The art of telling: Toward a genealogy of testimoniadoras

by Ella Maria Diaz

Codex Rodriguez-Mondragón
prompts us to ask questions.

Why does the green of that
cactus touch my soul?
…

Why does the hue of that
marigold remind me of the
tenderness over skin I miss so much?
— Adolfo Guzman-Lopez, 2017

We began to organize. . . . We began by each of us trying to remember the tricks our ancestors used. They say that they used to set traps in their houses, in the path of the *conquistadores*, the Spaniards. … Our grandparents used to tell us about it.
— Rigoberta Menchú, 1984

I begin this meditation on testimonio with two epigraphs that seem unrelated. The first one is a selection of lines from a poem inspired by Chicana artist Sandy Rodriguez's *Codex Rodriguez Mondragón* (2017—). The verse is written by Southern California reporter Adolfo Guzman-Lopez and in the *floricanto* tradition of Chicano/a cultural production.[1] To capture his visceral experience of viewing Rodriguez's first map and set of botanical paintings from the *Codex*, Guzman-Lopez employs rhetorical questions that perfectly match the visual power of her painted book of knowledge. In the *Codex Rodriguez Mondragón*, Rodriguez records Indigenous, Mestiza/o, and Chicanx histories of several geographical regions in the United States and on folios of amate paper using organic colorants that she makes by hand. [Figure 1]

The second passage is from *I, Rigoberta Menchú* (1983) in which the K'iche' Maya woman tells Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, a social scientist from Venezuela, about her community's response to systematic state violence. Enduring military raids of their homes and the devastation of scorched earth policy, the Indigenous peoples of the Guatemalan highlands also faced mass murder during the nation's civil war (1960-1996). They listened to their elders, Menchú says, who told them stories of their ancestors' resistance to sixteenth-century Spanish conquest; subsequently, they began to organize in defense of their villages (Menchú and Burgos-Debray 144-146). In both excerpts from these interdisciplinary works of art, knowledge is represented dialogically—through conversations across space and time in the Americas, and in different modes of communication, (from painted image to poetic verse and from transcription to published text.) They are snapshots of testimonio, a multimodal framework for knowledge production in the Americas that tests the boundaries of western constructs of national identity, genre, and history in the late-twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The challenge that testimonio poses to western culture's ideological values does not begin in the late-twentieth- nor twenty-first centuries, however. Amid a decolonial turn in the Americas, other timelines and experiences of time are made visible through the art of testimonio.

In western systems of thought, testimonio is described as a "literature of personal witness" and categorized as a genre of postmodern prose (Beverley "The Margin" 14). This is primarily because it involves more than one author through the presence of an interlocutor—a person who listens, responds, and shares a witness's account of historical events with an international audience, or one beyond the community from which the witness comes forward. Typically, the events the witness describes to an interlocutor are world-changing and, often, world-ending as they include

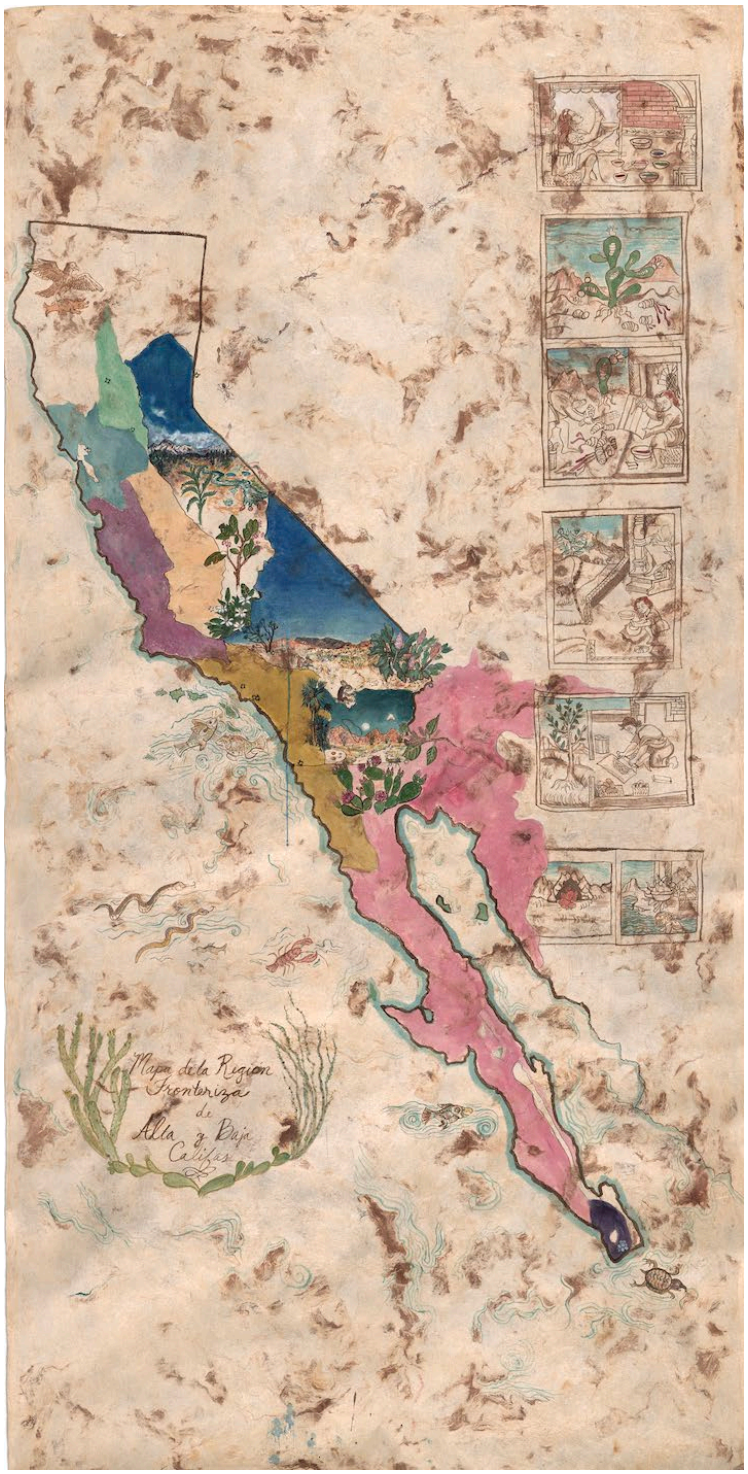

Figure 1., Sandy Rodriguez. *Mapa de la Región Fronteriza de Alta y Baja Califas,* 47 x 94 1/2 in, hand-processed dyes and watercolor from native plants and earth pigments on amate paper, 2017, J. P. Morgan Chase Art Collection.

disappearances, genocide, forced labor, migration, political imprisonment, and other crimes against humanity. Created across geographical, linguistic, and cultural differences, testimonio is continually debated over its literary quality and it has been dismissed as an academic transgression

because it mixes and matches methodologies from journalism, oral history, anthropology, and the literary arts.[2]

But testimonio crosses boundaries in other provocative ways, especially in its disruption of western notions of time as progress, both a forward motion and a capital accumulation. In what follows, I theorize a genealogy of testimonio that precedes paradigms of postmodernism in the late-twentieth century and in relation to its rise as an art of communication that encompasses many narrative forms. As a period of literature and descriptor for visual art, postmodernism depends on (a belief in) linear time and the notion that modernity began in the Americas long after sixteenth-century conquest and amid the twentieth-century's world wars, followed by the proxy wars of the late-twentieth century (Quijano 533-580). Testimonio challenges this timeline because it recenters intergenerational memory—the stories of people—in western knowledge production. Therefore, I map testimonio by tracing its *testimoniadoras*, deploying the term against the gendered and heteronormative implications of the dominant language used in many nations across the Americas.[3] Merging eyewitness accounts of violence—in all its manifestations—with the role of the interlocutor, *testimoniadoras* witness, record, and tell stories of communities who live and die under forces of power beyond their control. As artists of communication and mediators of intercultural dialogue, *testimoniadoras* challenge the colonial timelines that have produced the national borders that "we" currently accept, resist, and question as real.

