

## «I SHALL INTERVENE, WITH NOMAD MEMORY AND INTERMITTENT VOICE»: RESURRECTING COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN ASSIA DJEBAR'S *FANTASIA*, *AN ALGERIAN CAVALCADE*

**Lobna Ben Salem**

*University of Jendouba, Tunisia*

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**Abstract** || In Assia Djebar's war narratives, it is women's voices and experiences that are at the centre of narration, in contrast to traditional male-centred narratives of war and conflict. In *Fantasia, an Algerian Cavalcade*, there are multiple female protagonists, survivors of independence war, who, through storytelling, present shifting perspectives and a multiplicity of voices that contest monological historical versions. By reassembling the fragments of individual identities, lost and forgotten by history, the writer forges collective identity, focussing on the communal rather than private aspect of memory.

The paper highlights the gender-specific nature of war memories; it examines the role of the narrative as a means of countering deficiencies of memory and combating historic amnesia.

Centred on the idea that memory constructs identity, the paper investigates the extent to which a gendered memory of war can contribute in shaping collective identity, bearing in mind the interdependence but also the dissonance of orality and texting.

**Key-words** || Memory | Collective identity | Algerian war of independence | Gender.

«I imagine you, the unknown woman, whose tale has been handed down by story-tellers... For now I too take my place in the fixed circle of listeners [...] I recreate you, the invisible woman [...] I resurrect you [...] that no letter from any French soldier was to describe»  
(Djebar, 1985: 189).

## 0. Introduction

Gendering and warring are cultural formations dialectically constructed in colonial and postcolonial contexts and are reproduced in fictional narratives. Assia Djebar, the Algerian woman writer, allows readers to look at narratives of war and their intersection with narratives of gender. My title flags up the dynamic exchange between gender and memory, inaugurating what Lindsey Moore calls a «feminist archaeology of traces» (Moore, 2008:63), where voice inspires memory and where women, warriors and survivors of the struggle for independence, strive to establish their identities as women but also as active agents of change.

Indeed, the exclusion of women's histories from male hegemonic discourses attempts to correct itself in Assia Djebar's war narratives as women create a counter script that gives voice to their forgotten and forbidden histories, empowering them in the process. It is through storytelling —a practice of indirect “witnessing” to an alienating history— that Djebar projects female collective memory of the trauma of war. Storytelling in this instance provides the arena for a unique occasion for subaltern women to edit the masochistic archives of Algerian colonial history. In this context, Cooke explains:

Women who choose to write about wars they have lived are defying an age old silencing code. Their speaking about now and in knowledge of their transgressions allows us to read back into the gaps and silences of the War Story. Their stories threaten the privilege assumed proper to the right to tell the War Story. As the right to tell diffuses among all who may claim to have had a war experience, however unrecognizable as such by the standard conventions, the masculine contract between violence, sexuality, and glory comes undone (Cooke, 1997: 293).

In light of this, I argue that reconciling the female self with history, whether for the author herself or for the fragmented voices of the diverse narrators, is essential for their identity formation and should inevitably include a gendered performativity of memory. So the first part of the article traces aspects of gendered remembrance and forgetfulness; the second part delineates the effects —both positive and negative— of remembering the body or *through* the body on female identity, while the last part muses over whether collective memory could survive in a foreign tongue, in other words the place of orality in her literary text.

The urgent need to rewrite history through fiction is voiced out by one female narrator: «Alas! We can't read or write. We don't leave any accounts of what we lived through and all we suffered!» (Djebar, 1985: 184) Put more theoretically:

Literary evidence affirms that during the Revolution, the Algerian women were not conscious of their opportunities... Consequently, it is not so surprising that they made no attempt to inscribe into the war text experiences that may have been transformative. When they have written, they have done so with little awareness of what military participation had meant [...] The Algerian Revolution came too soon in the history of Modern Arab women's discursive activism to serve as a catalyst for the inscription of feminist issues into the nationalist agenda [...] The difference between the Algerian and the Lebanese women who participated in their two wars was that the Algerian women did not have a feminist context, for example, no indigenous, independent feminist organization, within which to situate their struggle (Cooke, 1993: 185-186).

Thematically, the trope of memory in Djebar's war narratives opens up a space to write «a collective autobiography of the women of Algeria» (Hiddleston, 2006: 68), triggering a desire for self-knowledge that resist what Foucault calls «subjugated knowledges, knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task» (Foucault, 1980: 82). Mehta postulates that «In their role as communal scribes entrusted with the task of preserving collective memory from destruction and erasure, these women subscribe to an anti-war politics of remembering» (Mehta, 2007: 2). In this new politics of remembering, oral testimonies represent the vehicle through which memory operates outside and beyond the norms of writing. In *Fantasia*, if the war of colonization is retrieved from a documented history, the war of independence relies on the oral testimony of the women who took part in the struggle. Already chapter titles, "Voice", "Murmurs", "Clamour", "Whispers", "Dialogues" and "Soliloquy", emerge from the recesses of silence, that of the mother, daughter, sister, wife, and even child, to fill the gaps and ditch the holes of the cracked history in diverse locations as mountains, prisons, "douars" and poor hamlets.

On the structural level, memory is a unifying trope bringing harmony to the dissident and fragmented female narratives into a whole. The narration of memory offers a new style in each chapter; it violates narrative conventions which keep representation stable —especially the assumption that a single voice is tied to a specific character whose speech and memory are her own. There is a multivocality, a heteroglossia as Bakhtin would call it (Bakhtin, 1981: 272), that is structurally reflected in the various styles adopted in narration. On a metalevel, the novel vitiates the expectation that the text can be seen as the product of a coherent authorial agent as it is the case with the official master narratives. It also testifies to the fact that there

is no single War Story; the standard narrative —and with it the way we think about and conduct war— are dialogic rather than monologic (Bakhtin, 1981: 276).

Djebar's projection of a traumatized discursivity encapsulating the trauma of loss and mourning of partisan women, her syncretic manner of representation, her feminist approach to Algerian nationalism, her complex attitude to language and cultural memory anticipate the complexity of resurrecting female collective memory. The ethics of remembering and forgetting intertwine, blurring the boundaries between the two. Forgetting, as Nietzsche posits, becomes a positive strategy:

Forgetting is not simply a kind of inertia, as superficial minds tend to believe, but rather the active faculty to [...] provide some silence, a 'clean slate' for the unconscious, to make place for the new [...] those are the uses of what I have called an active forgetting.

The female voices «liff[ing] the burden of memory» (1985: 141), wrestling with the affliction of remembering, intimidate the author with their caution, with their distrust. The subjugated voices strategically decide of what to remember and what to forget: «Only speak of what conforms, my grandmother would reprove me: to deviate is dangerous, inviting disaster in its multiple disguises» (1985: 156). Transcribing female collective memory announces to be a difficult task for the writer:

Strange little sister, whom henceforth I leave veiled or whose story I now transcribe in a foreign tongue. Her body and her face are once more engulfed in shadow as she whispers her story – a butterfly displayed on a pin with the dust from its crushed wing staining one's finger (1985: 141) .

The fragility of the female narrator attests to her conformity to gender roles, committing her to silence and marginality: «the stilled voice bides its time, groans are stifled, grievances sublimated» (1985: 177). If she chooses to speak, she consciously sifts her buried memory to let out only what is less degrading. As evidenced in the novel, the hiding and deliberate self-effacement that female narrators opt for are not solitary activities, but are resorted to by women whenever the hurt is too deep and the trauma at its full: «What trials shall I tell you about, and which shall I leave to be forgotten» (1985: 160). If forgetfulness or selective remembering helps to overcome traumas, it also alludes to a loss of personal identity, and the fragmentation of subjectivity.

Of particular relevance to fragmentation of identity is when the storyteller evades the memory of rape. Once Algerian men have fled to join the maquis, the threat of rape becomes an endemic threat from which no woman is exempt: «I submitted to 'France', the

thirteen-year-old shepherd-girl might have said» (1985: 202). Almost all testimonies avoided relating sexual violence and embraced a code of silence to save their identities as mothers, sisters and wives: «As soon as we young women saw the French coming we never stayed inside. The old women stayed in the houses with the children; we went to hide in the undergrowth or near the wadi. If the enemy caught us we never said a word» (1985: 206-207). Memory becomes a site for struggle, not just of what to remember or forget but also of what to select and what to ignore, jeopardizing collective memory in the process. The author, in that case, is confronted with the dilemma of speaking the unspeakable, the unhearable, the taboo, and is urgent to allude to this fractured memory:

Once the soldiers were gone, once she has washed, tidied herself up, plaited her hair and tied the scarlet ribbon, all these actions reflected in the brackish water of the wadi, the woman, every woman, returns, one hour or two hours later, advances to face the world to prevent the chancre being opened in the tribal circle [...] rape will not be mentioned, will be respected. Swallowed. Until the next alarm (1985: 202).

Sometimes with a rhetoric question, the writer evasively wonders: «Can you imagine what would happen when they [French soldiers] arrived at a house and found women alone?» (1985: 187) The collective amnesia and silence concerning the issue of rape are inscribed and rooted in the colonial legacy and in gendered social and cultural productions, which are hard to contest. The author's duty is to challenge this legacy in order to help women reconcile with their memories and their identities:

How could a woman speak aloud, even in Arabic, unless on the threshold of extreme age? How could she say "I", since that would be to scorn the blanket-formulae which ensure that each individual journeys through life is a collective resignation? [...] How can she undertake to analyze her childhood, even if it turns out different? The difference if not spoken of, disappears.

[...] My oral tradition has gradually been overlaid and is in danger of vanishing [...] In writing of my childhood memories I am taken back to those bodies bereft of voices (1985: 156).

If forgetfulness testifies to women's alienation from their bodies and their identity and discloses their inability to cope with the trauma of violence, remembering is fulfilling and identity forming. In the majority of female narratives, the storyteller is highly voluble and intends to inscribe her own history of resistance both as an individual agent and as part of a collective scheme; and the author presents a wealth of female memories in relation to the war of resistance, contributing, hence, in the reconstruction of individual and collective female identity. What Mona Fayad has noted, in her article "Reinscribing Identity: Nation and Community in Arab Women's Writing", that «traditionally, women in nationalist narratives are posited as begetter, inspirer and

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protector of male subjectivity. The disembodiment of Woman in the national narrative and her mythification render it impossible to position her as an agent of change» (Fayad, 1995: 158), is of little relevance in Assia Djebar's accounts of female resistance. The female stories, then, blend together to shape a women's collective narrative, forming an amalgam of voices and experiences. Each individual memory presents a woman in a state of fulfillment, as aggressive, fearless, single-minded, actively engaged with resistance; there is for instance the memory of a thirteen year old shepherd-girl joining her brothers in the maquis, who had to carry the burden of burial and mourning of a brother killed in front of her eyes.

[...] that of the mother who bore the soldiers' tortures with never a whimper, that of the little cooped-up sisters, too young to understand, but bearing the message of wild-eyed anguish, the voice of the old women of the douar who face the horror of the approaching death-knell, open-mouthed, with palms of fleshless hands turned upwards (1985: 123).

But also of those who gave shelter and food to the *mūdjāhidīn*, carried arms up to the rebels in the mountains, joined the struggle, and were imprisoned, tortured, and murdered, and even those who sewed uniforms and flags, nursed the wounded, served as reporters, and even as money collectors.

Remembering the war for women means, inevitably, remembering the body. With Assia Djebar, collective memory is gendered, and has therefore to tamper with the body through which women find voice. What really escapes the documented war tales is that, in her narratives, Djebar lets women speak their bodies, with all the pain and trauma inherent in it. The way women bespeak their pain in front of the war atrocities is imbued with a body language absent from official historic versions. The dynamics of counter-discourse occurs through the recourse to a female prerequisite that is sensual and intuitive. Indeed:

The fourth language, for all females, young or old, cloistered or half-emancipated, remains that of the body: the body which [...] in trances, dances or vociferations, in fits of hope or despair, rebels, and unable to read or write, seeks some unknown shore as destination for its message of love (1985: 180).

Elia rightly postulates that «the venue left for these women is the preverbal —physical expression, movements, sounds, trances and dances— functioning outside the reach of any Symbolic discourse and which can thereby communicate the inducible» (Elia, 2001: 22). So, it is all incomprehensible and enigmatic to those representing not only Patriarchy but also Imperialism. When the war is waged, «the women's shrill ululation improvises for the fighting men a threnody of war in some alien idiom: our chroniclers are haunted by the distant

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sound of half-human cries, cacophony of keening, ear-splitting hieroglyphs of a wild, collective voice» (1985: 56). In this frenzied hysteria of primeval sounds and movements, the body fulfills itself and identity is complete. Rhythm and sense displace language and discourse in a ritual that expels pain and invokes serenity. In the trance scene, for instance, women, the grandmother as such, fights lethargy and silence with dances not words:

The matriarch was normally the only one of the women who never complained; she condescended to mouth the formulas of submission disdainfully; but this extravagant or derisory ceremonial which she regularly organized was her own way of protesting... Against whom? Against the others or against fate? I wondered. But when she danced, she became indubitably queen of the city. Cocooned in the primitive music, she drew her daily strength before our very eyes. The haughty matron's voice and body gave me a glimpse of the source of all our sorrows: like half obliterated signs which we spend the rest of our lives trying to decipher (1985: 145).

Bodily performances by female protagonists take the form of verbal and physical challenges, highlighting the strategic use of those same female bodies, often the only available avenue for resistance. Women seem to wield power through their bodies, transforming them to active agents serving resistance, and discarding their biological and sexual functions as begetters of life and desired objects.

Any discussion of the war and its lingering memories is painful. Pain, inseparable from the subaltern body, shapes the construction of female identity. The reader is projected within the language and bodies of trauma; the rendering of physical suffering is accentuated by a deeper feeling of humiliation and disgrace. We have a body that is tortured, maimed, beaten, and broken; but all the more provoking and shameless. Instances in the novel are numerous from Cherifa who is tortured with electric chocks and who defies colonial authority with her hunger strikes, to Lla Zohra, the elderly woman, whose house and farm were burnt several times, and who was herself eventually burnt:

My hair caught fire. And the child who was crying with fright, shouted, 'Mother, the fire's eating you up! The fire is eating you up! That's how I lost all my hair. I hurled myself into the water. But more burning embers fell on me [...] (1985: 161).

