EPOISEN

A Journal for Creative Engagement in History and Archaeology

Volume Two
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Volume Two
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Editorial Note: Citation as an Act of Enchantment

Shawn Graham

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It’s been nearly a year since we started this experiment, Epoiesen. While we had a fairly clear idea of what we wanted the journal to achieve, it’s worth stepping back and asking: what has this journal achieved? What kinds of things have we published? Have we lifted up other ways of engaging with the past? As a corollary, have we made space for new voices?

*Have we gotten out of the way?*

Because *Epoiesen* is built from simple text files, the generator we use creates a json representation of all the text to power our search form. We can feed this text into something like Voyant Tools to try to take a distant read.
A simple word cloud. Remember when word clouds seemed magical? They did: admit it. They jumped out at you. Key words called to you. Play with the word cloud above; add or remove terms from it. What emerges? What have we been about, this past year?

Maybe words, on their own, don't really tell us anything. Maybe words as they are distributed over topics could help us. We have been tagging the different contributions, but maybe, maybe the machine sees clearer.

Run the topic model routing a five hundred times. A thousand times. What emerges? There's no necessarily chronological aspect
to our topics (even though the corpus is loaded in, in chronological order). The topics that jump out, right now, are just the random fluctuations in the interests of the people who’ve taken the time on our experiment.

Maybe there’s nothing to see, when you look at everything we’ve written, this way. Maybe it’s more helpful to see the most common terms, knotted up when they occur...

But... nothing in these views tell us anything about citation. Nothing in these views, these distant reads, tell us anything about who we’ve chosen to lift up, the people whose ideas triggered those cascades of thought in our own minds, the wellsprings of our creativity. Citation is a gift. Epoiesen is supposed to be a space for creative engagement with history and archaeology. For us as its creators and editors, we should understand that engagement to begin with the act of citation. We could do better. We need to do better. Jules Weiss describes a punk practice to citation which “acknowledges and uplifts ... by creating platforms that make people feel welcome and important”.

Image posted to Pixabay by Free-photos, animated by S Graham
We invite creators and respondents to “punk” their practice of citation. What does this mean? It means being awake to the idea that the everyday act of citation can reinforce existing practices and structures in academic work, rather than broaden the possibility space for what our research and engagement could be.

Real punks consider whose voices are being heard, when, and why, and they take action to uplift the voices of those who are often spoken over.

*Jules Weiss, 2018 “Citation is a Gift: ‘Punking’ Accounting in #hau-talk.”*

Sara Perry, in “The enchantment of the archaeological record” points to the crisis model of archaeology, where we operate out of a conservative impulse ‘driven by the normative preservation paradigm’, saving the past. A similar crisis of fear and trust drives our teaching and *the norms of scholarly writing* so that students (and the professionals they turn into) are driven by fear of plagiarism, fear of being out of step, fear of showing oneself not to belong. It occurs to us therefore that the way we are taught to cite is also a ‘crisis’ model. But citation is a gift. Could citation be an act of enchantment as well? Perry writes,

The crisis model blinds us (& broader publics) to new futures & different interpretations. It fetishes authenticity, leading to cynicism, false consciousness, & nihilism in the face of its inevitable futility. It betrays profound weaknesses in professional interpretative aptitude & begs for a new ‘moral model’ for the discipline.
In this age of information overload and breakdowns in trust, the nagging expert is shut out. ‘Crisis’ modes of engagement turn the reader/viewer/person off. Archaeology and History have powerful stories, powerful ideas. But here we have work to do. As Epoiesen enters its second year, let our citation be a gift. Let it be an act of enchantment. Find the wonderful work, the uplifting work. Cite it. Build on it. Let your creative engagement with history and archaeology echo with voices you haven’t heard before.
Path of Honors: Towards a Model for Interactive History Texts with Twine

Jeremiah McCall

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Masthead Image “Image taken from page 343 of 'Cassell's Illustrated Universal History.'"British Library
If we consider that history is just the contemporary representation of the past through a medium, and doing history is the practice of making these representations, then histories exists in all manner of media: texts, of course, films, speeches, statues, images, exhibits, and video games, just to name some possibilities. There are more or less sound histories in all these media, but what unites them is the imaginative act: to do history requires imagining the past, how people lived, why things happened, and so on. Viewed this way, a sharp divide between academic and other forms of history does not exist. Viewed this way, historical video games are a way of doing history as are, I shall argue, interactive texts.

Historical video games, as Chapman (2016) pointed out, can be grouped to some extent by the way that they simulate the past. Some, like Assassin’s Creed and Call of Duty, are realist simulations, games that focus on a visually verisimilitudinous environment, a world that can be explored and navigated by the player and that in some ways claims to present the past as it looked. Others, like Civilization and Crusader Kings 2, are conceptual simulations. They represent the past with their symbols, rules, and procedures, not within a high-fidelity visual model of a past world. Rather than suggest they are showing the sights and sounds of the past world, they rely on more abstract symbols and rules--procedural rhetoric--to tell players how the past was.
Both realist and conceptual simulations structure their virtual pasts as historical problem spaces (McCall 2012 & McCall 2012). They do this by presenting the past in terms of:

- A player agent with one or more roles and goals, **contained within**
- a physical environment, a geography that **includes**
- a variety of elements, including AI models of other agents, that can afford player actions, restrict player actions, or both depending on the circumstances; **and so the player makes**
- strategies and choices to capitalize on affordances, work within restrictions, and achieve their goal.

This is not an unproblematic view of the past, but it does do a reasonable job conceptualizing agents in the past facing challenges and pursuing goals - arguably something many did at least some of the time.

Different media have different characteristics, which is certainly the case with video games and static text. Video games are multi-modal, variable, systemic, and, most importantly, interactive. They form closed dynamic systems where the player makes choices and experiences the results of those choices. This can be an advantage when considering, among other things, human agency, choice-making, and the historical context of choice-making. Still, there are significant obstacles to historians, whether students or professionals, designing video game histories. Most notable of these are the skill and resource requirements for game design. Furthermore, many academics find it regrettable that designing historical video games often requires sacrificing much of the precise descriptive value of text.

Choice-based historical texts, however, designed using a tool like Twine, offer a relatively untapped medium for students, amateurs, and professionals to design interactive text histories that leverage the descriptive precision of text (including, if desired, the ability to provide citations) in addition to the powerful interactivity of video games through choice-making. They allow designers to straddle the boundaries of realist and conceptual simulations and design both highly scripted historical problem spaces and more dynamic systems-based ones.
And so we come to the Path of Honors project. I began this project in interactive history text design to address this question: What kind of interactive history can a historian make with the choice-based text design tool, Twine? I have already experimented a fair amount with teaching my history students to research, design, and write their own Twine-based histories for class—Twine is a powerful tool with great potential. But can a historian make an interactive historical text that fulfills some of the desire for precision and citation while allowing for interactivity and perhaps even systems-based environments?

(More details about my early reasoning and process can be found in my essays on the topic at playthepast.org: Part 1, Part 2, Part 3 Questions about POH).

Ultimately, the project needs to speak for itself as a rough and very incomplete prototype of what one type of interactive historical text might look like. A few comments follow, however, to introduce readers to aspects of the project:

**Concept Comment**

*Design a historical game based on a young Roman aristocrat rising through the ranks of elected political offices in the Republic (the cursus honorum or 'Path of Honors', hence the title).*

Romans of the senatorial class who sought elected political office in the Republic competed intensely with their rivals to demonstrate their greater dignity and authority based on qualities like *virtus*, martial manliness, distinguished lineage, and service to the Republic. Those fortunate enough to achieve the highest positions, praetors and consuls, and hold the military commands that came with those offices, especially the consulship, were driven to demonstrate themselves and win glory for their family line by leading armies to victory in battle against the enemies of Rome, long-standing or newly-provoked. In many ways, it was a very different world and world-view from that of your average modern person, certainly your average North American teenager (and I hoped this game would also prove useful for the 12th graders in my Roman Republic elective at Cincinnati Country Day School). I wanted to design a game that could put a player virtually into the competitive environment of aristocratic politics, feeling pressures, making choices, and experiencing the consequences of those choices.
**Tool Comment**

Twine allows designers to create choice-based texts, branching narratives, where the player reads some text describing their situation, conventionally written in second person, then choose from two or more choices (hyperlinks) that take the player to new passages where they read the results of their choice and make further choices.

The Twine interactive fiction tool was designed and is updated by Chris Klimas, who deserves a great deal of thanks for his efforts. The story map in a simple Twine game might look something like this:
Fundamentally, designing a Twine choice-based text is quite simple. The player enters text into a passage editor and provides some simple code for links like so:

```
1073

Now it is 1073 and the bishop's seat in Milan is vacant. Milan is an important city in northern Italy. Appointing a bishop who will be grateful to you would help you control the major city and increase your authority over north Italy. It is a goal the German emperors have held for decades. On the other hand, you could leave the matter to the Italian church to decide and, perhaps, the pope.
```

Twine passage editor with a basic passage

Yet the design tool is quite powerful and includes several formats, which are essentially scripting languages. A finished Twine is rendered into a single html file with Javascript and can be easily circulated either by posting on a website or sharing the file.

**Design Comment**

*Path of Honors* most closely follows the structure of a role-playing game, a structure that it has gravitated toward slowly through a series of design challenges and attempted solutions.

I’d like to discuss the reasoning behind adopting an RPG structure more fully at another time. For now, the game is moving toward the critical design element of meaningful choices. Since this is a text, not a video game, the challenge in most options presented to the player lies in their nature as trade-offs. Some choices are straight risk-reward propositions, like risking death in battle to increase one’s reputation. Others are more about deciding which skills to develop or political approaches to take. The full stat-based approach has developed only very recently and is implemented in only a few instances. The advocacy system, for example, gives a glimpse of an rpg-style but not wholly unreasonable system for practicing in the law courts. The military service system needs to be overhauled to look more like the advocacy
system. Both need a great deal more content. I had originally thought I would start PoH with the player’s first political office. Then I realized I wanted to include the 10 years of prerequisite military service, since these shaped an aristocrat’s life. Only recently has it become clear that I need to overhaul and add more descriptive depth and variety to the military service segment to make more specific episodes for the player based on the ancient sources.

**Historical Sources and Citations Comment**

*Of course, clear arguments based on sound historical sources and clear citation of said sources are foundational to historical writing.*

I wanted to find some way to incorporate citation that would not hinder the enjoyment and flow of the text. I have adopted an approach with notes at the bottom of passages, which remain hidden unless the reader wants them. I have not even attempted to cite secondary scholarship yet, but have started with references to the ancient sources. The work needs a great deal more citation. Since this is my academic area of expertise, I have not conducted independent research for the game, but I would like to go back and fill in the reference gaps to further develop this as a model for interactive history.

**Improvements Comment**

Since this is meant to be a think-piece/prototype, there are so many areas that can be improved. Some elements of the game are the way they are for historical reasons. Other elements are part of a trial-by-error design, as I continue to find more elegant (and fun) solutions available that still preserve historical authenticity. Some obvious areas for improvement:

- Content in the advocacy system: there are currently only a few cases. The system coded is ready to take more when I have written them
- The military service segment: Instead of the more generic and blatant risk/risk reward system, I plan to make it more like the advocacy system in that the player will face a specific military challenge each year and determine whether that challenge is worth the risk.
• The game does not actually go past setting priorities for the office of aedile. There is a lot of writing and design to come.

I’d be delighted to talk about your impressions of the project and choice-based text as a medium for history.

WORKS CITED


Explore Path of Honors: http://www.philome.la/gamingthepast/path-of-honors-1-12-18/play

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Masthead Image “Image taken from page 343 of ‘Cassell’s Illustrated Universal History.’” British Library
This piece is a response to McCall’s Path of Honors

In his think-piece, Jeremiah McCall asks: “Can a historian make an interactive historical text that fulfills some of the desire for precision and citation while allowing for interactivity and perhaps even systems-based environments?”