To situate my genealogy of *testimoniadoras* within the Americas—and one that occurs before, during, and after the western idea of postmodernism, I briefly address literary discourse on the major testimonio of that era: *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (1983). Embroiled in controversy over its accuracy and authorship, *I, Rigoberta Menchú* presents an alternative understanding of western time that destabilizes histories of modern nations because Menchú positions colonial forces of power as ongoing in her community's experience of the Guatemalan civil war. To support my claim, and to center the dialogical elements of testimonio, I turn to key performances by Indigenous and Latinx artists in the United States who responded to the quincentennial of Christopher Columbus's "arrival" in the Americas during the late-twentieth century's "culture wars"—the era in which the veracity of Menchú's book was debated. By focusing our attention on cyclical time-telling, which is different than commemoration in "America," these artists reveal a colonial time lag—or the long duration of colonial structures of power in modern nations.[4] I expand my map of *testimoniadoras* to the twenty-first century by gesturing to artists who continue to challenge linearity in the dominant histories of nations through the metaphysical connections they pose between world-changing events of seemingly different eras. My mere mention of these artists, however, is incomplete in scope and analysis; but brevity allows me to focus the remainder of my essay on Sandy Rodriguez, a twenty-first century *testimoniadora* who records multiple but intersecting histories of knowledge as one world ends and another begins.

Testimonio and the "Geopolitics of Truth"[5]

In the late-twentieth century, *I, Rigoberta Menchú* (1983) was at the center of an academic turned political debate over great works of art in the United States and western culture, more broadly.[6] Before recounting traumatic experiences of the Guatemalan civil war, Menchú asserts that her first-person story is "not only my life, it's also the testimony of my people" (Menchú and Burgos-Debray 1). Menchú's opening lines on the collective mode in which she tells Elisabeth Burgos-Debray her story destabilizes expectations of authorship in western conventions of

personal prose.[7] Breaking the "autobiographical contract (between writer and reader)," Menchú challenges western definitions of truth as firsthand or eyewitness accounts of events because she positions her point of view as "the reality of a whole people" (Pratt "'I, Rigoberta Menchú and" 42; Menchú and Burgos-Debray 1).

Menchú's testimonio also encompasses Elisabeth Burgos-Debray's worldview because the latter creates the narrative's structure. Burgos-Debray discloses her presence in Menchú's testimonio in the book's introduction, explaining that she organized Menchú's oral accounts into chapters and within western conventions of narrative—a beginning, a middle, and an end (Burgos-Debray, *Introduction* [2009] xi-xxii). Inscribing a chronological order onto Menchú's testimonio, Burgos-Debray makes the story legible to western reading audiences. Epigraphs from Menchú's interviews as well as excerpts from sacred texts like the *Popol Vuh* also precede each chapter, setting the tone and stakes of the book by alerting readers to important themes, as well as the pre-Columbian beliefs with which she frames Menchú. Burgos-Debray's concern with a linear sequence of events, and textual conventions of western publishing, reveal that Menchú's testimonio engages western values of time and literary genre. But these engagements do not make Menchú's story less true or "real" because testimonio is a hybrid art produced in the contact zones of colonial turned national borders—"where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (Pratt "Arts of" 34).

A principal text among a collection of testimonios produced in the 1960s and 1970s, *I, Rigoberta Menchú* sparked decades of scholarly discourse and attempts to reconcile it within a taxonomy of academic methodologies and in relation to a historiography of western cultural theory.[8] Several literary scholars framed testimonio as postmodern prose, assigning it to the late-twentieth century and as a rejection of the master narratives of western nations, which always seek to "legitimize 'political or historical teleologies" (Yúdice 16). A complex idea about the happening or occurrence of world-changing events—and not their origins or causes, teleology is more accessible in "the great 'actors' and 'subjects' of history," and implicit in phrases like "the nation-state, the proletariat, the party, the West, etc.'" (Yúdice 16).[9] As postmodern text, testimonio, George Yúdice explains, "does not conceive of itself as universal and as searching for universal truth but, rather as seeking emancipation and survival within specific and local circumstances" (Yúdice 16-17). Moving peripheral and elided stories to the centers of nations, postmodern narratives suggest fragmentation, cacophony, and disruption to the modern *edifice* of western canons of great works of art and culture.

Among the scholarly discourse on postmodernity and testimonio, John Beverley detected the late-twentieth century as the historical moment in which there "begins to emerge throughout the Third World, and in very close connection to the spread of armed struggle movements," a form of communication "designed to make the cause of these movements known to the outside world" ("The Margin" 14). In its urgency to share information and gain support of its "cause" via an international audience, this mode of communication is "primarily concerned with sincerity rather than literariness" (Beverley "The Margin" 14). Proposing testimonio as a late twentieth-century political outcome of the Cold War turned proxy wars—from the Vietnam War to the Central American civil wars—Beverley also decides that, in 1989, testimonio "is by nature a protean and demotic form not yet subject to legislation by a normative literary establishment" ("The Margin" 12). The *newness* of testimonio for Beverley, and his emphasis on its unformed "nature," (yet to be governed by a literary establishment, despite Cuba's Casa de las Américas initiating a prize for it in 1970), is reflective of western cultural norms and a dominant value of time as progress, both forward marching and accumulative.[10] Put another way, the Americas are at once the "new world"

in the renaissance of the "old world" for western history, and the site of modern innovation and technology in relation to borderless trade, flows of capital, and the proxy wars of powerful nations at the end of the twentieth century.

Further hypothesizing testimonio as a new type of communication, Beverley offers "second thoughts" on its evolving form, acknowledging that there "may come a time when we have a new community of things we can call literature; but not now. Among the many lessons testimonio has to offer us is one that suggests that it is no longer a question of 'reading against the grain,' as in the various textual deconstructions we are familiar with, but of beginning to read against literature itself" ("Through All Things" 17-18). I agree with Beverley on the rise of hybrid art forms in the late-twentieth century, both within and against western culture and especially in the 1960s and 1970s U.S. civil rights movements, which were inspired by the third world liberation movements of the mid to late-twentieth century. Western cultural canons were reconfigured due to grassroots and student efforts to diversify education. Books like *I, Rigoberta Menchú* were part of the multiculturalism movement on college campuses and taught at western universities like Stanford, spurring hostile political debates on great art, great events, and great figures of western civilization. But while I agree with Beverley on the significance of "reading against the grain" in this particular time and space of knowledge production, I also call into question the notion of postmodernism, which is framed across all humanities fields as denoting a fragmentation of formalism and a disintegration of the boundaries of genres. I wonder if it is possible to rethink Beverley's claim "that there may come a time" for a new "community of things we can call literature," with the assertion that there *always was time*, or, rather, other ways of telling time, *here*, in the Americas.

What if testimonio does not originate in the late-twentieth century—nor in the rise of third world liberation movements and ensuing civil wars, as they are plotted along a western timeline of the Cold War? What if its origins are in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—during and after contact and conquest of Indigenous societies of the Americas? If considered in this way, testimonio changes the spatiotemporal borders of modernity and genre, of art and literature, and the historical timelines of western nations. Ironically, amid the controversy surrounding fact and fiction in *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, or what she saw with her own eyes versus what she felt with the eyes of her community, Menchú offers moments of cyclical time telling in her testimonio that necessitate intercultural dialogue between speaker, listener, and reader.

One of the ways in which Menchú communicates her experiences of the Guatemalan civil war is through what seems like a colonial allegory to western audiences. In the excerpted passage with which I begin my essay, Menchú tells Burgos-Debray that her community remembers their ancestors' "tricks" when they start to defend themselves against the Guatemalan military. Readers move in-between the late-twentieth and sixteenth centuries based on Menchú's understanding of violence as cyclical or, perhaps, timeless. Whether imperial power or the economic agendas of modern nations, violence is violence for the subaltern speaker and time is not experienced as a progression but as metaphysical catastrophe. In his interpretation of contemporary Caribbean art, decolonial theorist Nelson Maldonado Torres disrupts linear timelines to activate conquest and colonization as the site of contemporary crises. "Metaphysical catastrophe," Maldonado Torres argues, "is deeply tied to the demographic catastrophes of the early modern Western world in the late-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; its impact is evinced in more recent catastrophes, including various forms of ethnic cleansing. The Caribbean was ground zero for a metaphysical catastrophe in the New World, and from there it only continued in an unprecedented globalizing movement to the present day" (Maldonado Torres 252-253). Using "ground zero" to describe the conquest of Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean islands, Maldonado Torres reconfigures the

political and historical teleologies of master narratives in western nations; so that "discovery" becomes "invasion," and "terrorism" (as in the 2001 attack on the World Trade Center in NYC) evokes fifteenth and sixteenth-century European conquests. [Figure 2]

