

History in Virginia Woolf's *Orlando* (1928) and Assia Djébar's *L'Amour, la fantasia* (1985): Between Distanciation and Appropriation

Kamel OMAR*

University of Sidi Bel Abbès, (Algeria), kamel_omar@yahoo.fr

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Abstract:

This article explores the representation of history in Virginia Woolf's *Orlando: A Biography* and Assia Djébar's *L'Amour, la fantasia* as a form of discussion of historical discourse. Starting with the two writers' relation with, and conception of, history, I have analyzed, in the light of Paul Ricoeur's concept of appropriation and distanciation, the ways history is read, incorporated, and discussed in their novels. The analysis concludes that in their reading, reassessment and rewriting of history, Woolf and Djébar produce fictionalized counter-historical narratives. Of a view that history cannot be really objective and that archives cannot be considered as objective and neutral sources, they question the possibility for history to be the sole source of knowledge of the past, and, hence, fictionalize it.

Key-words: History; Woolf; Djébar; Orlando; Fantasia; appropriation; distanciation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) and Assia Djébar (1936-2015) share the experience of having witnessed cataclysmic historical events and major shifts in the history of ideas in the twentieth century. In this article I intend to examine how these two writers, conceive of and employ history in *Orlando: A Biography* (hereafter *Orlando*) and

* Auteur correspondant.

L'Amour, la Fantasia (hereafter *Fantasia* and *Cavalcade* where the English translation version is used). Hence, the question underpinning this study is: How do the two writers represent history in these (auto)biographical novels and discuss the ability of history to “faithfully” report the past? I posit that, in the wake of the “crisis of historicism”, Woolf and Djebar questioned the validity of the dominant one-sided truth of History and by questioning its assumptions, methods, and values, they contributed to the historical discourse reassessment. To check this hypothesis, I will investigate the two writers’ handling of chronology and archives through an examination of what Paul Ricoeur calls the “criss-crossing processes of a fictionalization of history and a historicization of fiction.”⁽¹⁾

History in this study is understood as a discourse structured around past events as the discipline reports them and, consequently, a text the two writers read and (re)interpret. Hence, my reading of the the representation of History in *Orlando* and *Fantasia* through the lens of Paul Ricoeur’s concept of distanciation and appropriation.⁽²⁾

Several studies have explored the issues of the past and History in the two writers’ works, separately. For example, Sanja Bahun, finds that Walter Benjamin’s “vision of the past and the present united in the moment of danger speaks well to Woolf’s artistic and political project in *Between the Acts*.”⁽³⁾ Commenting on *Orlando* and other novels he studied, Jonathan Goodwin finds that Woolf seeks “to unify consciousness and history against the fragmentation of modernity”⁽⁴⁾

(1) RICOEUR Paul, *Time and Narrative, Vol. 2*, Trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer, Repr, Univ. of Chicago Press, 2009, p. 245.

(2) RICOEUR Paul, “Appropriation”, In *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action, and Interpretation*, edited by John B. Thompson, Cambridge University Press ; Editions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 1981, pp.183-93.

(3) BAHUN, Sanja, ‘The Burden of the Past, the Dialectics of the Present: Notes on Virginia Woolf’s and Walter Benjamin’s Philosophies of History’, *Modernist Cultures*, 3 (2), May 2008, p. 103.

(4) GOODWIN Jonathan, *Consciousness, History, and Nation in the British Novel, 1926-1932*, University of Florida, 2005, p.1.

and points to the fact that in her novels she “examines how an individual mind becomes part of national consciousness through history.”⁽¹⁾ He adds that some imagery in Orlando “displays the tension between history as surveillance and history as lived experience.”⁽²⁾ Commenting on *To the Lighthouse*, Gillian Beer writes that Woolf “attempts to honour her obligation to family history and yet freely to dispose of that history.”⁽³⁾ As will be shown below, this ambivalence towards history and this focus on biographical elements and personal experience to make them a source of inspiration is also to be found in Assia Djebar’s works.