Surprisingly enough, pain liberated these women and urged them to speak. Elaine Scarry argues that during torture «the body is its pain, a shrill sentience that hurts and is hugely alarmed by its hurt, and the body is its scars, thick and forgetful unmindful of its hurt, unmindful of anything, mute and insensate» (Scarry, 1985: 31). Whether speaking for themselves or being spoken for by other female mediators, the body is at the center of physical and moral



articulation. Through narrating their suffering, subaltern women are empowered and effectively take control of that pain, wresting power from their torturer and appropriating it for themselves. In that sense, rendering personal memory public is liberating.

Remembering the body entails remembering *through* the body. As pain defines voice and body, it is also discursively inscribed and affects writing itself. Djébar underscores the nexus between pain and language, betraying an eventual failure to resurrect female private memories, and announcing the difficulty of the task. The sensory numbness that a male officer experiences as he reports colonial violence could very well apply to the writer herself:

Bosquet muses over the youth killed defending his sister in the luxurious tent; he recalls the anonymous woman whose foot had been hacked off, 'cut off for the sake of the *khalkhal*...' Suddenly as he inserts these words, they prevent the ink of the whole letter from drying: because of the obscenity of the torn flesh that he could not suppress in his description (1985: 56).

In *The Body in Pain*, Scarry claims that resistance to language is essential to pain: «Intense pain is [...] language-destroying: as the content of one's world disintegrates, so the content of one's language disintegrates; as the self disintegrates, so that which would express and project the self is robbed of its source and subject» (Scarry, 1985: 35). The narrator adheres to non-verbal expressions «I do not claim here to be either a story-teller or a scribe. On the territory of dispossession, I would that I could sing» (Djébar, 1985: 142). This could explain the narrator's inability of verbal articulation and her recourse to semiotics: preverbal, sensual lexicography in face of language's inability to transcend pain:

To read this writing, I must lean over backwards, plunge my face into the shadows, closely examine the vaulted roof of rock or chalk, lend an ear to the whispers that rise up from time out of mind, study this geology stained red with blood. What magma of sounds lies rotting there? What stench of petrification seeps out? I grope about, my sense of smell aroused, my ears alert, in this rising tide of ancient pain. Alone, stripped bare, unveiled, I face these images of darkness... How are the sounds of the past to be met as they emerge from the well of bygone centuries?... What love must still be sought, what future be planned, despite the call of the dead? And my body reverberates with sounds from the endless landslide of generations of my lineage (1985: 64).

The transactions between language and body that could help identity formation —both for the writer and her foremothers— dissolve, for «the language of pain», as posited, «could only be a kind of hysteria —the surface of the body becomes a carnival of images and the depth becomes a site for hysterical pregnancies— the language having all the phonetic excess of hysteria that destroys apparent meaning»

(Das, 2004: 331). The writer's fractured relation to language, evidenced in her failure to articulate her compatriots' memory of pain is a testimony that colonial subjugation did not affect female social identity but also the artistic one; for «denial of the other's pain is not about the failing of the intellect but the failings of the spirit. In the register of the imaginary, the pain of the other not only asks for a home in language, but also seeks a home in the body» (Das, 2004: 332).

For Algerian women, the memory of war entailed a revision and reappropriation of their gendered identities since their war stories contested and deconstructed the discursive layers of phallogocentric war discourse, where gender hierarchies are established on binary oppositions. Indeed, in Cooke's words:

Their stories contest the acceptance of a dyadically structured world and make a mockery of such notions as Defender and Defended. If women describe and write themselves as having had a war experience at home then they deny two critical binaries: home versus front and civilian versus combatant. The breakdown of those binaries then allows us to see the cracks in others such as victory versus defeat, fact versus fiction, action versus writing, experience versus recording, war versus peace (Cooke, 1997: 296).

This compels attention to «women's transgressive presence in a space and experience programmatically said to exclude them. Women are showing how the binaries used to construct the War Story are fictions» (Cooke, 1997: 19). One of these binaries is the private sphere versus the public. In women's memory of war, the immune space of home, representing the feminine and the domestic is entirely eroded. The domestic spaces traditionally occupied by women were often more of a frontline than the mountains where male resistance occurs: «Our men ran away: they didn't want to wait for the enemy's reprisals. We women were left to bear the brunt» (1985: 206). In another context, the idea of home —the harem— disappears altogether when houses are repeatedly burned or violated by the colonizer's gaze. Women are lauded for the passive form their resistance took; their protest was feminine, silent, caring and maternal: «All the women in the house did the same thing, howling louder and louder: enough to deafen them all» (1985: 207). Action/non-action, passivity/activity, knowledge/ignorance binaries fuse as silence becomes an active tool of resisting the enemy. This is how a girl defeated the enemy's desire to make her speak:

To the little girl I'd adopted; I kept on saying, 'if they question you, begin to cry! If they ask, 'Who comes to visit your mother? What does she do' you must begin to cry immediately... if you say a word, they will ask more questions! Just cry! That's all you must do!' and that's what she did. She burst into tears, she rolled about in the sand, she ran away in a flood of tears (1985: 160).

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The memory of war, though painful, contested historic discourses that stigmatized women to invisibility and marginality, and attested to the fact that female identity is volatile and escapes coded definitions.

The fact that Djébar has to inscribe female collective memory of war in a foreign tongue has far reaching consequences. Her «dual maternal/paternal identification» (Ringrose, 2006: 58) —writing about her foremothers in the language of the colonizer that the father taught her— is deemed both liberating and repressive. In fact, «linguistic choices encode cultural belonging or alienation; the loss and recovery of one's own tongue juggling new words and new worlds is a constant negotiation for these writers» (Katrak, 2006: 27). Djébar acknowledges this dichotomy and alludes to the inherent dissonance between orality and texting:

I have captured your voice ; disguised it with my French without clothing it... the words that I thought to put in your mouth are shrouded in the same mourning garb as those of Bosquet or Saint-Arnaud. Actually, it is they who are writing to each other, using my hand, since I condone this bastardy, the only cross-breeding that the ancestral beliefs do not condemn : that of language, not that of the blood... torch-words which light up my women companions, my accomplices ; these words divide me from them once and for all. And weigh me down as I leave my native land (1985: 142).

Her sense of guilt at being alienated from the mother tongue while acknowledging the artistic potential the language of the conqueror has allowed destabilizes the writer's sense of identity: «I know that every language is a dark depository for piled-up corpses[...] but faced with the language of the former conqueror, which offers me its ornaments, its jewels, its flowers, I find they are the flowers of death —chrysanthemums on tombs» (1985: 181). The writer's exclusion and sense of betrayal trigger her desire to reconcile with her motherland, her identity; so, she records women's stories and reproduces them resurrecting their collective identities and hers in the process. In this context, having shown her ability to speak, the question of whether the subaltern can read her own war testimonies is of little importance. If Assia Djébar writes, it is not just for the sake of these individual forgotten women, but for collective women's memory in general, for posterity. If these stories of resistance are not recorded, the risk of their erasure from historical memory is imminent. Testimonial narratives, once delivered, are stripped from their privacy and become public properties, acquiring a polymorphic, multi-bodied voice. The voice of these women will keep resonating through the blending of Berberic and Arabic accents and intonations into the French text. This linguistic hybridity allows the creation of a "third space", neither Arabic nor French, where the writer could reconcile with her exilic self and her dispersed origins; a space where

“torch-words... light up my women-companions, my accomplices.”  
(Djebar, 142).

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With Boehmer’s queries in mind «if the structures of nations or nation-states are soldered onto the struts of gender hierarchies, and if the organisation of power in the nation is profoundly informed by those structures, how then is the nation to be imagined outside of gender?» (Boehmer, 2005: 30). Djebar reiterates the trouble in intersecting gender and war, especially when the medium is memory. Through her compelling rhetoric to give preeminence to the role of women in the national struggle, her diligent efforts to give them voice and to combat the ways in which they have been silenced by colonial and patriarchal power structures, she emphasized their role as witnesses and survivors, and as the backbone of the struggle. Collective memory has proved the archetypal force that gave shape to subaltern identity and experience, but also the healing force that reconciled the writer with her origins.

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# «INTERVENDRÉ, CON UNA MEMORIA NÓMADA Y VOZ INTERMITENTE»: LA RESURRECCIÓN DE LA MEMORIA COLECTIVA EN *EL AMOR, LA FANTASÍA* DE ASSIA DJEBAR

**Lobna Ben Salem**

*Universidad de Jendouba, Túnez*

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**Resumen** || En los relatos de guerra de Assia Djebar, son las voces y experiencias femeninas las que ocupan el centro de la narración, a diferencia de los relatos de guerra y conflictos tradicionales, centrados en figuras masculinas. Su obra *El amor, la fantasía* cuenta con múltiples protagonistas femeninas, supervivientes de la guerra de independencia argelina, quienes presentan, mediante la narración de historias, unos puntos de vista cambiantes y una gran diversidad de voces que ponen en tela de juicio las versiones históricas monológicas. Al recomponer los fragmentos de las identidades individuales perdidas y olvidadas por la historia, la escritora logra forjar una identidad colectiva, centrándose en el aspecto comunitario, en lugar de en el privado, de la memoria.

El presente trabajo hace hincapié en la naturaleza específica de los recuerdos de guerra desde la perspectiva de género. Asimismo, estudia el papel de la narrativa como medio para hacer frente a las deficiencias de la memoria y combatir la amnesia histórica.

Centrado en la idea de que la memoria construye la identidad, este trabajo examina hasta qué punto la memoria de género puede contribuir a la configuración de una identidad colectiva, teniendo en cuenta la interdependencia, así como la disonancia, entre oralidad y escritura.

**Palabras clave** || Memoria | Identidad colectiva | Guerra de independencia argelina | Género

**Abstract** || In Assia Djebar's war narratives, it is women's voices and experiences that are at the centre of narration, in contrast to traditional male-centred narratives of war and conflict. In *Fantasia, an Algerian Cavalcade*, there are multiple female protagonists, survivors of independence war, who, through storytelling, present shifting perspectives and a multiplicity of voices that contest monological historical versions. By reassembling the fragments of individual identities, lost and forgotten by history, the writer forges collective identity, focussing on the communal rather than private aspect of memory.

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(Djebar, 1985: 189).

## 0. Introducción

La perspectiva de género y los conflictos de guerra son configuraciones culturales construidas dialécticamente en contextos coloniales y postcoloniales que se reproducen, a su vez, en las narraciones de ficción. La escritora argelina Assia Djebar permite a los lectores examinar las narraciones de guerra y su cruce con las narraciones de género. El título de mi artículo llama la atención sobre el intercambio dinámico entre el género y la memoria, inaugurando lo que Lindsey Moore denomina una «arqueología feminista de los vestigios» (Moore, 2008: 63), en la que la voz estimula la memoria y las mujeres, guerreras y supervivientes de la lucha por la independencia, se esfuerzan por consolidar su identidad como féminas, pero también como agentes activos del cambio.

De hecho, las narraciones de guerra de Assia Djebar pretenden corregir la exclusión de las historias de mujeres de los discursos hegemónicos masculinos, pues en ellas las mujeres elaboran un argumento de réplica que da voz a sus historias olvidadas y prohibidas y les atribuye poderes en el proceso. Es precisamente mediante la narración de historias —una práctica de «testificación» indirecta de una historia alienante— que Djebar logra proyectar una memoria colectiva del trauma de la guerra. En este caso, la narración de historias brinda a las mujeres subalternas la palestra ideal y una ocasión única para que corrijan los archivos masoquistas de la historia colonial argelina. En este contexto, Cooke explica:

Women who choose to write about wars they have lived are defying an age old silencing code. Their speaking about now and in knowledge of their transgressions allows us to read back into the gaps and silences of the War Story. Their stories threaten the privilege assumed proper to the right to tell the War Story. As the right to tell diffuses among all who may claim to have had a war experience, however unrecognizable as such by the standard conventions, the masculine contract between violence, sexuality, and glory comes undone (Cooke, 1997: 293).

En vista de esto, sostengo que la reconciliación de la mujer con la historia, ya sea la de la propia autora o la de las voces fragmentadas de las diversas narradoras, es esencial para la configuración de su identidad y debería incluir forzosamente una performatividad de género de la memoria. Así pues, en la primera parte del artículo analizo aspectos del recuerdo y del olvido en función del género; en la segunda parte defino los efectos, tanto positivos como negativos,



de recordar el cuerpo o a través del cuerpo de la identidad femenina; en la tercera y última parte reflexiono sobre si la memoria colectiva podría sobrevivir en una lengua extranjera, es decir, sobre el lugar que ocupa la oralidad en el texto literario femenino.

Una de las narradoras femeninas expresa la necesidad urgente de reescribir la historia por medio de la ficción: «¡Ay de nosotras! No sabemos leer ni escribir. No dejamos relato alguno de lo que hemos vivido ni de todo lo que hemos sufrido!» (Djebar, 1985: 184). O lo que es lo mismo, pero escrito de forma más teórica:

Literary evidence affirms that during the Revolution, the Algerian women were not conscious of their opportunities... Consequently, it is not so surprising that they made no attempt to inscribe into the war text experiences that may have been transformative. When they have written, they have done so with little awareness of what military participation had meant [...] The Algerian Revolution came too soon in the history of Modern Arab women's discursive activism to serve as a catalyst for the inscription of feminist issues into the nationalist agenda [...] The difference between the Algerian and the Lebanese women who participated in their two wars was that the Algerian women did not have a feminist context, for example, no indigenous, independent feminist organization, within which to situate their struggle (Cooke, 1993: 185-186).