Adding to the ongoing disaster of European conquests for Indigenous peoples of the Americas, is the construct of race, which Menchú expresses as a binary of difference that is a pattern of power in what Aníbal Quijano calls modern coloniality (Quijano 533-580). "It's not true what white people say that our ancestors didn't defend themselves," Menchú asserts, adding, "They used ambushes. Our grandparents used to tell us about it, especially my grandfather when he saw that we were beginning to talk about defending ourselves" (Menchú and Burgos-Debray 145). Menchú's use of "white people" here is nebulous, indicating that, more than deploying a colonial allegory, she collapses progressions of time between the colonial and postcolonial, the modern and postmodern, in her communication of her people's strategies for surviving late twentieth-century state violence. Menchú's knowledge of her ancestors' survival skills is part of an intergenerational practice of testimonio, which is not so much a postmodern literature, but an art of communication.[11] Amid world-changing and world-ending events, Menchú seeks to tell a story of collective survival. Testimonio is an art of telling to live.[12]

1492, 1992, & counting: then ~~and~~ *as* now

The temporal connections Menchú makes in her interview with Burgos-Debray are not between then *and* now, as western audiences expect and understand; rather, they are more reflective of then *as* now, destabilizing the colonial logic of binaries and, perhaps, exposing the temporal crisis that testimonio poses to the law and order of western institutions and their systems of thought. Her account of responding to state violence with strategies for combatting colonial invaders resonates in critical interventions made by Native American and U.S. Latinx artists at the end of the twentieth century and in response to the five-hundredth anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in the Americas. Luiseño artist James Luna, for example, performed *Artifact Piece* (ca 1987), using conventions of ethnography, autobiography, and testimonio against the grain of literature, or, as Beverley forecasts, in an era of genre deconstruction unlike any other ("Through All Things" 18). Installing himself or, rather, his body in San Diego's Museum of Man,[13] Luna surrounded his limbs, head, and torso with readable placards used in anthropology museums to teach audiences historical facts about "ancient peoples" (Blocker "Failures of" 23). But Luna told another story about the history of knowledge production in "the West" that stages Native Americans as a national fantasy of a mythic past for the United States. While he certainly spoke back to cultural tropes of the "vanishing Indian" of North America, Luna also disrupted instruments of western knowledge production with his very flesh. From pen and paper to the printing press, western culture largely writes the body out of history, moving notions of truth, objectivity, and fact outside embodied experiences of shared knowledge (Blocker "Ambivalent Entertainments" 52-77).

Following Luna's *Artifact Piece*, Guillermo Gómez-Peña and Coco Fusco entered a cage in 1992, dressed in an array of visual stereotypes of aboriginal identity in western culture's regime of representation for Native peoples of the Americas. As *The Couple in the Cage*, they called themselves "Amerindians" from "an island off the gulf of Mexico and overlooked by Columbus" (Johnson). Nao Bustamante used her body in a similar way to communicate patterns of power in contemporary social expectations of women of color as bodies of labor and pleasure. Utilizing

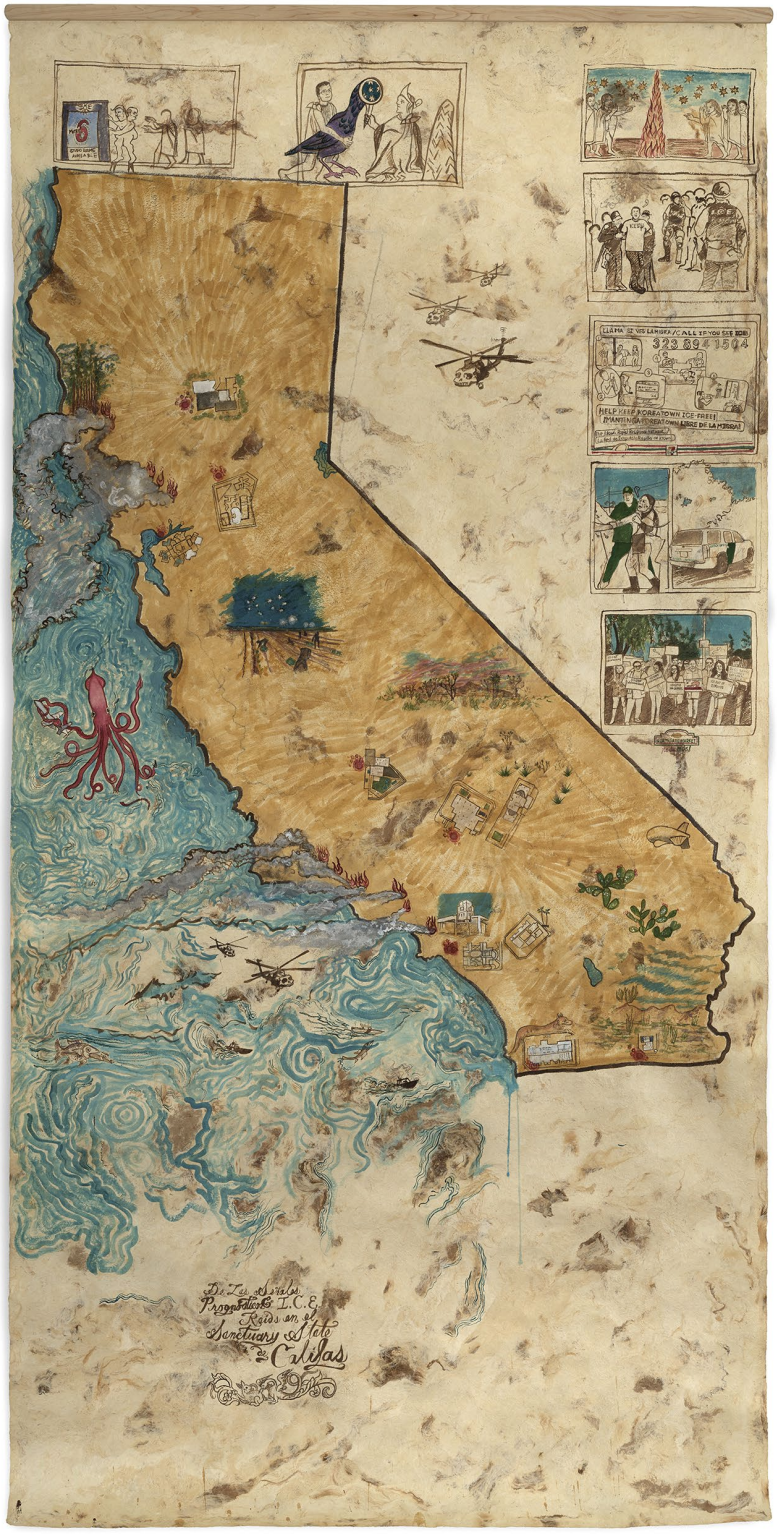

Figure 2., Sandy Rodriguez. *Mapa De las Señales y Pronosticós and I.C.E. Raids de Califas 2018,* 94 ½ x 47 in, hand processed watercolor on amate paper, 2018. Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, Bentonville, AR.

audience participation in her performance of *Indigurrito* (1992), Bustamante critiqued the funding protocols of art institutions during the quincentennial by staging her body as an active site of colonial processes of empire: evangelization, enslavement, and miscegenation ("Indigurrito (1992)").

