

**Addis Ababa University**  
**College of Humanities, Language Studies, Journalism and**  
**Communication**  
**Department of Foreign Languages and Literature**

**Interfacing Fact and Fiction in Tower in the Sky and The Emperor:**  
**A New Historicist Reading**

**By**

**Haile Gezae Weldegiorgis**

**June, 2021**

**Addis Ababa University**

**Addis Ababa**

**Interfacing Fact and Fiction in Tower in the Sky and The Emperor:  
A New Historicist Reading**

**By:**

**Haile Gezae Weldegiorgis**

**Advisor:**

**Olga Yazbec (PhD)**

**A Thesis Submitted to**

**The Department of Foreign Languages and Literature Presented in  
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in  
Literature**

**Addis Ababa University**

**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

**June, 2021**

**Addis Ababa University**  
**School of Graduate Studies**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Haile Gezae, entitled: *Interfacing Fact and Fiction in Tower in the Sky and The Emperor: A New Historicist Reading* and submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Literature complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to the originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

Examiner \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Examiner \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Advisor \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

---

Chair of Department or Graduate Program Coordinator



## ABSTRACT

*This dissertation explores the interfacing of fact and fiction in two Ethiopian creative nonfictions, "The Emperor" (1978) and "Tower in the Sky" (2012). The main objective of the study is to examine the line and relationship between fact and fiction, thereby understanding and gaining more insight into a new historical method of presenting history in the context of creative nonfiction. In order to achieve this objective, an attempt is made to review relevant literature in relation to new historicism and the subject texts. In addition to this, the new historicist approach to literary texts is used as the study's theoretical framework. New historicism purports that literature must be studied and interpreted within the context of the historical background and context of the time of production in order to evaluate how the text was influenced by the time in which it was created. Using this basic assumption as an initial point, the study examines the stories presented in these texts so as to find out how they are affected by situations in the times they were created and how their fact/fiction, dual nature is reflected in the process. However, this tension of classification seems not new. There are examples that combine approaches and processes, and mix life writing with history, novels with memoir and journalistic writing with fictional narrative, which in turn made the line blurry and the works hybrid. The focus of this study is thus examining how the facts and fiction mixed and made the line between them blurry in selected life narratives. Accordingly, the study attempts to analyze and interpret the two texts in light of Greenblatt's New Historicist theory, mainly focusing on major paradigms such as textuality of history and historicity of text, and reveals postmodern concerns about re-writing history. The findings reveal that both Hiwot's and Kapuscinski's narratives portray the narrative of history and change its closed linear nature into multiple discontinuous histories. The narratives have unmasked the textuality and historicity of the texts; and hence the textualization of the books shows the ideological embeddedness of our knowledge about the past. The authors have explored the connections between literature, history, and the organization of social and cultural power relations through both utilizing and trying to challenge historical authorities and facts. As such, their works indicate that the experiential history of narrating subjects always blurs the line between fact and fiction. Hence, it can be said that there is an inseparable unity of discourse, history and imagination in both texts. The study's findings further indicate that both authors are more concerned with marginalized histories of marginalized people. Based on this, with a vast array of characters and overflowing with incidents, the life writings re-create a new version of history with fused personal and political narratives. In addition to this, Kapuscinski has undergone a process of self-fashioning in which he was first a reporter (correspondents), and then showed himself up as a creative writer, whereas, Hiwot, who was influenced by the environment and time. In conclusion, the two texts prove that both the historian and life writer maintain using both literary and historical mechanisms in their attempts to craft images of reality.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, my gratitude is due to Addis Ababa University for sponsoring my scholarship grants, starting from my bachelor's degree up until my PhD. Then, I would like to extend my gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Olga Yazbec, for her insightful comments, and positive thinking throughout the years. Dr. Abyi Daniel's good spirit was contagious, and I'd like to thank him for infusing positivity into my life.

I am also grateful to my friend and sister, Dr. Yewubdar Demissie, for proofreading the final copy, and for her unreserved and constructive support in the course of this study. Yewubdar, I cannot possibly mention all that you did for me, but I will always treasure it in my heart.

My deepest gratitude goes to Associate Professor Tewodros Gebre, who has helped me since the inception of this study, checked my wellbeing and encouraged me all the way up until the final presentation. His encouragement, help and guidance have won my greatest admiration. I am also indebted to my brother and mentor, Mehari Zemelak Werqu, for helping me grow better, sending me books and comforting me during my hard times. Thank you Gashe!

My gratitude also goes to Semira Mohammed, a good friend who helped me financially by purchasing reference books when I couldn't. Equally, my friend Dagim Afeworq Mekonnen and my cousin Mehari Nigus Tire, your books were worth all of your ups and downs. Though financially unstable, you still seriously considered my request and responded instantly. I, your brother, thank you very much.

I would like to thank my colleagues and friends for their constructive comments and insightful discussions on this study through its progress; Endasahaw Littera, Dr. Yohannis Asfaw (Johnny), Dr. Liqnaw, Dr. Bezabih Tesfahuneg, Dr. Tsegabrhan Wodaj, Amanuel W/Micheal, Saba Getachew, Meaza Gebru and Getaneh Mekuanint. I also owe thanks to my colleagues, Hadgu Teka and Haftay G/ezgabher, for their encouragement.

Finally, my heartfelt thanks goes to my family; my wife, Hillina Alazar, my father, Gezae Weldegiorgis, my mother, Alganesh Sibhat, and all my siblings, whose love has empowered me to endure these extremely challenging and humbling years.

# Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	vi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	11
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	14
1.3.1 General Objective.....	14
1.3.2 Specific Objectives.....	14
1.4 Significance of the Study.....	14
1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study.....	15
1.6 Methodology and Procedures of the Study.....	16
1.6.1 Methodology.....	16
1.7 Justification for the Choice of the Subject of the Study.....	19
1.8 Organization of Study.....	21
CHAPTER TWO.....	23
A REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.....	23
2.1 Review of Related Studies.....	23
2.2. Review of Previous Studies on New Historicism.....	33
2.3 The Borderline Claim of History and Literature.....	35
2.4 Literature and Ideology.....	39

CHAPTER THREE .....	43
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....	43
3.1 What is New Historicism?.....	44
3.2 Old Historical Approach versus New Historicism .....	50
3.3 Paradigms of New Historicism.....	52
3.3.1 Textuality of History and Historicity of Text .....	52
3.3.2 Intertextuality .....	58
3.3.3 Text, Context and Co-text.....	61
3.3.4 Thick Description.....	65
3.3.5 Power Relations and Operations .....	67
3.3.6 Self-fashioning.....	69
3.3.7 Subversion and Containment .....	72
CHAPTER FOUR.....	75
A NEW HISTORICIST ANALYSIS OF THE EMPEROR AND TOWER IN THE SKY.....	75
4.1 Historicity of Text and Textuality of History .....	75
4.1.1. Historicity of Text.....	76
4.1.1.1 Fact and Fiction: Issues of Truth and Reliability.....	88
4.1.1.2 The Multi-face Truth: The Tension between Fact and Fictionality .....	100
4.1.1.3 Literature as an Anecdotal Presentation of History .....	106
4.1.2 Textuality of History: The Reconstruction of History .....	111
4.1.2.1 Reconstruction of Ethiopian History .....	113
4.2 Intertextuality and Co- (n) Texts .....	126
4.2.1 Employing Reference as a Way of Intertextuality .....	128
4.2.2 Quotation as a means of Intertextuality .....	131

4.3. Self-fashioning in the Composition .....	134
4.3.1 Hiwot’s Self-fashioning and the Quest for Self .....	135
4.3.1.1 Patterns and Ideals of Self-fashioning in the Tower in the Sky.....	139
4.3.1.2 Hero, Narrator, and Author in the Tower in the Sky .....	144
4.3.2 Journalism or Literature: Kapuscinski’s Fashioning of Self.....	146
4.4 Power Analysis: Subversion and Containment .....	152
4.4.1 Subversion in The Emperor and Tower in the Sky.....	152
4.4.1.1 Subversion in The Emperor: The Rebels' Subversion of a Feudal Society .....	152
4.4.1.2 Subversion in the Tower in the Sky: Subverting a Military Dictator .....	160
4.4.2 Containment in the The Emperor.....	163
4.4.2.1 Religious Power as a Means of Containment .....	163
4.4.2.2 Hunger as a Means of Containment.....	167
4.4.3 Containment in the Tower in the Sky .....	170
4.4.3.1 Execution and Imprisonment as Means of Containment .....	170
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION .....	175
5.1. SUMMARY.....	175
5.2 CONCLUSION .....	179

WORKS CITED

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CNF-Creative Nonfiction

EPRP-Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party

EPRDF-Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

ISA-Ideological State Apparatus

RSA-Repressive State Apparatus

TPLF- Tigray People Liberation Front

## DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

**Discourse:** speech, text, and/or other means of communication that are used to influence and control people/society, maintain or resist certain social powers, and/or transfer certain knowledge.

**Fact:** Something known to exist or to have happened.

**Fiction:** The general term for invented stories, now usually applied to novels, short stories, novellas, romances, fables, and other narrative works in prose.

**Hegemony:** An attempt to get conscious and/or unconscious consent from subjects to maintain or resist a certain social power.

**History:** a continuous, systematic narrative of past events as relating to a particular people, country, period, person, etc., usually written as a chronological account; chronicle.

**Ideological State Apparatus (ISA):** According to Althusser (1969), ISAs are social and political institutions or cultural rituals where ideological reproductions (discourses) are carried out.

**Interpellation:** Hailing or making certain individuals, groups, societies submissive to certain ideologies.

**Memoir:** a record of events written by a person having intimate knowledge of them and based on personal observation; often it doesn't cover the entire life of the writer.

**Power:** A way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subject by virtue of their acting or being capable of action (Foucault, Subject, 220).

