite. "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest*. Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. http://webmaplienzo.ufm.edu/lienzo/

110   Asselbergs, 139.

111   Webmap, Part A: *Two Eagles Unite*. "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest*. Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. http://webmaplienzo.ufm.edu/lienzo/

112   Webmap, Part A: *Two Eagles Unite*. "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest*. Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. http://webmaplienzo.ufm.edu/lienzo/

113   Asselbergs, 141.

scene primacy in the narrative by painting in such a large scale. This event is both the chronologic and iconographic beginning of the narrative, and it is where the Quauhquecholteca project their new identity as allies of the Spanish and as a powerful people who would go on to conquer foreign lands.

After this founding alliance scene, the timeline picks up again in 1527 with the Quauhquecholtecan army marching in Jorge de Alvarado's service. Underneath the eagles and the meeting with Cortés, a company of Spaniards and Quauhquecholtecans travel along a road. While some of the actors, such as Jorge de Alvarado, are identified individually, the people pictured here represent the protagonists as a whole: Spaniards, Quauhquecholtecans, and a person-glyph representing cultural integration between these two armies [Image 23].[114] The Quauhquecholtecans in this scene are authority figures in their own right (some wear jaguar costumes, elaborate headpieces, and back racks), and they outnumber the Spanish. This is true to the known historical record; during their conquests in Mesoamerica, native allies always outnumbered the Spanish, and during the Guatemalan invasions, they outnumbered the Spanish 10 to 1, and sometimes even 30 to 1.[115] To the right of the list of protagonists are eighteen place-glyphs where the Quauhquecholteca and Spanish gathered more allies[116] for their march south. From there, the narrative immediately dissolves into the chaos of war as the Quauhquecholteca and other natives fight Pubela and Oaxaca foes, and the Spanish and native lords receive intelligence about the K'iche territory that they are about to invade. The war had begun.

Image 20. This is the beginning of the *lienzo*, it and depicts the Quauhquechollan alliance with the Spanish. Scenes of conquest surround this section. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

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114   Webmap, Part B: *March to the South*. "Lienzo de Quauhquechollan," *Quauhquechollan: A Chronicle of Conquest*. Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2009. http://webmaplienzo.ufm.edu/lienzo/

115   Restall and Asselbergs, 16

116   Asselbergs, 145.

Image 21. This symbol, similar to the Hapsburg coat of arms and incorporating traditional Quauhquechollan imagery, represents the alliance of the two powers. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Image 22. Cortés, Alvarado, and other Spaniards greeting Calozametl and other Quauhquechollans. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

Image 23. Rotated 90 degrees counterclockwise from the original. The Quauhquecholteca and Spanish set off on their conquest. The first four figures are leaders from the four houses of Quauhquechollan. The fifth character represents integration. His clothing, sandals, shield, and headdress are native, but the sword, helmet, and beard are Spanish. The next character, carrying the red standard on a lance, represents the Spanish crown. The rightmost figure is Jorge de Alvarado leading the army. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

The remainder of the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* is dedicated to the details of the war, first against the remaining K'iche strongholds, and then against the Kaqchikel. The roads created a spider web that crosses back and forth upon itself with little offshoots for various sites and events. The chronology and geography becomes more and more confused. The basic narrative covers the journey from Quauhquechollan into Mayan land. The further away from Puebla they traveled, the more resistance the allies met. They established bases

and new settlements in cities such as Olintepque and Chimaltenango.[117] From there, they conquered Utalan (identified not by a place-glyph, but by an out-of-time depiction of a major event[118]), faced Kaqchikel rebellions, retreated several times, solidified their power in their settlements, and continued to push both north and east into the heart of Mayan territory. The story, such as we know it today, ends with the victorious Quauhquecholteca preparing a campaign against the northeastern Mayan provinces.

The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* was created by Quauhquecholtecans for Quauhquecholtecans, and, as such, it provides a great insight into how they saw their role in Guatemala. The *tlacuiloque* were selective and only drew people, sites, and events important to the Quauhquechollans. The Spanish did the same; they downplayed the role of indigenous allies to project their individual and collective importance. The Spanish point of view has been traditionally privileged in the Western mind. The campaigns in Guatemala are poorly documented[119] even among the Spanish, giving rise to myths about the wars. The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, however, is a document which privileges the Quauhquecholtecan point of view, and which tells us as much about their own worldview as it tells us about the conquest of Guatemala. Until the *lienzo* was interpreted by modern scholars, the perspective of the Quauhquechollans was missing from the historical narrative.