Temáticamente, en las narraciones de guerra de Djebar el tropo de la memoria abre un espacio para escribir «una autobiografía colectiva de las mujeres de Argelia» (Hiddleston, 2006: 68), que provoca un deseo de conocimiento de sí mismas que resiste lo que Foucault llama «conocimientos subyugados, conocimientos que han sido rechazados por inadecuados para su propósito» (Foucault, 1980: 82). Mehta postula que «en su papel de escribas comunitarias a las que se les ha confiado la tarea de preservar la memoria colectiva de la destrucción y desaparición, estas mujeres se muestran partidarias de una política antibelicista del recuerdo» (Mehta, 2007: 2). En esta nueva postura política del recuerdo, los testimonios orales representan el vehículo mediante el que la memoria actúa fuera y más allá de las normas de escritura. En *El amor, la fantasía*, así como la guerra de la colonización se recupera de la historia documentada, la guerra de la independencia depende de los testimonios orales de las mujeres que tomaron parte en la lucha. Incluso los títulos de los capítulos, *Voice* («Voz»), *Murmurs* («Murmullos»), *Clamour* («Clamor»), *Whispers* («Susurros»), *Dialogues* («Diálogos») y *Soliloquy* («Soliloquio»), emergen de la suspensión del silencio – del de la madre, hija, hermana, esposa, e incluso niña–, para llenar lagunas y deshacerse de las brechas de una historia agrietada, presente en lugares tan diversos como montañas, prisiones, *duares* (del árabe «douar», poblado) y aldeas pobres.

Desde el punto de vista estructural, la memoria es un tropo unificador

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que aporta armonía a las narraciones femeninas disidentes y fragmentadas y logra unificarlas. La narración de la memoria presenta un nuevo estilo en cada capítulo e infringe las convenciones narrativas que confieren estabilidad a la representación (sobre todo la asunción de que una única voz está vinculada a un personaje concreto, cuya forma de hablar y memoria son las suyas propias). Existe una multivocalidad, una heteroglosia como diría Bakhtin (Bakhtin, 1981: 272), que aparece reflejada estructuralmente en los diversos estilos adoptados en la narración. Desde un punto de vista metaliterario, esta novela menoscaba la expectativa de que el texto puede considerarse como producto del agente coherente de la autora, como es el caso de las narraciones o metarrelatos oficiales. También declara el hecho de que no existe una única historia bélica, puesto que la narración habitual –y, con ella, el modo en que pensamos sobre la guerra y la manera en que la llevamos a cabo–, es dialógica en lugar de monológica (Bakhtin, 1981: 276).

La proyección de Djebar de una discursividad traumatizada en la que se encierra el trauma de la pérdida y el duelo de las mujeres partisanas, su forma de representación sincrética, su enfoque feminista del nacionalismo argelino, su compleja postura ante la memoria lingüística y cultural prevé la complejidad de resucitar la memoria colectiva femenina. La ética del recuerdo y la del olvido se entrecruzan, lo que desdibuja las fronteras existentes entre ambas. De este modo, el olvido se convierte, tal y como postula Nietzsche, en una estrategia positiva:

El olvido no es una mera *vis inertiae*, como creen los superficiales; es más bien una facultad inhibitoria activa [...] a la que hay que atribuir [...] un poco de calma, un poco de tabula rasa de la consciencia, a fin de que vuelva a haber sitio para lo nuevo [...] esta es la utilidad del, como hemos dicho, olvido activo.

Las voces femeninas «levantan el peso de la memoria» (1985: 141) y luchan con la aflicción del recuerdo, logrando intimidar a la autora con su prudencia y recelo. Las voces subyugadas deciden de manera estratégica qué recordar y qué olvidar: «Habla únicamente de lo que resulte conforme, me reprobaba mi abuela. Desviarse de ese camino es peligroso e invita al desastre en sus múltiples disfraces» (1985: 156). Transcribir la memoria colectiva femenina se declara, por tanto, como una tarea difícil para la escritora:

Strange little sister, whom henceforth I leave veiled or whose story I now transcribe in a foreign tongue. Her body and her face are once more engulfed in shadow as she whispers her story – a butterfly displayed on a pin with the dust from its crushed wing staining one's finger (1985: 141) .

La fragilidad de la narradora da fe de su conformidad con los roles de género, que la destinan al silencio y a la marginalidad: «La

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voz acallada espera la hora propicia, se sofocan los quejidos y se subliman las quejas» (1985: 177). Si se decide a hablar, tamiza de forma consciente su memoria enterrada para dejar salir solamente aquello que resulta menos degradante. Como se manifiesta en la novela, la ocultación y la modestia premeditada por las que optan las narradoras no son actividades aisladas, sino que las mujeres recurren a ellas cuando el daño es demasiado profundo y el trauma se manifiesta con toda intensidad: «De qué padecimientos te hablaré y de cuáles prescindiré para olvidarlos» (1985: 160). Si bien el olvido o el recuerdo selectivo ayudan a superar traumas, también aluden a una pérdida de identidad personal y a la fragmentación de la subjetividad.

Resulta de especial importancia con respecto a la fragmentación de la identidad cuando la contadora de historias evita el recuerdo de una violación. Una vez que los varones argelinos huyen para unirse a los maquis, la amenaza de violación se convierte en un peligro endémico del que ninguna mujer está libre: «Me rendí a “Francia”, había declarado la pastora de trece años» (1985: 202). Prácticamente todos los testimonios evitaron referirse a la violencia sexual y adoptaron un código de silencio para preservar sus identidades como madres, hermanas y esposas: «Nosotras, las mujeres jóvenes, nos marchábamos de casa tan pronto como veíamos que se acercaban los franceses. Las ancianas permanecían en sus casas con los niños; nosotras íbamos a escondernos entre los matorrales o cerca del cauce del río. Si el enemigo nos descubría, nunca decíamos ni una palabra» (1985: 206-207). La memoria se convierte en un escenario de lucha, no sólo por qué recordar u olvidar, sino también por qué elegir y qué ignorar, arriesgando por el camino la memoria colectiva. En ese caso, la autora se enfrenta al dilema de hablar de lo innumerable, de lo inaudito, de lo tabú, y aludir a esa memoria fragmentada se convierte en un asunto de urgencia:

Once the soldiers were gone, once she has washed, tidied herself up, plaited her hair and tied the scarlet ribbon, all these actions reflected in the brackish water of the wadi, the woman, every woman, returns, one hour or two hours later, advances to face the world to prevent the chancre being opened in the tribal circle [...] rape will not be mentioned, will be respected. Swallowed. Until the next alarm (1985: 202).

A veces, mediante una pregunta retórica, la escritora se cuestiona de forma evasiva: «¿Se imagina que pasaría si [los soldados franceses] llegaran a una casa y se encontraran a una mujer sola?» (1985: 187). La amnesia colectiva y el silencio en torno a la cuestión de la violación se inscriben y arraigan en el legado colonial y en las obras sociales y culturales de género, factores difíciles de rebatir. La obligación de la autora consiste en desafiar dicho legado para ayudar a las mujeres a reconciliarse con sus memorias e identidades:

How could a woman speak aloud, even in Arabic, unless on the threshold of extreme age? How could she say "I", since that would be to scorn the blanket-formulae which ensure that each individual journeys through life is a collective resignation? [...] How can she undertake to analyze her childhood, even if it turns out different? The difference if not spoken of, disappears.

[...] My oral tradition has gradually been overlaid and is in danger of vanishing [...] In writing of my childhood memories I am taken back to those bodies bereft of voices (1985: 156).

Así como el olvido da fe de la alienación de las mujeres respecto a sus cuerpos e identidades y revela su incapacidad de enfrentarse al trauma de la violencia, el recuerdo proporciona satisfacción y contribuye a formar la identidad. En la mayoría de narraciones femeninas, la narradora es sumamente locuaz y pretende escribir su propia historia de resistencia como agente individual al mismo tiempo que como parte de un proyecto colectivo. Asimismo, la autora presenta una abundancia de recuerdos femeninos relacionados con la guerra de resistencia, con lo que contribuye, por tanto, a la reconstrucción de la identidad femenina personal y colectiva. En su artículo *Reinscribing Identity: Nation and Community in Arab Women's Writing* («Reescribir la identidad: nación y comunidad en la escritura de las mujeres árabes»), Mona Fayad apunta que «tradicionalmente, en las narraciones nacionalistas se retrata a las mujeres como creadoras, inspiradoras y protectoras de la subjetividad masculina. La incorporeidad de la Mujer en la narrativa nacional y su mitificación hacen que resulte imposible situarla como agente de cambio» (Fayad, 1995: 158), lo cual reviste poca relevancia en las consideraciones de Assia Djebar acerca de la resistencia femenina. Las historias femeninas, por lo tanto, se entremezclan para configurar una narrativa femenina colectiva, formada por una amalgama de voces y experiencias. Cada memoria personal presenta a una mujer en estado de realización, agresiva, valiente, resuelta y que participa activamente en la resistencia. Contamos, por ejemplo, con los recuerdos de una pastora de trece años que se unió a los maquis, de los que sus hermanos formaban parte, y tuvo que cargar con el peso que supone el entierro y el luto por uno de sus hermanos, al que mataron delante de ella:

[...] that of the mother who bore the soldiers' tortures with never a whimper, that of the little cooped-up sisters, too young to understand, but bearing the message of wild-eyed anguish, the voice of the old women of the douar who face the horror of the approaching death-knell, open-mouthed, with palms of fleshless hands turned upwards (1985: 123).

Pero también disponemos de los recuerdos de aquellas mujeres que dieron cobijo y comida a los *mūdjāhidīn*, subieron armas a los rebeldes escondidos en las montañas, se unieron a la lucha y fueron encarceladas, torturadas y asesinadas, así como los de aquellas que cosieron uniformes y banderas, atendieron a los heridos y ejercieron

de reporteras e incluso de recaudadoras de dinero.

Para las mujeres, recordar la guerra significa, inevitablemente, acordarse de su cuerpo. Con Assia Djebar, la memoria colectiva adquiere una perspectiva de género y tiene, por tanto, que manipular el cuerpo a través del que las mujeres encuentran su voz. Lo que realmente se desprende de los relatos de guerra documentados es que, en sus narraciones, Djebar deja a las mujeres hablar con sus cuerpos, con todo el dolor y trauma inherentes a él. La manera en que las mujeres indican su dolor ante las atrocidades de la guerra está imbuida de un lenguaje corporal ausente en las versiones históricas oficiales. La dinámica del contradiscurso surge mediante el recurso a un prerrequisito femenino sensual e intuitivo. De hecho:

The fourth language, for all females, young or old, cloistered or half-emancipated, remains that of the body: the body which [...] in trances, dances or vociferations, in fits of hope or despair, rebels, and unable to read or write, seeks some unknown shore as destination for its message of love (1985: 180).

Como postula Elia acertadamente, «el escenario del que disponen estas mujeres es el preverbal –la expresión física, los movimientos, sonidos, trances y bailes– que funciona fuera del alcance de cualquier discurso simbólico y que puede, de ese modo, comunicar lo inducible» (Elia, 2001: 22). Así pues, todo ello resulta incomprensible y enigmático para quienes representan no sólo el patriarcado, sino también el imperialismo. Cuando se hace la guerra, «el agudo ululato de las mujeres improvisa para los soldados un lamento de guerra emitido en un idioma extraño. El sonido distante de unos gritos medios humanos, la cacofonía de los lamentos, los jeroglíficos ensordecedores de una voz salvaje y colectiva persiguen a nuestras cronistas» (1985: 56). En esta histeria frenética de sonidos y movimientos primitivos, el cuerpo se realiza y la identidad se muestra completa. El ritmo y el sentido desplazan al lenguaje y al discurso en un ritual que expulsa el dolor e invoca serenidad. En la escena de trance, por ejemplo, las mujeres, y entre ellas la abuela, luchan contra el letargo y el silencio con bailes en lugar de palabras:

The matriarch was normally the only one of the women who never complained; she condescended to mouth the formulas of submission disdainfully; but this extravagant or derisory ceremonial which she regularly organized was her own way of protesting... Against whom? Against the others or against fate? I wondered. But when she danced, she became indubitably queen of the city. Cocooned in the primitive music, she drew her daily strength before our very eyes.

The haughty matron's voice and body gave me a glimpse of the source of all our sorrows: like half obliterated signs which we spend the rest of our lives trying to decipher (1985: 145).

Las actuaciones corporales de las protagonistas adquieren la forma

de retos verbales y físicos, lo que subraya el uso estratégico de los mismos cuerpos femeninos que a menudo representan la única vía disponible de resistencia. Las mujeres parecen ejercer poder mediante sus cuerpos, a los que transforman en agentes activos al servicio de la resistencia. Igualmente, rechazan sus funciones biológicas y sexuales como creadoras de vida y objetos de deseo.

Cualquier discusión sobre la guerra y sus persistentes recuerdos es dolorosa. El dolor, inseparable del cuerpo subalterno, configura la construcción de la identidad femenina. El lector se proyecta en el lenguaje y cuerpos del trauma y un sentimiento más profundo de humillación e ignominia realza la interpretación del sufrimiento físico. Nos encontramos con un cuerpo torturado, mutilado, derrotado y destrozado, pero tanto más provocador y descarado. En la novela hay numerosos ejemplos de esto, desde Cherifa, quien pese a ser torturada con descargas eléctricas desafía a la autoridad colonial mediante huelgas de hambre, hasta Lla Zohra, la anciana cuya casa y granja fueron quemadas varias veces y que al final murió también entre las llamas:

My hair caught fire. And the child who was crying with fright, shouted, 'Mother, the fire's eating you up! The fire is eating you up! That's how I lost all my hair. I hurled myself into the water. But more burning embers fell on me [...] (1985: 161).

Sorprendentemente, fue el dolor lo que liberó a estas mujeres y las alentó a hablar. Elaine Scarry sostiene que durante la tortura «el cuerpo es su dolor, un grito que duele y se inquieta enormemente ante dicho dolor; y el cuerpo son sus cicatrices, gruesas, olvidadizas, ajenas a su propio dolor, ajenas a todo, mudas e insensibles. Tanto si hablan por sí mismas como si otras mediadoras hablan por ellas, el cuerpo es el centro de la articulación física y moral. Mediante la narración de su sufrimiento, las mujeres subalternas adquieren poder y logran controlar su dolor con eficacia, al luchar contra sus torturadores por el poder y apropiarse de él. En ese sentido, convertir su memoria personal en pública es un acto liberador.