Readers of Djebar’s fiction point to the same elements. Fatima Grine Medjad says that “(l)’objectif d’Assia Djebar est de ressusciter les morts, de leur donner la parole pour raconter leur version de l’Histoire.”⁽⁴⁾ (“Djebar’s objective is to resuscitate the dead and let them speak to recount their version of History.” Translation mine). Partly discussing this aspect in *L’Amour, la fantasia*, Erin Peters finds that Djebar “has combined her autobiographical work with the history of the French conquest of Algeria in 1830, as well as with the Algerian War of the mid twentieth century.”⁽⁵⁾ Peters adds that “[t]he novel, whose chapters alternate between the historical and the autobiographical, is a carefully constructed dialogue between Djebar’s own recent past and Algeria’s more distant, national past.”⁽⁶⁾ Another aspect that cannot go unnoticed when discussing

(1) Ibid., p. 4.

(2) Ibid., p. 11

(3) BEER, Gillian, *Virginia Woolf: The Common Ground: Essays by Gillian Beer*, Edinburgh University Press, 2019. p. 30.

(4) MEDJAD Grine Fatima, ‘Identité plurielle et histoire collective au féminin dans *L’Amour, la fantasia* d’Assia Djebar, *Intercâmbio*, vol. 2, 2009, p. 218.

(5) PETERS Erin, ‘Assia Djebar and Algerian Cultural Memory: Reimagining, Repositioning, and Rewriting in *Fantasia: An Algerian Cavalcade*’, *Bristo Journal of English Studies*, Issue 1, Summer 2012, pp. 1-16.

(6) Ibid. p1

history is archives as a historical “trace”, as Ricoeur calls them⁽¹⁾. (*MHF* 13) Commenting on this aspect in Djebar's work, Erin Peters states: “Djebar re-imagines, repositions and eventually rewrites the archival sources that she has selected in an attempt to challenge the hegemonic discourse of the archive.”⁽²⁾ However, if a considerable number of studies have separately examined Woolf and Djebar's conception of history—less for the latter than the former, though—to my best knowledge, none has looked at them jointly.

2. “Explanation and understanding”: Re-reading History

2.1 Woolf's and Djebar's Conception of the Past

Orlando and *Fantasia* are two quests for truth deeply rooted in the past. The eponymous character, Orlando, is puzzled by the question about where he can find truth; he wonders if it lies in facts or imagination. That is, history or fiction. In his meditations he says: “I don't see that one is truer than another. Both are utterly false”,³ and the narrator-biographer comments: “(...) he [Orlando] despaired of being able to solve the problem of what poetry is and what truth is and fell into a deep dejection.”⁽⁴⁾ How do, then, these preoccupations and history in general feature in *Orlando* and *L'Amour, la fantasia*?

2.2 “It is my turn to tell a tale”: Rewriting History in *Fantasia*

Paul Ricoeur says that “[t]he dialectic of appropriation and distanciation is the final figure which the dialectic of explanation and understanding must assume.”⁽⁵⁾ Traditionally, history is conceived in terms of timeline and chronology. At face value, both writers take up this belief in the two novels under study. *Fantasia* revisits

(1) RICOEUR Paul, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, Translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer, Paperback ed., Univ. of Chicago Press, 2010, p.13.

(2) PETERS, ‘Identité plurielle’, p.1.

3 WOOLF, *Orlando*, p.60.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ricoeur, “Appropriation”, p.183.

colonization from the conquest to independence. It starts with the first day of conquest of Algiers. The first section devoted to history opens with the battle of Staouéli on Saturday 19 June 1830. Sections III and IV move on to the explosion of Fort Emperor, on July 4 and the details of the confrontation throughout the same month. The same goes for the Second Part ('Les Cris de la fantasia') where Djébar deals with Captain Bosquet's razzia in Western Algeria in October 1840, and then she moves on to 1845 with the Dahra fumigations. This chronology breaks in the third part which consists of memories and historical accounts of the Algerian War of Independence (1954-62) as well as of the nineteenth century. Besides, even in the first and the second parts, chronology is disrupted by biographical sections alternating with the historical episodes reported in the novel. Djébar alternates biographical sections, recounting her own life with historical ones dealing with larger issues. These alternating biographical and historical sections are not independent the ones from the others, nonetheless. The transition from the biographical to the historical, and vice-versa is assured with a link: the closing words of a section are taken up in the opening lines of the next. For example, the first biographical section ends with the sentence: "Ma fillette me tenant la main, je suis partie à l'aube"⁽¹⁾ ("I set off at dawn, with my little girl's hand in mine.")⁽²⁾ and the next one starts with the same word: "Aube de ce 13 juin 1830."⁽³⁾ ("Dawn on this thirteenth day of June 1830")⁽⁴⁾ With this emplotment Djébar suggests a strong link between individual life and stories, on the one hand; and the larger historical narratives, on the other hand.