Challenging the Spanish Narrative

"I was dispatched as your captain and in your royal name, and ordered to come and conquer and settle these provinces of Guatemala. […] I left behind my home and my tranquility, traveling three hundred leagues at my expense and commission; I took many people and horses and munitions and the provisions necessary to make such as conquest, in which I served and worked myself and with my own personal resources, night and day, as I have said, at my own expense, in continuous war for a time and period of three years, during which the natives here did not want to come give obedience to Your Majesty, even though they had been asked to do so many and various times by me and my messengers on your royal behalf; finally, most victo-

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117   Asselbergs, 169.
118   Asselbergs, 184.
119   Asselbergs, 200.

rious Caesar, I, through Divine Will,
conquered them."

From Jorge de Alvarado's *Letter to the King*, dated February 26, 1534[120], claiming that the he deserved better recompense and the governorship of Guatemala.

"I do not know nor have I seen that don Pedro de Alvarado and the other captains gave anything to those Indian captains nor to their commoners; they paid them nothing nor rewarded them, nor has His Majesty granted any favors for their labors, although those Indians were involved in the said war at their own expense, this I know and saw."

From Tlaxcalan warrior Francisco Oçelote's 1564 *Testimony on the Conquest of Guatemala*[121] claiming that the Nahua conquistadors received no benefits from their alliance.

In their the introduction to the book *Invading Guatemala: Spanish, Nahua, and Maya Accounts of the Conquest Wars*, George Lovell and Christopher Lutz explain the traditional story of the Guatemalan wars: "that, in 1524, the invasion of Guatemala by forces led by Pedro de Alvarado resulted soon thereafter in native capitulation and the establishment of imperial hegemony, with Alvarado himself auspiciously at the helm"[122] The role of Pedro de Alvarado is widely known and greatly exaggerated, as both Spanish and native documents attest that the Mayans did not take kindly to the invading forces. One Spanish eyewitness testified that "when the *adelantado* [Pedro de Alvarado] departed from this country, he left it at war, and they [the Mayans] wished to strip it of Spaniards."[123] Pedro de Alvarado's younger brother, Jorge, was sent to quell the rebellions, and he brought along men from his *encomienda*. He wrote a letter to the king of Spain in 1534 attesting to his role in conquering Mayan territory[124], and although the crown rejected his request for governorship[125], the existence of this letter questions the traditional telling of the narrative. The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* questions the narrative even more; it challenges the very

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120   As translated in Restall and Asselbergs, 58.
121   As translated in Restall and Asselbergs, 85.
122   Lovell and Lutz, introduction to Restall and Asselbergs, xi–xii.
123   Restall and Asselbergs, 13.
124   Letter to the King by Jorge de Alvarado, *Written on February 26, 1534*, in Restall and Asselbergs, 58.
125   Himmerich, 119.

idea of Spanish hegemony. Although Jorge de Alvarado and the Spaniards are presented as important allies, in the *lienzo*, they are on equal or lesser footing to the native protagonists. As Stephanie Woods explains:

> Indigenous people's self-perceptions, at least as represented in their community histories, are regularly not those of vanquished, conquered, subordinated, overcome, or powerless people. It is not even clear that Spaniards on the scene would have uniformly seen them in this modern light.[126]

Wood continues:

> Although these histories accord respect to the new Spanish power holders, their places in history seem often to stem not so much from the indigenous authors' desire to recall their authority for posterity as from their desire to mark moments when such people recognized the local indigenous leadership.[127]

The perspectives and importance of the local, indigenous leadership is downplayed by the typical modern telling of history. They are often depicted as impotent leaders of lesser civilizations, wiped out by the Spanish, a conquering people with superior leaders, weapons, and armies. The nineteenth-century historian William Prescott wrote that Mesoamerican conquest was "the subversion of a great empire by a handful of adventurers"[128] and acclaimed men like Columbus, Pizarro, and Cortes as great historical figures who almost single-handedly yoked entire cultures. This perspective reaches as far back in time as the 1570s, when Bernal Díaz de Castillo wrote: "What men have there been in the world who have shown such daring?"[129]

The historical reality is far more nuanced. In his book *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest,* Restall explains misconceptions about the vanquishing of the Mexica, Mayans, and other New World polities. Old World diseases wiped out large swathes of the New World population, weakening their empires. The few hundred Europeans and Africans (not all conquistadors were Spanish) did not come over as an organized army, but as ragtag companies—essentially business ventures. Their Crusade-era weapons were already outdated in Europe, and while metal swords, horses, and cannons frightened