**Repressive State Apparatus (RSA):** According to Althusser, RSAs are repressive machines, such as courts, police and armies that governments, states, or the dominant classes use to maintain their power.

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

Literature is a production and reflection of the good values and ills of a society. Yet literature can be used to explain a period of time, and give insights as to how the general public feels about a particular time by conveying true emotions, realities and ideals. Quoting De Bonald, Wellek and Warren said that "literature is an expression of society" (1956, 90). As there are many things that can be analyzed in literature, societal values and lived experience are among them. What is therefore crucial about literature is that it shows the reality of the time. This asserts that, besides their personal emotions and conceptions, as they are part of society, writers are often the eyes of the society they live in. "A writer inevitably expresses his experience and total conception of life" (ibid 90). Literature, as a reflection and production of its time and of society, pictures what many people think, say and do in society. In literature, we find stories designed to portray human life and the actions of their own time and history through characterization, language, action and behavior. This kind of presentation conveys certain messages for the purpose of education, information and entertainment. Because all writers arise from their respected society and time, it is reasonable to expect a piece of literature that reflects society's attitudes, morals, and ideals. To that end, writers of literature and history imitate real-life events in their society and present them to society as a mirror through which people can look at themselves and their past. Thus, literature is not only a reflection of society; it also serves as a documented mirror in which members of society can look at their past history and the literary production of their own time. It is necessary to take a close look at some works of literature, in order to understand how literature reflects and documents society and its past history.

Scholars mention that a blend of historical fact and fiction has been used in various forms since the narrative began with tales and epic poems. Writings which exhibit this blending of fact and fiction have come to be identified as creative nonfiction, an umbrella term under which different genres of such writings are included. Literary Nonfiction, Narrative Nonfiction, Literary Journalism, Imaginative Nonfiction, Lyric Essay, Personal Essay, Personal Narrative, and Literary Memoir are some of the sub-genres identified as creative non-fiction. Several definitions have been directed by different scholars in the area, to provide a collective and working definition of the term, hence adequately describing the various writings categorized under it. It is a very controversial term and lining up the demarcation that serves as its boundary has not been an easy job. The confusion has gone to the extent of taking creative nonfiction as another way of writing fiction, because of the way writing changes the way we know a subject. The details are provided in the following excerpt. In the introduction to his book, *Contemporary Creative Nonfiction: The Art of Truth*, Roorbach defines 'Creative Nonfiction' as follows.

What a troublesome term *creative non-fiction* is, and yet we seem to be stuck with it. I mean, what could 'creative non-fiction' possibly mean, when all writing is creative, and most writing is non-fiction? Some very smart people have proposed all kinds of other terms to name this old form...: 'literary nonfiction,' 'the literature of reality,' 'the Fourth Genre' (with poetry, fiction, and drama being the first three)... 'New Journalism,' 'narrative nonfiction,' etc. but none are any more accurate or inclusive than 'creative nonfiction,' and some are less accurate and too exclusive. (2-3)

Many creative works of modern Ethiopian literature indeed reveal the artistic and historical chronicles of the factual sociopolitical, economic and historical realities of the country. This is

not uncommon in the realm of African literature. Though slightly different in terms of content, like any other African literature, Ethiopian art production reflects the realities of the time. Mesfin describes it as follows:

Although many of its geographical, economic and socio-political features, including linguistic and ethnic diversity, could also be said to be typical of other African countries, Ethiopia nonetheless also differs from most African countries, as is indicated below. Therefore, it would be erroneous or impractical to ignore these facts or to discuss Ethiopia within the general context or assumptions true of Africa at large or other African countries that were once colonies of European powers. (9)

Filled with rich historical events, more or less, the literary productions of Ethiopian literature seem to be engaged in their own historical, political and social concerns. In this case, the dominant and primary agenda of an art work is the social and political context that inspires the creation of a work of art. In fact, all literature in the world appears to have been influenced by specific social, political, and economic factors at the time it was written. Thus, unlike other African literature, which deals with the issues of colonization and imperialism, Ethiopian literature focuses on the country's politics and social issues.

Writing about Ethiopia's reality, in any form, reflects the writers' current points of view. Ethiopia's reality is the product of many cultures and historical circumstances. Many writers have successfully reflected Ethiopia's reality through their creative works, and artistically suggested their perceptions of the reality reflected in their creative works. Ethiopian writers, particularly writers who seem to have some interest in politics, are influenced by the ideas of the political struggle and the social context of the time. Therefore, their literature reflects the

historical, social and political confluences of the country. A case in point could be Hiwot Teffera's *Tower in the Sky* and Ryszard Kapuściński's *The Emperor*. These books are often viewed as texts that conflate fiction and nonfiction or demonstrate the functionality of all factual narrative accounts in compliance with the theories of narrative and history.

As one of the emerging novelists in the history of Ethiopia's literature, Hiwot has exerted a vibrating influence upon the literary circle of our country. Her accomplishments in literature mark another monument to Ethiopian literature. *The Tower in the sky*, Hiwot's fine work, deals with the political history and struggle of the EPRP in the 1970's. In her depiction of the political struggle and the race for power, her memoir shows the shocking history of the country and the Derg regime and the seemingly hide and seek play of the EPRP's politics.

Kapuscinski, a Polish writer, reporter, and traveler, is well-known for his hybrid writing. After visiting Ethiopia in 1974, Kapuscinski interviewed surviving members of the court, including ministers, courtiers, clerks and servants and, depending on this, he wrote *The Emperor*. The book is about the Emperor's life and fall. The core issues are the regime's final years, the failed 1960 coup, peasant uprisings, and famines in the country's north, which caused him to become increasingly disconnected from society. The end came with a famine in the north, student unrest, international attention in Ethiopia, and military rebellions. Kapuscinski's attention is not on these events but on how they were perceived at the centre, and in the final months in 1974 in which the Emperor did nothing while the group of army officers (the Derg) which had seized power isolated and gradually eliminated his entire court, eventually deposing him. Coupling history and well-written language, *The Emperor* is a powerful and compelling work.

Since their publication, both works have inspired a considerable number of reviews, essays and book-length studies on various subjects with different critical methodologies. To elaborate, more

than a dozen novels were written after the release of Hiwot Teffera's *Tower in the Sky*, all of which were directly or indirectly related to her work. These books appeared to be a reaction to and continuation of her party's stories and activities, despite the fact that they were almost all written in Amharic. Similarly, Kapuscinski became well-known after writing *The Emperor*. As a result, he became recognized all over the world after publishing *The Emperor*. His work was well-received in Poland, and it was translated into a number of languages, including Amharic. Through analyzing these studies, it can be found that part of the writers' venture in their books is to subvert the mainstream of the political narrative of the country by restoring their survival condition, and reconstructing the marginalized groups' political history. The memoir and biography of King Haile Selassie, both of which deal with history in a unique way, have revealed a relationship between history and narrative that coincides with the foundation of the New Historicism.

In both writings, engagement with history is not the same kind as that of regular historiographers (as Tekle Tasidik Mekuria, Bahru Zewde, or Gebru Tarekegn), but this does not, in any way, lessen its significance as a historical narrative of their respective times. The fictional framework renders history more readable and lively. Moreover, fictional works involve the reader more than what actual history does. Undeniably, both throw a new dimension into their encounter with history. Their works are filled with both political and historical narratives. As a result, both are life writers, reporters, and novelists who, as we can see, bend their writings to the needs of history.

As new historicism acknowledges the examination of literary works by culture and social background, the researcher recognizes that this examination of the data for the study is also greatly affected by his own environment and culture. Applying the new historicism approach to

The Emperor (1978) and the Tower in the Sky (2005) is a pursuit that transcends the limitations of the text-only approach. The researcher can compare the actual historical situation to the situations presented in the selected books, allowing readers to gain a better understanding of the culture and circumstances of the time period. Using this theory, we can interpret and learn about the history of an era through literary texts.

Talking about history and literature, as well as precisely defining history and literature, is a difficult task. The two concepts in general are not precise, not even in the context in which I am using them in this research. Though history is an established discipline, since it is open to interpretation and subjectivity, it is still debatable whether it is a science or an art. Given its openness to interpretation and the reliability of its sources and objectiveness as well, its relationship with literature is ambiguous. Olivia Chirobocea, in her article, Perspectives on the relationship between history and fiction, asserts the ambiguity as follows: "Up until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, history was a blend of fact and fiction, myth and reality, while the study of history was more an art than a science. ... History was regarded as a form of art, as evidenced by the ornaments found in medieval history books." The more we learn about history, the more blurry the line between history and art (literature) becomes. The writing of history was a mix of fact and fiction, with historical figures or mythical references taking center stage. To explain the problematic nature of the concept of history, according to Arthur Marwick, "one very real problem is that the only history with which most people are familiar is the history taught to them at a very elementary level; and the history taught at an elementary level is often not a very good history. Dates and boring facts, of course..." (11). Theorists have always had problems with classifying history as a science or as an art, arguing in this regard that fiction is a necessary part

of history as the interpretation of sources involves filling in the many gaps with the historian's imagination based on their knowledge of a certain period of time.