2.3 "Seeing nothing (...) of use to a historian": Another History in Orlando

(1) DJEBAR Assia, *L'Amour, la fantasia*, Librairie Générale Française, 2017, p. 13.

(2) DJEBAR Assia, *Fantasia: an Algerian Cavalcade*, Translated by Dorothy S. Blair, Heinemann, 1993, p. 5.

(3) DJEBAR, *Fantasia*, p. 14.

(4) DJEBAR, *Cavalcade*, p. 6.

In *Orlando*, Virginia Woolf breaks with her Modernist experimental writing. A linear narrative, the novel is not so much a realist text or a traditional form of biography writing, nonetheless. As far as history is concerned, this strategy of appropriation and refiguration is deployed in similar ways. As regards chronology, Woolf revisits here the major periods of English history from Elizabethan England to 1928. The text opens in the sixteenth-century with Orlando as a young boy slicing with his sword at a skull brought home by his ancestors from “the barbarian fields of Africa”⁽¹⁾ to train in order to follow on their paths and become a warrior, too. The narrative shifts however to focus on the evolution of Orlando as a writer throughout four centuries covering major periods of English literary history to discuss their norms and conventions as Jane de Gay explains: “On the surface, *Orlando* is organised along the lines of clearly demarcated literary periods – the Renaissance, the Restoration, the Enlightenment, the Romantic era, the Victorian period and the present – but these categories become unstable; for, they are frequently treated ironically.”⁽²⁾

However, like in Djebar's *Fantasia*, though not in quite similar ways, this chronology is disrupted, too. Here, the disruptions consist of digressions, flashbacks and projections. The biographer-narrator in *Orlando* pauses sometimes to let the reader get access into Orlando's mind and at other times to comment on biography writing and literature in general—which, again, gives a literary history dimension to the novel. More precisely, Woolf starts with the traditional biography writing convention which consists of setting the character in action. In fact, the opening lines depict Orlando training at sword use. However, the remainder of the story shifts away from this convention to follow the main character in his three-century long struggle to become a successful poet. Orlando goes through

(1) WOOLF, *Orlando: A Biography*, Rosetta Books, New York, 2002 (1928), p. 8.

(2) DE GAY Jane, *Virginia Woolf's Novels and the Literary Past*, Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2006, p.139.

remarkable ordeals before he / she achieves success as a poet by getting “The Oak Tree”, a poem begun in the 16th century when she was a man and published only in 1927 after her anatomical metamorphosis into a woman. Her literary-historical saga incorporates several experiences which can be considered as what Woolf calls fragments in the life story where, in Ricoeur’s words, “concordance overcomes discordance”.⁽¹⁾

To sum up, we can say that though not exactly in the same way and not with the same concerns, *Orlando* and *Fantasia* deploy the linear and chronological aspect of History only to subvert it. Where Assia Djébar foregrounds historical events, from the social-political-military viewpoint, Virginia Woolf uses history as a background to the story and focuses more on literary history. *Orlando* is indeed a story of a poet grappling with socio-historical constraints in his search for success. As such, he builds up his literary output on previous works and achieves success only when a personal touch is added to his poem “The Oak Tree” and when he becomes a woman.

3. “State the Facts as far as they are known”: Archives and Life (Hi)story Writing

3.1. “I in turn piece together a picture of that night”: Archives in *Fantasia*

In *L’Amour, la fantasia*, Assia Djébar exploits archives in a way a classic historian would do. She reads the French officials’ chronicles of colonization, confronts them to other accounts of the first contact, and supplies her own version. She makes use of the French reports.

Djébar writes that thirty-seven eye-witnesses reported the events, either immediately or later, among which five only were not from a French perspective. Only three accounts on the part of the assaulted

(1) RICOEUR Paul, *Time and Narrative, Vol. 2*, Trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer, Repr, Univ. of Chicago Press, 2009, p. 20.

were published and two other Europeans': the British Consul's diary and the Austrian prince's account. Djebar questions and subverts these warriors' accounts. She rewrites the French captain Amable Matterer's account of the conquest of Algiers assuming: "[à] mon tour, j'écris dans sa langue, mais plus de cent cinquante ans après."⁽¹⁾ (*Fantasia*16) ('It is now my turn to tell a tale. To hand on words that were spoken, then written down. Words from more than a century ago.')(2)