To my mind, this question can only be answered with a straightforward “Yes”. To arrive at a similarly swift response, you only need to click on this link to “Path of Honors” and spend some 10-15 minutes with the Twine-powered experience. In it, Jeremiah convincingly weaves together interactive text, RPG-like systems, nicely styled passages, and well-referenced historical knowledge into the career history of a young Roman aristocrat. Before I continue my much less interactive piece of text, I urge any of you reading this to play Path of Honors. If you do so, please consider responding to Jeremiah’s thoughtful game and accompanying piece yourself (e.g. via his website or Twitter or here on Epoiesen via the Hypothes.is toolbar at the right).

A quick answer is possible, but following the question to its immediate conclusion does not do it justice. Instead, I read in it the basis of an inquiry with a much broader context: that of the role of the interactive past in contemporary society and science. Interactive digital media are now one of the most important ways that (younger) people come to experience and think about the past (Cook Inlet Tribal Council 2017; Chapman 2017; Hughes 2017; Mol et al. 2017; Morgan 2016). Yet engagement with the past via these media falls largely outside of the scope of the institutes and individuals that traditionally produce and disseminate knowledge about the past — forward-thinking teachers like Jeremiah excepted.

The question for all of us (certainly those of us reading Epoiesen) is thus: how can we use interactive and other digital media to
democratize access to the past, while ensuring that the knowledge that is disseminated through these media is founded in a careful consideration of the past? In short, the larger project to which McCall’s think-piece and Path of Honors speaks, may be one of the most transformative questions for the sister-disciplines that study and teach the past (cf. Copplestone 2017).

Path of Honors vs. the Disco Tour

I think the idea to use Twine for interactive history-telling, which McCall as well as some others like Tara Copplestone and Neville Morley are pursuing, is one of the best answers to the above question. To provide a bit of background to this enthusiastic claim, let me contrast it with an (at the time of writing) new initiative in interactive history, Assassin’s Creed: Origin’s Discovery Tour — quite a mouthful, let’s abbreviate that to The Disco Tour. The Disco Tour is an exhibit of the rich cultural and geographical setting of Ptolemaic Egypt. It is by far the most interesting historical playground AC’s developers have given us in some time. Its careful construction and multi-layeredness are the mark of a team of developers that absolutely love the period and people. This passion for history and attention for detail is pushed to the foreground in The Disco Tour. In this aspect, Path of Honors and The Disco Tour are comparable and it is really a welcome addition to the interactive past. I’d urge all of you to go check it out right now, but unfortunately you will have to shell out 20 euros as price for entry. In that aspect, Path of Honors and The Disco Tour are worlds apart.

Where Twine games are based in Open Source and Open Access philosophies, The Disco Tour is a typical for-profit, software-as-license proposition. You’ll have to install either Steam or UPlay before you can even pay for and start downloading the game. Of course, for most of us reading this, such a process is business as usual - we may have even gotten The Disco Tour as a “freebie.” Yet, as someone whose mother has worked in primary education, I can easily picture the aggravated sense of exasperation with every step the classroom teacher needs to take before she can show their pupils around ancient Egypt. What’s more, If I would want to use The Disco Tour in my university classroom, I’d
have to go through a very lengthy IT software application process or lug my own PC or console into the classroom.

In fact, reading through the EULA of The Disco Tour, I am not even 100% sure it is legal to use it in classroom or other non-personal use contexts. Ubisoft (so far) has not gone on record to clear up this matter (and due to copyright protection rules, probably cannot). Obviously I’m out of my depth here as I am not a copyright lawyer, but the fact that I am not sure whether I can legally play this with my students is part of the point. In contrast, Path of Honors is easy: I open the html file, hosted gratis at philome.la, and start playing. One fair point of critique is that it is not entirely clear if Path of Honors is Open Source. If so, this could be flagged in the game’s introduction.

Both Path of Honors and The Disco Tour are highly informative and will have something new to teach all but the most ardent student of their subject matter. Yet only Path of Honors presents its history interactively. For all its audio-visual fidelity and enormously rich world, The Disco Tour is ultimately just a walk-by experience: a living diorama that we move through with an audio-tour. At specific points [and unlike any museum audio-tours I ever had] your gaze is even forcefully directed to a piece of scenery. I frequently needed to really work to connect the image to the information I was hearing. In Path of Honors, although quite a repetitive game at this point — I understand why e.g. the military campaign is limited, but I hope McCall will make the choices feel more unique in future iterations —, I feel in control of the history that I move through. Until I am eviscerated by a Gaul that is.

Path of Honors is well-referenced and, in addition, the design choices and development process is discussed at length in several places. The Disco Tour sometimes gives “behind the screen” information, but it references its sources (except for its images, because of copyright) poorly. Although I know there is a crack team of scholars behind this meticulously crafted world, I think — and I am not alone in this — that, as with any good knowledge dissemination, they should have flagged much more clearly where the font of all this wisdom is located. As it is now, The Disco Tour presents a very old-school approach to learning with a set of literally disembodied voices telling us what to believe (which is a history based on a mix of legends, myths, archaeology, and highly subjective textual sources).

This response to McCall seems to simultaneously have become a response to Ubisoft. Yet whereas I am positive this response to
Jeremiah’s work has the potential to become a dialogue, any feedback I would have for the developers of The Disco Tour would almost certainly fall on deaf ears. It is frustratingly difficult to get in touch with any triple-A publisher. Believe me VALUE (the foundation I am part of that organizes conferences and other activities for both academics and members of the creative industry) has tried. Jeremiah McCall is a very busy but still very accessible person. If I contact him to let him know I think it may be more interesting to keep the RPG stats in Path of Honors hidden to the player, he’d likely have a response ready. If I am upset that statues are nude in the base game but covered up in Disco Tour, I can have a little rant here, or on Twitter, but I’d have more chance getting an answer from Ramesses II than from a Ubisoft dev.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Path of Honors</th>
<th>Disco Tour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fascinating History</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Access</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of use</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interactive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid references</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicative Developer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although neither Path of Honors nor The Disco Tour are flawless experiences, if I had to choose which of the pieces of interactive media I think is better at providing a balanced and democratic access to the past: I’d choose Path of Honors. That is not to say I think The Disco Tour is not to be valued for what it is or that media like it should not be developed. What I mean to say is that, even with high fidelity, high production value experiences like Assassin’s Creed, we need more work like that of McCall. This is why it is a good thing that Jeremiah teaches Twine to his students - and a great idea that I have shamelessly (and to the delight of my students) copied for the course I am currently teaching. The community of Twine storytellers is growing, and I am very excited to see which other interactive narratives like Path of Honors will be created in the coming years.
P.S. For Those Who Wish to Know or Do More with Twine.

It’s commonly accepted that, if you want to write well, you should read a lot. It logically follows you should play interactive stories if you are interested in writing them. Beyond the area of history, heritage, and archaeology, there Twines of every make and description. I suggest you start with the absolute classic *Depression Quest* by Zoe Quinn. Also be sure to check out Anna Anthropy’s *Queers in Love at the End of the World* or any of the other quirky, intriguing, silly, or just plain good stories in places such as twinehub or itch.io. Many of these creators provide their work for free or through a “pay what you want”-system, so consider supporting them however you can.

Beyond Twine there is a wide world of interactive fiction and, although I have not yet found the time to delve into it myself, I think Inform7 may be as interesting a tool for interactive history-telling as Twine. If you are interested in reading more on interactive storytelling and keeping up to date with the latest releases, Emily Short's blog is a great place to start.

Finally, you maybe would like to share your own works but, for whatever reason, do not yet want to publish them in the “wild of the internet” where all can read and comment on it? Don’t hesitate to get in touch and send your Twine story to me. I’d be glad to provide you with constructive feedback or a small review.

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Path of Honors: Second Response

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Masthead Image “Image taken from page 343 of ‘Cassell’s Illustrated Universal History.’” British Library
This piece is a response to McCall’s Path of Honors

**Scholaris Ludens: Developing Games in Teaching History**

“To our way of thinking,” commented noted medievalist Johan Huizinga, “play is the direct opposite of seriousness”.¹ This prefaced his lengthy meditation, *Homo Ludens*, arguing to the contrary that play – and games– were at the centre of human culture and much more than just “fun”. This seminal text was first published in 1938 (appearing in English translation a decade later) and lent academic respectability to what would became a new field of inquiry into the history of play, games and sport.² But we academics are so wedded to the seriousness of our task that it has taken a very long time for the value of play to be accepted into the solemn business of teaching history. Jeremiah McCall’s work on *Path of Honors* maps one promising road to allow games entry into our pedagogy. I should confess that I have been reading his posts on playthepast.org over the past year and so have dipped my toe into various iterations of the game.³ As a reader in the far-off past of the *Choose-Your-Own-Adventure* books and a former dilettante of MUDs (Multi-User Dungeons), I was predisposed to enjoy it and to see the value of interactive text games (not quite interactive fiction, but not quite interactive history). But even the unconverted should remark on what it seeks to do and what McCall highlights in his article: namely to show the new perspectives on the past that are possible by engaging in game development.


² For recent trends in this field, see the contributions to *Games and Gaming in Medieval Literature*, edited by Serina Patterson (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015). The afterward, “Medieval Ludens” by Betsy McCormick (209-22) lays out Huizinga’s innovation, his limitations and the still developing field he opened.

³ My thanks to Shawn Graham for tipping me off to its existence years ago.
I first read Huizinga’s *Homo Ludens* during a core course in Medieval Studies. It was not a “fun read”, but I was a budding cultural historian so its message about questioning the familiar resonated with me. By the end of my PhD I had learned what I thought it meant to be a serious historian – all gravitas and concern for transmitting the whole historical picture to students (usually by assigning a punishing amount of primary source readings). This attitude did not survive my first few years of contact with actual students in actual classes and I kept searching for the perfect way to package the material. How could I (the authority) best teach, for example, the medieval concept of honour, so that students would understand how the hero of the twelfth-century *Raoul de Cambrai* is simultaneously hyper-rational for his time and wonderfully bizarre to ours? And how could I keep students engaged without simply becoming an entertainer?

Jeremiah McCall offers one answer. Taking inspiration from graphics-based RPG video games, *Path of Honors* uses the medium of Twine to draw the audience into the world of Late Republican politics. Players are asked to take on the identify of an auto-generated Roman man and then choose a course of action (e.g. whether to spend more time commanding men in battle or working as a lawyer) in order to rise in skill until able to ascend the political ranks of Roman power. Repeated play, I can attest, is necessary to allow the player to intuit the rules underlying the system and begin to make informed decisions about how best to advance. Interactive text allows McCall to be a game developer without the considerable design resources necessary for commercial games set in the past (e.g. *Assassin’s Creed*, *Crusader Kings 2*). As a de facto indie game developer, he can thus pursue decidedly non-commercial goals such as historical accuracy and making use of that critical apparatus of academic history, the footnote. The endeavour, nonetheless, is a massive one for a single person to manage on their own. I cannot imagine how much time and text it takes to produce sufficient branching storylines to avoid the appearance of repetition and to give the semblance of agency to the player. McCall’s final comments admit that *Path of Honors* remains in its infancy, even though it has clearly advanced far beyond the text game it started out as. This ability to expand the game, I find, is a pedagogical strength. McCall rightly notes that in order to be successful, historical games

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4 In full disclosure, this was the first and only time I read *Homo Ludens* cover to cover. But I do find myself coming back to it again and again for ideas; you should too.
need to let students see themselves as agents with an ability to affect meaningfully the course of the game.