History is human activities put on record. At any rate, not all human activities are considered as history, except those a historian deems fit to be history. Carr defines history as "a continuous process of interaction between a historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past" (24). If this is so, then history can be accepted not just as what happened, but as some events that others deem worthy of historical record and projection. Asserting the idea, Veenser Haram in his book, *The New Historicism Reader*, affirms that, "History is not merely the chronicle of the past, but rather a pragmatic weapon for explaining the present and controlling the future" (11). Thus, history could be seen as power because it is not really about what happened, but what the 'existing power' thought had happened, or what the 'existing power' wanted others to think, or perhaps what it wanted itself to think had happened. This choice of historical facts is not only the job of a historian alone – neither the one who is a firsthand witness nor those who glean from other historical records, but the key actor himself or other influential agencies who started the process of selection. Historians only accept what they feel is history and impress others by neglecting the other (sides of the) events to focus on those that the actors or the agencies feel have better represented their course. This is a point where objectivity comes into question. Adam Schaff, in his book *History and Truth*, introduces Paul Ricoeur's theory about objectivity, which basically states that objectivity in its pure form does not exist and, although it was desired as a scientific intention of history, now it is regarded only as the divergence between the historian's good and bad subjectivity, being thus transformed from a problem of logic to one of ethics (Schaff 233). It is this deliberate neglect of some facts that I think makes history less objective. The writer's personality and work are shaped by the reality in

which he lives. Yet writing history is never an easy task for a historian or historiographer, as his personal and historical interests affect his objectivity. 'Ignorance is the first requisite of the historian, ignorance which simplifies and clarifies, which selects and omits,' said Lytton Strachey (quoted in Carr 8). This may also account for the long controversy about the common ground that history and literature share. The historian cannot be objective as he relies on the narrative and on representations, which are both elements that distort reality by being filtered through the consciousness of the author's creator. Schaff concludes thus that objectivity of cognition would signify the elimination of all traits of human personality, the rejection of personal system of values and the existence of a universal value of judgments, in which case "objectivity would be simply a fiction. Since it would assume that man is a superhuman being" (235).

So, if the sources are not reliable and the historian is not reliable, the past remains a land of mystery, perpetually subjected to new interpretations, always challenged and never fully revealed. Thus, in spite of all the theories and all the efforts of historians to categorize history as science and not art, it remains a border discipline, forever vacillating between the concepts of fact and fiction. This is a problem that has affected history since the beginning of time. In fact, fiction has always won out over fact. Further, the perception of history as literature was asserted by Carr as follows: "Of course, facts and documents are essential to the historian. But do not make a fetish of them. They do not by themselves constitute history; they provide themselves with no ready-made answer to this tiresome question, "What is history?" (9).

While dealing with the definition of history, what we can consider is that it is not a linear flow of events put chronologically. Rather, it is a process in the course of time and also a study of the process and the historian is as important as the process of selection of the facts. The facts become history because such facts exist first of all as social, then as written in both history and literature.

As a result, the writer's primary responsibility as a historian and novelist is to choose from among the social facts and present them in their own unique way. In most cases, especially where there is no influence on the participants, the historian will choose what is of interest to him and deliberately ignore the rest. Carr further observes on the subject of history that the past act is dead and meaningless to the historian, but that what matters is the thought that is behind it. Hence, 'all history is the history of thought', and 'history is the re-enactment in the historian's mind of the thought whose history he is studying'. Of course, history as a re-enactment does not replay all past events, but the thought that is re-enacted is relevant to the historian and the relevant agencies. To affirm this idea, Jenkins says that history is nothing but a "personal construct, a manifestation of the historian's perspective as a "narrator" (14).

This may account for why Carr says if we take up a work of history, our first concern should not be with the facts which it contains, but with the historian who wrote it. He further says:

However, in order to fully appreciate it, you must first understand what the historian is doing. For if, as Collingwood says, the historian must re-enact in thought what has gone on in the minds of his *dramatis personae*, so the reader, in his turn, must re-enact what goes on in the minds of the historian. Before you start studying the facts, you should first study the historians. (16-17)

When works of literature are brought into contact with non-literary texts, unexpected aesthetic dimensions of both emerge, altering the status of classic and non-literary (source) works and upsetting long-established aesthetic hierarchies. A similar theory is stressed by Linda Hutcheon in *The politics of Postmodernism* where she discusses a postmodern novel whose main is this very unreliability of the text and its inescapable subjectivity (45). If this is the work and nature of history, then we could also interpret history as a narrative – a *knowledge* that a historian records

and tells us about. "Narrative" Russell Kirksey considers it in his work as "a string of symbols used to create meaning" (2). It is usually the story and the discourse (Prince 59). Gallagher and Greenblatt, acknowledging the indebtedness of New Historicism to Herder's concept of "the mutual embeddedness of art and history", propose that the methodology will help in "treating all the written and visual traces of a particular culture as a mutually intelligible network of signs" (7).

Of course, in the new criticism, the literary text is viewed as a separate entity from its social, historical, and political context. Opposing the new criticism and the Russian formalism, New Historicism as a critical practice redrew the disciplinary boundary between history and the literary text and gradually began erasing the differentiation between the text and the context. The text has to be interpreted at the site of individual subjectivities, hegemonic discourses, and as a construct of power and knowledge. Taking history as a form of narrative, the New Historicists throw light on the historian's interpretative subjectivity. The historian's location within the culture will influence his writings and historical records should never be treated as closed or final but as always open to new readings and interpretations.

To conclude, one can deduce that history is not a mere chronicle of facts but a recreation of human activities; the emphasis is not on the facts themselves but how such facts are recreated to express human reality in the past and its relationship with the present. It is this recreation that allows a historian to decide on what to include in his history and what not to, as is evident in several histories today. Literature seems to have a more powerful role than history as it has better access to the public and it can be more easily popularized. As a result, because it is an imaginary work, both fiction and history have the potential to document the entire view of history from

both angles, whether in favor or against the powers those exist today. The same is true for memoir writing.

Thus, the goal of this research is to look at the Tower in the Sky and the Emperor from a new historicist perspective. Through this kind of reading, it is intended to pinpoint the relationships between the creative works and the writers' lives; that is to say, between the works and the period during which they were written, and between the literary and the non-literary texts written in the same period. Thus, we can find out to what extent the narrative texts are the products of an ideology.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

When I read books, I often find myself trapped with a slew of frantic and perplexing questions. After I read *The Emperor*, I asked myself, what kind of book is this? How is history incorporated into fiction? To which genre does it belong? Fiction or non-fiction? The same was true of Hiwot Teffera's *Tower in the Sky*; I could barely notice the line between history and imagination. Yet, what emerged in the writing process of the two narratives was a hybrid life writing that blurred the boundaries between history (fact) and fiction and challenged categorization. Thus, it can be inferred that the ambiguity and multiplicity of the subject shows the interdisciplinary nature of the area.

In an interdisciplinary study, the interaction of history and literature has always been an important subject among literary scholars. The New Historicism is one of the most recent approaches in the field of literary criticism, having emerged around three decades ago. In literature writing, not only does history affect literature, but also literature can be effective in understanding history and, thus, the relationship between history and literature is reciprocal (Tyson 284).

Next to fictional narratives, movies and plays, historical documents are among the other genres of literature; concrete and compelling genres, mirroring social realities. Interestingly, within the sphere of literature and public cultural discourse, it is, however, the field of fiction, with its numerous genres and traditions, that is the most valued and to which the most critical attention and intellectual prestige has been devoted. Yet, it can be argued that the research on such works is rather scanty. This is for a variety of reasons. First of all, nonliterary narratives are treated as pure historical documents or sheer factual materials instead of literary narratives and lack of awareness in the area of new historicism could be the main reasons behind this marginalization. As we can see from the following quote, the place of history and literature is blurry and somehow conflicting.

Since the 1980s, the relationship between literature and history has become of crucial significance in studying literary texts. The thinkers of this approach unanimously believe that all literary texts are woven within social and political discourses and all literary texts are vehicles of power. (Sepehrmanesh 211)

In other words, in view of literary work, history is not a mere chronicle of facts and events, but rather a complex description of human reality and power struggles. On the other hand, literary works may or may not tell us about various factual aspects of the time from which they emerge, but they can tell us about prevailing ways of thinking at the time: ideas of social organization, prejudices, ideology, etc (Delahoyde, retrieved on Nov.10, 2018). They raise the issue of how events are interpreted and presented. Thus, in their quest, they use every document or literary production for their analysis as an input.

Both Hiwot and Kapuściński, as authors, have written and created narratives set in the historical period, depicting a diverse and complex network of discourses, both suppressing and silencing

discourses, which reveal the power relations and ideologies of the time. I want to draw attention to how these complex discourses interact with one another and what happens, particularly to the ignored-marginalized discourse, and how people in these conditions have attempted to have their subversive voices heard throughout history and, in this case, during the course of the narrative. The study's goal is to demonstrate how dominant discourses assert control over people's struggles, as well as how these oppressed segments of society are affected by sociopolitical circumstances and respond to the dominant ideologies of their period. I have tried to present a new historicist reading of the narratives.

To the best of my knowledge, no comprehensive studies have been conducted in our country on the comparison of fiction and nonfiction literary works. Thus, little or no consideration is given to reading and interpreting literary and nonliterary productions. The main impetus for embarking on the research was the scarcity of research in the field. Hence, the focus of this study is to explore how fact and fiction blend with each other to unravel the power relations in the selected books. To my knowledge, in our country, this trend of creative nonfiction and its theories has not been studied well to date.

The research gap indicated, so far, in this problem statement has led to the formulation of the research questions of this study, which examines the representation of history and its close relation to literature, in the context of two selected creative nonfiction books. In an attempt to address this central concern of the study, the following three specific questions have been formulated.

- What are the political, historical and social events/ideologies represented in the selected narratives of each political period? And how did the political events represent each period?

- What are the observable trends with regard to the representation of fact and fiction in the writing of the selected political and historical narratives of Ethiopian literature?
- How did the power contexts and the discourses of the texts influence one another in relation to constructing the history of the specific political period?

## **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

### **1.3.1 General Objective**

The general objective of this study is to explore the interface of fact and fiction in the selected narratives through the New Historicism perspective.

### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives**

- ❖ In addition to the above general objective, the study has the following specific objectives:
- ❖ Investigate textual elements in the narratives that are suggestive of the fashion of the self or the formation of the self.
- ❖ Examine the chosen texts in light of their social and historical backgrounds to see if they are categorized as historical objects and how historical times are portrayed in the selected texts as power struggles.
- ❖ Explore the ideologies manifested in the selected narratives and how events are interpreted, portrayed and framed in order to subvert and contain the power struggle of the moment.