This distanciation strategy is made clear when Djebar claims a personal perspective and uses a language reflecting her position as an outsider. For example, after having reported the French officer Pelissier's version of the massacres of the Dahra, where a whole tribe who took refuge in caves was annihilated by fire, she says:

[j]e reconstitue, à mon tour, cette nuit (...) Mais je préfère me tourner vers deux témoins oculaires: un officier espagnol [dont le témoignage a été publié dans le journal l'*Heraldo* (...) le second, un anonyme de la troupe [qui] décrira le drame à sa famille, dans une lettre que divulguera le docteur Christian.⁽³⁾

("I, in turn, piece together a picture of that night (...)But I prefer to turn to two eye-witnesses: first, a Spanish officer, fighting with the French army, and who formed part of the vanguard; he publishes his account in the Spanish newspaper the *Heraldo*. The second, an anonymous member of the company, describes the tragedy in a letter to his family that Dr Christian publishes.")⁽⁴⁾

In fact Djebar produces a counter-narrative to question, but also to appropriate the French archive-based truth. She claims a position of a

(1) DJEBAR, *Fantasia*, p.16.

(2) DJEBAR, *Cavalcade*, p. 165.

(3) Ibid., p. 103.

(4) DJEBAR, *Cavalcade*, pp. 70-71

reader and a (re-)writer of history as can be seen when the narrator states: “[d]ire à mon tour. Transmettre ce qui a été dit, puis écrit. Propos d’il y a plus d’un siècle”⁽¹⁾ (*Fantasia* 234) (“It is now my turn to tell a tale. To hand on words that were spoken, then written down. Words from more than a century ago.”)⁽²⁾ This is because she wants to hear other voices, come up with other versions from the other side as the French conqueror mobilized “quatre peintres, cinq dessinateurs et une dizaine de graveurs...”⁽³⁾ (“four painters, five draughtsmen and about a dozen engravers”)⁽⁴⁾. The mention of painting and sculpture here refers to the false claim to objectivity as what is supposedly expected from those artists is to faithfully translate outside truth into images. However, Djébar feels the need to penetrate this past in order to hear again all that happened: “je m’insinue, visiteuse importune, dans le vestibule de ce proche passé [...], suspendant mon soufflé pour tenter de tout réentendre”⁽⁵⁾ (“I slip into the antechamber of this recent past, like an importunate visitor, removing my sandals according to the accustomed ritual, holding my breath in an attempt to overhear everything.”)⁽⁶⁾

The writer delivers thus another version of history through fiction by exploring the neglected “‘dark areas’ of history, that is, (...) those aspects about which the ‘official’ record has nothing to report.”⁽⁷⁾ This serach operates within the frame of the dialectic of distancing and appropriation as can be seen when Djébar discusses the fumigations of the Dahra caves. She starts by comparing the French officers who entered the caves immediately after the massacre to “‘speleologists’ who go from cave to cave”⁽⁸⁾ and later on moves to a

(1) DJEBAR, *Fantasia*, p. 234

(2) DJEBAR, *Cavalcade*, p. 165

(3) DJEBAR, *Fantasia*, p. 17

(4) DJEBAR, *Cavalcade*, p. 8.

(5) DJEBAR, *Fantasia*, p. 17

(6) DJEBAR, *Cavalcade*, p.8.

(7) MCHALE Brian, *Postmodernist Fiction*, Reprinted, Routledge, 2001. p. 87

(8) DJEBAR, *Cavalcade*, p. 72.

university professor, E.F. Gauthier, who writes in his research: “There are few things as distant from current experience as a fumigation ... I am aware of my impartiality - I may say my dispassion - I don't in fact see how a spelaeologist can be otherwise.”⁽¹⁾ Finally she distances herself from these accounts and writes: “ I am practising a very special kind of spelaeology, since in my descent into those *dark caverns* my only hand-holds are words in the French language.”⁽²⁾ The appropriation aspect is enacted with her claim of practicing speleology, and distanciation operates through the precision that this is a “very special kind of speleology”

She also discusses the French Officer Barchou de Penhoën's account who, once back to Marseille, a month after the conquest, wrote down his impressions. On this account, Djebar writes: “(l)a fascination semble évidente de la part de ceux qui écrivent—et ils écrivent pour Paris”⁽³⁾ (“The fascination felt by these two writers is clear - and they both write for Paris”)⁽⁴⁾ In Barchou's account she stops at his emphasis on the Algerian women participation in fighting and their attitude towards the French.