**Students as Designers**

Developing a feeling of historical agency can also happen outside the game, by using students as game designers. McCall’s previous post on student-assisted game development suggests how an interactive text game, such as *Path of Honors*, could be perpetually supplemented with more material to match changing pedagogical concerns. How better to engage students than to get them to research the material necessary for supplementing the core story? The game already identifies the overall arc of the life of male Roman elites, but students could work in groups to research and then develop new content. To supplement the existing narrative arc, students could further research Roman military life, typical legal cases or what allowed the elite to distinguish themselves. What better way to get students to read Cicero than to mine it for rules and anecdotes for judicial oratory? Students researching the experience of Roman soldiers could explore different militarized regions— the Rhine, the Danube, North Africa or on the border with Persia. In developing new combat scenarios, students might depict not only how Roman camps adapted (and didn’t) to these different environments, but also how Romans understood their enemies and allies. A focus on military service thus could become an opportunity to discuss how Romans saw themselves in their world and even to problematize this world view. A Roman tribune along the Rhine could be brought into contact with the (albeit Imperial) world of Tacitus’ *Germania*, for example—a text which provides ample social observations to populate a lengthy military excursion or even to describe interactions with fellow soldiers who might be non-Romans. The legal cases could take on a longer narrative element, so that students could engage deeper with Roman ideas of law and other issues relating to the differing access to justice by aristocrats vs. women, slaves and foreigners.

This expansion of the narrative to include women and people of colour is a necessary one. Classical Studies is in the midst of a redefinition— with younger (*Sarah Bond*) and more senior scholars (*Mary Beard*) pushing us to imagine a more diverse representation of the Roman past. Given that text games like *Path of Honors* combine the creative with the historical, they are well suited to allow students to
visualize what place the non-male Roman might have in this world. What better way to get students thinking about Roman power, than having them research, imagine and compose new roles for those who lacked it in the historical path of honours?
# Interactive Mapping of Archaeological Sites in Victoria

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Image taken from page 25 of ‘(The Year Book of British Columbia Compendium.) Compiled from the Year Book of British Columbia ... To which is added a chapter ... respecting the Canadian Yukon and Northern territory generally’” British Library
Introduction

“Bridging Victoria: Stories from the Archaeological Past” was a collaborative, pop-up exhibit produced by the Anthropology Department at the University of Victoria and the Royal British Columbia Museum on November 25th, 2017. In this essay we report on the creative design issues we encountered as we made this exhibit. The overall motivation for this exhibit was public archaeology; it sought to immerse the community in local archaeology by telling diverse stories and illustrating the need for preservation of historical artifacts (i.e. post-1846 artifacts not protected by law in British Columbia).

The exhibit brought together two UVic Anthropology courses, our 4th year digital archaeology course and a 3rd year heritage course. The students in the heritage course were responsible for researching and interpreting three local collections to develop creative and engaging narratives about the past. The students in our digital archaeology course split into groups to create digital resources to facilitate or enhance those narratives. As a group, we decided to create a physical interactive map contextualizing the three archaeological sites in Victoria. We designed it to allow community members to explore and discover the stories of Victoria’s past through a hands-on experience.

To learn more about the stories told at our pop-up exhibit please visit our playlist on the Royal BC Museum website: http://learning.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/playlist/bridging-victoria/.
To learn more about the behind the scenes and the making of our stories, please visit: http://learning.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/playlist/bridging-victoria-experiencing-the-exhibit/.

Making the Map

The map was designed to fill a need for an introduction to the three sites in the lobby of the museum before visitors explored the main collections spaces upstairs to participate in the rest of the pop-up exhibit. Our goal was to create a physical map that was engaging to the audience, encouraged curiosity and independent exploration, and set the tone for the participatory nature of the event.

We were inspired by a guest lecture by Beth Compton (a PhD student at the University of Western Ontario and co-founder of the DH MakerBus) on maker culture and electronic components like conductive tape, Makey Makey, and so on. These maker components are flexible, cost effective and can easily be dismantled and repurposed in a range of applications, which makes their use in heritage and archaeology particularly appealing. In this case, we utilized electrical currents and basic computer programming to trigger audio-based introductions to sites located on a map of Victoria to orient visitors and provide an introduction to archaeology. Below we explain each component of our physical digitally-enhanced map.

Design & Build

Making a physical map that was durable enough to stand up to visitor interactions, fit cohesively with the design of the pop-up and seamlessly integrated electronic components proved harder than we expected. Our approach was creative, and largely based in trial-and-error and make-do and mend, given our limited budget and timeline (both common realities in the heritage sector). Our initial plan was to paint the map of
Victoria onto the board but eventually we settled on printing the map in colour scaled to the size of the foundation board. We sourced the image of the map from the Royal BC Museum online archives, to be cohesive with other design elements of the exhibit.

Next, we punctured the board to feed the conductive tape through, creating the touch points in relevant parts of the map. We made two holes per archaeological site, so that we could have a site description as well as a soundscape, and one at the front for our “Earth” button (see Makey Makey & Scratch section below). To make sure that our electronic components had enough room underneath the map, we elevated the board by gluing wooden dowels to each corner.

Audio

We used Audacity, a free and open source audio software, to edit and compile the sound files for our map. We recorded short descriptions about each site and some sounds, but we also drew on sound files used in another generous group’s narrative soundscape project.

Writing the summaries about each individual site was difficult because these sites were excavated in advance of construction by volunteers or private firms and remain largely unpublished. Using grey literature and the research from the third-year course we were partnered with, we critically reflected on what audiences needed to know, what was realistic and manageable, and what was useful in understanding the rest of the pop-up exhibit.
The map included printed 3D ‘artifacts’ for interactivity on the board.

Because time did not allow for the modelling of artifacts from this collection (particularly given that the context of an in-class project does not allow for the time needed for proper consultation with descendant communities), we drew on existing models (mainly from Thingiverse) that were similar to artifacts and landscapes of the three sites.

For the Songhees Village/Shutters archaeological site, we chose not to include 3D prints of Indigenous artifacts, because of the difficulty ascertaining whether they were modelled and shared with appropriate consultation and permissions. Instead, we chose to print features of the landscape, including a well (from which many of the objects in the exhibit were excavated) and houses similar to what can be seen in archival photos.

For the Esquimalt Harbour site, bottle caps found in the harbour were printed as well as a boat, as this site has been used as a naval base since 1842. This is complemented by the soundscapes, in which bottle caps opening can be heard and the site description discusses naval history.

For the Johnson Street Bridge site, excavated in advance of new bridge construction, a model bridge from Thingiverse was adapted to mirror the swing bridge that existed at the site from 1888 to 1923 (the same period from which many of the artifacts date). The archaeological collection is representative of early Chinatown history, and so we also printed a rice bowl and glass bottle representative of the commercial and domestic context of this area. In the soundscape for this site you can hear the clinking of bottles and china to match the 3D prints.
**Makey Makey & Scratch**

To bring together the physical map board with the digital audio files, our goal was to have visitors trigger audio relating to each site by touching corresponding places on the map. We achieved this using Makey Makey, Scratch, and conductive tape.

Makey Makey is an electronic kit that plugs into computers by way of a USB cable and acts like a keyboard. Scratch is a website where you can easily “program your own interactive stories, games, and animations -- and share your creations with others in the online community.” (For more on Scratch, see their about page.) Conductive tape is an adhesive tape that creates and completes circuits. Used together, the three components allowed visitors to trigger the audio guides by touching relevant places on the map.

Here is what the Makey Makey board looks like.

![Makey Makey Board](image)

On the front side you have: Space, (Mouse) Click, Right/Left and Up/Down arrows, and on the back you have various letter keys and different mouse clicks. The bottom row has “Earth.” When plugged into your computer with a text editor open, pressing certain letter keys on the board will type that key into the text editor on screen, which looks something like this:

![Text Editor](image)
Here the letter “w” is being pressed and thus appearing on screen. One does this by holding a wire connected to “Earth” (right hand in image) on the board and by tapping a wire connected to the “w” output (left hand) -- effectively completing the electrical circuit.

Our plan was to have Makey Makey connect the Scratch program on the computer, so that when certain keys on Makey Makey were pressed audio would play. On Scratch, we created a program saying, “if SPACE key pressed, PLAY AUDIO.” Below is an image of the final product of our Scratch program.

We attached the Makey Makey board wires to the conductive tape so users would not have to touch the wires directly, but rather a more user friendly, aesthetically pleasing map with conductive tape acting as “buttons.”

The conductive tape was placed through the holes we made in the board. We did it in this way so that the tape could be pressed on the top of the board, yet attached to the wires underneath.
Left is an image of the underside of our board connected to Makey Makey and connected to the computer. Each wire is connected to its corresponding place on the Makey Makey board according to which letter needs to be pressed as stated on the Scratch program.

We had wanted to connect lights to each of the sites on the board so that people could press a piece of conductive tape in a map legend to light up the corresponding site.

For the lights we first tried using the Makey Makey board, as described in this video. However, we discovered that there are only two outputs on the Makey Makey board, but we needed three lights (one for each site). After some thinking and testing on whether we could successfully connect multiple lights to one output, our professor, Dr. Katherine Cook, suggested we try button batteries (image below).

We tested these button batteries but unfortunately they were so finicky that we decided against committing to making holes in our board for something that we feared would not reliably work on the day of the exhibit. Therefore, we decided to stick to just using Makey Makey, Scratch, and conductive tape for site descriptions and sound effects.
Using the Map

[Watch it work on YouTube here: https://youtu.be/ivNRXjd-hMk]

People seemed surprised and pleased every time they touched the map and something happened. It was great to see people so interested in learning about the sites and listening to all of the sounds at each of the sites. People were excited each time their actions triggered sounds, and had lots of questions as to how we made this possible.

At the same time, it was sometimes a little confusing for users to learn how to make a sound happen. To do this, you had to touch one finger to the “Earth” strip, and another finger to any other strip on the board and then let go. Some people held without letting go or did not touch both strips at the same time, but after a quick explanation everyone understood how to make it work. The other unexpected problem was an acoustic one; the level of buzz and chatter at the event was fantastic but it made some of our sounds hard to hear. In the future, we would plan to have a louder speaker, headphones, or a room to ourselves so people could hear our map better.

The 3D printed objects on the map also proved popular, especially for the children who came. The children really enjoyed playing with the 3D printed objects and moving them around the map while their parents listened to our site descriptions and soundscapes. Their interaction also reminded us of how generational even recent historical objects are as many children seemed confused about the bottle caps and the sound of a cola bottle opening!

Maker tools were an incredible addition to our project. They helped make our project interactive, educational, hands on, and fun for both adults and children. With further development and problem solving, we think that these tools are definitely applicable to heritage and heritage projects. They make building interactive exhibit components fast, are reasonably low friction, and relatively cheap for heritage budgets and timelines.
Acknowledgements

We would like to thank our wonderful Dr. Katherine Cook for her expert teaching, for planning the pop-up exhibit with the Royal BC Museum, and for her encouragement and assistance with our project.

We would also like to thank Beth Compton who, with her guest lecture, inspired us to create this map, and for serving as our making mentor.

We would like to thank Dr. Genevieve Hill, Chris O’Connor, and the Royal BC Museum for facilitating the research/pop-up event.

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Interactive Mapping of Archaeological Sites in Victoria: First Response

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Masthead Image “Victoria City, 1807, (From Dome of New Parliament Buildings). Image taken from page 25 of ‘(The Year Book of British Columbia Compendium.) Compiled from the Year Book of British Columbia ... To which is added a chapter ... respecting the Canadian Yukon and Northern territory generally” British Library

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This piece is a response to Heckadon et al’s “Interactive Mapping of Archaeological Sites in Victoria.”