The idea of then *as* now in these performances is palpable in videos available online of audience reactions to *The Couple in the Cage*; many spectators are confused but believe the truth of "undiscovered" Amerindians; they pose for pictures with the artists who grab at them through the bars of their cage. The idea of then *as* now also permeates online images of visitors to the Museum of Man who come close to Luna's body to read the placards and, thus, "read" his body as historical truth of a Native American past. In the recording of Bustamante's performance, her audience eagerly participates in a sardonic ceremony of Catholic communion, revealing the hegemony of Christian beliefs in the United States.[14] Taken together, the artists merge corporeal, material, and dialogical choices to record, translate, and disseminate stories that speak back to the world-changing and world-ending events of 1492 and counting.[15] What these artists make clear is that Columbus's arrival in the Americas is a metaphysical catastrophe for generations of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color communities living and dying in modern nations. For many BIPOC, progress as a temporality and national value is dangerous because it denies and elides historical trajectories of contemporary state violence. Thus, the brutality of colonial rule is understood in dominant cultures of western nations as "long ago," or "back then." It is not considered part of—nor historically linked to—the caging of human beings in contemporary mass incarceration systems or the surveillance and scrutiny of nonwhite bodies as threats to national safety. Yet legacies of colonial speciesism, chattel slavery, and Indigenous land dispossession linger in the realities of whole peoples, and time is a drag.[16] [Figure 3]

Toward a genealogy of *testimoniadoras*: arts of the contact zone

Elsewhere, I have written about Guatemalan artist Regina José Galindo's performance *¿Quién puede borrar las huellas?* (2003) as a testimonio in which she tells the story of a whole people and, through video recording, shares it with an international audience. Among the many literary qualities embedded in Galindo's performance is a political agenda to raise awareness of the 2003 presidential bid of Guatemala's genocidal dictator Efraín Ríos Montt (Diaz 36-37). In this writing, I also explored an exhibition of Argentinian artist Claudia Bernardi's mixed-media shadowboxes and "frescoes on paper," which document her forensic anthropology training and role in the exhumation of a mass grave of people, the majority of whom were children murdered during El Salvador's civil war (Diaz 69). I connected these shows to Chicano artist José Montoya's *Pachuco Art: A Historical Update* (1977-78), a multimedia exhibit in which Montoya brought together his visual art of 1930s and 1940s Mexican American *pachucos/as* with photographs, newspaper articles, oral histories, and local Chicano/a communities in performances of *pachuco/a* identity (Diaz 45-50). Merging several methodologies of art and the social sciences, Montoya told the story of a generation of Mexican Americans who were criminalized during their era and in the master narrative of the United States. I now realize that I was *undoing* western chronology, and the periodization of great events in national histories, by connecting artists across the Americas who listen, record, and tell stories of state violence caused by war and other crimes against humanity. My essay was part of a critical turn toward Transborder artists and the sociopolitical aesthetic that informs current Latinx art and scholarly discourse.[17] But I had also sensed another timetable in my analysis of "different" fields and periods of Latinx art and as I began to trace a

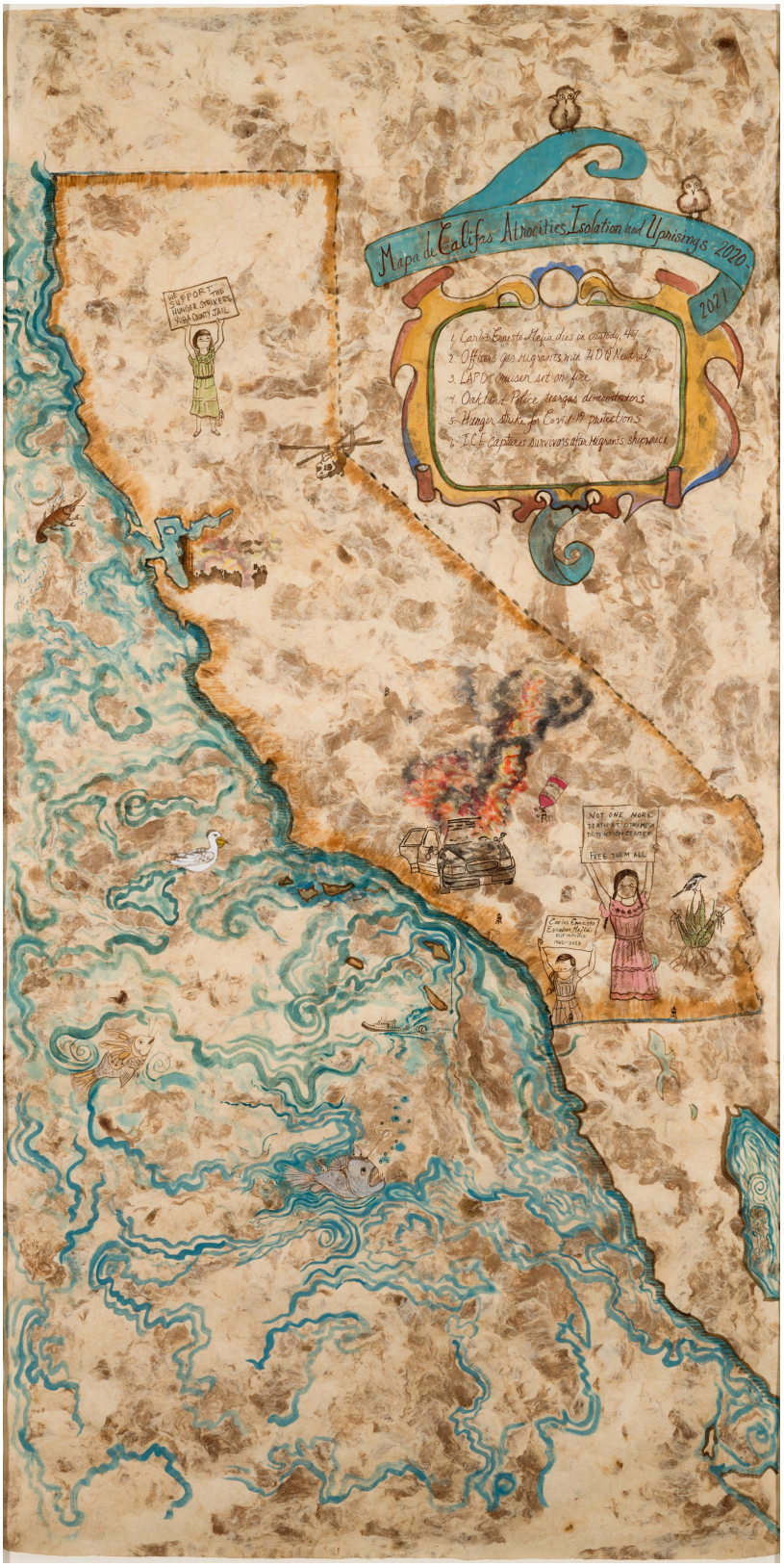

Figure 3., Sandy Rodriguez. *Mapa de Califas—Atrocities, Isolation and Uprisings 2020-2021*, 94 x 47.5 in, hand processed watercolor on amate paper. Collection of the artist.

genealogy of artists who traverse creative domains and academic disciplines to share stories of whole communities with broader audiences.

Within this new community of things that we *should* call literature, Latin American and U.S. Latinx artists continue to tell stories as *testimoniadoras*, fusing the roles of testimonio (from witness and interlocutor to translator and editor) to confront colonial forces of power at work in modern nations. Like James Luna—and the disruptions Latinx artists posed to quincentennial events in the 1990s, Irvin Morazán's *Illegal Alien Crossing* (2011) and Tanya Aguiñiga's *Metabolizing the Border* (ca 2020) merge ethnographic fieldwork and autobiographical details with the national borders of their historical contexts; they use their bodies in geopolitical space to speak back to forces of power beyond their control and that of millions of people who migrate in search of livable lives. In *Labor Tea* (ca 2011), Victor Cartagena creates a haunting chandelier of discarded passport photographs of Salvadorans who fled the civil war seeking refuge and work in the United States ("KQED Spark: Victor Cartagena"). The aesthetic effect of Cartagena's installation resonates in *Hostile Terrain 94* (ca 2021), an interactive exhibit led by anthropologist Jason De León and the Undocumented Migration Project, which uses 3,200 handwritten toe tags for deceased migrants that create a map of the Sonoran desert in Arizona. Participants pinpoint the exact locations of the remains of each human being on the exhibition's wall as the toe tags overwhelm viewers with the enormity of the death toll ("Curator's Choice: Jason De León").

Beyond the stories Latin American and Latinx *testimoniadoras* tell by witnessing, recording, and, often, fusing their embodied knowledge with the realities of marginalized peoples, they cross disciplinary borders of western knowledge production. As artist Claudia Bernardi's forensic anthropology training informs her story of bearing witness to the aftermath of genocide in El Salvador, anthropologist Jason De León uses artistic methods (like relational aesthetics and social sculpture) to share and, perhaps, implicate audiences in crimes against humanity in the borderlands of powerful nations. The interdisciplinary choices inherent to testimonio, however, are not new or "postmodern" outcomes of the late-twentieth century. Rather, they are the ancestors' tricks—the intergenerational survival tactics of subjugated peoples from the colonial world, now modern nations. Fusing multiple knowledges with different sets of cultural tools, *testimoniadoras* make art in the contact zones where worlds end, change, and begin again.