In Section III of Part One Djebar discusses J.T. Merle's account. This is a man of letters, enrolled in the expedition as a chief secretary general. Ironic, she refers to his profession, as a director of the Porte-Saint-Martin Theatre to state that he had come Algeria to write as a “témoin installé sur les arrières de l'affrontement”⁽⁵⁾ (“a witness located in the rear of the action.”)⁽⁶⁾ This is clearly a rejection of the French testimonies whose reliability is questionable. Indeed, can a “witness” in the background be faithful?

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 77

(2) DJEBAR, *Cavalcade*, p.77.

(3) DJEBAR, *Fantasia*, p. 28

(4) DJEBAR, *Cavalcade*, p. 16.

(5) DJEABR, *Fantasia*, p. 45.

(6) DJEBAR, *Cavalcade*, p. 28.

Furthermore, in retelling the story of the conquest, Djebbar marks an opposition in fighting styles, tapping into her country's history of resistance to the West, going back to the Roman invasion. Here, she states that the Algerians fought the way the antique Numidians did, and as was reported by Roman chroniclers themselves, alluding to Sallust's report of the Jugurthine War.⁽¹⁾ In this re-appropriation of the past, Djebbar discusses T. Merle's account of the history of the conquest of Algiers. She deconstructs what she calls a "final tableau in the drama which Merle has thus constructed before our eyes."⁽²⁾ In fact, starting with the idea that Merle refuses to avow what the writer understands ("notre auteur n'avoue pas ce que nous comprenons par ailleurs"), she sets to rewrite History.

Djebbar's view of archives can be said to be consistent with the historians' care for their exploitation, taking into account the threat of their subjection to falsity for several reasons. These include fraud and fabrication, and unconsciously biased standpoints. Hence, the need for their evaluation. As a matter of fact, she re-evaluates past events and testimonies because, as Ricoeur says, these are not always viable. Moreover, in the absence of archives, and the impossibility of "pairing [of] testimony with a heuristics of evidentiary proof,"⁽³⁾ Djebbar reverts to imagination to interpret historical traces and supply alternative readings of the event. Consequently, she comes up with what she calls "a meditation on the gaps, the blanks (...) silence on the long list of remarkable women"⁽⁴⁾

Confronting what "might have happened [as the major concern of literature] to what actually did happen [which history takes in

(1) DJEBBAR, *Fantasia*, p. 26.

(2) DJEBBAR, *Cavalcade*, p. 32.

(3) RICOEUR, *Memory, History, and Forgetting*, pp.168-69.

(4) ZIMRA, Clarisse, "When the Past Answers Our Present": Assia Djebbar Talks About *Loin de Médine*, *Callaloo*, Vol. 16 (1), 1991, pp. 116-131.

charge,]”¹ Assia Djebar questions some aspects of history and makes use of imagination to add a fictional dimension to the narrative: this can be seen, for example, when she writes “ Je m’imagine, moi, que la femme de Hussein a négligé sa prière de l’aube.” (“I can imagine Hussein’s wife neglecting her dawn prayer to climb up too on to the terrace.”⁽²⁾ Or when she says about the fumigation: “...I imagine the details of this nocturnal tableau (...) I can’t say for sure what the military policy was; this is just a surmise; I am telling the story in my own way and is it so purposeless to imagine what motives these butchers had?”⁽³⁾

A professional historian, Djebar exploits every source available for her to come up with a revised version of her country’s history of colonization, and its past in general. She exploits books, reports, testimonies, newspapers, and private documents like letters. However, she synthesizes all this in a fictionalized history made also of feelings, dreams, intimacy, hopes and thwarted expectations of the individuals. Where evidentiary proof is missing, the writer imagines and surmises. This is the locus where history meets fiction.

3.2. “Plod (...) in the indelible footprints of truth”: Archives in *Orlando*

In *Orlando*, too, what Paul Ricoeur calls “historical traces” play an important role in this quest for truth. Here, testimonies, writings from the past, and archives are used in the search for the past ‘truth’. She highlights the idea of the importance of archives and knowing about the past in general in the Acknowledgements section of the novel where she thanks a myriad of people who, she writes, helped in writing the book with their expertise in history and museums. She cites “Miss M.K. Snowdon’s indefatigable researches in the archives

1 RICOEUR, *Time and Narrative, Vol. 3*, Trans. Kathleen Blarney and David Pellauer, The University of Chicago, 1988, p. 190.