In January of 2012, just as I was starting my second semester in the PhD Archaeology program at UWO, I was introduced to Dr. William J Turkel’s History 9832B: Interactive Exhibit Design (https://william-jturkel.net/teaching/history-9832b-interactive-exhibit-design-winter-2012/) course. Bill as we all called him, was essentially a Mathematician intertwined as a Historian. This guy made history come alive by making, computing and digitizing stuff. His students, including me, drank from the magical well and we were all enthralled with our ability to make, and fail at making (sometimes several times), physical, digital and intellectual connections between the history we study and the user engagement of that history. It is this process that is so vital for history to become knowing. Along with a passion for Twitter, I learned that materiality can take on many forms, narratives and platforms, and in unison, becomes not only a means of making but also consuming knowledge. Transformative would aptly describe Bill, his course and every student’s mindset who have been lucky enough to come before and after.

The themes that now umbrella the exploration and application of making and knowledge creation through making, are transdisciplinary, co-creation, experiential learning, innovation, entrepreneurial spirit and creative impact. What Heckadon et al’s Interactive Mapping does, is manifest these notions into a tight practical cabling (see Wylie 1989; 2002), which punctuates a new era of knowledge creation and dissemination. Although the intention was clearly not a theoretical exploration but one of raw creative ingenuity and wayfaring through the mentorship of Dr. Katherine Cook and PhD candidate Beth Compton,
Interactive Mapping provides a glimpse of where we must endeavor to theoretically ground this new methodological framework.

Tim Ingold in particular has introduced making and materiality as key pillars in his livelong pursuit to explain the exploration of the human condition as it relates to culture, society, and the material culture we leave behind from a landscape and object perspective (see Ingold 2007 as well as 2011; 2013). He posits that in the act of making and by manipulating as well as being manipulated by the materials we use to create, we create new knowledge (see Ingold 2007; 2011; 2013). Now Ingold didn’t actually discuss this process from a digital perspective, but he did indicate that we are not immune to the realities that the material we try to shape, whether digital or not, actually reshapes us through the making process. That is to say, transformative by any other word.

Matthew Crawford explores how our attention is intentionally fragmented as we are forced through consumption to snack on multiple sources instead of focusing on a single task (Crawford 2015). Yet Interactive Mapping weaves a convincing narrative through a multi-modal approach. It is neither snackable nor singularly focused, but a blending of the two, which consumes and engages the user’s attention - but only at the right time. These are Ecologies of Attention, modes in which we intentionally consume and make-meaning of the world.

Figure 1 - Linear Phrasing, Gant, S. and Reilly, P. 2016. With permission of the authors.
at the moment best suited to our needs (see Crawford 2015 as well as Reilly and Gant 2016).

Recently Stefan Gant, Artist and Senior Lecturer in Drawing and New Media at the University of Northampton, and Dr. Paul Reilly (who some consider the “father of virtual archaeology”), presented at the 2016 TAGSoton on their collaborative, co-creation, experiential and innovative art/archaeology project Different expressions of the same mode: apprehending the world through practice, and making a mark (see Reilly and Gant 2016). As with Heckadon et al’s Interactive Mapping, where sound, landscape and materiality played an important role in both the creation and consumption of archaeological meaning-making, Gant explored the materiality of archaeological landscapes by the direct vertical filming and audio recording the real-time excavation of the Iron Age Hillfort of Moel-y-Gaer, Bodfari, Vale of Clwyd (Reilly and Gant 2016). Gant visually and audio recorded every trowel movement as the site was excavated. In a phenomenological symphony of sound and visual textural trowel strokes, the stratigraphy and the materiality of the landscaped dictated the cadence and gestures that was recorded (see Figure 1) (Reilly and Gant 2016). The outcome was not only a Sonic Stratigraphy (see Figure 2), but a “rematerialization” of the act of making archaeology (see Reilly and Gant 2016).

Figure 2 - Sonic Stratigraphy [Series S], Gant, S. 2014-16
(Digital Sonograph. With permission of the author.)
Heckadon et al’s Interactive Mapping is transformative because it employs an entrepreneurial approach in facilitating and combining multiple required outcomes into a single substantive deliverable. One would assume that Dr. Cook had the means, opportunity and vision to ensure UVic Anthropology courses could feed into each other. Beth Compton, a research colleague from Western University and Sustainable Archaeology in Ontario, provided the inspiration as Bill Turkel has in the past, to empower students with little or no making experience to explore, fail and eventually construct new knowledge by digital and physical means. Lastly, the Royal BC Museum took a chance and allowed a student inspired, focused and executed pop-up exhibit to be launched under their patronage. An auspicious combination of opportunities which requires foresight, strategic thought and the wishful intention to make it happen.

Whether or not this one small course based project was an experiential opportunity to put into practice, intentional or not, Wylie’s notion of archaeological cabling (see 1989; 2002), it has done so. Wylie suggests that multiple theoretical threads when woven together, create a substantially stronger “cable”. Interactive Mapping consists of shades of Ingold for making, materiality and meaning-making. Crawford for intentionality, Reilly and Gant in terms of phenomenology and Turkel for experiential learning among other things. Call it a confluence of ideas, practices and intentions that has now manifested itself into a new mode or cabling of thinking about our archaeological past.
Works Cited


Interactive Mapping of Archaeological Sites in Victoria: Second Response

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Masthead Image “Victoria City, 1807, (From Dome of New Parliament Buildings). Image taken from page 25 of ‘The Year Book of British Columbia Compendium.’ Compiled from the Year Book of British Columbia ... To which is added a chapter ... respecting the Canadian Yukon and Northern territory generally” British Library
This piece is a response to Heckadon et al’s “Interactive Mapping of Archaeological Sites in Victoria.”

INTRODUCTION

The Interactive Mapping of Archaeological Sites in Victoria project is a wonderful example of campus/community collaboration. The extensive collection and welcoming atmosphere of the Royal BC Museum became a space where undergraduate students in heritage and archaeology from the University of Victoria displayed their hard work. Members of the community were on site to benefit from the students’ critical thinking and creation of a physical computing project all beautifully wrapped up in the form of a map. Those of us who teach with the ‘maker’ technologies described by Heckadon et al. often seek those exemplary projects to showcase the benefits of hands-on, creative learning, and I think the students here provide us all with such an example. Below I highlight why this project is such a success by focussing on several lessons that the students learned along the way. Although they gloss over these lessons in the midst of describing their creative process, I believe that, in the long run, it will be these lessons that stick with them.

BEING OPEN

The students encountered the benefits of open access and the limitations imposed when knowledge, in this case archaeology records, is kept out of the public eye. The use of Audacity, a free downloadable audio editor, enabled them to include soundscapes (created by their peers for another museum exhibit), and other open source files that they themselves edited, compiled, and added to their map. In re-
searching the histories of the three excavated sites, however, the students found it harder to locate details as these excavations were performed by private firms and therefore are not readily available as publications. Chances are that details provided in these unpublished reports may have greatly enhanced the project, allowing the students to make better claims about their subjects, and to “act as better stewards of cultural heritage” (Kansa & Kansa, 2013), but the students worked around this by thinking carefully about the material that was available to them, and how best to represent this for their audience.

**Cultural Sensitivity**

Thinking critically about open access is a necessary skill for anyone going into the cultural heritage sector. While having material accessible to them may have helped them gain information that was useful to their project, the students also recognized that there was a need to remain sensitive and aware of the needs of the population whose history was being put on display. As Kim Christen has repeatedly pointed out (2011, 2012), being open is not always desirable for indigenous communities, and the students recognized this when deciding to 3D print materials that represented features of the landscape of each of their three excavations sites instead of attempting to model the archaeological artefacts themselves. Recognizing that culturally sensitive practices mean understanding the needs and desires of Canada’s indigenous communities rather than simply putting their history on display is a lesson from which we can all benefit. Further still, inviting discussion of these decisions regarding the 3D printed objects on their maps with members of the public (children and adults alike) brings these ideas out into the open.

**Interface Design**

Anyone who has created an installation or display for the public knows that it’s not an easy task – designing one that is interactive is even more difficult. Having worked with Makey Makey’s several times myself, I know exactly the issues of trying to get your audience to do two things at once (touching the star at the bottom of the map with one hand, and reaching out with the other to locate the excavation sites). For the students, design and aesthetics were things they integrated
throughout the process: having a map at the center of their exhibit was not enough. They thought carefully about how to best incorporate the copper tape into the map, and had clear spoken instructions about how the map should work (see the video). Skills like this are not easy to acquire in university classes where essay-writing and textbook reading are the main foci. Creating an exhibit that was tested in public gave them the opportunity to envision how these things might work on a larger scale – be it in a museum, a library, or at a conference – and how others can learn from the user-friendly features they designed.

**Repurposing**

A large part of tinkering is taking something and using it for an unintended purpose. If you take a look at this Makey Makey video, you'll see it's largely used for games and music – as a way to make conductive items (fruit, metal, humans) into keys on a keyboard. The students took this gaming device and repurposed it, making it a part of a larger educational display. By hiding the Makey Makey behind their map, they also changed the focus of what usually happens when you use this tool (inevitably, people pick up the micro-processor to see how it works and want to connect it to everything around them), and made the information piece – the map itself – into the platform for interaction. They also repurposed the map: turning it from a way-finding tool to a multi-sensory experience for learning about archaeology. This type of out-of-the-box thinking helps to hold the public's imagination (Ciolfi & Bannon, 2002), and these students did all of this in a few weeks, with a tiny budget and some inspiration.

**Learning to Fail**

In any hands-on, creative project, there needs to be room to fail. Failure is rarely rewarded in academic settings, and this is unfortunate because it's usually when the learning happens. Heckadon et. al. noted that they had hoped to include a series of lights that would showcase the excavation sites as the recorded information and soundscape about them was being played. They tried several times – both with Makey Makey (finding out this tool's limitations) and with copper tape and batteries (which they believed was not secure enough for them to base altering the map on), and finally decided that they would do
without. They failed to get a part of the map to work the way they intended, but they learned so much in the process: simple circuitry, conductivity, and their desire to put interactivity and aesthetics above an aspect of their project which might not work. They accepted this failure and moved on, but still decided to write it up as part of their process. In doing so, they didn’t just fail, they learned to fail in a way that demonstrated to themselves and others the benefits of trial and error.

**Conclusion**

If you’re lucky, you’ve experienced it: that one lesson that you won’t forget. Whether it was in kindergarten, high school, college, university, or just out in the world, this lesson stood out because you were allowed to experiment. You set yourself a goal, saw it through, and taught yourself many things along the way. And perhaps you were given an opportunity to present your work so that you experienced the impact made by your project. Those of us that are privileged enough to go on to teach others should all be aiming for our lessons to be the one, and, as Heckadon et al. demonstrate, Katherine and Beth succeeded. Such fortunate students, such lucky instructors.
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Contains Scenes of a Graphic Nature: Sympathy for The Devil

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Editorial Note

The graphic novel appears at the end of this piece.

Concept

My interest in constructing a narrative for a graphic novel evolved from the concept of history writing as a kind of story-telling. Story-telling constructs narratives that are meant to engage and immerse an individual in a narrative that is controlled by the story-teller; the plot and outcome of the story are controlled by the author. I was interested in the ways which the representation of history is altered and reinterpreted depending on the medium within which the narrative is framed, and to what degree an audience participates in the interpretation of the performance of history within different mediums. In a graphic novel, the reader must interact with the medium to locate and engage with the narrative. Unlike a film, the images are static and therefore active participation is required in order to follow the narrative from one panel to the next and fill in the gutters between the panels with the actions that move the narrative forward. However, the action between the panels is determined by the reader while the author is only able to make a suggestion of it through what is depicted in the next panel. This is a unique experience, unlike the engagement that is necessary for viewing a film or reading a text. The process of creating a graphic novel entailed not only careful research of the subject matter but also an exploration into the medium itself and the tools of the trade which were used to craft graphic novel narratives.