## **1.4 Significance of the Study**

The findings of the study are hoped to make a valuable contribution. Firstly, the study could be taken as part of a study of Ethiopian creative nonfiction in English, and the relationship between history and literature as fact and fiction. It can serve as an enriching material for readers’

understanding of meaning in a text by considering the work within the framework of the prevailing ideas and assumptions of its historical period. Secondly, the study provides readers with insights into new interpretations of meaning variations that are generated by variations in pragmatic conceptions of power and ideology as depicted in the selected narrative texts. Thirdly, it might also help to show that history is not a sheer chronicle of facts and events, but rather a complex description of human reality which shows the prevailing ways of thinking at the time. Fourthly, it may also provide an insight into the political function of literature and the concept of power, the complex means by which cultures produce and re-produce themselves, reinforcing the existing theories of literary and nonliterary narratives by providing an experimental impetus to the selected texts. Lastly, and more importantly, this study will serve as a bridge by narrowing the gap between literary and nonliterary productions of art. Thus, by serving as a ground exploration for further studies into the nature of history (reality) and fiction, it is hoped that this study will have great significance in the realm of literature.

### **1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

Finding theoretical books from abroad and the research's wide scope forced me to narrow the scope of the study to the review of two works by two writers who deal with the topic. Hiwot Teffara's *Tower in the Sky* and Ryszard Kapuscinski's *The Emperor* are the texts selected for this study. Since a New-historicist approach juxtaposes both literary and non-literary texts, the researcher employs other products (magazines, newspapers, historical documents and TV documentaries etc.) which substantiate the analysis. Thus, this study offers a new historicist reading of the selected texts in the subject area under study. Materials chosen by the researcher, regardless of who wrote them or where they were published, will be included to broaden the opportunity for finding texts that would lend themselves to the analysis of the issue under

investigation. This has pushed back the start of their studies. It is worth it, however, because it has allowed me to read and incorporate further information concerning the theory.

In addition to this, although the theoretical assumption being considered is reinforced by varying disciplines to better explore the possible and most likely meanings of the selected texts, the selected approach can still not claim to exhaust all the best interpretations of the selected texts. This research, thus, admits that alternative interpretations of the same texts (under different theoretical frameworks) remain open.

## **1.6 Methodology and Procedures of the Study**

### **1.6.1 Methodology**

The methodology used in the current study is textual analysis. A New Historicist approach has been employed as a methodology throughout the entire work, so as to address issues in a detailed and interpretive manner. It seeks to explore the external contexts behind the development of the fashioning of self, social issues and other aspects of Ryszard Kapuscinski's *The Emperor* and Hiwot Teffera's *Tower in the Sky*. This textual analysis is carried out within the context of a new historicist perspective by applying its governing principles to the theoretical framework of the study. Similarly, reading and evaluating life narratives in the light of New Historicist theory is a major approach used in this research. Likewise, reading and analyzing life narratives in the context of the tenets of the New Historicist theory is utilized as a major method in this study. In the thick description, the anthropological perspective, which has mutual theories with the new historic approach, is considered to be a secondary approach as well.

Barry explains new historicism as "a method based on the *parallel* reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period" (116). Thus, non-literary texts were used as co-texts to study the narratives, consequently revealing mutual resonations of the particular

ideological periods under which the texts of study were written. This enabled me to explore the extent to which history is represented in both the Tower in the sky and the Emperor's work as literature, memory and imaginative work.

Kapuscinski's *The Emperor* and Hiwot's *Tower in the Sky* are marked by their literary elements and by the history in which they were written. The relevance of the chosen texts to political and historical issues encourages me to consider reading them from a new historicist perspective. In doing so, the texts are read in a biographical context to view to what extent the experiences are gained from real life by both the writers' experiences through hearsay and reading. Thus, to view the relationship between their lives and their work, a new historicist reading has been made. Secondly, the texts are read in their historical contexts to observe to what extent both Hiwot and Kapuscinski are reflected in the prevailing historicist account of the time and to see the relationship between history and their texts.

As both texts deal with political issues, as the monarchy and a military dictatorship rule in the country, the historical context in which they were written is of great value for this new historicist study. To locate the texts in their historical contexts requires knowledge of both systems during which the texts were written. Putting them in their historical and cultural contexts, I expect to find out to what extent the writers' perceptions of these issues were influenced by a range of discourses surrounding them. Travelogues and historical writings such as their interviews, bio/autobiography, newspapers, and any other reports and documentation are read alongside the works to construct the historical and cultural contexts for the *Tower in the Sky* and *The Emperor*. To set the works in their historical and cultural contexts, they contain historical documents that have been chosen. Written during the Ethiopian Emperor's deposition of the Emperor and its aftermath, respectively, *The Emperor* and *Tower in the Sky*, the texts enabled us to see how

totalitarian and dictatorial rules were perceived in Ethiopia, at least, by these writers and historians.

In terms of discourse, both *The Emperor* and *The Tower in the Sky* belong to the same epoch, and with these discourses in mind, I have tried to read them together with other source texts in order to see the relationship between these works and other documents. The common points and the differences between the texts and the documents are explored to bring out the prevailing ideas in the Ethiopian discourse during that time and the writers' reflection of these ideas in their respective texts. By doing so, I hope to investigate self-fashioning, power relations, the subversion and containment of ideology, and the textuality of history, all of which are concepts of the new historicism, in both selected texts. Hence, Greenblatt's, Michel Foucault's, Geertz's, L. Montrose's, Althusser's and other theories have been used to interpret the selected texts. As this is a matter concerning theme and form, a brief look at the narrative techniques in the life narratives is included in the new historicist readings of these narratives too.

In the new historicist reading of *Tower in The Sky*, the text is put in the memoir context to observe through what kind of impacts Hiwot's text was shaped. The text contains a number of references to real people, and it situates the text's setting in its historical context. As a writer, heroine and owner of the story, Hiwot has passed through many challenges and transforming incidents. Hence, Hiwot has fashioned herself through time. This thematic issue has been dealt with thoroughly. Then I examined how Hiwot reflected on the nation's power relations and politics in her text, and thus the relationship between the text and history will be examined. Since, in the *Tower in the Sky*, the content and the form are interwoven, in order to indicate how the text portrays the pervasive ideologies of the time, the narrative technique and the strategies of the text are explored in a new historicist reading of the memoir.

This parallel reading or a reliance on non-literary texts to excavate and confirm the corresponding facts about the past presented in the primary texts is expected to establish the study and the interpretation of the new historicist reading of *The Emperor and the Tower in the Sky*.

## **1.7 Justification for the Choice of the Subject of the Study**

Knowledge of the central premises and basic terminology behind the new historicist approach towards literary criticism should provide guidance on how to critically apply the approach. In line with this, before proceeding to use this mode of analysis, it should be better to explain why the works of Kapuscinski and Hiwot as writers are appropriated and interesting materials for such an analysis.

First of all, it is not at all controversial to claim that Kapuscinski's biographical work has left a permanent mark on literature and culture and has influenced numerous other writers ever since *The Emperor* was published. Although it has been studied and interpreted countless times and through different critical lenses during the past few decades, it remains relevant and invites new ways of analyzing it. Furthermore, the new-historicist approach to literary criticism assumes that the critic should not only focus on how the text existed and influenced the time it was published, but also trace some aspects that have changed their meaning over time and may be understood differently in his or her own time. He or she should also try to remain conscious of his/her personal bias, and treat it as a kind of an advantage. In other words, such an approach justifies the continuous re-analyzing of the particular work of culture, as each critic at different times may discover new applications and new interpretations of it.

Another new-historicist advantage of Kapuscinski's and Hiwot's writings is their borderline character at the level of genre and meaning. Generally, both writers' work straddles the line

between nonfiction and fiction. Surprisingly, this type of trend is common in Ethiopian literature, and it appears that such productions have recently increased in number.

Similarly, in our country, life narrative writers have shown a significant increase in interest in autobiographical and biographical writings. This growing trend toward a life narrative has had a significant impact on Ethiopian society's reading public. Inspired by many writers to formalize and broaden the technical understanding of these kinds of texts, critics often emphasize that, while being a first-hand account of events, autobiographical writing is often approached by readers as the most believable way of passing on the story. However, they emphasize that it should be remembered that it is influenced by subjective knowledge, determined by the boundaries of human memory, emotions and personal judgments.

In this sense, Kapuscinski's blend of fiction and life writing appears to be somehow controversial, because the writer appears to be conscious of his subjectivity and purposely blurs the borderline between reality and imagination/fabrication. On the other hand, Hiwot's narration appears to be intertextual and the narrator is swift and unaware of the omissions and commissions of the past memory. Moreover, the biographical aspect of Kapuscinski's literary work made it especially relevant to critics following the new-historical mode of analysis. The majority of the texts are set during the fall of the autocratic system and the rise of the socialist Derg regime, and the rebellious group known as the Derg, of which it was one of the most prominent parties, had a significant influence on the time it was created and the future that was to come. What is more, Derg was also the product of the social, cultural and political changes that were going on in the 1970s, so it is not difficult to prove the bidirectional relationship between Kapuscinski's writings and the discourse characteristic of the time when he wrote the text.

Last but not least, the advantage of choosing Kapuscinski's and Hiwot's writings for a new historical analysis is that such scrutiny takes place through a parallel reading of historical and none-historical texts. The use of archival sources in the process of both Kapuscinski's biographical and Hiwot's memoir texts remains equally relevant in the aspects of their historical value and interpretation. Consequently, this fact makes their analysis more mutual and, at the same time, more objective.