Acordarse del cuerpo conlleva recordar *a través* del cuerpo. Puesto que el dolor define la voz y el cuerpo, también se inscribe de forma discursiva y afecta a la propia escritura. Djebar subraya el nexo entre dolor y lenguaje, lo que revela el fracaso final de resucitar recuerdos femeninos privados y expone la dificultad de semejante tarea. El embotamiento sensorial que experimenta un oficial al informar sobre la violencia colonial podría también aplicarse a la propia escritora:

Bosquet muses over the youth killed defending his sister in the luxurious tent; he recalls the anonymous woman whose foot had been hacked off, 'cut off for the sake of the *khalkhal*...' Suddenly as he inserts these words, they prevent the ink of the whole letter from drying: because of the

obscurity of the torn flesh that he could not suppress in his description (1985: 56).

En su obra *The Body in Pain* («El cuerpo dolorido»), reivindica que la resistencia al lenguaje es esencial para el dolor: «El dolor intenso [...] destruye el lenguaje. A medida que se desintegra el contenido del mundo de una persona, se desintegra también el contenido de su lenguaje; a medida que el yo se desintegra, se priva de fuente y argumento a todo lo que ese yo expresaría y proyectaría» (Scarry, 1985: 35). La narradora se aferra a expresiones no verbales: «Con esto no pretendo ser ni una contadora de historias ni una escriba. Pero, en el terreno del desposeimiento, sí afirmaré que sé cantar» (Djebbar, 1985: 142). Esto podría explicar la incapacidad de la narradora para la articulación verbal y su recurso a la semiótica: una lexicografía preverbal y sensual en vista de la incapacidad del lenguaje para trascender el dolor:

To read this writing, I must lean over backwards, plunge my face into the shadows, closely examine the vaulted roof of rock or chalk, lend an ear to the whispers that rise up from time out of mind, study this geology stained red with blood. What magma of sounds lies rotting there? What stench of petrification seeps out? I grope about, my sense of smell aroused, my ears alert, in this rising tide of ancient pain. Alone, stripped bare, unveiled, I face these images of darkness...

How are the sounds of the past to be met as they emerge from the well of bygone centuries?... What love must still be sought, what future be planned, despite the call of the dead? And my body reverberates with sounds from the endless landslide of generations of my lineage (1985: 64).

Las transacciones entre el lenguaje y el cuerpo que podían contribuir a la formación de la identidad –tanto para la escritora como para sus antepasados femeninos– se disuelven, ya que «el lenguaje del dolor», tal y como postula, «sólo podría ser una especie de histeria – la parte exterior del cuerpo se convierte en un carnaval de imágenes y el interior se transforma en escenario de embarazos psicológicos–» (que en inglés se denominan *hysterical* –«histéricos»–) «ya que el lenguaje cuenta con todo el exceso fonético de la histeria que destruye el significado aparente» (Das, 2004: 331). La relación fragmentada que la escritora mantiene con el lenguaje, demostrada por su fracaso a la hora de articular los recuerdos dolorosos de sus compatriotas, es señal de que la subyugación colonial no sólo afectó a la identidad femenina social, sino también a la artística; porque «la negación del dolor ajeno no implica una falta del intelecto, sino defectos del espíritu. En el registro de lo imaginario, el dolor del otro no sólo reclama un hogar en el lenguaje, sino que busca también un hogar en el cuerpo» (Das, 2004: 332).

Para las mujeres argelinas, el recuerdo de la guerra conllevaba una revisión y reapropiación de sus identidades de género, puesto que

sus historias de guerra rebaten y deconstruyen las capas discursivas del falocéntrico discurso bélico, en el que las jerarquías de género se establecen en función de oposiciones binarias. De hecho, en palabras del mismísimo Cooke:

Their stories contest the acceptance of a dyadically structured world and make a mockery of such notions as Defender and Defended. If women describe and write themselves as having had a war experience at home then they deny two critical binaries: home versus front and civilian versus combatant. The breakdown of those binaries then allows us to see the cracks in others such as victory versus defeat, fact versus fiction, action versus writing, experience versus recording, war versus peace (Cooke, 1997: 296).

Esto obliga a prestar atención a «la presencia transgresora de las mujeres en un espacio y vivencia que, según se dice, las excluyen sistemáticamente. Las mujeres están demostrando que los binarios empleados para configurar la Historia bélica son ficticios» (Cooke, 1997: 19). Una de estas oposiciones binarias es la de la esfera privada frente a la pública. En los recuerdos de guerra de las mujeres, el inmune espacio del hogar, representante de lo femenino y doméstico, queda del todo erosionado. Los espacios domésticos tradicionalmente ocupados por las mujeres a menudo constituían una primera línea en mayor medida que las montañas en las que la resistencia masculina tenía lugar: «Nuestros hombres huyeron; no quisieron esperar a las represalias del enemigo. A nosotras, las mujeres, nos tocó aguantar lo más duro» (1985: 206). En otro contexto, la idea de hogar —el harén— desaparece por completo con la quema o violación de las casas por la mirada de los colonizadores. Las mujeres son alabadas por el modo pasivo que adoptó su resistencia; su protesta fue femenina, silenciosa, humanitaria y maternal: «Todas las mujeres de la casa hicieron lo mismo: aullar cada vez más alto, lo suficiente como para ensordecernos a todos» (1985: 207). Los conceptos binarios de acción/no acción, pasividad/actividad, conocimiento/ignorancia se funden a medida que el silencio se convierte en una herramienta activa para resistir al enemigo. Así es como una chica venció al deseo de un enemigo de hacerla hablar:

To the little girl I'd adopted; I kept on saying, 'if they question you, begin to cry! If they ask, 'Who comes to visit your mother? What does she do' you must begin to cry immediately... if you say a word, they will ask more questions! Just cry! That's all you must do!' and that's what she did. She burst into tears, she rolled about in the sand, she ran away in a flood of tears (1985: 160).

Los recuerdos de guerra, aunque dolorosos, rebatieron los discursos históricos que estigmatizaron a las mujeres con la invisibilidad y la marginalidad, y dieron fe de que la identidad femenina no es permanente y huye de las definiciones cifradas.



El hecho de que Djebbar tenga que escribir la memoria colectiva femenina de guerra en una lengua extranjera tiene consecuencias de mayor alcance. Su «doble identificación maternal/paternal» (Ringrose, 2006: 58) –al escribir sobre sus antepasados femeninos en el idioma del colonizador que le enseñó su padre– se considera a la vez liberadora y represiva. De hecho, «las elecciones lingüísticas cifran la pertenencia o alienación culturales; la pérdida y recuperación de la lengua propia y la compaginación de nuevas palabras y nuevos mundos, suponen una negociación constante para estos escritores» (Katrak, 2006: 27). Djebbar reconoce esa dicotomía y alude a la disonancia inherente entre oralidad y escritura:

I have captured your voice ; disguised it with my French without clothing it... the words that I thought to put in your mouth are shrouded in the same mourning garb as those of Bosquet or Saint-Arnaud. Actually, it is they who are writing to each other, using my hand, since I condone this bastardy, the only cross-breeding that the ancestral beliefs do not condemn : that of language, not that of the blood... torch-words which light up my women companions, my accomplices ; these words divide me from them once and for all. And weigh me down as I leave my native land (1985: 142).

Su sentimiento de culpa al alienarse de la lengua materna al mismo tiempo que reconoce el potencial artístico que el idioma del conquistador le permite desestabilizar el sentimiento de identidad de la escritora: «Sé que todo idioma es un oscuro almacén de cadáveres apilados [...], pero al enfrentarme al idioma del antiguo conquistador, que me ofrece sus ornamentos, sus joyas, sus flores, descubro que estas son las flores de la muerte, crisantemos sobre tumbas» (1985: 181). La exclusión y el sentimiento de traición de la escritora provocan en ella el deseo de reconciliarse con su madre patria, con su identidad; así pues, toma nota de las historias de mujeres y las reproduce resucitando por el camino las identidades colectivas de dichas féminas y la suya propia. En este contexto, habiendo mostrado su capacidad para hablar, la cuestión de si la subalterna puede leer su propio testimonio de guerra carece de importancia. Si Assi Djebbar escribe, no es sólo por estas mujeres olvidadas en particular, sino por la memoria colectiva femenina en general, por la posteridad. De no anotar estas historias, se corre el peligro inminente de que desaparezcan de la memoria histórica. Las narraciones testimoniales, una vez publicadas/difundidas, se despojan de su privacidad para convertirse en propiedad pública, adquiriendo así una voz polimórfica e integrada por múltiples cuerpos. La voz de estas mujeres seguirá resonando en el texto escrito en francés a través de la mezcla de acentos y entonaciones bereberes y árabes. Esta hibridación lingüística permite la creación de un «tercer espacio», ni árabe ni francés, en el que la escritora puede reconciliarse con su yo exiliado y sus orígenes dispersos; un espacio en el que «palabras antorcha... iluminan a mis compañeras,

a mis cómplices». (1985: 142).

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Con la pregunta de Boehmer en mente, «si las estructuras de las naciones o los estados-nación están soldados a los puntales de las jerarquías de género y la organización del poder en la nación se fundamenta en gran medida en dichas estructuras, ¿cómo podemos, entonces, concebir la nación fuera del género?» (Boehmer, 2005: 30). Djebar reitera el problema de entrecruzar género y guerra, sobre todo cuando el medio para hacerlo es la memoria. Mediante su fascinante retórica para dotar de preeminencia al papel de las mujeres en la lucha nacional, sus esfuerzos concienzudos por darles voz y combatir las formas en que habían sido silenciadas por las estructuras de poder coloniales y patriarcales, la escritora enfatiza su papel como testigos, supervivientes y pilar de la lucha. La memoria colectiva ha demostrado la fuerza arquetípica que configuró la identidad y experiencia de las subalternas, así como la fuerza curativa que logró reconciliar a la escritora con sus orígenes.

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## «PARLARÉ, AMB UNA MEMÒRIA NÒMADA I UNA VEU INTERMITENT»: LA RECONSTRUCCIÓ DE LA MEMÒRIA COL·LECTIVA A *L'AMOUR, LA FANTASIA* D'ASSIA DJEBAR

**Lobna Ben Salem**

*University of Jendouba, Tunisia*

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**Il·lustració** || Marta Guezzi

**Traducció** || Laura Calvo

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**Resum** || En les narracions de guerra d'Assia Djebar la veu i les experiències de les dones són el centre de la narració, en contrast amb les narracions masculines tradicionals centrades en la guerra i els conflictes. A *L'Amour, la fantasia* hi ha diverses protagonistes femenines, supervivents de la guerra d'independència, que, a través de la narració de relats presenten perspectives canviants i una multiplicitat de veus que desafien les versions històriques monològiques. Mitjançant la unió de fragments de les identitats individuals, perdudes i oblidades per la història, l'escriptora forja la identitat col·lectiva, centrant-se en els aspectes comuns, més que no en els privats, de la memòria.

L'article posa en relleu la naturalesa específica de gènere de les memòries de guerra; examina el paper de la narrativa com a mitjà per contrarestar les deficiències de la memòria i per combatre l'amnèsia històrica.

Tot centrant-se en la idea que la memòria construeix la identitat, l'article investiga fins a quin punt una memòria de gènere de la guerra pot contribuir a la formació de la identitat col·lectiva, tenint en compte la interdependència, però també la dissonància entre l'oralitat i el text.

**Paraules clau** || Memòria | Identitat col·lectiva | Guerra d'independència d'Algèria | Gènere.

**Summary** || In Assia Djebar's war narratives, it is women's voices and experiences that are at the centre of narration, in contrast to traditional male-centred narratives of war and conflict. In *Fantasia, an Algerian Cavalcade*, there are multiple female protagonists, survivors of independence war, who, through storytelling, present shifting perspectives and a multiplicity of voices that contest monological historical versions. By reassembling the fragments of individual identities, lost and forgotten by history, the writer forges collective identity, focussing on the communal rather than private aspect of memory.

The paper highlights the gender-specific nature of war memories; it examines the role of the narrative as a means of countering deficiencies of memory and combating historic amnesia.

Centred on the idea that memory constructs identity, the paper investigates the extent to which a gendered memory of war can contribute in shaping collective identity, bearing in mind the interdependence but also the dissonance of orality and texting.

**Key-words** || Memory | Collective identity | Algerian war of independence | Gender.

«I imagine you, the unknown woman, whose tale has been handed down by story-tellers... For now I too take my place in the fixed circle of listeners [...] I recreate you, the invisible woman [...] I resurrect you [...] that no letter from any French soldier was to describe»  
(Djebar, 1985: 189).

## 0. Introducció

El gènere i els conflictes bèl·lics són formacions culturals dialècticament construïdes en contextos colonials i postcolonials i es reproduïxen en els relats de ficció. Assia Djebar, l'escriptora algeriana, permet als lectors considerar les narratives de la guerra i la seva intersecció amb les narratives de gènere. El meu títol destaca l'intercanvi dinàmic entre el gènere i la memòria, inaugurant allò que Lindsey Moore anomena una «feminist archaeology of traces» (Moore, 2008:63), on la veu inspira la memòria i on les dones, les combatents i les supervivents de la lluita per la independència s'esforcen per establir la seva identitat com a dones, però també com a agents actius del canvi.

En efecte, l'exclusió de les històries de les dones dels discursos masculins hegemònics cerca de corregir-se en els relats de guerra d'Assia Djebar, atès que les dones creen un guió alternatiu que dona veu a les seves històries oblidades i prohibides, tot empoderant-les en el procés. És a través de la narració –una pràctica de “testimoniatge” indirecte d’una història d’alienació– que Djebar projecta la memòria col·lectiva femenina del trauma de la guerra. La narració proporciona en aquest cas l’arena d’una ocasió única perquè les dones subalternes puguin editar els arxius masoquistes de la història colonial algerina. En aquest context, Cooke explica:

Women who choose to write about wars they have lived are defying an age old silencing code. Their speaking about now and in knowledge of their transgressions allows us to read back into the gaps and silences of the War Story. Their stories threaten the privilege assumed proper to the right to tell the War Story. As the right to tell diffuses among all who may claim to have had a war experience, however unrecognizable as such by the standard conventions, the masculine contract between violence, sexuality, and glory comes undone (Cooke, 1997: 293).

En vista d'això, jo sostinc que la conciliació de l'ésser femení amb la història, ja sigui per la pròpia autora o per les veus fragmentades de les diferents narradores, és essencial per a la formació de la seva identitat i, inevitablement, ha d'incloure una performativitat de gènere de la memòria. Així doncs la primera part de l'article detalla els aspectes de la memòria i de l'oblit propis del gènere, la segona part descriu els efectes –tant positius com negatius– de recordar el cos o a través del cos de la identitat femenina, mentre que l'última part reflexiona sobre si la memòria col·lectiva podria sobreviure en

una llengua estrangera, és a dir, el lloc de l'oralitat en el seu text literari.