The interplay between the reader’s interpretation, storyteller’s agenda, and narrative seemed to be suited for discussion of the
infamous historical figure of Matthew Hopkins and John Stearne, “witchfinders” of 17th century East Anglia. There is a well-known story told by historians of the modern European witch-craze, and has been told effectively in prose by historians such as Malcolm Gaskill, but there are gaps and unknowns in the evidence and these piqued my curiosity. Their narrative created an opportunity to discuss the witch-hunts from a perspective other than that of the victim. I was intrigued by how such a narrative would play out from the point-of-view of persons in positions of power: how it would change the interpretation of their experiences, their victims and the experience of the communities in which they worked.

**Research process**

The research process was eye-opening, specifically in terms of understanding to what degree a historian is able to exert control over the narrative reconstructed through their historical writing. The experience elevated the importance of remaining open to different interpretations, and deviations from them, throughout the entire research and writing process. I spent a significant amount of time combing through various sources to find and understand who Matthew Hopkins and John Stearne were. This consisted of reading and analyzing the works that they had written: *The Discovery of Witches*, 1647, by Matthew Hopkins and *A Confirmation and Discovery of Witches*, 1648, by John Stearne. To better understand the pre-scientific mentality of the 17th century and grasp the kind of language and thought
of the period, I looked to sources such as the *Plain Mans Pathway to Heaven*, 1601, by Arthur Dent and the *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, 1571-1633, 1930, edited by Dorothy Meads. Additionally, I sought to understand how previous historians such as Craig Cabell and Richard Deacon, had come to their conclusions. I began my project with an idea of who these men were which had been shaped by the ways in which they performed within the historical narrative constructed by other historians. With this particular performance in mind, I had already begun to imagine how I would play with the historical interpretation of them in my graphic novel. Believing that, like many of the articles and secondary sources I read had concluded, they were villains and sinister figures, I had thought that my graphic novel would playfully twist the reader's interpretation of them and transform them into heroes of their time. However, as I began to dig into the primary sources and come to understand the worldview of 17th century Protestantism I found my initial notions of who Hopkins and Stearne were, crumbling. Pursuing their voices, I continued to find myself returning to the same question over and over: what if these historical figures believed they were doing a good thing and how does the villainization (or victimization) of historical figures affect our interpretation of historical events? In order to address these questions, I decided that my project would visually and narratively play with common narrative tropes of heroes and villains found in Western popular culture.

Gaskill, Deacon and Cabell focused their attention on Matthew Hopkins, and yet of the two, it is Stearne who is easier to locate in the sources that have survived. A large portion of what I have inferred about Hopkins was determined through the writings of John Gaule, whose pamphlet amounts to a scathing criticism of Hopkins and Stearne's actions. John Gaule was the Puritan preacher who was made vicar for the parish of Great Staughton in Huntingdonshire by Viscount Valentine Wauton (Gaule, 1646). Gaule published the pamphlet *Select Cases of Conscience touching Witches and Witchcraft* in 1646, around the same time when Hopkins and Stearne were operating in Huntingdonshire. Gaule's writings indicate that he believed in witches but that he found it suspicious that two previously unknown gentlemen were gaining fame and status throughout the East Anglian counties as experts on witches. Gaule's voice is similar to the contemporary opinion, that those who persecuted others as witches took advantage of vulnerable people and manipulated god-fearing communities. However,
placed in the role of the antagonist and in opposition to the heroes of the narrative he becomes a more difficult figure to trust and his motives fall into a grey area, just as the motives of Hopkins and Stearne do when they are placed in the role of the protagonists. In many ways, Gaule was a mirror of Hopkins. Both had strong religious convictions and both believed in the existence of witches, which helped to establish a clearer picture of who Hopkins might have been. Gaule’s comments concerning the informal nature of their status as “witch-finders” helped to identify how Matthew Hopkins may have differed from other 17th century gentry (See my blog post “Who is Matthew Hopkins?” posted August 24, 2016 and “The Seventeenth Century Puritan Gentleman” posted May 19, 2016). As I continued my primary source research, I found that John Stearne was, perhaps, a much more dynamic and prominent figure in the East Anglia witch-hunts than the I had assumed at the outset of my project. The conclusions I came to about Hopkins and Stearne were the basis for my decision to construct a character-driven narrative. However, choosing to do so highlighted the fact that I was going to use fiction to buffer and bolster my historical narrative.

I chose John Stearne as the principal focus of the narrative for two reasons. The first being that I felt better able to reconstruct his character from the source material to which I had access than Matthew Hopkins and the second was that Stearne would more easily straddle the line between “hero” and “villain” for contemporary readers. Reading his pamphlet, A Confirmation, and Discovery of Witches, I gained the sense that he was a man who believed strongly in what he was doing but was perhaps haunted by some of the decisions which he had made because of his belief. I wanted the reader’s interpretation of characters to be participatory and in constant flux. I felt that readers might have the most difficulty in pinpointing where Stearne fell on the spectrum of hero and villain, believing that how they interpreted his character would be the most revealing of how they interacted with the narrative as a whole.
Women's Voices

The difficulty with focusing all of my attention on Hopkins, Stearne, and Gaule was that I could have erased the role of the witch and the minimal traces of women's voices from this period of history altogether. The first article Malcolm Gaskill wrote was for the book Women, Crime and Courts in Early Modern England, in which he discussed the case of Margaret Moore who was accused and tried for being a witch at the courts of Isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire in 1647. This article took a point of view on the label of “witch” that I found refreshing. Gaskill’s argument sought to show Margaret Moore’s agency through her own belief that she was, in fact, a witch. Contemporary representations of the witch-trials in early modern Europe are often saturated with the notion that confessions during the witch-craze were coerced and extracted through means of interrogation and torture, but this attitude loses sight of the fact that the belief in witches was one held by the accused and the accusers. Moore’s confession described an evening when the spirits of her dead children spoke to her and persuaded her into making a pact with the devil to save her last surviving child. (Transcript of the Confession of Margaret Moore, 1647) As a “witch” she was able to contextualize the appearance of her dead children within her
objective reality. By realigning the context of Moore’s confession with pre-scientific revolution mentalities, being a witch became a form of power that allowed Moore to protect and provide for her family when all other options had been exhausted. Margaret Moore is a relatable figure through her humanity and perceived sacrifice for her family - exchanging her soul to save her child - but in order to accept that she made this sacrifice, one is encouraged to accept her belief in her own magical powers and her participation in the popular belief of the existence of witches during the 17th century.

I was, and continue to be, somewhat uncomfortable about that fact that in constructing the narrative for my graphic novel there was an element of cutting and pasting of the facts that had to be done in order to create something that treated with equal respect the voices of those in power, who left traces of their voice in sources, and of those who were marginalized, whose voices were repressed or silenced in the same sources. And to do so incorporating the historical figures that were vital to understanding the East Anglia witch-hunt, as well as creating a compelling and unique narrative! I’ve mentioned that, for myself, John Gaule was key in helping to understand Matthew Hopkins and so incorporating him into my narrative was important. However, although there are historical sources that suggest both men were aware of one another, there is no evidence that these men ever met. Therefore, Select Cases of Conscience was a fundamental resource for constructing all of the interactions between John Gaule and Matthew Hopkins. It functioned as a transcript of one half of an argument between these two figures, and although A Discovery of Witches by Matthew Hopkins was not quite as bountiful in its depth of material, it provided the second half of the argument. The sources themselves interact with each other, as both reflect and criticize the opinions of the other. This helped to ease my concerns of creating a narrative in which they come face to face with one another.

The inclusion of Margaret Moore into the narrative was another area where I found myself struggling with notions of historical authenticity versus history-telling. Margaret Moore was not from, nor did she live in, Great Staughton and neither Matthew Hopkins nor John Stearne were directly involved in her case (Gaskill, 1994, p.136). John Stearne was present at her trial which he mentions in A Confirmation and Discovery of Witches, but the two men responsible for obtaining her confession were Benjamin Wyne and Perry Jethrell (Stearne, p.21-22).
Relocating the Margaret Moore case, geographically and temporally, allowed me to create a situation in which both John Stearne and Matthew Hopkins could have come across her case, as well as come face to face with John Gaule. Pulling information I gathered from a map and timeline of Hopkins and Stearne’s activity in East Anglia that I had constructed from the primary and secondary sources, I determined that in May of 1646, around the time John Gaule published his pamphlet, Stearne and Hopkins were traveling around Huntingdon and St. Neots together, near to the town of Great Staughton. However, Moore’s case did not take place until the early summer of 1647, when at which point Stearne was traveling alone. Though I struggled with making what I perceive as some large alterations to the historical events, Moore’s story was one that was somewhat unfamiliar in contemporary perceptions of witch-hunting, and I felt that was in line with the less common interpretation of the Hopkins and Stearne narrative that I sought to tell.

Margaret Moore’s voice in the narrative was where I imposed the most restrictions on myself. Unlike the male characters in my narrative, I was unable to work with a source that provided an unfiltered reading of Moore -- my characterization of her was filtered through those who interrogated her, gave her testimony at trial, and wrote the transcription, as well as the contemporary voice of Malcolm Gaskill. With this in mind, I relied heavily on the transcripts of Moore’s trials in constructing her dialogue. Influenced by Malcolm Gaskill’s interpretation of her, I wanted her voice and agency to be somewhat represented in the story as a woman whose life experiences did not make her vulnerable to manipulation, while still acknowledging the silences in her narrative. I still feel that I was not entirely successful in reconstructing the agency and power that Moore obtained by “becoming” a witch. I believe that in order to pursue that I should have needed to recentre the story so that the focus was on her rather than the witchfinders.
I want to briefly discuss my visual narrative decisions for the graphic novel and how the historical source influenced the manner in which I developed the visual narrative. I previously only mentioned the influence of Albrecht Durer and woodcut prints as instrumental in the visual style. I wanted to find a balance between realism and the rough and sometimes simplistic feel of woodcuts used in pamphlets from the time period.

Johanna Drucker discusses a variety of graphic devices and their impact on a reader’s ability to navigate the story in a graphic novel that really resonated with me. One such device she discusses was the way the narrative is the “temporal unfolding of events within a story”; she also points out that narrative at the same time is “the action taken by a reader.” She describes the way a reader acts upon the ending of a graphic narrative out of a desire for “meaning, closure, or resolution.” (Drucker, 2008, p124). In the last few pages of my graphic novel, I have explicitly chosen to limit their inclusion of clear and concise textual narrative to a means of instilling within the reader a similar uncertainty that historians face when there is a lack of historical source or evidence needed to support their interpretation of a historical event. As mentioned previously, John Stearne was present during Margaret Moore’s testimony—however, there was no reference to Moore’s fate or if he even remained in town to witness her fate. (Stearne, p.21-22)

Drucker and Scott McCloud both have discussed how panel layout in graphic novels can be used to steer readers as well as enhance narrativity (Ducker, 2008, p. 129-130). Scott McCloud’s discussion of gutters, the gap between panels, and how readers act upon the narrative by filling-in the action that takes place between panels (McCloud, 1994, p. 69), remained a constant concern of mine during the creation process. I did not stray far away from standard grid layouts for the panels, and the visuals rarely overlapped the border or reached into other panels. I wanted to create a sense of order and formality. This helped to emphasize the more emotional and chaotic moments in the narrative because the page layout and panels at those points would deviate from the reader’s expectations.