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126   Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico*
(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 142.
127   Wood, 143.
128   Restall, 33.
129   Referenced in Restall, xiii.

the native populace, the natives had their own highly effective weapons. The conquistadors had the good luck to come to Mesoamerica at a time when the anti-Mexica rebellion was simmering and the Mayan city-states were belligerent. The Spanish manipulated the native antagonisms and inserted themselves in the ensuing power vacuum. Within a generation, the Spanish held almost complete control over Central and South America. Every conquistador was subject to the Spanish crown and navigated a complex legal system to retain power; part of this included writing *probanza de méritos*, or proofs of merit explaining the conquistador's role in subjugating indigenous peoples. These *probanza* reports necessarily exaggerated the conquistadors' personal achievements, and thousands of these documents made their way back to Europe. As Restall explains, "the *probanza* evolved into the chronicle, *probanzas* were used as the basis of histories, and historical works adopted the conventions of the *probanza*."[130] This privileged the Spanish perspective, and the indigenous voices were further disadvantaged because their language, writings, and culture were so foreign to the Europeans, who held power and thus held the power of writing the historical narrative.

The *Lienzo de Quahquechollan* is a piece of propaganda from Quauhquecholteca warriors that challenges the narrative that the Spanish conquered the New World alone. Neither Pedro, nor Jorge de Alvarado, conquered Guatemala on their own. They were assisted by a couple hundred of their own men and by several thousand of their native allies. At the time of the Guatemalan conquests, the Spanish had not yet solidified their complete control over the Mesoamerican power vacuum. Indigenous allies saw themselves as co-conquistadors, finally able to throw off the yoke of Mexica subjugation. The *Lienzo de Quahquechollan* clearly shows the Quahquecholteca attempt to assert their own power and their identity as conquerors. Quauhquechollan had suffered invasions and forced migrations from neighbors all its long history, and the very generation which allied with the Spanish were the generation which suffered most under Mexica rule. The Spanish alliance gave the Quauhquecholteca nobility an opportunity to regain status and wealth. In their perspective, they had just begun to claim power and autonomy. According to the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, they were the victors, not the victims, in the conquests.

Aftermath and Disillusionment: "Conquered Conquistadors"

> *"…In the Service of Your Majesty, we have left and abandoned our fathers and mothers, children and*

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130   Restall, 13.

relatives, houses, ranches, lands, to come conquer the
province of Guatemala under the responsibility and
heavy yoke of the captain and adelantado *don Pedro*
de Alvarado and don Pedro de Portocarrero, and Jorge
de Alvarado…"

Letter to the King of Spain by the Tlaxcalan and
Mexica Conquistadors, 1547[131]

The Quauhquecholtecan hopefulness proved to be in vain. As Wood explains, "indigenous memories of the Spanish incursion and presence can swing from radically different perspectives."[132] The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* was created in the early 1530s during a high point of Spanish-Quauhquecholtecan relationships, and the Quauhquecholteca assert themselves hopefully as co-conquistadors with a great deal of agency. But although the *lienzo* tells a story of victory, Matthews and Oudijk report that casualties were high and the conquest saw horrific violence.[133] They portrayed themselves as co-conquistadors, but as the Spanish grew more powerful, they "treated their Nahua allies like tributaries and laborers at best, slaves at worst."[134] Over the following decade, Quauhquecholtecans and other Mexicans fought and settled in Central America under the governorship of Pedro and Jorge de Alvarado.[135] Until the 1550s[136], the native conquistadors were exempt from tribute payments, but life in the *encomienda* became difficult for both the natives and the average Spanish alike. In *Conquered Conquistadors*, Asselbergs summarized letters from various Nahua people to the king of Spain, saying that the natives "suffered from excessive labor demands and from hunger, thirst, and pestilence. After the conquest, they related, they were all made slaves and tributaries of the Spanish conquistadors and subjected to overwork and abuses from their Spanish masters. They claimed the Spaniards had made them great promises, but that those promises were never realized."[137] One legal testimony given to the Spanish government by the Tlaxcalan warrior Francisco Oçelote in 1564 states:

I know and saw that the Indians who stayed behind from those

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131   As recorded in Restall and Asselbergs, 83

132   Wood, 77.

133   Laura Matthew and Michel Oudijk, Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Meso-america (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 107.

134   *Letter to the King of Spain by the Tlaxcalan and Mexica Conquistadors, 1547*, in Restall and Asselbergs, 81.