1519, 1521 & still counting

I begin my meditation on Sandy Rodriguez's *Codex Rodriguez y Mondragón* with the challenge Menchú's testimonio poses to western notions of genre and time, as well as performance artists who disrupt(ed) triumphalist narratives of "great events" of western history with their bodies, to account for the many borders that Rodriguez traverses as witness, mediator, and translator of another five-hundredth anniversary in her codex: the 1519 arrival of the Spanish in Mexico and the 1521 conquest.[18] The *Codex Rodriguez-Mondragón* approaches these world-changing and world-ending events from the periphery of nations, and within the current and local circumstances of a community of people existing under forces of power beyond their control—from homelessness and addiction to mental illness and societal exclusion. Rodriguez's codex began in 2017 at the Recuperative Care Center of the Martin Luther King Jr. Community Hospital in Los Angeles, California (Cohen Aponte and Diaz 22).[19] She designed and taught watercolor classes to hospital patients, many of whom are unhomed or displaced people, seeking mental health and substance abuse treatment. Soon, Rodriguez explains, they were joined by hospital staff who,

alongside their patients, learned to make organic colorants from the plants and minerals that she harvested from the region (Rodriguez, interview, Mar. 13-26, 2018).

As the hospital community transformed natural materials into pigments using a mortar and pestle, they too changed, sharing knowledge of their homeplaces—from memories of grandparents' homes to their lives before they came to the treatment center. They asked questions about the plants and insects with which they made their paints. Beyond her studio art training, Rodriguez didn't know the histories of the pigments and, so, she carried their questions to the region's esteemed art institution, the Getty Center and its Conservation Institute, full of chemists, materials scientists, and other researchers. Rodriguez listened to scholars of medieval maps and renaissance cartographies, alongside experts of pre-Columbian art and post-conquest records like the *Florentine Codex* (Cohen Aponte and Diaz 34-35). Moving between western institutions of art and science, she enrolled in the Blue Wind School of Botanical Studies to learn regional plant life. Rodriguez studied edible and medicinal flora in California, the Pacific northwest, the U.S. southwest and now moves east in her ongoing plant walk. Her quest for knowledge of several worlds to carry into the next one continues as the *Codex Rodriguez-Mondragón* grows in volume, dimension, and scope. [Figure 4]

Rodriguez's 2021 map, *You Are Here*, for example, plays on a call and response to the question, "where am I?" In the twenty-first century, most people pull out cell phones, which are linked to satellites orbiting the earth, and use the immediate mapping technology at their fingertips. But Rodriguez's map, which has a longer title of, *You Are Here Tovaangar / El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles de Porciúncula / Los Angeles 2021*, deepens the "wayfinding map" experience for viewers by centering the cultural memories and land-based knowledge of Tongva elder Julia Bogany in the map of Los Angeles. Rodriguez collaborated with Bogany on this multilingual and historically-layered map to bring forward names of places, animals, and plants that locate—and connect—several communities of people together in their homeplace.[20] [Figure 5]

Each painted page of the *Codex Rodriguez-Mondragón* interlaces historical epochs of several civilizations, the natural world before and after these civilizations, personal and shared memories, as well as supernatural and spiritual origin-stories of the lands upon which we live. Contemporary state violence (from detention centers and the surveillance equipment of Immigration and Customs Enforcement to catastrophic wildfires caused by speciesism and environmental destruction) is documented in her maps and supplemental pages, which utilize precolonial, renaissance, and modern imageries, languages, and techniques. Rodriguez also records stories of survival, documenting BIPOC uprisings against state violence as these communities continue to use ancestral survival tactics against forces of power beyond their control.

Rodriguez's connection to Menchú and Burgos-Debray is that of interlocutor as she records, translates, and mediates knowledge of several worlds—or information from western institutions alongside the communities with which she shares her knowledge, like her students at the community hospital. But Rodriguez also melds these dialogical roles in the *Codex* by bearing witness to her own life as a mestiza and, in the Chicana intellectual tradition of testimonio—what Cherríe Moraga calls a "theory in the flesh" (Moraga *This Bridge* 21-23). Rodriguez inscribes the *Codex* with her story and that of her family as it unfolds in the US-Mexico borderlands of Baja California, National City, and Los Angeles.

The *Codex Rodriguez Mondragón*'s ongoing record of current events as they resonate in the ends and beginnings of previous worlds, demands a more thorough genealogy of *testimoniadoras* than I offer here; but a key lineage of Rodriguez's codex begins in the sixteenth

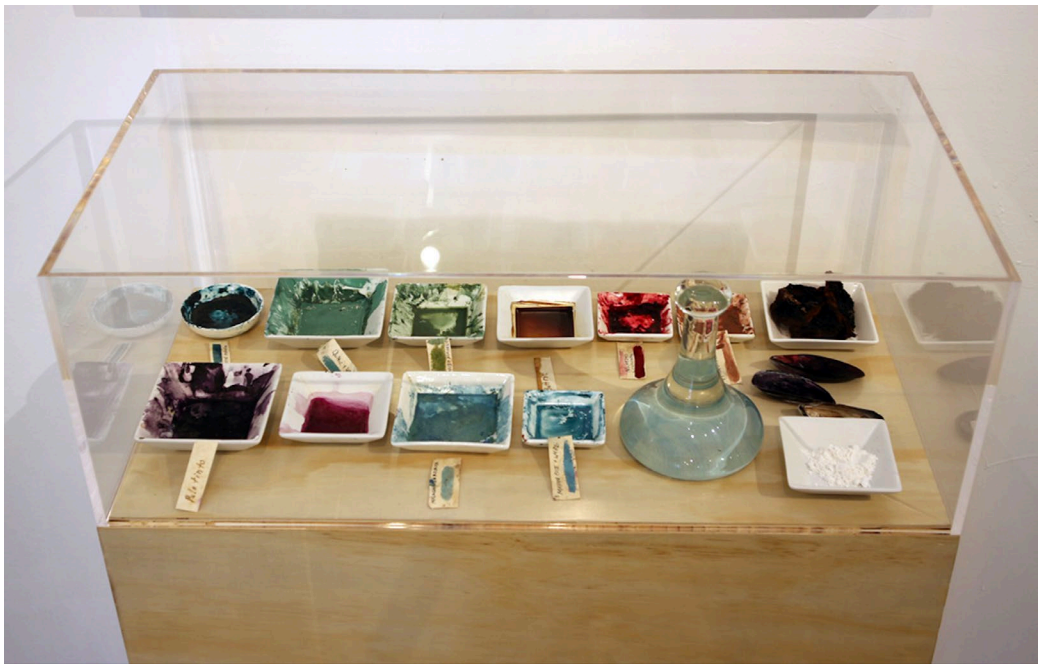

Figure 4. Sandy Rodriguez. Exhibition shot of materials display case. For Rodriguez / Valadez exhibitions. East 23 Projects, Vernon, California. 2018.

Figure 5., Sandy Rodriguez. *You Are Here Tovaangar / El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles de Porciúncula / Los Angeles 2020-2021*, 97 x 97 in, hand processed watercolor with 23k gold on amate paper. Huntington Library, Art Museum and Botanical Garden collection.

century, with Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún, who presided over the creation of the *Florentine Codex* (ca. 1575–77). A twelve-volume encyclopedia of Aztec life and culture, the *Florentine Codex* was painted by *tlacuilos*—indigenous painter-scribes who were expert in Aztec traditions of recording knowledge. The *tlacuilos* served as interlocutors between the memories of their Native elders and Sahagún, mediating knowledge as they painted in a moment of urgency—as one world ended and the colonial one began.

In *Colors of the New World* (2014), Ancient Art of the Americas Curator and Deputy Director of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Diana Magaloni Kerpel contemplates Sahagún's response to a post-conquest plague that devastated central Mexico in 1576. "The widespread outbreak was so serious," Magaloni Kerpel writes, "that even Sahagún, in book 11, felt compelled to interrupt his Spanish translation and switch to first person to bear witness to what was happening around him" (Kerpel 14). As the *tlacuilos* continued painting the *Florentine Codex*, Sahagún broke the fourth wall to speak directly to readers, which is now a multigenerational audience across several centuries. Suspending all (future) notions of objectivity (that led to one version of truth) in western knowledge production, Sahagún bears witness to his time and tells us what is happening to communities of intergenerationally-traumatized Indigenous peoples. In her recorded lecture that augments her book, Magaloni Kerpel wonders aloud about Sahagún's grief as many of the *tlacuilos* must have been his friends, perhaps even his family, amid the deadly virus ("The Colors of the New World").