When I read Margaret Moore’s testimony and Malcolm Gaskill’s article about her court case, it was plain to see how Moore’s grief over
the death of her children had impacted her interaction with the world around her. I was cautious with the visual depiction of those scenes because I wanted them to be evocative, while understated and in a sense believable. Hillary Chute (2008) in her discussion of the autobiographical graphic novel *Persepolis* writes

> certain modes of representation depict historical trauma more effectively, and more horrifically, than does realism (in part because they are able to do justice to the self-consciousness that traumatic representation demands). (102)

However, I believe because of the frequency with which trauma is sensationalized and extracted for overall narratives of experience (particularly, in narratives about the history of the witchcraze, for example *Witch Hunts: A Graphic History of the Burning Times* by Lisa Morton and Rocky Wood), that a more restrained style does better justice to the historic individuals.
Reflection

Returning to this graphic novel, a year and a half since I completed it, I find most of my reflection to be focused on my unease about giving Margaret Moore a voice when the only source I had to work with was one which had been filtered through men’s voices several times over. I did not want to be another layer of filtration so I chose to limit her words to what I pulled from the transcripts of her trial, restricting any embellishment or deviation from that source to the bare minimum. The nature of western history and historical record is that male voices dominated; one would be hard-pressed to find unfiltered voices of women in the sources or historic record that could provide as well-rounded a representation of 17th century lower class women as is possible with men. However, it does little good to further sideline women from narratives, whether those narratives are ‘historically accurate’ or inspired. Hillary Chute highlighted how this medium can perform and “bear witness” to women’s stories because of its inherently flexible qualities and the fact that the medium does not require a constant voice in the form of textual, or verbal, narratives (Chute, p.94). Now, I feel that I should not have allowed my concern for historical accuracy and authenticity to scare myself away from using my secondary and primary research to situate Margaret Moore in a more central role in the narrative. So long as there is transparency in the process of constructing the characters and narrative of a graphic novel, research and contemporary women’s experiences can be used to create more tangible, fleshed out representations of historical women that can stand on par with contemporary graphic narratives of women like Persepolis, 2000, by Marjane Satrapi, and A Girl Called Echo, 2017, by Katherena Vermette, Scott Henderson and Donovan Yaciuk. Graphic novels as an alternative medium for historical narratives can blend together history-telling and story-telling for representing women in history without the pressures of the archive.

To that end, further details of my character analysis of John Stearne and Matthew Hopkins, my notes on the popular protestant beliefs in East Anglia and discussion of the visual and stylistic choices of the graphic novel, as well as a full bibliography of the primary and secondary sources I consulted during the project can be found on the project blog: Contains Scenes of Graphic Nature: Reconstructing the East Anglia Witchcraze
Works Cited

Primary


Transcript of the Confession of Margaret Moore, Cambridge University Library, Ely Diocesan Records, E12 1647/14-14v

Secondary


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SYMPATHY FOR DEVIL

CREATED BY LAUREL ROWE
LEAVE IT BE, MATTHEW.

HOW CAN I? THIS MINISTER HAS NOT SEEN THE THINGS WE HAVE SEEN. HE IS A KNOWLEDGEABLE MAN, BUT HE'LL LEAD THIS TOWN DOWN A DANGEROUS PATH IF WE DO NOT INTERVENE.

IT'S POSSIBLE THAT HE IS UNAWARE OF THAT.

THAT YOU'RE A MINISTER'S SON? I DOUBT THAT MATTERS MUCH TO HIM.
BUT OUR AIMS ARE NO DIFFERENT THAN HIS. WE ONLY WANT TO SAVE SOULS.

HE DOES NOT WANT OUR HELP. WE'RE GOING BECAUSE WE WERE SENT FOR BY THE VILLAGE, REMEMBER, NOT TO TRY TO PROVE OURSELVES TO THIS MINISTER. GOD KNOWS WE'RE DOING HIS WORK.

YOU SENT THAT LETTER TO THE MAGISTRATE, THERE'S LITTLE THAT CAN BE DONE. BUT HOPE FOR HIS SUPPORT, AND WITH GAULE'S PATRON AWAY IN LONDON, HE MIGHT NOT BE BOLD ENOUGH TO INTERFERE.

I JUST WANT TO HELP HIM UNDERSTAND, TO SEE WHY WE ARE DOING WHAT WE DO.

OUR METHODS ARE TRYING AT TIMES, FOR ALL INVOLVED, BUT THEY ARE WHY WE HAVE BEEN SO SUCCESSFUL. WE'VE ENSURED THE SAFETY OF A DOZEN VILLAGES AND TOWNS AND EARNED THE GRATITUDE OF THE PEOPLE WE HAVE KEPT SAFE FROM HARM.

SURELY, I'LL BE ABLE TO CHANGE HIS MIND.
AH, THE FAMED WITCHFINDER!

MASTER GAULE,
LET ME INTRODUCE MYSELF. I AM MATTHEW HOPKINS, AND THIS MY ASSOCIATE IS JOHN STEARNE.

WE ARE VERE THANKFUL FOR YOUR WELCOMING US AT THIS LATE HOUR.

NOW, NOW YOUNG MASTER HOPKINS,
I HAVE NOT WELCOMED YOU YET.

WE HAD WORD FROM BENJAMIN WYNE, OF A WITCH IN YOUR TOWN. OUR AID WITH THE MATTER WAS REQUESTED.
AH YES, MARGARET MOORE. THE HUMOURS HAVE BEEN SPREADING FOR SEVERAL WEEKS NOW. I SUPPOSE YOUR ARRIVAL WAS INEVITABLE.

YES.

WE HEARD SHE WAS ACCUSED OF BETCHING A MAN. NOW DEAD FROM HER CURSE. SHE HAS BEEN CONFINED TO HER HOME?

YES, SHE HAS BEEN KEPT THERE SINCE THE LORD'S DAY.

SHE IS MELANCHOLIC. THIS IS NO SECRET. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT YOU HOPE TO GAIN BY INVOLVING YOURSELF IN THESE MATTERS.

YOU ARE NEITHER MINISTER, NOR MAGISTRATE, NOR PHYSICIAN. WHAT CAN YOU PROVIDE TO MISTRESS MOORE AND THE PEOPLE OF STAUGHTON THAT THEY DO NOT ALREADY HAVE?

SYMPATHY? ELUCIDATION? EXPERTISES?
MY, WHAT POWER
THE WITCHFINDER WELDS. TIS' A PITY THAT SUCH A VOCATION NEVER EXISTED BEFORE NOW.

...I HOPE THAT WE ARE ABLE TO PROVIDE WHATSOEVER HELP WE CAN TO THE PEOPLE DURING THIS DIFFICULT TIME.

WE MUST DEPART; THERE IS A LABOUROUS DAY AHEAD. I THANK YOU FOR THIS MEETING. FARE THEE WELL, MASTER GAULE.

I LOOK FORWARD TO OBSERVING YOUR WORKS.

WE ARE ON THE SAME SIDE, ARE WE NOT?

GIVE A MAN HOPE ENOUGH AND HE WILL MARCH HIMSELF.

GOD SPEED TO YOU BOTH!
THAT IS THE VILEST THING I HAVE EVER HEARD YOU SAY.

MATT

GREAT STALGTON IS NOT SO FAR FROM HUNTINGDON OR ST. NEOTS WORD OF OUR GOODWRLS THERE WOULD SURELY HAVE TRAVELED HERE FASTER THAN WE DID?

PERHAPS, THAT IS THE PROBLEM.

PERHAPS, HE IS UNSETTLED BY THE SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORTS AND IS THREATENED BY IT BE WARY OF HIM, BUT NOT DISTRACTED.

YOU ARE RIGHT, I KNOW YOU ARE RIGHT - I AM GOING FOR A WALK.

DO NOT ASSAIL YOURSELF WITH GAULES WORD... YOU’VE LEFT YOUR GOLVES IN HERE, YOU SHOULD WEAR THEM IF YOU'RE GOING OUT, THE AIR IS BITING.

YOU'RE DOING IT AGAIN.

BRAZENED TRAPTAKER!
She's been accused again, by two more farmers to whom she owes debt. They accused her of bewitching their cattle. Perhaps the news of these accusations brought to the surface the long-held suspicions surrounding Nix's death.

Really? Has she spoken yet of the pact, of her encounter with the devil?

Nay, on that she remains mum.

There is some talk that she is cursed with ill luck.

Her husband has not returned since he left to join the roundheads and she has lost three children to flux.

The innkeeper's wife spoke of her wavering attendance at church. This all seems rather damning to me.

I agree.

Wyne and the others have been standing guard, but they've not the eye for it. -- We should start the watching tonight. Are you up for it, old man?
I MUST SAY.

I MUST SAY.

IT IS MY BURDEN.

IT IS WHO IS DAMNED.

DAMNED YOU ARE!

JUST TELL US WHY YOU MADE

THE PACT?

IT WAS FOR MY CHILDREN!

MY CHILD.

PLEASE, WE MUST UNDERSTAND WHAT

LED YOU TO MAKE THIS SINFUL PACT, SO THAT

WE MAY HELP TO FREE YOU FROM IT.

STEADY!

NO... HE IS RIGHT.

I AM DAMNED.

I WATCHED MY

THREE CHILDREN DIE

ONE AFTER THE OTHER.

I WATCHED THEM WASTE AWAY,

AS THEY SHUT THEMSELVES

TO DEATH.

I DIDN'T

UNDERSTAND, YOU SEE.

I ASKED GOD FOR PARDON,

FOR WHATEVER SIN I HAD

COMMITTED TO BE

PUNISHED FOR.

I WAS

ALL ALONE WHEN LIL ROBERT

TOOK SICK... HE WAS

ONLY FOUR.
"He couldn't keep anything down, yet every day his belly swelled more and more. I sought help, begged for it, but found none."

"I see, so your pact with the devil was made out of vengeance..."

"No...! you must hate me. It was for my children."

"My sweet ones, you see, they did not forget me on their dying brother."

"I heard their voices call to me."

"Good sweet mother, please let us in."

"Mother, mother, we have missed you!"

"Yes, we are so thirsty, good mother. Give us some drink."
There were my lost children and I had nothing to offer them but water.

You may think me mad, but these were my children and they wanted to help their little brother.

What mother are you to be tricked by demons this way?

Their voices were so soothing, and for a moment we were altogether again.

"My youngest, she..."

Mother, mother, give me your soul and I will save the life of your child.

"I failed to save three of my children, I would not fail my son."

I told them I would rather give up my soul than lose my last child. So I did.
I learned then what it was they had wanted to drink. As they drank, a sleep came over me that I could not fight. When I opened my eyes next, what was before was no longer my children but two creatures. They had the likeness of children but were wrong.

The creatures, they bade me to command them... It's alright, continue...

There—there's nothing left to tell. In the morning, I woke to find that Robert's fever had broke. I know! I had done wrong to make such a pact, but Robert's illness was gone.

When one of the creatures, Annya, it had called itself, returned, it spoke to me of ways that it could make better the lives of Robert and I. I only had to...

Had to what? What did the creatures say?
MY APOLOGIES, MISTRESS MOORE. I MUST EXCUSE MYSELF.

I'LL STAY TONIGHT AND WATCH HER.

...ARE YOU SURE?

ALRIGHT, THANK YOU... I'LL FIND WYNE AND SEND HIM TO JOIN YOU.

FINE.

GET REST TONIGHT.
MASTER HOPKINS, I HOPE YOU DO NOT MIND MY INTRUSION, BUT MUST ASK IF YOU ARE ALRIGHT? MAY I BE OF AID TO YOU?

THANK YOU, BUT I AM FINE. IT IS THE BASE, UNWHOLESOOME AIR. I AM FINE NOW. HOW DO YOU FAIRE, WYNE?

I AM MUCH RESTED NOW! I CANNOT EXPRESS HOW THANKFUL I AM FOR THE ARRIVAL YOU AND MASTER STEARNE.

I AM SURE I SPEAK FOR BOTH MYSELF AND JETHERELL, THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LEARNING THE EVILS AND ILLS OF WITCHCRAFT AND COMBATING IT.

Wyne, you're not giving us much credit for obtaining her initial confession or protecting the town from any more of her witchery. It is true without your work, Stearne and I may not have succeeded in gaining the truth of her pact.
WILL YOU TELL US?

FOR NOW I
WOULD ASK IF ONE
OF YOU MIGHT JOIN
MASTER STEARNE IN
THE WATCH TONIGHT?

OF COURSE YOU
NEED NOT ASK
TWICE GOOD
EVE.