La urgent necessitat de reescriure la història a través de la ficció és expressada per una narradora femenina: «Alas! We can't read or write. We don't leave any accounts of what we lived through and all we suffered!» (Djebar, 1985: 184). Dit d'una manera més teòrica:

Literary evidence affirms that during the Revolution, the Algerian women were not conscious of their opportunities... Consequently, it is not so surprising that they made no attempt to inscribe into the war text experiences that may have been transformative. When they have written, they have done so with little awareness of what military participation had meant [...] The Algerian Revolution came too soon in the history of Modern Arab women's discursive activism to serve as a catalyst for the inscription of feminist issues into the nationalist agenda [...] The difference between the Algerian and the Lebanese women who participated in their two wars was that the Algerian women did not have a feminist context, for example, no indigenous, independent feminist organization, within which to situate their struggle (Cooke, 1993: 185-186).

Temàticament, el trop de la memòria en els relats de guerra de Djebar obre un espai per escriure «a collective autobiography of the women of Algeria» (Hiddleston, 2006: 68), tot provocant un desig d'autoconeixement que es resisteix a allò que Foucault anomena «subjugated knowledges, knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task» (Foucault, 1980: 82). Mehta postula que «In their role as communal scribes entrusted with the task of preserving collective memory from destruction and erasure, these women subscribe to an anti-war politics of remembering» (Mehta, 2007: 2). En aquesta nova política del record, els testimonis orals representen el vehicle a través del qual la memòria opera fora i més enllà de les normes de l'escriptura. A *Fantasia*, si la guerra de colonització es recupera a partir d'una història documentada, la guerra d'independència es basa en el testimoni oral de les dones que van prendre part en la lluita. Ja els títols de capítols, "Veu", "Murmuris", "Clam", "Remors", "Diàlegs" i "Soliloqui", sorgeixen dels recessos del silenci, el de la mare, la filla, la germana, l'esposa, i fins i tot el nen, per omplir els buits i els forats de la història esquarterada en diversos llocs com les muntanyes, les presons, els *douars* i els llogarets humils.

A nivell estructural, la memòria és un trop unificador que porta harmonia a les narratives femenines dissidents i fragmentades per a formar un tot. La narració de la memòria ofereix un nou estil en cada capítol; viola les convencions narratives que mantenen estable la representació, especialment el cas de la pressuposició que una veu concreta està lligada a un personatge específic amb un discurs i una memòria propis. Hi ha un multivocalitat, una heteroglòssia,

com Bajtín ho anomenaria (Bajtín, 1981: 272), que es reflecteix estructuralment en els diferents estils adoptats en la narració. En un metanivell, la novel·la menyscaba l'expectativa que el text pot ser vist com el producte d'un agent autorial coherent com és el cas dels grans relats oficials. També posa de manifest el fet que no existeix un únic relat de guerra: la narrativa estàndard –i amb ella la forma de pensar i de fer la guerra– és dialògica i no monològica (Bajtín, 1981: 276).

La projecció de Djebbar d'una discursivitat traumatitzada que encapsula el trauma de la pèrdua i el dol de les dones partisans, la seva forma sincrètica de representació, la seva aproximació feminista al nacionalisme algerià, la seva actitud complexa amb el llenguatge i la memòria cultural anticipen la complexitat de la resurrecció de la memòria femenina. L'ètica del record i l'oblit s'entrellacen, tot esborrant els límits entre ambdós. Oblidar, com planteja Nietzsche, es converteix en una estratègia positiva:

Forgetting is not simply a kind of inertia, as superficial minds tend to believe, but rather the active faculty to [...] provide some silence, a 'clean slate' for the unconscious, to make place for the new [...] those are the uses of what I have called an active forgetting.

Les veus femenines «liff[ing] the burden of memory» (1985: 141), lluitant amb l'aflicció de recordar, intimiden a l'autora amb la seva cautela, amb la seva desconfiança. Les veus subjugades decideixen estratègicament què han de recordar i què han d'oblidar: «Only speak of what conforms, my grandmother would reprove me: to deviate is dangerous, inviting disaster in its multiple disguises» (1985: 156). La transcripció de la memòria femenina s'anuncia com a una tasca difícil per a l'escriptora:

Strange little sister, whom henceforth I leave veiled or whose story I now transcribe in a foreign tongue. Her body and her face are once more engulfed in shadow as she whispers her story – a butterfly displayed on a pin with the dust from its crushed wing staining one's finger (1985: 141).

La fragilitat de la narradora dona fe de la seva conformitat amb els rols de gènere, que la sotmeten al silenci i la marginalitat: «the stilled voice bides its time, groans are stifled, grievances sublimated» (1985: 177). Si escull parlar, conscientment tamisa la seva memòria soterrada per deixar sortir només allò que és menys degradant. Com es demostra en la novel·la, l'acció d'ocultament i deliberada modèstia per les quals opten les narradores femenines no són activitats solitàries, sinó que hi han de recórrer les dones sempre que la ferida és massa profunda i el trauma més total: «What trials shall I tell you about, and which shall I leave to be forgotten» (1985: 160). Si l'oblit o el record selectiu ajuda a superar els traumes, també fa referència a la pèrdua de la identitat personal, i la fragmentació de



la subjectivitat.

Resulta de particular importància per a la fragmentació de la identitat quan la narradora eludeix el record de la violació. Un cop que els homes algerians han fugit per unir-se als maquis, l'amenaça de violació esdevé una amenaça endèmica de la que cap dona està exempta: «I submitted to 'France', the thirteen-year-old shepherd-girl might have said» (1985: 202). Gairebé tots els testimonis evitaven explicar la violència sexual i recorrien a un codi de silenci per protegir la seva identitat com a mares, germanes i esposes: «As soon as we young women saw the French coming we never stayed inside. The old women stayed in the houses with the children; we went to hide in the undergrowth or near the wadi. If the enemy caught us we never said a word» (1985: 206-207). La memòria es converteix en un lloc per a la lluita, no només d'allò que s'ha de recordar o oblidar, sinó també d'allò que s'ha de seleccionar o ignorar, posant en risc la memòria col·lectiva en el procés. L'autora, en aquest cas, s'enfronta amb el dilema de parlar d'allò que no es pot parlar, d'allò que no es pot escoltar, del tabú, i és urgent fer al·lusió a aquesta memòria fracturada:

Once the soldiers were gone, once she has washed, tidied herself up, plaited her hair and tied the scarlet ribbon, all these actions reflected in the brackish water of the wadi, the woman, every woman, returns, one hour or two hours later, advances to face the world to prevent the chancre being opened in the tribal circle [...] rape will not be mentioned, will be respected. Swallowed. Until the next alarm (1985: 202).

De vegades, amb una pregunta retòrica, l'escriptora es pregunta de forma evasiva: «Can you imagine what would happen when they [French soldiers] arrived at a house and found women alone?» (1985: 187) L'amnèsia col·lectiva i el silenci sobre la qüestió de la violació són inscrits i arrelats en el llegat colonial i en les produccions socials i culturals de gènere, als quals és difícil oposar-s'hi. El deure de l'autora és qüestionar aquest llegat per tal d'ajudar les dones a reconciliar-se amb els seus records i la seva identitat:

How could a woman speak aloud, even in Arabic, unless on the threshold of extreme age? How could she say "I", since that would be to scorn the blanket-formulae which ensure that each individual journeys through life is a collective resignation? [...] How can she undertake to analyze her childhood, even if it turns out different? The difference if not spoken of, disappears.  
[...] My oral tradition has gradually been overlaid and is in danger of vanishing [...] In writing of my childhood memories I am taken back to those bodies bereft of voices (1985: 156).

Si l'oblit és el testimoni de l'alienació de les dones respecte dels seus cossos i la seva identitat i revela una incapacitat de fer front el trauma de la violència, el record n'és de la realització i de la formació de la

identitat. En la majoria dels relats femenins, la narradora és molt loquaç i cerca d'inscriure la seva pròpia història de la resistència al mateix temps com a agent individual i com a part d'un sistema col·lectiu, i l'autora ens presenta una gran quantitat de memòries femenines en relació amb la guerra de resistència, tot contribuint, per tant, en la reconstrucció de la identitat femenina individual i col·lectiva. El que Mona Faiad ha assenyalat, en el seu article "Reinscribing Identity: Nation and Community in Arab Women's Writing", que «traditionally, women in nationalist narratives are posited as begetter, inspirer and protector of male subjectivity. The disembodiment of Woman in the national narrative and her mythification render it impossible to position her as an agent of change» (Fayad, 1995: 158), és de poca rellevància als relats de la resistència femenina d'Assia Djebar. Les històries de dones, llavors, es fonen per donar forma a una narrativa col·lectiva de les dones, formant una amalgama de veus i experiències. Cada memòria individual presenta una dona en un estat de plenitud com a una dona agressiva, valenta, decidida i activament compromesa amb la resistència; hi és, per exemple, la memòria d'una noia pastora de tretze anys que s'uneix amb els seus germans al maquis i que va haver de passar per l'enterrament i el dol d'un germà assassinat davant dels seus ulls.

[...] that of the mother who bore the soldiers' tortures with never a whimper, that of the little cooped-up sisters, too young to understand, but bearing the message of wild-eyed anguish, the voice of the old women of the douar who face the horror of the approaching death-knell, open-mouthed, with palms of fleshless hands turned upwards (1985: 123).

Però també d'aquelles que van oferir refugi i menjar als *mûdjâhidîn*, que van portar armes als rebels a les muntanyes, que es va unir a la lluita, i van ser empresonades, torturades i assassinades, i fins i tot aquelles que cosien els uniformes i les banderes, que van prendre's cura dels ferits, que van exercir com a reporteres, i fins i tot com a recaptadores de fons.

Recordar la guerra per a les dones significa, inevitablement, recordar el cos. Amb Assia Djebar, la memòria col·lectiva està determinada pel gènere, i per això ha de manipular el cos a través del qual les dones troben la seva veu. El que realment escapa als relats documentats de la guerra és que, en les seves narracions, Djebar permet a les dones parlar dels seus cossos, amb tot el dolor i el trauma que li és inherent. La manera que les dones denoten el seu dolor davant les atrocitats de la guerra està impregnada d'un llenguatge del cos absent de les versions històriques oficials. La dinàmica del contradiscurs es produeix a través del recurs a un prerrequisit que és sensual i intuïtiu. En efecte:

The fourth language, for all females, young or old, cloistered or half-emancipated, remains that of the body: the body which [...] in trances,

dances or vociferations, in fits of hope or despair, rebels, and unable to read or write, seeks some unknown shore as destination for its message of love (1985: 180).

Elia encertadament postula que «the venue left for these women is the preverbal –physical expression, movements, sounds, trances and dances– functioning outside the reach of any Symbolic discourse and which can thereby communicate the inducible» (Elia, 2001: 22). Per tant, és incompreensible i enigmàtic per a aquells que representen no només el Patriarcat, sinó també l'Imperialisme. Quan es lliura una guerra, «the women's shrill ululation improvises for the fighting men a threnody of war in some alien idiom: our chroniclers are haunted by the distant sound of half-human cries, cacophony of keening, ear-splitting hieroglyphs of a wild, collective voice» (1985: 56). En aquesta història frenètica de sons i moviments primitius, el cos es realitza i la identitat es completa. El ritme i el sentit desplacen el llenguatge i el discurs en un ritual que expulsa el dolor i invoca la serenitat. En l'escena del trànsit, per exemple, les dones, i l'àvia com a tal, combaten la letàrgia i el silenci amb balls, no amb paraules:

The matriarch was normally the only one of the women who never complained; she condescended to mouth the formulas of submission disdainfully; but this extravagant or derisory ceremonial which she regularly organized was her own way of protesting... Against whom? Against the others or against fate? I wondered. But when she danced, she became indubitably queen of the city. Cocooned in the primitive music, she drew her daily strength before our very eyes.

The haughty matron's voice and body gave me a glimpse of the source of all our sorrows: like half obliterated signs which we spend the rest of our lives trying to decipher (1985: 145).

Les representacions corporals de les protagonistes femenines prenen la forma de desafiaments físics i verbals, destacant l'ús estratègic d'aquells mateixos cossos femenins, sovint l'única via per a la resistència. Les dones semblen exercir el poder a través dels seus cossos, tot transformant-los en agents actius que serveixen la resistència, i descartant les seves funcions biològiques i sexuals com a generadores de vida i objectes que desig.

Qualsevol discussió sobre la guerra i els seus records persistents és dolorosa. El dolor, inseparable del cos subaltern, dona forma a la construcció de la identitat femenina. El lector es projecta dins del llenguatge i els cossos del trauma; la interpretació del sofriment físic s'accentua per un sentiment més profund de la humiliació i la desgràcia. Tenim un cos que és torturat, mutilat, colpejat i trencat, però encara més provocador i desvergonyit. Els exemples a la novel·la són nombrosos: des de Cherifa, que és torturada amb descàrregues elèctriques i que desafia l'autoritat colonial amb les seves vagues de fam, fins a Lila Zohra, la dona anciana la casa i la granja de la qual va ser incendiada diverses vegades, i que finalment

va ser cremada ella mateixa:

My hair caught fire. And the child who was crying with fright, shouted, 'Mother, the fire's eating you up! The fire is eating you up!' That's how I lost all my hair. I hurled myself into the water. But more burning embers fell on me [...] (1985: 161).

Sorprenentment, el dolor va alliberar aquestes dones i les va instar a parlar. Elaine Scarry argumenta que durant la tortura «the body is its pain, a shrill sentience that hurts and is hugely alarmed by its hurt, and the body is its scars, thick and forgetful unmindful of its hurt, unmindful of anything, mute and insensate» (Scarry, 1985: 31). Ja sigui parlant per si mateixes o mitjançant altres mediadores femenines, el cos és al centre de l'articulació física i moral. A través de la narració dels seus patiments, les dones subalternes realitzen un procés d'empoderament i prenen el control d'aquest dolor de forma efectiva, tot arrabassant el poder del seu torturador i apropiant-se'l per a si mateixes. En aquest sentit, fer pública la memòria personal és quelcom alliberador.