Taking all the above considerations into account, Kapuscinski's and Hiwot's literary output appeared to be a reasonable choice for a new historical analysis. The writers seem to be, above all, very open writers. Although their writings today are likely to have as many fans as detractors, there is no doubt that they were inspired by the authors' enthusiasm for their unstructured prose, which still allows for new interpretations and readings.

## **1.8 Organization of Study**

This study consists of five chapters. The first chapter, chapter one, is a general introduction to the study and the objectives, significance, scope and limitations of the study and definitions of key terms are presented. This chapter also discusses the methods and procedures used for data collection and analysis.

Chapter two is devoted to the review of literature concerning the topic of the study. This chapter aims at contextualizing the study by discussing related studies in the selected narratives and the theory of new historicism. This chapter also discusses how literature as a discipline intersects with other disciplines, such as history and ideology.

Chapter three sets the ground for developing a theoretical framework on the basis of theoretical discussions of the main concepts of the area. In addition, this chapter tries to discuss the paradigms selected for analysis.

In the fourth chapter of the study, the selected narratives for the study are examined from the new historicist viewpoint discussed thoroughly in chapter three.

On the basis of the analysis in chapter four, the final chapter (chapter five) offers a summary and discussion of the study, draws conclusions and makes recommendations for the possible application of the results of the study and future research.

## CHAPTER TWO

### A REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### 2.1 Review of Related Studies

The review of related literature in this chapter has two goals. The first section aims at establishing the context of research by critically reviewing related studies, critical articles, reflections and proceedings. Studies and scholarly publications that are found to be related to the concerns of this study are reviewed regardless of where they were conducted. The review is presented broadly to give highlights of the previous works in relation to *The Emperor and the Tower in the Sky*.

The second section of this chapter is concerned with studies which employ new historicism as their approach. Regarding previous works, as far as my reading is concerned, there are no works on Ethiopian literature which use new historicism as a theoretical approach to examine and analyze the selected texts. Thus, there are some works done by researchers outside Ethiopia and I have reviewed some of them as follows.

From my knowledge and access to reading, I found more than 60 reviews and critical articles about *The Emperor*. To my disappointment, more than forty of them were written in Polish. Thus, I only tried to review what I found in English. Moreover, some of them were inaccessible online.

The first critical review I found was an article written by Harold G. Marcus entitled *Prejudice and ignorance in reviewing books about Africa: the strange case of Ryszard Kapuscinski's The Emperor* (1978). This article on *The Emperor: The Downfall of an Autocrat's Biography* is a thorough and concise review. Divided into four parts, this article touches on every ambiguous or seemingly controversial topic in the book. As the title itself shows, Marcus mentioned that he

read fifteen reviews about the book and, unfortunately, none of those reviews were written by an Ethiopian reviewer. Ethiopian reviewers were expected to give a detailed and more relevant analysis of the book as they were supposed to know better about the emperor and the country, but that did not happen and Marcus mentioned his concern regarding the western reviewers' ignorance about African matters. He says, "In other words, the published reviews reflect ignorance about the book's subject, so much so that the critics, to a person, found that the book was not about Ethiopia, or even the emperor, but was about Poland and its then dictator, Edward Gierek" (1). As many Polish reviewers and critics claim, *The Emperor* is an allegorical novel. Marcus never accepted this claim, and he harshly attacked them and tried to show that they were wrong. Quoting every detail and information from the book, Marcus gave his own clear and sound analysis of the Emperor. Marcus attacked the writer as he wrote a flawed book and claimed he did not believe the informants and that is why he wrote tall tales about the short monarch. Trying to bring history to light, Marcus deals with issues of facts, lies, culture, politics, history and the military of Ethiopia and the Emperor. According to this author, the biography demonstrates a racist arrogance toward Ethiopia and Ethiopians. Ridiculing the name of the Emperor and using artistic license, Kapuscinski insulted the Ethiopians. Though Kapuscinski wrote an entertaining book, many Ethiopians took the misinformation and declared their admiration for the book and its author. Marcus affirmed that the half-truth and half imaginative book is written with so much style, even allure, that some readers may be gulled into belief. Instead of seeking out knowledgeable reviewers, they chose political activists, novelists, librarians, and others remote from Ethiopian studies. They inactively conspired to hoodwink the public into believing that a bad book on one subject was really a good book on another. Finally, he asserts that, though it is full of faults, it nicely captures the background of the coup in 1974

and its perpetrators. He went on to say that "those who preside over reviews are uninterested in Africa and thus do not take the continent or its problems seriously" (6). As to Professor Marcus, Kapuscinski wrote a book that was uncritical of the information that came from his sources, and inaccurate in the description of its main character – the emperor of Ethiopia. Professor Marcus concludes that the facts given by Kapuściński should be thoroughly checked using historical sources. Interesting enough, he concluded that the writer has creative ability in that he blended fiction with fact and thus it suffers from an unintended but real conspiracy of reviewing. However, the researchers did not investigate ideologies, ideologies' reproduction (ideological discourses), and authorial and aesthetic ideologies as reflected in biography. Thus, this study is believed to fill the gap left untouched.

Much in the same manner, Adrian Stachowski's article entitled *The Emperor on the Verge of Genres (.n.d)* is a review of the genre. This review is about *The Emperor* in relation to other prior reviews and criticisms of the book. With the goal of demonstrating the book's creative and factual (reportage) nature, the article is thought to contribute to the ongoing debate of reportage and problems associated with the blending of fact and fiction or the crossing of the genres. *The Emperor* is a masterpiece by Kapuscinski, Adrian says, since its publication, the number of reviews given regarding this book has surpassed the size of a small book. Reviewers of the book never agreed on the nature of the book, and Adrian, too, raised this subject, stating and quoting many scholars' debates and arguments. As to the genesis of the book, Adrian quoted Artur Domosławski as saying: "*The Emperor?* The most outstanding Polish novel of the twentieth century!"(14). Other reviewers and scholars, including Adrian himself, say that though Kapuscinski invalidated the boundary between fact and fiction, *The Emperor* is not all fiction. Still, others categorized *The Emperor* as a report and a documentary novel. Divided into four

sub-sections, the review gives very meticulous and multiple views. Taking all the categorizations of the book, Adrian tried to answer the question of the genre taxonomy of the book. As to Adrian, the creation of *The Emperor* is Kapuściński's use of language in the course of writing the book – the use of the Polish language is taken directly from the baroque prose of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (4). Yet, Kapuściński never says anything about its genre except that it is a forest of things.

Concluding his review, Adrian states that what makes the book great is its mixed style of fact and fiction, as it is a source of confusion and greatness. Thus, for this reason, Adrian wants *The Emperor* to be called Kapuściński's problematic masterpiece. As seen in the preceding review, Adrian's review mostly deals with reviews of reviews done on the book, and it leans toward the book's genre-wise categorization. In my research, I have dealt with many issues of new historicist perspectives, in addition to the issues of fact and fiction.

The next relevant review of *The Emperor* was done by Aleksandra Zygmunt. The article is entitled *Literature or Journalism? The Emperor: A contentious report by Ryszard Kapuściński* that serves as an image of authority created by the author and evidence of his writing mastery (n.d). As she clearly put it, the main aim of the reviewer is to examine the nature of Kapuscinski's work in the example of *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat* and why she chose a particular writing strategy. To review *The Emperor*, Zygmunt also used additional sources, like *A Reporter's Self Portrait and Travels with Herodotus* by Ryszard Kapuściński and *Kapuściński Non-fiction* by Artur Domosławski.

Zygmunt tried to present the review by giving definitions of the idea of what reportage is and what it should be like, and how important precision is in presenting any piece of information. Adding to reportage and journalism, she tried to give the definition of magic journalism. Magical

journalism, which combines realistic and fantastic elements, was introduced as a genre by Adam Hochschild in 1994 and developed in South American literature. Thus, according to her, "Kapuściński is best known for his 'literary reportage' – political and historical accounts told in a gripping narrative voice (...). "The reports are far from dry; they cross the limit of the simple transmission of facts and become engrossing narratives" (131)." Kapuscinski, she claims, is associated with magic journalism writers because of the style he used. To succeed with his writing, Kapuscinski used generalizations, exaggerations, and even grotesques, as Zygmunt put it. He also gave his texts a parabolic dimension, which, through creating another reality, expressed universal truths and revealed hidden meanings. Concluding the review, Zygmunt took the chance to appreciate Kapuscinski's unique gift and greatness. She added that he used a sense of aesthetics in presenting the facts and employed plenty of devices to create and recapture the emotional atmosphere of the described events. "In this context, I think that The Emperor's author perfectly combined his work as a reporter with the skill of using literary devices and forms to create a multidimensional picture of power-driven people" (139). Zygmunt concluded that Kapuscinski's work is not only a reporter's account of particular events, but rather a magnificent literary work. As has been seen in the review, the writer believes that the Emperor is like a report. However, Zygmunt did not see the book in relation to power, self-fashioning and the reconstruction of history. Hence, the present paper differs from Zygmunt's study in that this paper focuses on the analysis of content, mainly the self-forming, power relations and reconstruction of history as portrayed in the biography.

Michael Sabelli in his article, "Ryszard Kapuściński's Discourse on the Other: Literary Reportage's Perspective of Reality"(n.d.), In this review, he tried to see the recent year's developments and the genre-wise categorization of Kapuscinski's works. Sabelli labeled

Kapuscinski's works as fiction for his use of techniques found in literature. He in addition affirmed that though Kapuściński's literature is flawed with generalizations and fictional elements it may be – still served as a strong and legitimate foundation for his discourse on otherness. Further, he stated that Kapuscinski's use of creative license in his books using literary techniques helped him to better interpret the actual events he witnessed, and to engage the reader emotionally and intellectually.