THANK YOU.

MAY I SPEAK WITH YOU
A MOMENT?

YES SIR.

IS MARGARET
MOORE’S SON IN THE
CARE OF RELATIVES?

NO, HE IS.
THE CARE OF
BALDWIN OF
STAUGHTON
HOUSE.

TO MY
KNOWLEDGE
SHE HAS NOT.

I SEE
SHE HAS
SPOKEN
TO HER SON
SINCE SHE WAS
DETAINED?

COULD
YOU SHOW ME
WHERE THE BOY
IS STAYING?
I WOULD LIKE TO
SEE IT BEFORE I
TURN IN FOR THE
NIGHT.

KEEP
KEEP
AH, GOOD MORROW JOHN!

SHALL WE WALK THE GROUNDS?

HOW FAIRE THE WATCHING, AFTER I TOOK MY LEAVE?

SHE SPOKE ONLY LITTLE AFTER YOU LEFT, OF THE IMPS SHE MISTOOK FOR CHILDREN. THE CONFESSION TOOK A TOLL.

THOUGH WYNE SEEMED KEEN TO HAVE HER TELL IT AGAIN, I TOOK IT THAT YOU DID NOT DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH HIM?

I MUST ASK, STEARNE, DID SHE MAKE MENTION OF THE BOY?

HER SON?

HER SON HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THIS. THERE IS NO REASON TO DRAG HIM THROUGH THE MUCK.

I KNOW!

IF THAT BOY IS BEHOLDEN TO THE DEVIL THEN ALL SHE DID WAS FOR NAUGHT.

I TELL YOU NOW.

I WILL NOT BRING HIM INTO THIS.

ALRIGHT...

I SHALL NOT SEEK HIM OUT, BUT WE CANNOT GUARD AGAINST RUMOURS OF THE BOY THAT MIGHT SPREAD IF HER CONFESSION IS HEARD.
Perhaps, it would be best that we sought out Sir Thomas Castell now.

Yes, of course. I will make the arrangements while you ride to the magistrate's estate.
...so when word spread of the bewitchments of Mayne's and Foster's cattle, I wrote to Master Stearne and Master Hopkins, Jethereell and I then detained her at her home. She asked our reasons for coming into her home. My words appeared to stun her. And then she confessed to a pact with the devil.

She was hesitant, but when we made mention of Thomas Nick she did confess to sending an imp to bewitch Nick, and to other acts of witchcraft.

However, it was Hopkins and Stearne who obtained confession of her covenant with the devil.

Thank you, Master Wynn, that is all. Master Hopkins, will you present your account your experience with the mistress Moore.

Your worship, myself and John Stearne were present this evening past, when Margaret Moore confessed to us her wicked deeds and she recounted her covenant with the devil.

She told us that she had surrendered her soul to save her son the devil had tempted her with the life of her child.

Upon the agreement, the imp appeared before her in the guise of children and bade her to command them whatsoever mischief she wished. The imp she called Anny was sent to...
"These are clearly the delusions of a feeble woman, whose mind has been afflicted by the methods of these witches."

"And young Master Hopkins here sows seeds of fantasy with his words to prevent an honest judgement of her."

"I can abide your mockery of my office, but now you are defaming the purpose of my presence here."

"Master Gaule, may I have your ear for a moment."

"This idle boy wastes your worship's time, if she be a witch then I will discover it."

"I worry that his words mask a truth."

"I would like to hear from the accused, bring her forward."

"Mistress Moore, do you confess to a covenant with the devil?"

"And what moved you to make this confession? Were you beaten, cajoled, or beset by any of the men in this room?"

"I see. Could you recount for me, how you came to make this pact with the devil?"

"I do, Your Worship."

"And young Master Hopkins here sows seeds of fantasy with his words to prevent an honest judgement of her."

"I can abide your mockery of my office, but now you are defaming the purpose of my presence here."

"Master Gaule, may I have your ear for a moment."

"This idle boy wastes your worship's time, if she be a witch then I will discover it."

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"And what moved you to make this confession? Were you beaten, cajoled, or beset by any of the men in this room?"

"I see. Could you recount for me, how you came to make this pact with the devil?"

"I do, Your Worship."
GAULF HAS CURRIED FAVOR WITH SIRE CASTELL: THIS MAY GO THE WAY OF CHELMSFORD.

I HAVE THIS IN HAND, SIR ARNE. THEY WILL SEE THE VALUE OF OUR WORK. I AM SURE OF IT.

MY LORD PUNISHED MY WEAKNESS BY TAKING THREE OF MY CHILDREN. WHEN MY SON TOOK SICK, IT WAS PUNISHMENT TO CORRECT MY SINS.

AND A WARRANT SO THAT SHE MAY BE SEARCHED FOR THE DEVIL'S MARK.

I AM SORRY FOR ALL I'VE DONE.

THE DEVIL KNOW MY WEAKNESSES. I COULD NOT RESIST TEMPTATION. I COULD NOT OVERCOME.

I HAVE DECIDED TO DELAY SUCH DECISIONS.

YOUR WORSHIP, YOU HAVE THrice HEARD OF HER COVENANT WITH THE DEVIL. WE ASK PERMISSION FOR A FORMAL QUESTIONING.

I DO NOT TAKE THIS LIGHTLY, GENTLEMEN, AND I WILL NOT BE HURRIED. I AM ENDING THIS NOW. ON THE MORROW, I WILL CALL FOR YOU AND WE WILL DISCUSS THIS MATTER FURTHER. MASTER GAULF, LET US WALK OUT TOGETHER.

YES, OF COURSE, YOUR WORSHIP. BY YOUR LEAVE.
GAULU HAS CURRLED FAVOR WITH SIRE CASTELL. THIS MAY GO THE WAY OF CHERMSFORD.

MY LORD, I PUNISHED MY WEAKNESS BY TAKING THREE OF MY CHILDREN WHEN MY SON TOOK SICK, IT WAS PUNISHMENT TO CORRECT MY SONS.

THE DEVIL KNEW MY WEAKNESSES. I COULD NOT RESIST TEMPTATION, I COULD NOT OVERCOME. I AM SORRY FOR ALL I'VE DONE.

I HAVE THIS IN HAND, SIR. THEY WILL SEE THE VALUE OF OUR WORK. I AM SURE OF IT.

YOUR WORSHIP, YOU HAVE THrice HEARD OF HER COVENANT WITH THE DEVIL. WE ASK PERMISSION FOR A FORMAL QUESTIONING.

AND A WARRANT SO THAT SHE MAY BE SEARCHED FOR THE DEVIL'S MARK.

I HAVE DECIDED TO DELAY SUCH DECISIONS.

I DO NOT TAKE THIS LIGHTLY, GENTLEMEN, AND I WILL NOT BE HURRIED. I AM ENDING THIS NOW. ON THE MORROW, I WILL CALL FOR YOU AND WE WILL DISCUSS THIS MATTER FURTHER, MASTER GAULU. LET US WALK OUT TOGETHER.

YES, OF COURSE, YOUR WORSHIP. BY YOUR LEAVE.
Ah! Sir Thomas Castell and Master Gaule.

Welcome, join us.

We are much obliged.

I will hasten to the point.

Master Gaule has brought to my attention some concerns he has regarding Mistress Margaret Moore.

The people of Great Staughton are blessed to have a reverend who is so protective of his parish.

Gaule believes that the confession alone does not suffice as proof of the accusations that have been laid against Mistress Moore, and that you are toying with the superstitions of these rustical people.

Augmenting them beyond the reality of the situation.

We have done no such thing! We've questioned them about events which we were not privy to.

We seek only to assist, the devil is the deluder and imposter.

Such an act of modesty, it has no place in this discussion. You know you have the ear of the common people and you do nothing to correct this meg-application of faith. In time of strife, they are foolishly speaking your name in place of their lord's.

That is an unjust accusation. Our purpose is not for gain or glory, there is no fortune to be found in this profession.

We seek only to do God's will and make use of our skill and experience to better the lives of our country.
This obscure country gentleman thinks he may take up an office which he has no right to.

Pray pardon me. You see the depth of my devotion and concern for the people of Staughton.

I am merely concerned that these men have influenced her in her weakened state. Her confession may be tainted.

You forget the testimony of the witness have attested to her bewitchments.

Malefactores.

Yourself stated that she no longer attended church. All the signs of a witch are there.

I fear the witch may have brought others into league with the devil.

Your worship, he has twisted my words for his own purposes just as he has done to Margaret Moore.

Enough! I've neither the time nor desire to be spectator to your squabble! Let us return to the task at hand.

Explain this.
MISTRESS MOORE JOINED WITH THE DEVIL FOR HER CHILD’S LIFE... IT HAS BEEN OUR EXPERIENCE THAT CHILDREN MAY BE LED ASTRAY BY MOTHERS WHO HAVE MADE COMPACT WITH THE DEVIL. THE DEVIL’S INFLUENCE RUNS DEEPER THAN IT APPEARS.

IF YOU WILL PERMIT, YOUR WORSHIP, IN ADDITION TO CONDUCTING A SEARCHING FOR THE DEVIL’S MARKS, I WOULD LIKE TO QUESTION HER SON.

YOU THINK THE YOUNG ROBERT MOORE HAS MADE COVENANT WITH THE DEVIL?

I BELIEVE THAT THERE IS MORE TO BE DISCOVERED, WHICH WILL CONVINCE YOU OF MISTRESS MOORE’S GUILT.

YOU ARE SUGGESTING THAT THERE IS JUST CAUSE TO SUSPECT THAT MORE IN THIS TOWN HAVE BEEN LURED INTO THE DEVIL’S HELLISH LEAGUE?

YES.

IN THESE MATTERS OF DISCOVERY, YOU GENTLEMEN KNOW BETTER THAN I. YOU SHALL HAVE YOUR WARRANT MASTER HOPKINS, MASTER STEARNE.
"I had to. I'm sorry, but I cannot allow myself the luxury of sitting idly by. I cannot turn a blind eye to the possibility that this diabolical slight spreads further than Margaret Moore."

"That which took place in Rattlesden is enough proof that this boy must be examined."

"John, listen to me."

"I will not see this boy carted away under a winding-sheet."

"I will not go through this again."

"Stearn! Stearn!"
Robert, Master Matthew Hopkins is here to speak with you.

Good, Mr. Hopkins. Sir, how fare thee?

I am here because I have some questions I want to ask you about your mother.

Sir, will you recite with me some prayer verses?

Yes, sir.
"I have precious soul to save, and a mortal body have. Tho' I am young yet I may die and hasten to eternity."

"There is a dreadful fiery hell, where wicked ones must always dwell."

"There is a heaven full of joy, where godly ones must always stay."

"To one of these my soul must fly, as in a moment when I die."
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Contains Scenes of a Graphic Nature: Sympathy for The Devil First Response

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Masthead Image Rowe, Sympathy for the Devil, pg 4
This piece is a response to Rowe’s *Contains Scenes of a Graphic Nature: Sympathy for the Devil*

A Process of Uncovering

I found Rowe’s discussion of the intersections of creative and scholarly practice illuminating and engaging. It reminded me of the lively historiographic conversation Chester Brown (2006) engages in using the endnotes of his *Louis Riel: A Comic-Strip Biography* (indeed, if Rowe is not familiar with that text she may find it intersects with her own process in productive or at least interesting ways). Reading *Louis Riel* often frustrates students, who feel when they read about the fictionalization and narrativization process in the endnotes, after responding usually positively to the comic itself, that they have somehow been “tricked” by the practitioner. This echoes on the reader’s side the anxieties Rowe so keenly illuminates throughout the reflection section of this piece. But as Rowe suggests here, this art of representing history as a comic is much more accurately described as a process of uncovering: making explicit the methods by which historical storytelling — whether academic journal or comic book — is always already constructed. My gratitude to Rowe for the notion of historical figures existing in “performance” with and for their storytellers, academic or otherwise.