Recordar el cos implica recordar *a través* del cos. Atès que el dolor defineix la veu i el cos, també és discursivament inscrit i afecta a l'escriptura mateixa. Djebbar posa en relleu el nexa entre dolor i llenguatge, traeix un eventual fracàs de l'intent de ressuscitar les memòries femenines privades i anuncia la dificultat de la tasca. L'entumiment sensorial que un oficial experimenta mentre està informant de la violència colonial podria aplicar-se perfectament a la pròpia escriptora:

Bosquet muses over the youth killed defending his sister in the luxurious tent; he recalls the anonymous woman whose foot had been hacked off, 'cut off for the sake of the *khalkhal*...' Suddenly as he inserts these words, they prevent the ink of the whole letter from drying: because of the obscenity of the torn flesh that he could not suppress in his description (1985: 56).

A *The Body in Pain*, Scarry afirma que la resistència al llenguatge és essencial per al dolor: «Intense pain is [...] language-destroying: as the content of one's world disintegrates, so the content of one's language disintegrates; as the self disintegrates, so that which would express and project the self is robbed of its source and subject» (Scarry, 1985: 35). El narrador s'adhereix a les expressions no verbals «I do not claim here to be either a story-teller or a scribe. On the territory of dispossession, I would that I could sing» (Djebbar, 1985: 142). Això podria explicar la incapacitat per a l'articulació verbal de la narradora i el seu recurs a la semiòtica: la lexicografia preverbal i sensual davant la incapacitat del llenguatge per transcendir el dolor:

To read this writing, I must lean over backwards, plunge my face into the shadows, closely examine the vaulted roof of rock or chalk, lend an

ear to the whispers that rise up from time out of mind, study this geology stained red with blood. What magma of sounds lies rotting there? What stench of petrification seeps out? I grope about, my sense of smell aroused, my ears alert, in this rising tide of ancient pain. Alone, stripped bare, unveiled, I face these images of darkness...

How are the sounds of the past to be met as they emerge from the well of bygone centuries?... What love must still be sought, what future be planned, despite the call of the dead? And my body reverberates with sounds from the endless landslide of generations of my lineage (1985: 64).

Les transaccions entre el llenguatge i el cos que podrien ajudar a la formació de la identitat –tant per a l'escriptora com per a les seves antecessores– es dissolen, perquè «the language of pain», segons es postula, «could only be a kind of hysteria –the surface of the body becomes a carnival of images and the depth becomes a site for hysterical pregnancies– the language having all the phonetic excess of hysteria that destroys apparent meaning» (Das, 2004: 331). La relació fracturada de l'escriptora amb el llenguatge, demostrada en el seu fracàs en articular la memòria del dolor de les seves compatriotes, és un testimoni que la subjugació colonial no només va afectar a la identitat femenina social, sinó també a l'artística, perquè «denial of the other's pain is not about the failing of the intellect but the failings of the spirit. In the register of the imaginary, the pain of the other not only asks for a home in language, but also seeks a home in the body» (Das, 2004: 332).

Per a les dones d'Algèria, la memòria de la guerra va suposar una revisió i reapropiació de les seves identitats de gènere perquè les seves històries de guerra impugnaven i deconstruïen les capes discursives del discurs de guerra fal·locèntric, on les jerarquies de gènere s'estableixen en oposicions binàries. De fet, en paraules de Cooke:

Their stories contest the acceptance of a dyadically structured world and make a mockery of such notions as Defender and Defended. If women describe and write themselves as having had a war experience at home then they deny two critical binaries: home versus front and civilian versus combatant. The breakdown of those binaries then allows us to see the cracks in others such as victory versus defeat, fact versus fiction, action versus writing, experience versus recording, war versus peace (Cooke, 1997: 296).

Això obliga a situar l'atenció en la «women's transgressive presence in a space and experience programmatically said to exclude them. Women are showing how the binaries used to construct the War Story are fictions» (Cooke, 1997: 19). Un d'aquests binomis és l'esfera privada enfront la pública. En la memòria femenina de la guerra, l'espai immune de la llar, que representa la feminitat i l'espai domèstic, és totalment erosionat. Els espais domèstics tradicionalment ocupats per les dones van ser sovint una primera

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línia de combat més que les muntanyes on es produïa la resistència masculina: «Our men ran away: they didn't want to wait for the enemy's reprisals. We women were left to bear the brunt» (1985: 206). En un altre context, la idea de la llar –l'harem– desapareix per complet quan les cases són incendiades o violades diverses vegades per l'esguard dels colonitzadors. Les dones són elogiades per la forma passiva que va adoptar la seva resistència; la seva protesta va ser femenina, silenciosa, afectuosa i maternal: «All the women in the house did the same thing, howling louder and louder: enough to deafen them all» (1985: 207). Els binomis acció/no-acció, passivitat/activitat, coneixement/ignorància es fonen al mateix temps que el silenci esdevé una eina activa de resistència a l'enemic. Així és com una noia va derrotar el desig de l'enemic de fer-la parlar:

To the little girl I'd adopted; I kept on saying, 'if they question you, begin to cry! If they ask, 'Who comes to visit your mother? What does she do' you must begin to cry immediately... if you say a word, they will ask more questions! Just cry! That's all you must do!' and that's what she did. She burst into tears, she rolled about in the sand, she ran away in a flood of tears (1985: 160).

La memòria de la guerra, encara que dolorosa, contradeia els discursos històrics que estigmatitzaven les dones a la invisibilitat i la marginalitat, i testimoniava el fet que la identitat femenina és volàtil i escapa a les definicions codificades.

El fet que Djebbar ha d'inscriure la memòria col·lectiva femenina de la guerra en una llengua estrangera té conseqüències de llarg abast. La seva «dual maternal/paternal identification» (Ringrose, 2006: 58) –quan escriu sobre les seves antecessores en la llengua del colonitzador que el pare li va ensenyar– es considera tant alliberadora com repressiva. De fet, «linguistic choices encode cultural belonging or alienation; the loss and recovery of one's own tongue juggling new words and new worlds is a constant negotiation for these writers» (Katrak, 2006: 27). Djebbar reconeix aquesta dicotomia i al·ludeix a la dissonància inherent entre oralitat i textualitat:

I have captured your voice ; disguised it with my French without clothing it... the words that I thought to put in your mouth are shrouded in the same mourning garb as those of Bosquet or Saint-Arnaud. Actually, it is they who are writing to each other, using my hand, since I condone this bastardy, the only cross-breeding that the ancestral beliefs do not condemn : that of language, not that of the blood... torch-words which light up my women companions, my accomplices ; these words divide me from them once and for all. And weigh me down as I leave my native land (1985: 142).

El seu sentiment de culpa per haver estat alienada de la llengua materna, alhora que reconeix el potencial artístic que la llengua del conqueridor li ha permès, desestabilitza el sentit d'identitat de

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l'escriptora: «I know that every language is a dark depository for piled-up corpses [...] but faced with the language of the former conqueror, which offers me its ornaments, its jewels, its flowers, I find they are the flowers of death –chrysanthemums on tombs» (1985: 181). L'exclusió de l'escriptora i el sentiment de traïció desencadena el seu desig de reconciliar-se amb la seva pàtria, la seva identitat, de manera que recull les històries de les dones i les reproduïx per a ressuscitar les seves identitats col·lectives i la seva pròpia en el procés. En aquest context, després d'haver demostrat la seva capacitat de parlar, la qüestió de si les subalternes poden llegir els seus propis testimonis de guerra és de poca importància. Si Assia Djébar escriu, no és només per a aquestes dones oblidades, però per a la memòria femenina col·lectiva en general, per a la posteritat. Si aquestes històries de resistència no es registren, el risc de la seva desaparició de la memòria històrica és imminent. Les narracions testimonials, un cop fetes públiques, són despulades de la seva intimitat i esdevenen propietats públiques, adquirint una veu polimòrfica i encarnada de forma múltiple. La veu d'aquestes dones seguiran ressonant a través de la barreja d'entonacions i accents berbers i àrabs en el text francès. Aquesta híbridesa lingüística permet la creació d'un "third space", ni àrab ni francès, on l'escriptora podia reconciliar-se amb el seu ésser exiliat i els seus orígens dispersos, un espai on "torch-words... light up my women-companions, my accomplices." (Djébar, 142).

Tot considerant les qüestions plantejades per Boehmer «if the structures of nations or nation-states are soldered onto the struts of gender hierarchies, and if the organisation of power in the nation is profoundly informed by those structures, how then is the nation to be imagined outside of gender ?» (Boehmer, 2005: 30). Djébar reitera el problema en encreuar el gènere i la guerra, sobretot quan el mitjà és la memòria. A través de la seva retòrica persuasiva per donar preeminència al paper de la dona en la lluita nacional, els seus diligents esforços per donar-los veu i per lluitar contra les formes en les que han estat silenciades per les estructures de poder colonial i patriarcal, ha posat èmfasi en el seu paper de testimonis i supervivents, i com a la columna vertebral de la lluita. La memòria col·lectiva ha demostrat ser no només la força arquetípica que va donar forma a la identitat i a l'experiència dels subalterns, sinó també la força de curació que va reconciliar l'escriptora amb els seus orígens.

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## “PARTE HAR DEZAKET, MEMORIA NOMADAREKIN ETA ALDIZKAKO AHOTSAREKIN” TALDE-MEMORIAREN BERPIZKUNDEA ASSIA DJEBAR-EN *FANTASIA, AN ALGERIAN CAVALCADE* LIBURUAN

**Lobna Ben Salem**

*University of Jendouba, Tunisia*

**Aipatzeko gomendioa** || BEN SALEM, Lobna (2011): “Parte har dezaket, memoria nomadarekin eta aldizkako ahotsarekin” Talde-memoriaren berpizkundera Assia Djébar-en *Fantasia, an Algerian Cavalcade* liburuan [artikulu linea], *452ºF. Literaturaren teoria eta literatura konparatua aldizkaria*, 4, 68-80, [Kontsulta data: dd/mm/aa], < <http://www.452f.com/index.php/eu/lobna-ben-salem.html> >

**Ilustrazioa** || Marta Guezzi

**Itzulpena** || Mikel Babiano

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**Laburpena** || Emakumeen ahotsa eta bizipenak dira Assia Djebar-en gerra-narratiben muina, gizonak protagonistatzat hartzen zituzten gerra narratiba tradizionaletan ez bezala. *Fantasia, an Algerian Cavalcade* liburuan hainbat emakume protagonista daude. Emakume horiek bizirik irten ziren Independentzia gerratik eta beren esperientzia kontatuz, ikuspuntu desberdinak adierazi dituzte, baita bertsio historiko monologikoen aurkako hainbat ahots ere. Historiak galdutako eta ahaztutako norbanakoen identitateen zatiak batzen ditu idazleak, talde-identitatea osatzeko, eta talde-memoria azpimarratzen du norbanakoena azpimarratu beharrean.

Artikuluak gerra-memorien genero izaera nabarmentzen du. Narratibaren rola aztertzen du, memoriaren gabeziak kontatzeko eta amnesia historikoari aurre egiteko tresna gisa.

Ideia nagusia memoriak identitatea osatzen duela dela kontuan hartuz, artikuluak aztertzen du generodun gerra-memoria batek noraino baldintza dezakeen talde identitatearen osaera, eta horretarako, aintzat hartzen ditu ahozkotasunaren eta testualitatearen elkarrekiko mendekotasuna eta desadostasuna.

**Hitz gakoak** || Memoria | Talde-identitatea | Algeriako Independentzia gerra | Genero

**Abstract** || In Assia Djebar's war narratives, it is women's voices and experiences that are at the centre of narration, in contrast to traditional male-centred narratives of war and conflict. In *Fantasia, an Algerian Cavalcade*, there are multiple female protagonists, survivors of independence war, who, through storytelling, present shifting perspectives and a multiplicity of voices that contest monological historical versions. By reassembling the fragments of individual identities, lost and forgotten by history, the writer forges collective identity, focussing on the communal rather than private aspect of memory.

The paper highlights the gender-specific nature of war memories; it examines the role of the narrative as a means of countering deficiencies of memory and combating historic amnesia.

Centred on the idea that memory constructs identity, the paper investigates the extent to which a gendered memory of war can contribute in shaping collective identity, bearing in mind the interdependence but also the dissonance of orality and texting. eta desadostasuna.

**Keywords** || Memory | Collective identity | Algerian war of independence | Gender

I imagine you, the unknown woman, whose tale has been handed down by story-tellers... For now I too take my place in the fixed circle of listeners [...] I recreate you, the invisible woman [...] I resurrect you [...] that no letter from any French soldier was to describe. (Djebar, 1985: 189)

Generoa eta gerra testuinguru kolonialaren eta kolonialismoaren osteko kultura-osaera dialektalak dira eta fikzio narratibetan errepikatzen dira. Assia Djebar emakume idazle aljeriarrak irakurleei aukera ematen die gerra narratibak ikusteko eta genero narratibekin konparatzeko. Izenburuak genero eta memoriaren arteko elkartruke dinamikoa azpimarratzen du, edo Lindsey Moore-k deitutako "arrastoen arkeologia feminista" delakoari hasiera ematen dio. Ahotsa memoriaren inspirazioa da eta emakumeek, independentziaren alde borrokatu eta bizirik atera ziren horiek, beren identitateak emakumeen eta aldaketaren eragile gisa finkatzen dituzte.

Izan ere, Assia Djebar saiatzen da emakumeen istorioak gizonezkoen diskurtso hegemonikoetatik baztertzen bere gerra narratibetan, emakumeek istorio ahaztu eta barkatuei ahotsa ematen dien gidoia osatzen baitute, eta indarra hartzen joaten dira pixkanaka-pixkanaka. Djebar-ek emakumeen talde-memoria istorioak kontatuz babesten du gerraren traumatik. Praktika hori zeharkako testigantzatik historia baztertura bateraino alda daiteke. Hori da Djebar-ek emakumeen talde-memoria gerraren traumatik babesteko modua. Istorioak kontatzea aukera aparta da menderatutako emakumeek Aljeriako historia kolonialaren artxibo masokistak editatzeko. Testuinguru horretan, Cooke-k hau azaltzen du:

Women who choose to write about wars they have lived are defying an age old silencing code. Their speaking about now and in knowledge of their transgressions allows us to read back into the gaps and silences of the War Story. Their stories threaten the privilege assumed proper to the right to tell the War Story. As the right to tell diffuses among all who may claim to have had a war experience, however unrecognizable as such by the standard conventions, the masculine contract between violence, sexuality, and glory comes undone (Cooke, 1997: 293).