Sabelli, on the other hand, believes that Kapuściński's intention is always positive, because the message he is attempting to convey to his readers is one of understanding and compassion for one another's otherness. The experiences he writes about in his literature are also the inspiration for his discourse on otherness. Sabelli considers that Kapuscinski derives features of otherness from his encounters with others. Skin color, nationalism, and religion are the three distinguishing features of the others that he came across. This theoretical discourse on otherness which he comes up with can be found in a more anecdotal and less developed sense in Kapuscinski's literature. To distinguish Kapuscinski's books from fiction and imagination, he focused on the message he intended, the real people Kapuściński met, and who inspired his humanitarian discourse on otherness. Finally, he concluded the criticism against him has been found to be simply aesthetic, which fails to reach the depth of Kapuściński's message about otherness. The method followed, approach, ideological discourses, power relations and the historicity of the text make this study different from the above one.

Endashaw Letera (2015), in his article, "A conflict of Ideals vs. Idols", carried out a thorough thematic analysis of the Tower in the Sky. He focuses on how Hiwot depicted the miseries that Ethiopia as a mother country and Hiwot as an individual endured during the final period of the feudal social system and, most horrifyingly, by the Derg regime and her own party, the EPRP. He

explored from the very beginning of their political stride up until the peak of the struggle, coupled with their love. Endashaw writes, "In the story in particular, Hiwot Teffera had to meet Getachew Maru to join his 'study circle' for a Marxist-Leninist introduction. As it turned out it was not just a meeting of two people, and they couldn't help mixing love with revolutionary agendas" (12). With remarkable language and flow, Endashaw fetches some core points out of a sensational memoir. He presents the memoir's themes in line with the role of the major characters and the description of the main scenes and events in the book. He used a thematic analysis, as he stated in the review. He showed how Hiwot depicted the miseries and scenes that existed in the particular historical period in the memoir. "...I say again, it appears that there is something seriously wrong with the Ethiopians. For us, resolving divergent political issues at a round table remains a tower in the sky." In his detailed analysis, Endashaw argues that we Ethiopians are too far from solving our problems in a civilized manner.

Endashaw, in his critical article, divided the theme of the memoir into two big themes, political (social) and humanistic (individual). He uses our athletics as an example to argue that we are not doing well collectively and that dealing with our problems together is not our motto. He further showed all the gaps and wrong movies made by the parties. Endashaw further writes that the second theme of the memoir is the humanistic element. Quoting the author, he stresses the triumphal power of the human spirit. Giving detailed scenes from the memoir, starting from her high school life up until her discharge from prison, he showed all the transformations she made, the fashion she passed through and the commitments and loyalty she showed to her party, coupled with her love story and political struggle. Finally, he concludes with remarks about how Hiwot found herself after all the struggles and passages of life she had passed through. In his detailed analysis, Endashaw never touched on the issue of the fictionality of the memoir and /or

the historicity of the memoir. But, besides its theme, my research has tried to address the issues of fictionality, power relations and the fashioning of self.

Dejene Tesemma did a thorough review of the *Tower in the Sky*. Giving some background references and the main story as a starting point, the main focus of this article was on reviewing the entire book in every aspect he felt like reviewing it in many sub sections, Dejene tried to explore every theme he found and shared his impressions of the book and the story of the *golden* generation, as he called it. Dejene expresses his gratitude for the book by saying:

I personally felt I was passionately reading a novel, not a true story, which the very person who wrote the book had gone through. For a while, I felt I was reading an adventurous story full of ups and downs, rather than intentionally crafted by a good, imaginative author. It is full of suspense and worry, where a dreadful demise is playing a cat and mice's game with life. Throughout the book, I was ecstatic when the main "character" Hiwot and her companions escaped traps, hunts, and executions. (2-3)

He claims the book is an account of a critical era in the political struggle of the country, the students' movement, and the skirmishes and plots before the revolution. Dejene goes on to explain and provide a brief analysis of the impact of the past on current Ethiopian politics, as well as how we have failed to value the golden generation. Dejene concludes by asking how, after three decades, we have still failed to solve our problems. Though Dejene tried to cover some thematic and historical areas of the book, he never touched on how the book was presented. As a result, the current study attempts to fill a gap in our understanding of how history and imagination interact. It also attempts to demonstrate how history is constructed and how the quest for self is depicted.

Following the publication of *Tower in the Sky*, many reviewers have tried to review *Tower in the Sky*. One of these reviews is a critical review by Selam Beyene, (2013), which was published on Ethiopianreview.com. Selam, in her review, stated that the book is an evident witness to the past painful memories of the traumatic epoch that was defined as unparalleled idealism, youthful gallantry, government brutality, aborted dreams and an insidious disillusionment. She leveled harsh criticism and injustice at successive leaders. As a result, she stated that the book is a good lesson in social change. In 2013, an anonymous reviewer posted another review on the ECADF blog. Sharing its sympathy for what she and her comrades went through, the ECADF gave a very shallow and almost paraphrased version of the book. With almost no critical analysis, the review tried to touch on the historical incidents and stories of the characters. The above reviews, which were filled with personal and emotional reflections, attempted to cover only a few social and emotional concerns. The reviews never touch on the main issues/themes of the book. Thus, this study is different from the above reviews in the view that it covers the intensive topics of the book.

Ghelawdewos Araia (2013) wrote a thorough and critical article for Tigray Online's blog. As he was participating in the students' movement; he presented a very detailed and critical review. Giving some introductory history to the book, the reviewer claimed that the *Tower in the Sky* is an enduring literary power, especially for the Ethiopian generation that was engaged in protracted wars against the pseudo-bourgeois regime of Haile Selassie and the most brutal Derg regime in Ethiopian history. Ghelawdewos, in his review, affirmed that Hiwot tried to write a confessional memoir. Further, he noted that "besides documenting the chronology of the unfolding events surrounding the political performance of the EPRP, *Tower in the Sky* is also very much a literary work that could be classified as a non-fiction genre. Hiwot successfully

blended non-fiction literature with authentic political discourse that virtually affected the entire social fabric of Ethiopia" (2). He asserted that Hiwot's use of metaphorical language was to recreate allusions. Using verbal patterns, including cadence, to depict some terrifying scenarios that, in turn, capture the horrifying torture and killings of Ethiopian youths in general, and their own comrades in particular, at the hands of Derg murderers.

Ghelawdewos continued his analysis and he alleges that Hiwot used a conscious manipulation of form and language to portray the Ethiopian students' movement and the story of the EPRP. Reviewing the book thoroughly, he claims that *Tower in the Sky* is one of the books that represents the decades of indomitable spirit of the Ethiopian fallen heroes and of some comrades who survived to tell the tale. As one of the members of the EPRP, Ghelawdewo's review was very profound, and he dedicated a very fine revolutionary poem entitled *If We Must Die* to the fallen heroes of the EPRP. Giving a detailed and precarious review, he showed Hiwot's transformation from a sophomore student to a full-fledged revolutionary who finally suffers from the loss of comrades, the collapse of her party and her dream of joining it, and finally, her imprisonment. To him, Hiwot's transformation had helped her to find her real self.

Ghelawdewos, in his review, affirmed that the *Tower in the sky* is a vibrant, sophisticated synthesis of the Ethiopian revolutionary period and experience, but it is also the repository of hopes and aspirations. He finally concludes that his review is recommended to readers as a "must-read book", suggesting a grand literary prize for Hiwot Teffera.

Despite the fact that both works have been examined by scholars from various perspectives, none of them applied the New Historicism approach. By analyzing the two life narratives based on the concepts of New Historicism, such as power, the historicity of text, the textuality of history and subversion and containment, this study tries to explore what the authors intended to show. In

general, the present study differs from the preceding research on the selected texts in that the present study concentrates on the analysis of general theories of new historicism, and hence, it analyzes both the books on the perspectives of the new historicism approach.

## **2.2. Review of Previous Studies on New Historicism**

As far as I can tell, the first study on New Historicism is an article written by Akung titled *New Historicist Dimensions in Helon Habila's Measuring Time* (2012). This article on the Nigerian novel applies the new historicist approach. Trying to bring Nigerian history to light, Akung deals with issues of history, culture, politics and the military. The novel, according to this author, is an attempt to rewrite Nigerian history. This is done by reconstructing the past or history of this country in order to project the future. Finally, he challenges and claims colonialism as the sole responsible factor for Nigeria's predicament. Interesting enough, he concluded that the novelist has a creative ability in which he blends fiction with fact. With the exception of the issue of facts and facts, this article bears no resemblance to any of the articles devoted to the new historicist theory. Furthermore, the current study focuses on two life narratives, whereas the articles focus on a novel.

The other study on New Historicism is Ludmaila Martha's (2017) MA thesis entitled "Between agency and containment: A new historicist reading of Anthony Burgess' *A clockwork orange*". The new historicist reading of the selected novel shows that subversion is always contained by the state power. Besides, it tries to show how to read a literary work within the context of historical discourse, not merely as a record of facts or events. The work also uncovers how the selected novel presents a complex relationship with history. Finally, by adopting new historicism, she found out that literature and history are equally primary texts. Thus, she uncovers the powerful effects of history on literature and vice versa. This study analyses the texts

on the basis of the social, historical, political and textual production of the books. The preceding study, in a similar vein, deals with some thematic analysis. These studies are similar, except this research covers many more topics and employs many more diverse theories.

The next relevant study on New Historicism was conducted by Sepehrmanesh (2015) on the work of August Wilson. A New Historicist Reading of August Wilson's Mary Ann Rainey's Black Bottom is the title of the piece. Using a new historicist reading of Ma Rainey's Black Bottom, the researcher attempted to provide some highlights of the black-white relations in which subversive voices are suffocated by white people's ideology. Leaving aside the fact that whites and blacks have a strained relationship, it has been discovered that the root cause is white supremacy. The main reason is unequal power relations between whites and blacks. The playwright has exposed the suppressed (white) and the suppressed (black) in the juxtaposition of many discourses and social relations. He concluded that because blacks are constantly suppressed and discriminated against, they have attempted to establish their own power and discourse in various ways to resist white racist ideology in their music, art, and plays. Except for the fact that both studies used New Historicism as a methodology, they bear little resemblance to the research topic at hand. Since the above study only focused on the issue of subversion, it did not deal with the other theories of New Historicism in detail.