To date, Rodriguez's codex encompasses 14 large maps (some of which are in-progress), and several sets of botanical, landscape, and portrait paintings, all of which are made on amate, a precolonial paper of the Americas and a production process that survived colonial confiscation and banning.[21] The *Codex* is also multidimensional as Rodriguez incorporates mixed-media artworks that focus on specific visual details of her book. In several of her exhibitions, for example, she and curators install large acrylic reproductions of her *Calavera Coptors*—or Immigration and Customs Enforcement aircrafts that she refashions into ominous silhouettes with skeletal faces. Rodriguez adds further dimensions of time to the *Codex* by displaying her organic colorants in different stages of their creation—from the raw materials and her processing tools to the actual dyes. Her inclusion of these materials and objects resonates in the archival aesthetic of modern art exhibitions and Chicana/o art history.[22] She negotiates these two systems of representation, creating a hybrid knowledge that translates differently for diverse viewers; but it offers Rodriguez an interstice in which to share her embodied memories of teaching, witnessing, and listening to multiple communities who offer her knowledge by telling their stories. [Figure 6]

Their stories circulate widely in Rodriguez's codex as many of its pages are now in collection, featured on covers of scholarly publications, and shared through print and social media.[23] In tandem with the exhibition of her first map and botanical paintings, Southern California news reporter Adolfo Guzman-Lopez began to sing the *Codex*, narrating its colors and symbols and asking those questions that Rodriguez was asked at the community hospital: "Why does the green of that cactus touch my soul? … Why does the hue of that marigold remind me of the tenderness over skin I miss so much?"[24] Rodriguez and Guzman-Lopez joined other artists in Los Angeles to form Project 1521, an assembly of modern-day *tlacuilos* whose work responds to the 500 years since the fall of the Aztec Empire.[25]

It is not so much that Rodriguez brings together separate fields of knowledge or splices academic research with personal and shared memories to recenter a holistic approach to art making. Rather, she restores knowledge to what it was, what it always is, and what it needs to be in a future world. Using the sixteenth-century *Florentine Codex* as a recipe book for organic

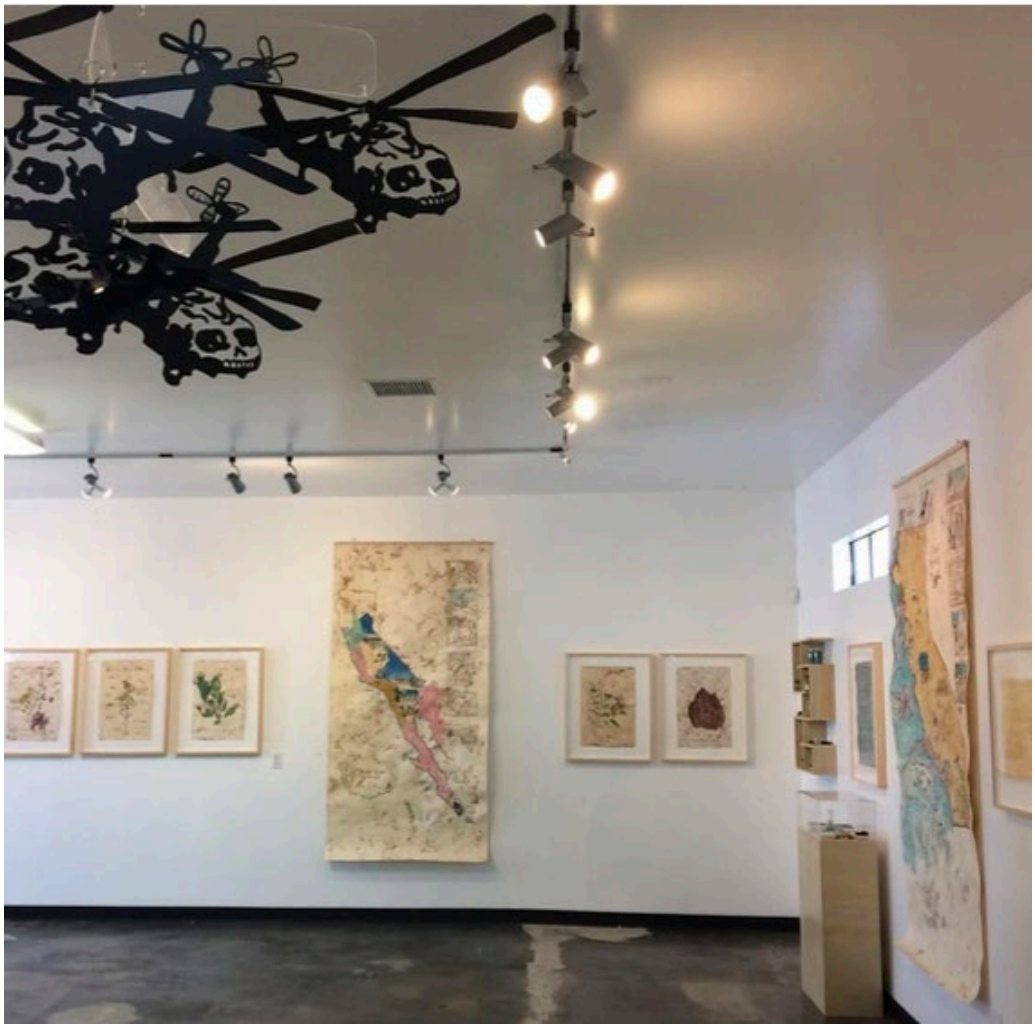

Figure 6. Sandy Rodriguez. Exhibition shot Calavera Copters, Plexiglas and paint. 3 at 15 x 10" each. Rodriguez / Valadez exhibitions. East 23 Projects, Vernon, California. 2018.

colorants in experiments she conducts in her kitchen-laboratory, Rodriguez shares her findings and listens to knowledge holders from all walks of life and in all life forms. She has mastered the art of communication as a twenty-first century *testimoniadora* who records and shares stories of our entangled pasts before they transform into historical contexts.

So compelling is her multimodal testimonio that museum administrator and curator Diana Magaloni Kerpel joins her in the *Codex* to sing songs of lost children sacrificed to impossible geopolitical borders and false beliefs of nationhood.[26] Author and journalist Adolfo Guzman-Lopez turns to *floricanto* to communicate epochal change and, in so doing, summons a chorus of painter-scribes. The *tlacuilos* reassemble, gathering in Rodriguez's art studio or in their living rooms—careful not to slip into that silent "space occupying the middle of the sofa" (Moraga *Last Generation* 5,7). In her canonical Chicana text, *The Last Generation* (1993), Cherríe Moraga opens her collection of poetry and prose written "500 years after the arrival of Cristóbal Colón," from the center of her world: the living room in her tíos' home as she recalls it over a lifetime of memories (Moraga *Last Generation* 1). Navigating intergenerational norms and cultural customs that are deeply shaped by systems of power beyond her control, (like patriarchal expectations of women's reproductive lives), Moraga listens to her tío's stories of her family's origin in the Native

people who survived Spanish conquest and then "built the San Gabriel Mission" (Moraga 8). The creation of a mestiza family in the destruction of the precolonial Indigenous world is not lost on Moraga, who ends her anthology with the "Codex Xerí: El Momento Historíco," an essay that was originally written as a catalog essay for *The Chicano Codices* show in that epochal year of 1992. Thirty years later, but within the same cycle of five hundred years of colonialism, Chicana artist Sandy Rodriguez records and shares stories of then ~~and~~ *as* now in a Chicana codex that is both an act and an art of bearing witness to the ends of worlds and the beginnings of new ones. c/s

Works Cited

Beverley, John. "Through All Things Modern': Second Thoughts on Testimonio," *Boundary 2*, vol.18, no. 2, 1991, pp. 1-21.

—. "The Margin at the Center: On Testimonio (Testimonial Narrative)." *Modern Fiction Studies*, vol. 35, no. 1, 1989, pp. 11-28.

Blocker, Jane. "Ambivalent Entertainments: James Luna, Performance, and the Archive." *Grey Room*, no. 37, 2009, pp. 52-77.

—."Failures of Self-Seeing: James Luna Remembers Dino*." PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art,* vol. 23, no. 1, 2001, pp. 18-32.

Brooks, Linda Marie. "Testimonio's Poetics of Performance." *Comparative Literature Studies*, vol. 42, No. 2, 2005, pp. 181-222.