Horiek horrela, nire ustez, emakumeak eta historia elkartzea beharrezkoa da identitatea eratzeko, autorea beraren bidez nahiz zenbait kontalarien ahots zatien bidez; eta horrek, ezinbestean, generoak baldintzatutako memoria izango du. Beraz, artikulua lehenengo atalean, generoaren oroitzearen eta ahaztearen ezaugarriak azaltzen dira; bigarren atalean, gorputza gogoratzeak edo gorputzaren bitartez gogoratzeak emakumezkoen identitatean zer ondorio positibo eta negatibo dituen deskribatzen da; eta azkenengo atalean, talde-memoriak atzerriko hizkuntza batean nola biziraun dezakeen hausnartzen da, beste era batera esanda, ahaztasunak testu literarioan zer toki duen.

Emakume kontalari batek ahotsa jartzen dio historia fikzioaren bitartez berridazteko beharrari: "Ara! Ezin dugu ez irakurri ez idatzi. Ez dugu gure bizipenei buruz ezer utzi ezta sufritu dugunari buruz ere!" (Djebar, 1985: 184) Teorikoki esanda:

Literary evidence affirms that during the Revolution, the Algerian women were not conscious of their opportunities... Consequently, it is not so surprising that they made no attempt to inscribe into the war text experiences that may have been transformative. When they have written, they have done so with little awareness of what military participation had meant [...] The Algerian Revolution came too soon in the history of Modern Arab women's discursive activism to serve as a catalyst for the inscription of feminist issues into the nationalist agenda [...] The difference between the Algerian and the Lebanese women who participated in their two wars was that the Algerian women did not have a feminist context, for example, no indigenous, independent feminist organization, within which to situate their struggle (Cooke, 1993: 185-186).

Tematikoki, Djebar-en gerra narratiben memoria-tropoak aukera ematen du "Aljeriako emakumeen talde autobiografia egiteko" (Hiddleston, 2006: 68), euren burua ezagutzeko desioa nabarmenduz. Foucault-ek ezagutza horri "mende dauden ezagutzak, xedea ez betetzeagatik desegokitzat jo dituzten ezagutzak" (Foucault, 1980: 82) esaten dio. Mehta-k defendatzen du "guztiek idazleen rola dutenez, euren eginkizuna talde-memoriaren suntsipena eta ezabapena ekiditea da, emakume horiek oroitzapenezkogerraren aurkakopolitikei ekarpena egiten diete (Mehta, 2007: 2). Oroitzearen politika berri horietan, ahozko testigantzak memoria idaztearen arauetatik kanpo eta haratago heltzeko bideak dira. Fantasian, kolonizazioaren gerra dokumentatutako historiatik berreskuratu bada, Independentziaren gerran parte hartu zuten emakumeen ahozko testigantza da. Kapituluaren izenburuak "Voice", "Murmurs", "Clamour", "Whispers", "Dialogues" eta "Soliloquy" isiltasunaren amaieratik sortzen dira, amarena, alabarena, arrebarena, emaztearena, baita umearena ere, zenbait lekutan, hala nola mendietan, presondegietan, "douar"-etan eta herririk txiroetan, piztatutako historiaren tarteak betetzeko eta zuloak uzteko.

Egitura-mailan, memoria batzen duen tropoa da, harmonia ematen dio emakumezkoen kontakizun banandu eta zatituei, osotasuna ematen die. Memoriaren narrazioak estilo desberdina dauka kapitulu bakoitzean; kontakizunak iraunkor bihurtzen duen narratibaren konbentzioak hausten ditu, batez ere ahots bakarria pertsonaia jakin baten hitz eta memoriarekin lotuta dagoela uste bada. Ahozkotasan anitza dago, edo Bakhtin-ek esango lukeen bezala, heteroglosia (Bakhtin, 1981: 272) eta narrazioaren hainbat estilotan estrukturaliki islatuta dago. Metamaila batean, nobelak ikusmina biziatzen du, testua autoritatea duen pertsona koherente baten emaitza dela onartzen delako, metanarratiba ofizialetan bezala. Gainera, Gerra-

istorio bat baino gehiago dagoela adierazten du. Narratiba estandarra eta gerrari buruz dugun irudipena edo gerraren garapena dialogoz osatua dago; hau da, ez da bakarrizketa bat (Bakhtin, 1981: 276).

Djebar-ek diskurtso traumatikoa babesten du, emakume gerrillarien galera eta doluaren trauma batzen du, sinkretikoki adierazten du, aljeriar nazionalismoaren hurbiltze feminista egiten du, eta hizkuntzari eta memoria kulturalari duen jarrera konplexuak ulertarazten dizkigu, ondoren emakume talde-memoriaren berpiztea aurreratzeko. Oroitzearen eta ahaztearen etikak elkartzen dira eta ez da argi ikusten bien arteko muga. Ahaztea, Nietzsche-k defendatzen duen bezala, estrategia positiboa da:

Forgetting is not simply a kind of inertia, as superficial minds tend to believe, but rather the active faculty to [...] provide some silence, a 'clean slate' for the unconscious, to make place for the new [...] those are the uses of what I have called an active forgetting.

“Memoriaren karga daramaten” (1985: 141) emakumeen ahots zuhurrek eta mesfidatiek autorea beldurtzen dute, ahaztearen zoritxararekin borrokatzen baitira. Menderatutako ahotsek estrategikoki erabakitzen dute zer gogoratu eta zer ahaztu: “Hitzartutakoari buruz besterik ez banu hitz egingo, amonak gaitzetsiko ninduke: bidetik irtetea arriskutsua da, hondamendia ekarriko lukeelako haren forma guztietan” (1985: 156). Emakumeen talde-memoria transkribatzea zeregin zaila da idazlearentzat:

Strange little sister, whom henceforth I leave veiled or whose story I now transcribe in a foreign tongue. Her body and her face are once more engulfed in shadow as she whispers her story – a butterfly displayed on a pin with the dust from its crushed wing staining one's finger (1985: 141) .

Emakume kontalaria hauskorra da eta genero-errolei fede ematen die, isildu eta baztertuz: “ahots lasaiak une egokia bilatzen du, kexuak isilarazten dira, aldarrikapenak goratu” (1985: 177). Hitz egitea aukeratzen badu, memoria lurperatua gogora ekartzen du eta hain umiliagarriak ez diren gauzak baino ez ditu ateratzen. Bere nobelan frogatzen den moduan, emakume kontalariak aukeratzen duten “autoezabaketa” hori ez da bakartia, baizik eta emakumeen baliabide bat da, eta mina eta trauma oso handiak direnean erabiltzen dute: “Zein epairi buruz hitz egingo dut eta zein baztertu behar ditut ahaztuak izateko” (1985: 160). Ahaztea edo gogoratzen dena aukeratzea lagungarria da traumak gainditzeko, norberaren identitatea galtzen dela adierazten du, baita subjektibotasunaren zatikatzea ere.

Idazleak ez du memoria egin nahi bortxaketari buruz, eta horrek berebiziko garrantzia du identitatearen zatitze hori ulertzeko. Aljeriar gizonek makiekin bat egiteko ihes egin zutenean, bortxaketaren

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mehatxua endemikoa zen eta emakume guztiak arriskuan zeuden: “hamahiru urteko neska baserritarrak esango lukeen bezala, Frantziak menderatu ninduen” (1985: 202). Testigantza gehienek ez zuten indarkeria sexuala kontatu nahi eta isiltasun kode bat hartu zuten ama, arreba eta emazte gisa zituzten identitateak babesteko: “Guk, neska gazteek, frantsesak hurbiltzen ikusten genituenean, ez ginen barruan gelditzen. Emakume zaharrak barruan gelditzen ziren umeeekin eta gu sasien artean edo uadian ezkututzen ginen. Etsaiak harrapatzen bagintuen, ez genuen txintik esaten” (1985: 206-207). Memoria borrokatzeko lekua ere bada, ez bakarrik zer gogoratu eta zer ahaztu erabakitzen dugulako, horrez gainera, zer aukeratu eta zer ez erabaki behar delako, prozesuan talde-memoria arriskuan jarritz. Kasu horretan, autoreak dilemari aurre egin behar dio, kontatu ezin dena kontatuz, entzun ezin dena, tabua, eta memoria hautsia aipatzen du:

Once the soldiers were gone, once she has washed, tidied herself up, plaited her hair and tied the scarlet ribbon, all these actions reflected in the brackish water of the wadi, the woman, every woman, returns, one hour or two hours later, advances to face the world to prevent the chancre being opened in the tribal circle [...] rape will not be mentioned, will be respected. Swallowed. Until the next alarm (1985: 202).

Batzuetan, idazleak zeharka galdetzen du galdera erretorikoaren bidez: “Imajina dezakezu zer gertatuko litzatekeen [soldadu frantsesak] etxe batera iritsiko balira eta emakumeak bakarrik aurkituko balituzte?” (1985: 187). Bortxaketaren inguruko talde-amnesia eta isiltasuna inskribatuak eta errotuak daude ondare kolonialean eta generoko ekoizpen kulturaletan, eta oso zaila da horri aurre egitea. Autorearen eginbeharra ondareari erronka botatzea da, emakumeak beren memoria eta identitateekin batzeko:

How could a woman speak aloud, even in Arabic, unless on the threshold of extreme age? How could she say “I”, since that would be to scorn the blanket-formulae which ensure that each individual journeys through life is a collective resignation? [...] How can she undertake to analyze her childhood, even if it turns out different? The difference if not spoken of, disappears.

[...] My oral tradition has gradually been overlaid and is in danger of vanishing [...] In writing of my childhood memories I am taken back to those bodies bereft of voices (1985: 156).

Ahaztea emakumeak beren gorputz eta identitatekin banatzearen frogabaldin bada eta indarkeriaren traumari aurre egiteko emakumeen ezintasuna agerian jartzen badu, oroitzeak emakumeak osatzen ditu eta identitatea eratzten du. Emakumeen narratiba gehienetan, idazleak idatzi eta idatzi egiten du eta bere historia kontatzen du, norbanako gisa eta talde bateko kidei gisa; eta autoreak emakumezkoen memoriari aberastasuna adierazten du erresistentziaren gerran. Horrela, bai norbanakoaren bai emakumezkoen talde-identitatea

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eratzen laguntzen du. Moya Fayad-ek “Reinscribing Identity: Nation and Community in Arab Women’s Writing” artikuluan dioen bezala, “tradizionalki, narratiba nazionalistetan emakumeak sortzailatzat jo izan dira, gizonezkoen subjektibotasunaren inspirazio-iturritzat eta babesletzat. Emakumeen gorputza ez bada narratiba nazionaletan aipatzen, eta mitifikazioa egin bada, ezinezkoa da emakumea aldaketaren eragiletzat hartzea” (Fayad, 1995: 158). Baina Assia Djebar-en ustez, horrek ez dauka garrantzia handia emakumeen erresistentzia kontatzeko garaian. Emakumezkoen istorioak, beraz, elkartzen dira eta emakumeen talde narratiba osatzen dute, ahots eta esperientzia amalgama. Pertsona bakoitzaren memoriak emakumea aurkezten du bere osotasunean, emakume oldarkorra, beldurrik gabea, ausarta, erresistitzen dena. Adibide bat jartzearren, hamahiru urteko neska baserritarraren memoria, bere nebek makiekin bat egin eta bere aurrean neba bat hiltzen dutenean; lurperatzearen mina eta dolua pairatu behar du.

[...] that of the mother who bore the soldiers’ tortures with never a whimper, that of the little cooped-up sisters, too young to understand, but bearing the message of wild-eyed anguish, the voice of the old women of the douar who face the horror of the approaching death-knell, open-mouthed, with palms of fleshless hands turned upwards (1985: 123).

Baina *mūdjāhidīn*-ei aterpe eta janaria eman zietenak ere eraman zituzten mendira matxinoengana, besoak gora zituztela. Borrokan parte hartu zuten, kartzelatu, torturatu eta hil zituzten. Uniformeak eta banderak josi zituztenak ere, zaurituak egon arren, erreportari eta diru biltzaile gisa erabiltzen zituzten.

Emakumeentzat, gerra oroitzeak gorputza oroitzea dakar ezinbestean. Assia Djebar-entzar, talde-memoria generoaren mende dago eta gorputzaren bitartez emakumeek ahotsa aurkitzen dute. Gerra kontakizun dokumentatuetatik ihes egiten duena da, Djebar-en narratibetan. Djebar-ek emakumeei aukera ematen die beren gorputzei hitz eginaraz diezaieten, min eta trauma guztiak baztertu gabe. Emakumeek gorputz-hizkuntzaren bidez ere kontaktzen dituzte gerran jasandako basakeriak, hori, jakina, ez da historiaren bertsio ofizialetan ageri. Emakumeak diskurtsoa kontatzeko moduaren ezaugarriak dira sentsualtasuna eta intuizioa. Horrela:

The fourth language, for all females, young or old, cloistered or half-emancipated, remains that of the body: the body which [...] in trances, dances or vociferations, in fits of hope or despair, rebels, and unable to read or write, seeks some unknown shore as destination for its message of love (1985: 180).