All history-making is story-telling. As Rowe suggests, everything we know about Moore we know through the narrativization of others. It strikes me that creative projects are useful ways for making this process of construction more open, and I think Rowe does a compelling job of outlining her own process.
I think Rowe comes to an important conclusion in this tension between representing “truth,” would that were even possible, and replicating the continued absence of women from the historical record. If we cannot reframe our scholarly and creative practices to rethink the need for sources that simply do not exist (or at least do not exist unmediated by dominant voices), we will only reenact the same marginalization in our own work. I appreciated Rowe’s reflection that she needs to put aside the “pressure of the archive.” There are many paths to truth.

Another interesting thread in this discussion is the idea of how we narrativize trauma, and the expectations of audiences when they read about it. I’m thinking here of Lilie Chouliaraki’s work on the spectatorship of trauma (2006), which while about mediated representations of trauma in journalism and mass media might have a lot to add to Rowe’s thinking about the representation of historical women’s experiences — especially those that are, as in the case of many historical women, inherently traumatic.

Finally, the comic itself was a pleasure to read. Rowe comments on her rigid panel/gutter structure, but I actually see a lot of storytelling and play here in the places where she does make a choice to subvert norms. I particularly thought the weighting of gutters differently and the use of angled gutters did an effective job of keeping the narrative just slightly off-balance in a way that mirrors some of the questions of historiography in the text. I often had the sense that I was peering at the action of the comic through small cottage windows; the visceral experience of reading this comic is one of voyeurism, which neatly intersects with Rowe’s own anxieties about Moore’s representation being so profoundly mediated by other voices.

Overall, I appreciated this practitioner’s reflection of working through the tensions in historical storytelling. Rowe’s observations are thoughtful, reflective, and should be generative for other scholars and creators.

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Contains Scenes of a Graphic Nature: Sympathy for The Devil Second Response

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Masthead Image Rowe, Sympathy for the Devil, pg 4
This piece is a response to Rowe’s Contains Scenes of a Graphic Nature: Sympathy for the Devil

Our Voices, Their Voices

The past decade has seen a reinvigoration of creative mediums for telling the past, and more and more investment by historical/archaeological researchers in creating or contributing to those narratives. The current explosion of historically-based comics and graphic novels find thoughtful companions in videogames, film and television, art exhibits and public installations, interactive and collaborative museums and heritage experiences, and more. Following a great deal of trailblazing and risk-taking (particularly given the intense anxieties surrounding the traditional publish or perish model of publishing in academia), artist-historians and -archaeologists (or collaborations between scholars and artists) are finally beginning to benefit from shifting values, including new platforms for publishing, licensing and sharing these out-of-the-box but incredibly powerful contributions to our understandings of the past (not least of which being this very journal, Epoiesen).

Laurel Rowe’s Sympathy for the Devil graphic novel, accompanied by the reflective tone of her article “Contains Scenes of a Graphic Nature,” then, perfectly embodies this shift in historical engagement, demonstrating careful and thoughtful weaving together of historical sources, figures, and settings, but also contemporary politics and practices in choosing whose voices we showcase, why and how. Recognizing that history is storytelling – and therefore that historians (and I would add archaeologists) are essentially authors – we can begin to reflect on the
ways in which we are playing active roles in constructing narratives, characters, plots and outcomes through their interpretation and communication processes, including but not limited to writing.

This framing of history and archaeology as storytelling opens the door to a further layer of creative practice: how do we interweave the threads of past stories with our own, to better reflect and communicate our processes and our role in shaping those narratives we construct? To build on Gray’s First Response to Rowe’s article/graphic novel, considering the tensions between truth, construction, and representations, but also recognizing the complexity of discourses on subjectivity and ontologies, how do we make our processes not only more transparent for public consumption, but also do so without undermining the value of our work (an admittedly widespread fear)?

**Our Perception, Public Perception**

In every story, Rowe (2018) thoughtfully notes, there is an interplay “between the reader’s interpretation, storyteller’s agenda, and narrative”, and this interplay presents opportunities for playful and unconventional engagements. However, the position and perception of disciplines studying the past is facing considerable challenges today.
It is not a coincidence that personal genetics tests, marketed as a route to your own heritage, and science-forward analyses of past environmental and health data are finding more public traction than oral histories, traditional ecological knowledge, and ‘other ways of knowing’. The politics of objectivity, also deeply connected to the emerging era of “fake news” and “alt-facts”, are leading to huge levels of paranoia that seem to run counter to the art and subjectivity of storytelling in history and archaeology.

The explosive controversy over BBC’s Life in Roman Britain in the summer of 2017 is particularly interesting for considering the connection between visual storytelling, in this case a children’s animated TV series, and the evidence, politics and perceptions of the past. After the short cartoon was released, featuring an ethnically-diverse (read: not white) family in Roman Britain, social media erupted with critiques about how the story was not representative of this period in British history. Historians, including Mary Beard, who leapt to the defense of the narrative, citing archaeological and historical evidence, received backlash and death threats in return. The ensuing debates came to be centered around the value of ancient DNA evidence, which has so far uncovered only limited evidence of an ethnically-diverse Roman Britain, and historical sources, which do confirm at least some ethnic diversity in this peripheral zone of the Roman empire, but also importantly the role of historians and the impact of contemporary politics. Widely viewed as the proliferation of political correctness, and the conflation of historical accuracy with representativeness (e.g. ‘if only a few Romans in Britain weren’t white, why bother showing them – shouldn’t we be depicting the majority?’), the debate about BBC’s Life in Roman Britain, now archived in expressive tweets and Facebook posts, reveal a great public distrust of the subjectivity of historical research and storytelling and political paranoia (not detached from more widespread political distrust today).

Is part of the problem in public perceptions of studies of the past, then, that we have yet to fully communicate or sell the public on the value of interpretation, subjectivity, reflexivity? And does the age of fake news and related emphasis on critical analysis of media open the door for greater interweaving of stories, evidence, and our methodologies/decision-making as researchers to allow for better public evaluation of our work (and in turn, the work of pseudoarchaeologists, etc.)? Storytelling is not a new part of history and archaeology;
we have been narrating the past for as long as we have been interested in the past (aka since time immemorial). However, we are clearly not yet masters of this craft; further refinement and creative use of voice and point of view, in relation to time and structure, of the stories we tell is critical to the future position of studies of the past (see also Joyce 2002, Lamarque 1990).

What could their voices look like?

In archaeology and history, we have long taken the image of people for granted, including their role as active agents in the stories that we tell about the past. From book illustrations and to museum dioramas, representations of people in the past have been heavily critiqued for the problematic frameworks and limited visual vocabulary (see for instance Gifford-Gonzalez 1993, Moser 1998). This has stimulated a period of experimentation that has pushed forward visual representations of the past to not only draw people into existence, but has challenged us to give them voices, agency, and emotion (and ultimately, humanity). From Colleen Morgan’s critical but often playful use avatars, gifs, and other digital media to the Graphic History Collective’s collaborative poster series highlighting “the histories of Indigenous
people, women, workers, and other oppressed people who are often overlooked or marginalized in mainstream historical accounts”, there is an ever-growing library of visual storytelling, infused with compelling people and powerful voices.

The resurging popularity of graphic novels and comics has been seized by scholars and researchers, such as archaeology-artists like Hannah Kate Sackett and John G. Swogger have been particularly prolific in their production of scholarship-driven comics. Like Rowe’s *Sympathy for the Devil*, the graphic novel/comic medium is proving to be extremely effective for public consumption of the past (see also Barletta and Lo Manto 2018). The flexibility of length, colour and black and white formats, and, most recently, digital publication provides seemingly infinite applications of visual storytelling for a range of price points, audiences and motivations. More importantly, the seamless integration of realism and abstraction allows authors/artists to play with metaphor, analogy and symbolism to develop a range of historical characters, with depth of emotion and experience, to highlight the diversity of perspectives, voices and agency of people in the past.

One of the most evocative uses of visual storytelling to bring people to life is the Working on the Water, Fighting for the Land: Indigenous Labour on Burrard Inlet, illustrated and written by Tania Willard (Secwepemc Nation) with co-writers Robin Folvik and Sean Carleton (from the Graphic History Collective). The layers of imagery carefully crafted into this story are so complex and detailed that I have to credit the students of a recent course on Storytelling in Archaeology that I taught at the University of Victory for helping me to recognize all the ways in which metaphors, analogies, symbolism and other visual nods to culture, oral history, emotion, spirituality, and humanity are seemingly built into every square millimeter of this comic to present an all-consuming and powerful narrative of the past. From anthropomorphized mountains and European ship masts that morph into dollar signs, objects and landscapes, and people themselves, are intricately woven together to tell an extremely complex and important story in a way that is meaningful and thought-provoking. At its core are people that live, breath, and transform the story (and history more broadly). The communication of so very much with so very little text is masterful and to this day fills me with deep reverence.
What could our voices look like?

Perhaps the most valuable way to think about presenting our own voices in graphic formats is to conceptualise is a visual rendition of Sonya Atalay’s ‘knowledge braiding’, the active interweaving of many truths in interpreting and presenting the past (Atalay 2012, 2016:55). And in fact the comic book Journeys to Complete the Work undertaken by Sonya Atalay, Jen Shannon, and John G. Swogger with Shannon Martin, William Johnson, Sydney Martin, George Martin, and the Ziibiwing Center of Anishinabe Culture and Lifeways does just that – weaves together contemporary and past stories, people, and methodologies into an engaging story about the complexities of repatriation, law, and collaboration from diverse perspectives. The transparency of heritage and archaeological practice, mediated by different points of view and voices visualized in this comic, transforms the mainstream (colonial) narrative of the past. The story, which could be a very dry, objective overview of heritage law, is given life through the representation of emotion, trauma, voice, and power. It uses politics, emotions and conflicts to move the story forward and better explain why this issue is so important today but also why the multiple lines of evidence can be so complex to work with.

The interlacing of past and present, history and historian will also be explored in the upcoming graphic novel *Wake: The Hidden History of Women-led Slave Revolts* by Dr. Rebecca Hall, with art by Hugo Martinez. In a recent (and very successful) crowdfunding campaign, Hall noted that women in slave revolts “was the point of [her] academic work. The work has been published, it received a number of awards, but it is buried in academia... The point of this graphic novel is to get this story out to people. It’s too important to just be hidden in a history book that only graduate students will read.” Notably, the project uses the craft of graphic noveling to tell invisible and underrepresented stories of women in the past but also to tell her own story in looking for those stories, bending and repeating panels or sections of panels to draw connections and overlap the contemporary with multiple layers of the past. The example panels that have been released so far demonstrate incredible potential for drawing audiences into the complexity of the relationship between our voices as researchers, the voices of people in the past, and mainstream heritage. Interestingly, the crowdfunding campaign itself, and the ensuing media attention, has in many ways also become a platform for highlighting the realities of historical research, academic structures and public engagement, through Hall’s openness about the debt, lack of support and need for another fulltime job in order to support this incredibly significant work. The project’s perception-bending impact, then, is twofold: 1) drawing attention to the strength and contribution of women in slave revolts, which often go unrecorded/unreported; and 2) shifting public understandings of what it is to be a historian today (particularly showing that historians are not irrelevant figures closed up in mahogany clad offices with cushy jobs but rather subject to widespread problems with job security/stability, equity, and inclusivity).

And perhaps this is the greatest contribution that creative engagements with the past allow for: the flexible interplay of past(s) with the present, the transparent entanglement of the voices of others and with our own voices, and the annotation of captivating narratives with evidence and methodology. Where the linearity of traditional text-based writings limits the fluidity and productive abstraction of research, we can experiment with visualizations, media, and other forms of creative storytelling to colour outside the boxes of mainstream history and challenge our own notions of the past, but also those of diverse public audiences.
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