Bustamante, Nao. "Indigurrito (1992)." *Hemispheric Institute*, 11 Sept. 2019, https://hemisphericinstitute.org/en/hidvl-collections/item/1290-nao-indigurrito.html.

Cohen-Aponte, Ananda and Ella Maria Diaz, "Painting Prophecy: Mapping a Polyphonic Chicana Codex Tradition in the Twenty-First Century." *English Language Notes*, vol. 57, no. 2, 2019, pp. 22-42.

"Curator's Choice: Jason De León and the Undocumented Migration Project," *fowler.ucla.edu* 13 Oct. 2021. https://fowler.ucla.edu/events/curators-choice-jason-de-leon-and-the-undocumented-migration-project/.

de Onís, Catalina M. "What's in a 'x'? An Exchange about the Politics of 'Latinx.'" *Chiricú Journal: Latina/o Literatures, Arts, Abd Cultures*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2017, pp. 78-91.

Diaz, Ella. "Seeing is Believing: Visualizing Autobiography, Performing Testimonio: New Directions in the Latina/o and Chicana/o Visual Aesthetic." *Chicana/Latina Studies: The Journal of Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social*, vol. 11, no.1, 2011, pp. 36-83.

González, Jennifer A. "Topologies of Knowing: The Libraries and Laboratories of Amalia Mesa-

Bains," 4 Nov. 2015, *museoeduardocarrillo.org*, https://museoeduardocarrillo.org/topologies-of-knowing-the-libraries-and-laboratories-of-amalia-mesa-bains/#squelch-taas-accordion-shortcode-content-0.

Johnson, Anna. "Coco Fusco and Guillermo Gómez-Peña." *Bombmagazine.org*, 1 Jan. 1993, https://bombmagazine.org/articles/coco-fusco-and-guillermo-g%C3%B3mez-pe%C3%B1a/.

"KQED Spark: Victor Cartagena." www.kqed.org, 2011. https://ww2.kqed.org/spark/victor-cartagena/.

Latina Feminist Group. *Telling to Live: Latina Feminist Testimonios*. Duke University Press, 2001.

López Binnqüist, Rosaura Citlalli. "The Endurance of Mexican Amate Paper: Exploring Additional Dimensions to the Sustainable Development Concept." PhD diss., University of Twente, 2003.

Magaloni Kerpel, Diana. *The Colors of the New World: Artists, Materials, and the Creation of the Florentine Codex.* Getty Research Institute, 2014.

—. "The Colors of the New World: Artists, Materials, and the Creation of the Florentine Codex," Getty Research Institute, 7 Nov. 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kG_1e42oplY.

Maldonado Torres, Nelson. "On Metaphysical Catastrophe, Post-Continental Thought, and the Decolonial Turn." *Relational Undercurrents: Contemporary Art of the Caribbean Archipelago*, edited by Tatiana Flores and Michelle A Stephens, Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 2017, pp. 247–259.

Martin, Maria. "Guatemala's rural and indigenous communities are hit hardest by COVID 19." *www.npr.org*, 5 Dec. 2021. https://www.npr.org/2021/12/05/1059603081/guatemalas-rural-and-indigenous-communities-are-hit-hardest-by-covid-19.

Menchú, Rigoberta and Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*. New York: Verso, 2009.

Moraga, Cherríe and Gloria Anzaldúa. *Bridge Called My Back*: *Writings by Radical Women of Color*. Kitchen Table, Women of Color Press, 1983.

Moraga, Cherríe. *The Last Generation: Prose and Poetry*. South End Press, 1993.

Paz, Octavio, and Elena Poniatowska. "Introduction." *Massacre in Mexico*, University of Missouri Press, Columbia, MO, 1991, pp. vii-xvii.

Pérez-Torres, Rafael. "Floricanto En Aztlán (Chapter 18) - the Cambridge History of Latina/o American Literature." *Cambridge Core*, Cambridge University Press, 16 Feb. 2018,

https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/abs/cambridge-history-of-latinao-american-literature/floricanto-en-aztlan/72CB13FDE4106474CB367487BA5B2E06.

Pratt, Mary Louise. "'I, Rigoberta Menchú and the 'Culture Wars.'" *The Rigoberta Menchú Controversy*, edited by Arturo Arias, Univ. of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2001, pp. 29–48.

—. "Arts of the Contact Zone." *Profession*, 1991, pp. 33–40.

Quijano, Aníbal. "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America." *Nepantla*, vol. 1, no. 3, 2000, pp. 533–580.

Rodriguez, Sandy. Interview with Ella Maria Diaz, March 13-26, 2018.

Sandoval, Chela. *Methodology of the Oppressed*. Univ. of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2001.

Vidal-Ortiz, Salvador and Juliana Martínez, "Latinx thoughts: Latinidad with an X." *Latino Studies*, vol. 16, no. 3, 2018, pp. 384-395.

Yúdice, George. "Testimonio and Postmodernism." *Latin American Perspectives,* vol. 18, no. 3, 1991, pp. 15-31.

[1] "Floricanto names a Chicano/a poetic expression, often oral and employing Aztec iconography to comment on contemporary Chicano/a experiences" (Pérez-Torres "Floricanto En Aztlán").

[2] "In the United States," George Yúdice writes, "testimonial writing is taught in literature as well as anthropology, sociology, and political science courses, thus requiring new methodologies of interpretation and analysis that fall outside the purview of prevailing disciplinary classifications" (19).

[3] I am not gendering my use of *testimoniadora* in the colonial sense of a "correct" or traditional Spanish language. As the "x" continues to be debated, *testimoniadora* (and *testimoniolista*) are terms used by Chicana and U.S. Latinx scholars to account for a fusion of roles in testimonio by bicultural, interracial, and multiethnic actors of all genders and sexualities who share their stories (knowledge) beyond their communities (Vidal-Ortiz and Martínez 384-395; de Onís 78-91). Like all narrative modes and intellectual methods that develop in historical and ideological contexts of race, class, gender, and sexuality, testimonio is a space that anyone can occupy and use which, in turn, exposes the constructed borders of identity in the dominant language of a modern nation.

[4] My intervention on reading performance art as testimonio and, thus, literary work, builds on Linda Marie Brooks' "*Testimonio'*s Poetics of Performance" (2005) in which she asserts that testimonio is "aesthetically determined, and that despite fashionable rejections of aesthetics as politically irrelevant, testimonio's performance strategies have always defined it as a genre. Unveiled, these strategies emerge not as subversions of the genre's social message but as vehicles of it" (182).

[5] Mary Louise Pratt uses Fernando Coronil's phrase of the "geopolitics of truth" to gesture to a scholarly obligation to "work through the issues the controversy [*I, Rigoberta Menchú*] raises, which include a series of epistemological, methodological and ethical questions" ("Arts of" 29-30).

[6] Menchú's book raised questions about what is and is not an important story in the creation of a national culture when it was included in curriculum changes to a western culture requirement at Stanford University in 1980. The change offered more diverse representation of cultures and ideas that shaped western civilization (Pratt "Arts of" 39). It was attacked by conservative critics like Dinesh D'Souza, who used anthropologist David Stoll's book, *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story All Poor Guatemalans* (1999), to verify Menchú's accounts of her brother's murder by the military and other crimes against humanity during the Guatemalan civil war. A former reporter, Stoll completed his PhD at Stanford where he began to investigate Menchú's testimonio. Along with Stoll's research, Pratt claims that "Stanford wound up on the front lines of the debate . . . because it was at one and the same time the intellectual seat of the Reagan revolution, and the site of significant educational reform" ("'I, Rigoberta Menchú and" 30).

[7] "Testimonio may include, but is not subsumed under, any of the following textual categories, some of which are conventionally considered literature, others not: autobiography, autobiographical novel, oral history, memoir, confession, diary, interview, eyewitness report, life history, novella-testimonio, nonfiction novel, or 'factographic literature'" (Beverley "The Margin" 12-13).

[8] Beverley cites *The Biography of a Runaway Slave*, (originally published as "The Autobiography of" in 1966), which tells the story of Esteban Montejo ("The Margin" 25). Its interlocutor, Miguel Barnet, discloses his presence in Montejo's narrative in an introduction. Yúdice also notes several 1970s and '80s Latin American testimonios, including Domitila Barrios de Chungara with Moema Viezzer, "*Si me permiten hablar . . ." Testimonio de Domitila, una mujer de las minas de Bolivia* (1977) (17-18). Elena Poniatowska's *La noche de Tlatelolco / Massacre in Mexico* (1971) is testimonio as "a 'collage' of 'voices bearing historical witness,'" in which Poniatowska records, arranges, and shares eyewitness accounts of state violence with a wider audience (Octavio Paz, Introduction [1991] vii).