The study "The genocide of Rwanda in Terry George's Hotel Rwanda: A new historicism study", by Ardian (2011), is another study that is related to the current research. Ardian has employed new historicism as a theoretical framework for his study. The main objective of the research is to explore the historicity of the film *Hotel Rwanda*. The research attempts to juxtapose the official history of the genocide in 1994, and the history of the movie. After applying the theory of new historicism, the researchers concluded that the writer of the film had

presented a different point of view of the Rwandan genocide's history. Further, he argues that the film can be seen as a form of discourse which can oppose the official versions of the story.

Though the above reviewed works are genuine and important in their own particular respect, none of them fully touched upon the issue (the issues of fact and fiction through the New Historicism approach) that this proposed study aims to address. Those reviews differ not only in terms of geography, history, and social background, but also in terms of how fact and fiction are intertwined. Therefore, it is clear that this study fills the gap and contributes a lot to the realm of literature in general.

### **2.3 The Borderline Claim of History and Literature**

The borderline or territorial claim to history and literary works is often vague and ambiguous. Often we are trapped between them as literature claiming to be history or history claiming to be literature. The key explanation for this, in both literature and history, is that authors fashion the truth in their own unique way, making it difficult to tell whether anything is true or false. As a result, the issue under consideration is a contentious one. However, it is important to consider the contribution that fiction has made to our perception of the past. Chung-Hsiung Lai says:

Since the 1970s, historical and literary studies have existed as a web-like crisscrossing network, as contemporary theory has gradually obliterated the boundaries between text and con-text, as well as between history and fiction. That is to say, history, in the postmodern era, has been regarded as a discourse constructed by the "literary imagination" and "power relations," and, in this sense, it is ideological and subjective, always open to multiple inquiries and re-interpretations. (2)

Scholars have begun to question what is truly objective reality in order to investigate and research the fields of fact and fiction. As a result, the meaning of literature and history will be thoroughly comprehended and tested. To put it another way, we must be careful how we interpret history as empirical reality and literature as imaginative fiction. There are no clear demarcations between disciplines since the postmodernist movement. The boundaries of psychology and literature are crisscrossing. While philosophy and literature share many philosophical standing points at different levels, history and literature share a line where the distinction is blurry and fused. But the boundaries are removed, not in disorderliness, but with a sense of flexibility and an enriching way of interpretation.

Of course, given extrinsic literary theories that see (literary) art as a means of preserving and communicating human culture and historical antecedents, such submission may fall flat, especially if formalists have previously argued that art has no utilitarian value. Korhonen in *Tropes of the Past* argues that:

The subversive otherness of the past was hidden by the automatized linguistic structures. At the same time, modernist literature was developing new ways of revealing formerly unknown realms of human experience, developing more revealing and, in some ways, also more realistic images of our relation to the past than more professionalized historiography ever could. (14)

Regarding the mixing or crisscrossing of fact and fiction, Andrew Brusell in his essay, 'Narratives of the Fake: The Collected Object, Personal Histories and Constructed Memory' published in *Trope for the Past*, argues that within is a marriage of fictional narrative and the 'real' and at large the work serves the purpose of history.

We find historic figures and purely fictional characters placed side by side in such a way that it might be difficult to argue his narrative was any less 'real' than that of a traditional history on the subject. These characters, be they historic figures or fictional creations, are presented as ghostwriters, as characters, as observers, as narrators, as novelists, as historians and ultimately as liars, albeit well intentioned liars, who, at the same time, have been given the responsibility of recording history for posterity (the very history being critiqued throughout the novel). (104)

Hyden White's arguments are among the modern trends that pervade the relationship between history and literature. In his thorough and detailed works, Hayden seems to give the issues of literature and history more emphasis. In one of such arguments, he says:

... though both history and imaginative writing were rhetorical arts, but they dealt with different things: historical writing dealt with the real world, whereas "poetry" dealt with the possible..., the concept of history was reformulated, historical consciousness was, for the first time, theorized, and the modern scientific method of historical inquiry was inaugurated. History is no longer simply the past or an account of the past, but is now identified as a process, a dimension of human existence, and a force to be controlled or succumbed to. Simultaneously, what had previously been referred to as discourse and beautiful letters were conceptualized. Now, literary writing – as practiced by Balzac and Flaubert, Dickens and Scott, Manzoni, etc., was a detached form of summoning up the unconscious or latent dimensions of human reality. Now, literature has become history's other thing in a double sense: it pretended to have discovered a dimension of reality that historians would never recognize and it developed techniques of writing that

undermined the authority of history's favored realistic or plain style of writing.

(25)

Although the disagreement persists that history is concerned with facts, literature is concerned with fiction and rhetoric, 'which seduces meaning where evidence and argument fail to convince and fiction because... it presents imaginary things as if they were real and substitutes illusion for truth' (Korhonen 26). Nevertheless, there is a feeling of harmony as White asserts that contemporary writers are occupied with social reality in their texts. He writes in this account:

... literature – in the modern period – has regarded history not so much as its own but as, rather, its complement in the work of identifying and mapping a shared object of interest, a real world which presents itself to reflection in so many different aspects that all of the resources of language – rhetorical, poetical, and symbolic – must be utilized to do it justice. So history's antipathy to literature is misplaced... The great modernists (from Flaubert, Baudelaire, Dickens and Shelley down through Proust, Joyce, Woolf, Pound, Eliot, Stein, and so on) were as interested in representing a real instead of a fictional world quite as much as any modern historian. But unlike their historical counterparts, they have realized that language itself is a part of the real world and must be included among the elements of that world rather than treated as a transparent instrument for representing it. With this realization, modernism created a new conception of realistic representation itself and, beyond that, a new notion of reading which permits a creative re-reading even of formerly transparent historical documents (25-6).

In other words, the presented prevalent testimonies and disapprovals from various scholars have declared the marriage of history and literary art (the novel in particular) in the production of a coherent human past – history. Yet the line between fact (history) and fiction (novel) remains an unsolved puzzle.

## **2.4 Literature and Ideology**

Collin (2004) states ideology as "a set of basic ideas about life and society, such as religious or political opinions" (94). In this definition, the power of ideology in shaping individual's life and organizing society's mental set up to a certain point of convergence is well stated. It also goes to the extent of guiding highly structured groups, like religious and political institutions. With his subtle analysis of the relationship between literature and ideology, the French Marxist theorist Louis Althusser provides a secure ground for the new historicist critics to explain the literary work in terms of the ideological structure of which it is a part.

Althusser claims that literature, as one of the institutions, participates in making state power and ideology familiar and acceptable to the state's subjects and reflects the values, customs, and norms of the dominant interests in its society (Althusser 1-6). As cited in Eagleton (1976), it also asserts that literary works are not simply the creation of individual writers; rather, they are the embodiment of a social world view. Terry Eagleton, in his essay, "Literature and History", draws attention to Althusser's ideas about the relationship between literature and ideology:

According to Althusser, art cannot be reduced to ideology because it has a much more specific relationship with it. Ideology signifies the imaginary ways in which men experience the real world, which is, of course, the kind of experience literature gives us too – what it feels like to live in particular conditions. However, art does more than just passively reflect that experience. It is held within

ideology, but also manages to distance itself from it, to the point where it permits us to "feel" and "perceive" the ideology from which it springs [...] Science gives us conceptual knowledge of a situation; art gives us the experience of that situation, which is equivalent to ideology. But by doing this, it allows us to "see" the nature of that ideology. (Keeseey 434)

Thus, ideology, for Althusser, is a structure working unconsciously. Ideology, like language, is a system that we inhabit, that speaks to us, but that gives us the illusion that we are in charge, that we freely choose to believe the things we believe, and that we have many reasons for doing so. Althusser's premises that "ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence", and that "Ideology has a material existence" (Althusser in Ryan, 17, 19) lead him to set down two conjoint theses: "1 there is no practice except by and in an ideology; 2 there is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects" (Althusser in Ryan 21).

Pierre Macherey writes that ideology is the raw material for a writer. He notes that we, as readers, encounter ideology in literary productions as the writer encounters it in his/her life. In explaining how the writer gives form to the ideology he gets in his life, Macherey writes, "It would be said that the work has an ideological content, but it endows this content with a specific form," (ibid, 133).

This means that a work of art shows the ideology that a certain society experiences. However, the writer does not tell us the ideology directly; rather, he makes us the ideology in a certain society by ourselves, from his work. Hence, the writer distances himself/herself from the work by letting us see, perceive and feel the ideology that exists in society and is reflected in his/her literary production. Eagleton asserts that it is the role of literary critics to translate the ideology

that we were made to see into scientific knowledge. Regarding the role of literary critics, history, literature and ideology, Eagleton writes:

History, then, certainly 'enters' the text, not only in the 'historical' text, but it enters it precisely as an ideology, as a presence determined and distorted by its measurable absences. This is not to say that real history is present in the text, but in a disguised form, so that the task of the critic is then to wrench the mask from its face. (72)

As the above mentioned quote shows, the history of an era is presented and represented by its ideology in literature. This means literature conveys the ideology of an epoch in a disguised form of history. Hence, the main aim of literary critics, as indicated in the extract, is to unmask the ideology from the cover of the history of the time. As a production of its time, social and historical scholars note that literature enables us to see the ideology of a particular historical period because it is a socially conditioned artifact. Ngara notes that we can consider the ideologies or conflicting ideologies of a society that existed at a particular period of history and the ideological stance of the writer in his/her literary text (21).