Elia-k defendatzen duen bezala “emakumeei gelditzen zaiena ahoz kontatzea da, gorputzaren adierazpena, mugimenduena, soinuen, larrialdiena eta dantzena, edozein diskurtso sinbolikotatik

kanpo eta antzeman ez daitekeena komunikatuz” (Elia, 2001: 22). Beraz, guztiz ulertezina eta enigmatikoa da Patriarkatu edo Inperialismoa ordezkatzen dituzten horientzat. Gerra ordaintzen denean, “emakumeen oihuak gerraren aieneak dira borrokatzen diren gizonentzat atzerriko hizkuntza batean: gure kronikariak obsesionatzen dira erdi-gizakien oihuek sortzen duten urruneko soinu kakofonikoekin, talde-ahots basati batek belarriak apurtzeko hieroglifikoak direla ematen baitute” (1985: 56). Histeria ero horren soinu eta mugimendu primitibo horietan, gorputza guztiz eratzen da eta identitatea osatzen da. Erritmoak eta zentzumenak hizkuntza eta diskurtsoa ordezkatzen dituzte, eta errituala sortzen dute, non mina kanporatu eta lasaitasuna berreskuratzen den. Trantzean daudenean, esaterako, emakumeek, amonek, hitzak erabiliz aurre egin beharrean, dantzen bidez egiten diete aurre letargiari eta isiltasunari:

The matriarch was normally the only one of the women who never complained; she condescended to mouth the formulas of submission disdainfully; but this extravagant or derisory ceremonial which she regularly organized was her own way of protesting... Against whom? Against the others or against fate? I wondered. But when she danced, she became indubitably queen of the city. Cocooned in the primitive music, she drew her daily strength before our very eyes. The haughty matron's voice and body gave me a glimpse of the source of all our sorrows: like half obliterated signs which we spend the rest of our lives trying to decipher (1985: 145).

Emakume protagonisten gorputz-antzezpenak ahozko eta gorputz-erronkak dira. Emakume batzuek gorputzen erabilera estrategikoak nabarmentzen dituzte, normalean bide bakarra delako erresistentzia egiteko. Ematen du emakumeek gorputza erabiltzen dutela boterea lortzeko eta horrela, gorputzak erresistentzia egiteko tresnak dira. Funtzio biologiko eta sexualak alde batera uzten dira bizitzaren sortzaile eta objektu desiragarri gisa.

Gerrari buruzko edozein liskar eta gelditzen diren oroitzapenak mingarriak dira. Minak emakumearen identitatea eratzen du eta ezin da gorputzetik baztertu. Traumaren hizkuntza eta gorputzak oinarri hartuta proiektatzen da irakurlea; umilazioaren eta zorigaitzaren sentimendu sakonagoak sufrimendu fisikoaren interpretazioa handitzen du. Gure gorputza torturatzen, mozten, jotzen eta apurtzen dute; probokazio eta lotsagabekeri osoz. Hainbat adibide ageri dira nobelan, Cherifa, esaterako, falka elektrikoekin torturatzen dute, eta gose grebekin autoritate koloniala desafiatzen du. Lla Zohra-k, hainbat aldiz etxea eta bera ere erre duten emakume zaharrak, honela dio:

My hair caught fire. And the child who was crying with fright, shouted, 'Mother, the fire's eating you up! The fire is eating you up! That's how I lost all my hair. I hurled myself into the water. But more



burning embers fell on me [...] (1985: 161).

Harrigarria den arren, minak emakume horiek askatu zituen eta hitz egitera bultzatu zituen. Elaine Scarry-k eztabaidatzen du tortura hori pairatzen zuten bitartean “gorputza mina da, izugarritzko mina ematen duena eta egindako kalteak abisatzen dio, eta gorputza orbainak dira, kalteak eragindako orbain lodi eta ahaztezinak, ezin direnak aintzat hartu gabe utzi, mutu eta zentzugabeak” (Scarry, 1985: 31). Gorputza artikulazio fisiko eta moralaren erdigunean dago, beraiek hitz egiten badute edota beste emakume batzuek egiten badute ere. Menderatutako emakumeek indarra hartzen dute sufrimendua kontatzen dutenean eta mina horren kontrola hartzen dute, torturazailaren boterearen aurka borrokatuz eta boterea hartuz. Haientzat, memoria pertsonalaren berri ematea askatzeko modua da.

Gorputza oroitzeak gorputzaren bitartez oroitzea dakar. Minak ahotsa eta gorputza definitzen dituzenez, diskurtsiboki inskribatzen da eta eragina dauka horri buruz idazterakoan. Djebbar-ek mina eta hizkuntzaren arteko lotura azpimarratzen du, horrela emakumeen memoria pribatuak berpizteko hutsegitea agerian jartzen du eta eginkizunaren zailtasuna aipatzen du. Gizonezko ofizialak biolentzia kolonialari buruz informatu behar duenean muga sentzoriala dauka eta horixe bera aplikatu ahal zaio idazleari:

Bosquet muses over the youth killed defending his sister in the luxurious tent; he recalls the anonymous woman whose foot had been hacked off, ‘cut off for the sake of the *khalkhal*...’ Suddenly as he inserts these words, they prevent the ink of the whole letter from drying: because of the obscenity of the torn flesh that he could not suppress in his description (1985: 56).

*The Body in Pain*-en, Scarry-k dio hizkuntzaren erresistentzia beharrezkoa dela minarentzat: “Min handiak [...] hizkuntza suntsitzen du: norberaren munduaren edukia desegiten bada, norberaren hizkuntzaren edukia ere desegiten da; norbera desegiten bada, jatorritik eta subjektutik lapurtzen da norbera adierazteko eta proiektatzeko beharrezkoa dena” (Scarry, 1985: 35). Kontalariak hitzezkoak ez diren adierazpenetara jotzen du “Ez dut hemen esaten kontalaria edo idazlea naizen. Kanpo lurraldean abes dezaket” (Djebbar, 1985: 142). Horrek azal dezake zergatik jotzen duen autoreak semiotikara, hitzen bidez ezin denean azaldu: ahozko lexikografia eta lexikografia sentzuala, hizkuntzak mina ezin duenean gainditu:

To read this writing, I must lean over backwards, plunge my face into the shadows, closely examine the vaulted roof of rock or chalk, lend an ear to the whispers that rise up from time out of mind, study this geology stained red with blood. What magma of sounds lies rotting there? What stench of petrification seeps out? I grope about, my sense of smell aroused, my ears alert, in this rising tide of ancient pain. Alone, stripped

bare, unveiled, I face these images of darkness...

How are the sounds of the past to be met as they emerge from the well of bygone centuries?... What love must still be sought, what future be planned, despite the call of the dead? And my body reverberates with sounds from the endless landslide of generations of my lineage (1985: 64).

Hizkuntza eta gorputzaren arteko transakzioek bai idazlearen bai arbasoen identitatea sortzen lagun dezakete, aurretik esan bezala, “minaren hizkuntza” desegiten dute. “Histeria bakarra egongo litzateke, gorputzaren azala irudien islapena da eta barruan histeria garatzen da. Hizkuntzak histeriaren fonetikazko gehiegikeri guztiak dauzka eta begi-bistako esanahia suntsitzen du” (Das, 2004: 331). Idazlearen eta hizkuntzaren arteko harremana apurtuta dagoela nabarmentzen da bere herrikideen minaren memoria artikulatu ezin duenean. Horrek guztiak adierazten du mendekotasun kolonialak ez zuela emakumeen gizarte-identitatea kaltetu, baina bai emakumeen arte-identitatea; “beste baten mina ezeztatzea ez da intelektualen akatsa, baizik eta arimaren akatsa da. Irudipena miatzen bada, beste baten minak lekua bilatzen du bai hizkuntzan, bai gorputzean” (Das, 2004: 332).

Emakume aljeriarrentzat, gerraren memoriak sexuak baldintzatutako identitateak berrikustea eta bereganatzea ekarri zuen, gerrako istorioek gerra diskursoaren ereduak eraiki eta deseraikitzen dituztelako. Gerra-istorio horietan, generoak baldintzatutako hierarkiak biko aurkaritzan ezarrita daude.

Their stories contest the acceptance of a dyadically structured world and make a mockery of such notions as Defender and Defended. If women describe and write themselves as having had a war experience at home then they deny two critical binaries: home versus front and civilian versus combatant. The breakdown of those binaries then allows us to see the cracks in others such as victory versus defeat, fact versus fiction, action versus writing, experience versus recording, war versus peace (Cooke, 1997: 296).

Arreta jartzen diogu “emakumeak leku batean egoteari eta esperientziak dioenez, berehala baztertu izanari. Emakumeak erakusten ari dira biko aurkaritza horiek fikzioaren bidez eraikitzen zutelagerra-istorioa” (Cooke, 1997: 19). Biko aurkaritza horien adibide bat maila pribatua eta publikoa da. Emakumeen gerra-memoretan, etxean bat datoz emetasunaren eta neskamearen rola. Tradizionalki, emakumeak okupatzen zituzten etxeak muga adierazgarriagoak ziren gizonek erresistentzia egiten zuten mendiak baino: “Gure gizonek ihes egin zuten: ez zuten etsaiaren errepresalien zain egon nahi. Han uzten gintuzten gu, guztia pairatzeko” (1985: 206). Beste testuinguru batean, etxearen ideia (harem) desagertzen da etxeak behin eta berriz erre edo puskatzen dituztenean, kolonizatzailea begira dagoen bitartean. Emakumeak goratzen dituzte haien

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erresistentzia pasiboa izan zelako, emakumea, isila, maitekorra eta amatiarra: "Etxeko emakume guztiek gauza bera egin zuten, indar handiagoarekin garrasi egiten zuten: guztiak gor bihurtzeko bezain gogor" (1985: 207). Bi aldeek ekintzak/ ekintzarik ezak, pasibitateak/ aktibitateak, jakintasunak/ezjakintasunak bat egiten dute isiltasuna etsaiari aurre egiteko tresna bihurtzen denean. Horrela egin zuen neska batek, etsaia garaitu zuen hitz egitera behartu nahi zuenean:

To the little girl I'd adopted; I kept on saying, 'if they question you, begin to cry! If they ask, 'Who comes to visit your mother? What does she do' you must begin to cry immediately... if you say a word, they will ask more questions! Just cry! That's all you must do!' and that's what she did. She burst into tears, she rolled about in the sand, she ran away in a flood of tears (1985: 160).

Gerraren memoria, mingarria izan arren, diskurtso historikoei aurka egiten die, emakumeak iraintzen zituen, ikusezin bihurtu eta alde batera uzten zituen. Era berean, aditzera ematen du emakumearen identitatea aldatzen dela eta definizioetatik aldentzen dela.

Djebar-ek emakumeen gerraren talde-memoria atzerriko hizkuntzan idazteak ondorio antzemanekin ditu. "Amatasun/aitatasun identifikazio bikoitzari" (Ringrose, 2006: 58) buruz idazten duenean, hau da, bere arbasoei buruz aitak irakatsi zion kolonizatzaileen hizkuntzan idazten duenean, askapen bezala eta errepresio bezala ulertzen da era berean. Izan ere, "hizkuntza aukerek jatorri kulturala edo banaketa kodifikatzen dituzte; hitz berriekin eta mundu berriekin jolastuz, norberaren hizkuntzaren galera eta berreskurapena etengabeko negoziazioa dira idazle horientzat" (Katrak, 2006: 27). Djebar-ek dikotomia hori onartzen du eta ahozkotatasunaren eta testuaren arteko desadostasunari buruz hau dio:

I have captured your voice ; disguised it with my French without clothing it... the words that I thought to put in your mouth are shrouded in the same mourning garb as those of Bosquet or Saint-Arnaud. Actually, it is they who are writing to each other, using my hand, since I condone this bastardy, the only cross-breeding that the ancestral beliefs do not condemn : that of language, not that of the blood... torch-words which light up my women companions, my accomplices ; these words divide me from them once and for all. And weigh me down as I leave my native land (1985: 142).

Errudun sentitzen da bere ama hizkuntzatik banatu izanagatik. Konkistatzailearen hizkuntzak potentzial artistikoa ematen dio eta era berean idazlearen identitatearen zentzua ezegonkortzen du : "Badakit hizkuntza guztiak gorpu pilatuen biltegiak direla [...] baina aurreko konkistatzailearen hizkuntzarekin konparatzen badugu; apainketak, bitxiak, loreak... eskaintzen dituena, uste dut heriotzaren loreak direla, hilobietako urrelilak" (1985: 181). Idazlearen bazterketa eta traizioaren sentimendu horrek bere jaioterrira itzultzeko desioa

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pizten du, bere identitatea; beraz, emakumeen istorioak jasotzen ditu eta idazten ditu talde identitateak eta bere identitatea ere berpizteko. Testuinguru horretan, hitz egiteko gai dela adierazi du, beraz, menderatutako pertsona batek gerra testigantza irakurteak garrantzia galtzen du. Assia Djebbar-ek ez du idazten emakume ahaztu horiengatik bakarrik, baizik eta emakumeen talde-memoriagatik oro har, etorkizunerako gordetzeko. Erresistentzia istorio horiek ez badituzte gordetzen, galtzeko arrisku handia dago. Testigantzek, narratiba bihurtzen diren unetik, pribatuak izan beharrean, jabetza publikoa dute eta ahotsa polimorfikoa da, gorputz anitzena. Emakume horien ahotsek durundi egiten dute eta azentu eta intonazio bereber eta arabiarrak nahasten dira testu frantsesean. Hizkuntza diferentzia horrek “hirugarren tokia” eratzen du, ez da ez arabiarra ez frantsesa, eta idazlea erbesteratutako bere buruarekin eta sakabanatutako jatorriarekin elkartzen da. Leku horretan “nire lagun emakumeek, nire konplizeek... argi-hitzak pizten dituzte” (Djebbar, 142).

Boehmerren dudak gogoan izanda “nazioen egiturak edo nazio-estatuak generoak menderatutako hierarkietan soldatuta baldin badaude, egitura horiek nazioaren boterearen antolaketari informatzen badio, nola imajina genezake generoak menderatu ez duen nazioa?” (Boehmer, 2005: 30). Djebbar-ek generoa eta gerra elkartzearen arazoa errepikatzen du behin eta berriz, batez ere memoria erdian baldin badago. Bere erretorikarekin emakumeek nazio borrokan duten rolari lehentasuna ematen die, esfortzu handiak egiten ditu ahotsa emateko eta kolonial eta patriarkar boterearen egiturek isilaraztearen aurka borrokatzeko, bere rola nabarmendu nahi izan du lekuko gisa eta bizirik irten diren horiek bezala, bai eta borrokaren zutabe gisa ere. Frogatu da talde-memoria indar arketipikoa dela eta horren bitartez menderatutako identitateari eta esperientziari forma eman dio. Gainera, idazlea eta bere jaioterria adiskidetu dituen indar sendagarria da.

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