(2) DJEBAR, *Cavalcade*, p. 8.

(3) DJEBAR, *Cavalcade*, pp. 71-73.

of Harrogate and Cheltenham were none the less arduous for being vain.”⁽¹⁾ In addition she thanks “the officials of the British Museum and Record Office for their wonted courtesy.”⁽²⁾

In *Orlando*, too, historical traces are very important. So much so that the biographer insists at the beginning of the second chapter that, contrary to the first, this part is not documented, and therefore he needs to resort to imagination to fill in the gaps. Besides, speaking about Orlando’s life as Ambassador in Constantinople, he feels that it is “indeed, highly, and much to be regretted that at this stage of Orlando’s career, when he played a very important part in the public life of his country, we have least information to go upon.”⁽³⁾ The fact is that there are holes in his documented life: “the revolution (...) and the fire which followed, have so damaged (...) that what we can give is lamentably incomplete.”⁽⁴⁾

This is so because “(o)ften the paper was scorched a deep brown in the middle of the most important sentence.”⁽⁵⁾ The biographer, acting as a historian regrets that “Just when we thought to elucidate a secret that has puzzled historians for a hundred years, there was a hole in the manuscript big enough to put your finger through.”⁽⁶⁾ These historical discontinuities, the reader could imply obscure some aspects in the story line. He, consequently, needs to rely on fragments to “piece together” a meaningful story. These fragments are so important for the biographer (historian?) to build a coherent picture because “(i)t is with fragments such as these that we must do our best to make up a picture of Orlando’s life and character at this time.”⁽⁷⁾

(1) WOOLF, “Preface”, *Orlando*, p.6.

(2) WOOLF, *Orlando*, p. 7.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 71.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) WOOLF, *Orlando*, p. 74.

History traces the two writers use in their works are similar: eye-witnesses testimonies, official documents, reports, and newspapers articles. For example, where Djebar relied on the Spanish newspaper *Heraldo*, the biographer in *Orlando* makes use of the *Gazette* of the time.⁽¹⁾ Moreover, where documents are absent, the narrators resort to imagination to complete their (hi)stories. When he is confronted with the lack of sources and documents the biographer says: “(w)e have done our best to piece out a meagre summary from the charred fragments that remain; but often it has been necessary to speculate, to surmise, and even to make use of the imagination.”⁽²⁾ This picture he makes out of fragments is completed with imagined aspects stemming from “rumours, legends, anecdotes of a floating and unauthenticated kind about Orlando’s life in Constantinople”. This is consistent with the idea of creating a coherent whole narrative from fragments, as discussed previously. The storyline incorporation of both facts and imagination send us back to the problem Woolf discusses in *Orlando*, that is, his despairing of “being able to solve the problem of what poetry is and what truth is” because “[he does not] see that one’s more true than another.”⁽³⁾ Consequently, life, either of an individual or a community is apprehended only when the two merge together.

4. CONCLUSION

To conclude, we can say that both Assia Djebar and Virginia Woolf had a sharp “historical sense”. However, despite their strong interest in the past, they did not believe it to be “out there” to fully apprehend by any form of knowledge, including history. If they questioned the way history had been written up to their time, they could not be said to reject history, nonetheless. The British writer challenged her fellow historians understanding of the discipline, and Djebar questioned the colonial version of history to produce counter-

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 77.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 71.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 60.

narratives showing and emphasising hidden aspects in colonial versions of history.

In fact, we could observe that the two writers' strategy consists in recuperating history strategies and historical discourse beliefs to refigure the past in another version. Thus, while they seem to conform to historical chronology, this is but a device used to point to its limits. The same is valid for archives: while they might be of a considerable help to get access to the past, documents can give rise to different and even conflicting interpretations. Assia Djebar reads and interprets the French officers' reports to confront them with other sources and draw different conclusions. Moreover, archives can be misleading; and when they are incomplete, interpretation and imagination come to the fore to fill in the process of reconfiguration. This way, the two writers do not fully reject history, but appropriate it and refigure it in a fictionalized narrative. As a result, their works can be interpreted as consistent with Paul Ricoeur's idea that "literary narratives and life histories, far from being mutually exclusive, are complementary, despite, or even because of, their contrast."⁽¹⁾ This research could have been completed by another aspect Ricoeur discusses in "Appropriation", that is, "playfulness", were it not for its limited scope. It opens up multiple research paths through the lens of hermeneutics.

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