135   Matthew and Oudijk, 108.

136   Asselbergs, 117.

137   Asselbergs, 116, based on her research of the document *Indios de Tlaxcala y México a Carlos V* (Guatemala, March 15, 1547).

conquests remained poor, and until this day many of them still are, because they have no roots [there], but they live from their work and they look to themselves for work to sustain their households and wives and children, and that many of them pay a great deal for necessities; and this I know and saw[.][138]

The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* was created in the early 1530s, when the Quauhquecholteca still hoped that the Spanish would be allies, not overlords, and that life with the Spanish would be better than life under the Mexica. The Quauhquecholteca did not have as much independence or agency in the Spanish socio-political world as they projected in the *lienzo*. They suffered under harsh rule and the devastating effects of European diseases. Today, their polity no longer exists. The Quauhquecholteca population was dispersed across settlements in Guatemala, and their best young men were sent to serve Jorge de Alvarado in his other battles. Those who remained lived a harsh life on the *encomienda*. The modern agricultural city of San Martín Huaquechula exists on the site of Quauhquechollan.

Conclusions

> *"Thus they have come to tell it,*
> *Thus they have come to record it in their*
> *narration,*
> *And for us they have painted it in their codi-*
> *ces [...]*
> *Their account was repeated,*
> *They left it to us;*
> *They bequeathed it forever*
> *To us who live now,*
> *To us who come down from them."*

Written in Nauhatl by Nahua historian Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc, ca. 1600.[139]

The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* is an important historical narrative which provides insight into the poorly documented conquest of Guatemala and which, more significantly, gives a voice to the marginalized Quauhquechol-

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138   *Testimony on the Conquest of Guatemala by a Tlaxcalan Warrior, Franciso Oçelot, Given in 1564* as recorded in Restall and Asselbergs, 92.

139   Elizabeth Boone, *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 20.

lans. The *lienzo* document itself is a cartographic history whose narrative was written in the Quauhquecholteca's pictographic writing system. By deciphering the graphic vocabulary, syntax, and rhetoric and by identifying places, characters, concepts, and events, scholars have reconstructed the conquest of Guatemala from the Quauhquechollan point of view. The densely packed glyphs organized on a conceptual map follow the Quauhquecholteca from their 1520 alliance with Cortés through their battles against the K'iche and the Kaqchikel in Guatemala under the banner of Jorge de Alvarado.

Since the story of the Alvarado brothers' conquest of Guatemala plays a small part in the overarching theme of Spanish conquest in the New World, it is often presented as a footnote in history, and always from the Spanish point of view. Pedro de Alvarado, the *adelantado*, is usually credited with the subjugation of the Guatemalan Mayans. Some Spanish sources, such as Jorge de Alvarado's *probanza*, point out the role of other Spaniards and acknowledge the involvement of the natives from the *encomiendas*. The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, however, places the conquest of Guatemala firmly within an indigenous framework. The Quauhquechollan region was part of a pre-hispanic pattern of conquest and domination. When the Spanish arrived, the Quauhquecholteca, suffering under the rule of the Mexica, decided to ally themselves with the new power in Central America. They are the protagonists of the *lienzo*, and the Spanish are seen not as overlords but as allies and co-conquistadors. The conquest of the K'iche and Kaqchikel, as depicted in the *lienzo*, shows the bravery, agency, and independence of Quauhquecholtecan lords and warriors. The *tlacuiloque* painted this narrative for an indigenous audience, and it asserts the Quauhquechollan's important role; the Spanish would never have been able to conquer the Mayans without their aid. Perhaps the *lienzo* was meant to inspire the people of Quauhquechollan and remind them of their glorious warriors, or perhaps it was a means to an end; a way of documenting their involvement so that they could attempt to gain the same privileges and independence as the Tlaxcaltecans in the new political structure. Whatever the intention behind the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, and whatever it meant to the indigenous audience of the 1500s, today it tell us how the Quauhquechollan envisioned their own identity. They were warriors, victors, and conquistadors. They allied themselves to the strongest power in Central America, and they subjugated fierce and worthy enemies. While the Quauhquechollan and other indigenous peoples were not ultimately successful in carving out a place for themselves in Spanish Mexico, Nahua pictographic narratives gives new perspectives of the Spanish Conquest to study. The Spaniards were not the only Conquistadors.

Appendix

(Refer to Image 5) The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, ca. 1530. Image couresty of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín.

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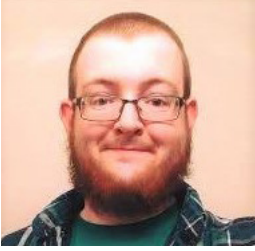
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