[9] Yúdice argues that testimonio "coincides with one of the fundamental tenets of postmodernity: the rejection of what Jean-François Lyotard (1984) calls grandmaster narratives," which create universal ideas in nations (16). Lyotard draws on Frederic Jameson's "Postmodernism, or the cultural logic of late capitalism" (1984) and Jameson's foreword to Lyotard's edited volume, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1984).

[10] Beverley also describes testimonio as one of the "new forms in embryo" ("The Margin" 12).

[11] Yúdice also detects a colonial time lag in Menchú's accounts of K'iche' Maya's adaptations of colonial doctrine: "Indians turn to Christianity (in its 'primitive' mode) as a means to express their desire to maintain an integrated social harmony (Menchú,1983: 106). When their view of this harmony is upset by instrumental reason and economic exploitation of land and labor, they invoke religious meetings in which they appeal to both God and nature and use Catholicism's sacred texts as 'popular weapons' for vindication" (Yúdice 28). In *Methodology of the Oppressed* (2000), Chela Sandoval identifies these movements between dominant and subjugated worldviews by colonized peoples as a "tactical subjectivity"—maneuvers used to navigate dominating forces of power in western societies—like Christianity. I speculate that an origin point for the methodologies of the oppressed is the tactical subjectivity of the K'iche' Maya during sixteenth-century Spanish conquest *and* mid twentieth-century civil war.

[12] I use the title of the Latina Feminist Group's (LFG) *Telling to Live: Latina Feminist Testimonios* (2001) to nod to the scholarly contributions of Chicana and U.S. Latina scholars in the history, theory, and pedagogy of testimonio. The LFG reconfigured testimonio as a mode of knowledge production in the academy across disciplinary borders, building on late-twentieth century feminist interventions—from Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa's *Bridge Called My Back* (1981), Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera* (1987) to Chela Sandoval's "U.S. third world feminism" (1991). As first-generation professors of interracial and multiethnic backgrounds, the LFG merged the roles of witness and interlocutor in testimonio,

enacting ontological knowledge production by people who were literally created from conquest and colonization: Chicanas, Latinas, and other Mestiza peoples. While testimonio continues to be debated for its literary quality, it is recognized as part of social science methodologies, including the formation of "intercultural dialogue" in educational, counseling, and communications frameworks.

[13] In August 2020, the Museum of Man in San Diego, California, changed its named to The Museum of Us.

[14] In serendipitous fate of her audience's participation, Bustamante's performance also unsettles the heteronormative gender binary and anticipates the tensions of separation of church and state in the United States during the third decade of the twenty-first century.

[15] Unlike James Luna, Fusco, Gómez-Peña, and Bustamante are not Indigenous artists. But, in the historical contexts of the United States and Latin America, Fusco, Gómez-Peña, and Bustamante are racialized *others*: Afro-Latinx, Chicanx, and Mestiza/o peoples. As interlocutors of testimonio, they are part of an intelligentsia, if not "creative class," that seeks to share the realities of whole peoples with international audiences. Deploying dehumanizing stereotypes of Black and Brown people that can be traced to 1492, they re-create figures as characters in their performances. In fact, Luna portrayed Pablo Tac Pablo Tac (Luiseño, 1822–1841) in *Emendatio*, at the 2005 Venice Biennale, and a Native Californian man in *Ishi: The Archival Performance* (ca 2016), which he concluded at the Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery. Like Fusco and Gómez-Peña, Bustamante's body of work includes *Soldadera* (ca 2015). First exhibited at the Vincent Price Museum in Los Angeles, *Soldadera* involved archival research, film, textile production, as well as Bustamante's interview with 127-year-old Leandra Becerra Lumbreras—the last living woman soldier of the 1910 Mexican Revolution, until her death in 2015. Bustamante's interview with Lumbreras resounds in Burgos-Debray's interviews with Menchú and Miguel Barnet's oral history with Esteban Montejo.

[16] While I was revising this essay to better communicate the experience of then *as* now for generations of BIPOC communities, NPR reporter Maria Martin broadcasted a story about Maya peoples from the Guatemalan highlands who are struggling with Covid19. Among several interviews, Martin included Mayan priestess Dolores Ratzan Pablo throughout her story as she offered a complex point of view on the pandemic. Expressing a fusion of cultural beliefs in western medicine, Indigenous knowledge, and syncretic practices of prayer and offerings, Ratzan Pablo tells Martin that her people have survived plague before—brought by Spanish imperial forces as well as recent genocide (Martin "Guatemala's Rural and Indigenous").

[17] Recognizing performance artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña's late-twentieth century interventions on the U.S.-MX borderlands, I am also thinking of the shift in art historical scholarship, including, but not limited to Amy Sara Carroll's framework for art of the U.S-Mexico borderlands in the post-NAFTA era in *REMEX: Toward an Art History of the NAFTA Era* (UTP, 2017), as well as Martha Gonzalez's *Chican@ Artivistas: Music, Community, and Transborder Tactics in East Los Angeles* **(**UC Press 2022**)**.

[18] The quincentennial spurred other reclamations of Indigenous and mestiza/o knowledge production. The *Chicano Codices* show in 1992 at the Mexican Museum in San Francisco, California, featured works by Chicana/o/x artists who revisited pre-Columbian and colonial Latin American codices as books of knowledge with ties to pre-colonial cultures and post-conquest fusions. Dr. Ananda Cohen-Aponte and I cite this exhibition as an antecedent to Sandy Rodriguez's *Codex* ("Painting Prophecy" 22-42).

[19] Rodriguez was awarded an artist residency in 2016 to complete this work by the Los Angeles County Arts Commission.

[20] I am using the concept of homeplace put forward by bell hooks (1990) as a site that humanizes African Americans, whose ancestors were kidnapped from their homes and forced into chattel slavery to work in the agricultural lands of European colonies. I am applying this term intentionally in Rodriguez's collaboration on a map of Los Angeles with a Tongva leader to use a decolonial framework to think about BIPOC as they grapple with intersecting histories of privilege and dehumanization based on binaries of race, gender, class, and citizenship in the United States.

[21] Rodriguez studied the history of amate by reading López Binnqüist 2003.

[22] Among multiple Chicana and U.S. Latinx installation artists, Amalia Mesa-Bains's *Curandera's Botanica* (ca 2008) is a significant reference in Rodriguez's staged scenes of materials processing, merging methods of Indigenous knowledge, intergenerational dialogue, and western methods of art and science (González, Jennifer A. "Topologies of Knowing").

[23] News stories on Rodriguez and the *Codex* circulate widely online and many pages of the *Codex* are in institutional collections, with the first map acquired by JP Morgan Chase Art Collection. Among the collected pages, *You Will Not Be Forgotten, Mapa for the Children Killed in US Customs and Border Protection* (2019) is the cover of *Social Death Dispossession, and Survival in the Americas*, (Temple University Press, 2021) a social science publication on migration crises and U.S. policies. In 2021-22, several pages of the *Codex* are on view in museums across the United States and Folios from the *Codex* were featured at the Busan Biennale in fall 2022.

[24] Guzman-Lopez's poetic lines are quoted in the exhibition brochure for *South of the Border*, October 2017 to January 2018, held At The Loft at Liz's in Los Angeles. Edited versions of Guzman-Lopez's poems were published in the catalog *Codex Rodriguez Mondragón* (2018) in conjunction with the exhibition of the work at Riverside Art Museum.

[25] Following a public forum on November 19, 2020, at the Fowler Museum at UCLA in partnership with the Getty Research Institute, Project 1521 launched a podcast. See "Project 1521 and the Florentine Codex" https://fowler.ucla.edu/events/curators-choice-project-1521-and-the-florentine-codex/ and "Project 1521 Podcast" https://project-1521-podcast.captivate.fm/ They have also published a book: *Tlacuilx: Tongues in Quarantine*. Hinchas Press, 2021.

[26] I am referring to Magaloni Kerpel's supplemental text to Rodriguez's portraits of migrant children who died in US detention and published in the *Codex's* second exhibition catalog *You Will Not Be Forgotten* (2019) with Charlie James Gallery in Los Angeles, California.