As New Historicism challenges the modern literary canon, its textual readings and historical interpretations of texts are informed by historical and social factors. Ideology, for the new historicists, works in language, but more than this, it exists in a material form through institutions like the church, the school, the theatre, the university and so on. Because books are a product of society, it is obvious that the books were shaped and influenced by society, and that society was influenced by the texts as well. As a result, "culture is a field of great ideological contests and contradictions, and no cultural artifact or practice exists outside of this political sphere" (Brannigan 12). New historicism, in its study, tries to show the relationship between text and

ideology and has tried to explore the historical, social, and economic forces which fashion a literary text and insists that any text can be regarded as a legitimate document in the production of the discourse of history.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretically, the study is focused on a new historicist interpretation of texts. As previously discussed, the theoretical framework is based on new historicism literary theory, which approaches literature as a study of material culture. In a broader sense, new historicism is a literary theory based on the idea that literature should be studied and interpreted within the context of both the history of the author and the history of the critic. As opposed to New Criticism and Formalism, it deals with extraneous materials and contextual readings. It concerns itself with the political function of literature and with the concept of power, the intricate means by which cultures produce and reproduce themselves. Thus, a New Historicist looks at literature in a wider historical context, examining both how the writer's times affected the work and how the work reflects the writer's times, in turn, recognizing current cultural contexts. Thus, using such an interpretation concept as a theoretical framework is thought to be an ideal approach to the selected texts for at least two reasons.

First, as far as literary and non-literary materials are concerned, the new historicism gives them equal weight and interprets them as historical productions. While we are studying literature, the New Historicists are focusing on revealing historically integrated texts and history as one aspect of new historicism. Emphasizing on this, Louise Montrose defines New Historicism as 'the textuality of history, the historicity of texts'. Similarly, it demonstrates the intertextuality of the texts' nature.

Secondly, in accordance with this study, new historicism sees literature as a production of political struggle which contains its subversion and containment in it. Besides, the new historicism gives a broader interpretation of self-fashioning, power and ideological struggles.

Theories from anthropology, history, psychology, and philosophy are incorporated using new historicism as a central and organizing theoretical framework, with the belief that it enriches the arguments and insights drawn from them. Yohannis (2014), quoting Rice and Waugh (2001), develops the study's arguments, including "the sudden erosion of boundaries across philosophy, political theory, psychoanalysis, social theory, and literary criticism" (34), and thus it is a timely endeavor.

As new historicism acknowledges the examination of literary works based on culture and social background, the researcher recognizes that this examination of the data for this study is also greatly affected by his own environment and culture. Applying the new historicism approach to *The Emperor* (1978) and *The Tower in the Sky* (2005) is a pursuit that transcends the limitations of the text-only approach. The researcher can compare the real situation of that history to the situations presented in the selected books, so that the interpretation will help readers to understand more of the culture and circumstances during that period.

### **3.1 What is New Historicism?**

New Historicism is one of the methodologies used to study literary texts, especially those which have links to their outside contexts. It is a recent critical approach based on the parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period (Barry 116). New Historicism is a theory applied to literature that was developed in the 1980s, primarily through the work of the American critic Stephen Greenblatt, and gained extensive influence in the 1990s. With an early focus on Renaissance studies, New Historicism's main tenet is the interpretation of literature in terms of the culture and situation from which it emerged. The critics and anthologists of New Historicism cite the year 1980 as the beginning of New Historicism because, in 1980, Stephen Greenblatt, in his *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, introduced

the theory under the name "cultural poetics". Two years later, Greenblatt coined the phrase 'New Historicism' in his "Introduction" to *The Forms of Power and the Power of Forms in the Renaissance*, a special issue of the journal *Genre*:

Many of the present essays give voice [...] to what we may call the new historicism, set apart from both the dominant historical scholarship of the past and the formalist criticism that [...] The New Historicism erodes the firm ground of both criticism and literature. It tends to ask questions about its own methodological assumptions and those of others. [...] The critical practice represented in this volume challenges the assumptions that guarantee a secure distinction between artistic production and other kinds of social production.

(Greenblatt 5-6)

The theory suggests that literature must be studied and interpreted within the context of the historical background and context of the time in order to evaluate how the text was influenced by the time in which it was created. New Historicism is based on the basis that a literary text should be considered a product of the time, place and circumstances of its composition rather than as an isolated creation of genius. New historians aim simultaneously to understand the text through its historical context and to understand its cultural and intellectual history through literature. One of the significant peculiarities of New Historicism is its refusal to separate literary texts from non-literary texts. New historicists recognize all texts, whether they are literary or non-literary, as cultural artifacts. Therefore, in a new historicist reading of a literary text, it is essential to understand the culture and society that produced the text.

New Historicism emerged in response to formalist criticism, i.e., New Criticism and Russian Formalism, which focuses on the form of the literary text and separates literary criticism from

the study of sources, biography, social and historical contexts, politics and other extrinsic matters, and which argues that there are specific formal characteristics that make literature distinct from other kinds of writing. New Criticism studies a text as a self-sufficient artifact, something complete within itself, written for its own sake, unified in its form and not dependent on its relation to the author's life or intent, history, or anything else.

For New Criticism, a literary work is a timeless, autonomous (self-sufficient) verbal object. Readers and readings may change, but the literary text stays the same. Its meaning is as objective as its physical existence on the page, for it is constructed of words placed in a specific relationship to one another—specific words placed in a specific order—and this one-of-a-kind relationship creates a complex of meaning that cannot be reproduced by any other combination of words. (Tyson 137)

It is formalist criticism since it focuses on a literary work's formal and technical properties such as form, style and language and thus ignores the historical context of a literary work.

Unlike formalist criticism, New Historicism focuses on the contexts of all kinds in which a work of art is produced. Instead of dealing with a text in isolation from its historical context, new historicists attend primarily to "the historical and cultural conditions of its production, its meanings, its effects, and also to its later critical interpretations and evaluations" (Abrams 182-183). Therefore, New Historicism paves the way for the interpretation of cultural texts and explores how historical forces such as social, economic, political, biographical, psychological, sexual and aesthetic phenomena interact with cultural texts (Cox and Reynolds 3). In this sense, New Historicism does not distinguish literary texts from non-literary texts, which is the most essential part of its reaction to formalist criticism.

That New Historicism involves a parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts also encapsulates the main difference between New Historicism and its old counterpart, "old historicism". Unlike previous historical criticism that limited itself to simply demonstrating how a work is reflective of its time, New Historicism evaluates how the work is influenced by and influential in the time in which it was produced. It also investigates the author's social milieu, psychological background, books and theories that may have influenced the author, and any other factors that may have influenced the work of art. Thus, the practice of assigning equal weight to literary and non-literary materials is the primary distinction between new and old historicism. No matter how this mode of critical interpretation is labeled, it is evident that it draws attention to the close connection between cultural texts and history. It is less a theory and more a way of reading or textual practice, according to the movement's leading thinker, Stephen Greenblatt. Greenblatt and other critics like Louis Montrose, Jonathan Dollimore, Catherine Gallagher, and D. M. Miller looked for patterns of power and subversion evident within literature and interrelated historical texts.

New historicists read texts and their contexts together because they see them as expressions of the same historical moment. Richard Wilson and Richard Dutton, in the "Introduction" to their collection of essays, *New Historicism and Renaissance Drama*, describe this process:

Where [earlier] criticism had mystified Shakespeare as an incarnation of spoken English, it [New Historicism] found the plays embedded in other written texts, such as penal, medical and colonial documents. Read within this archival continuum, what they represented was not harmony but the violence of the puritan attack on carnival, the imposition of slavery, the rise of patriarchy, the hounding

of deviance, and the crashing of prison gates during what Foucault called 'the Age of confinement, at the end of carceral society.' (Wilson and Dutton 8)

The reading process encapsulates the essence of the new historicist method, distinguishing it from the old historicism. Louis Adrian Montrose, an American new historicist, also makes a distinction between New Historicism and other critical methods that distinguish literature and history. He points out that New Historicism is new in its refusal of traditional distinctions between literature and history, between text and context; new in resisting the traditional opposition of the privileged individual – whether an author or a work – to a work outside. (qtd. in Parker and Quint 304)

New Historicism is based on the premise that a literary work should be considered a product of the time, place and circumstances of its composition rather than an isolated creation of genius. Therefore, the concept of culture has become prominent in new historicist criticism. New historicist critics conceive of a literary text as situated within the institutions, social practices and discourses that constitute the overall culture of a particular time and place, and with which "the literary text interacts as both a product and a producer of that culture". (Abrams 183) For the new historicists, culture is not a highly valued and privileged social form such as religion, art and knowledge, but culture is nothing other than the values, self-understandings and ways of thinking achieved by such practices as the writing of texts, the performing of ceremonies, the exacting of punishments and the formulation of prohibitions. Cultures do not sit 'above' the world in the way that ideologies are seen to be determined by, or expressive of, prior economic conditions. Nor are cultures ideal or psychological entities like a 'world-view or 'mind-set' (Colebrook 68).

The uses of culture in New Historicism differ from methods such as Marxism and literary sociology, which relate a text to concepts outside of the text. In New Historicism, texts are

considered aspects of culture rather than something that is related to culture. Because cultures are already texts, people's worlds, practices, and rituals, cultures are not used to relating texts to their worlds. Therefore, a text is not an expression or reflection of its world; it plays an active part in producing and acting within that world. Thus, "texts constitute patterns of behavior, the value of symbols and organize understanding". (Colebrook 68) J. Hillis Miller, though called a formalist critic, is among the critics who do not separate literature from its context. He states:

Works of literature do not simply reflect or they are not simply caused by their contexts. They have a positive influence on history. This can and should be researched. To put it another way, the only thing that occasionally concerns me about the current turn to history as an explanatory method is the implication that I can fully explain every text in its pre-existing historical context. But the publication of these works was itself a political or historical event that, in some way or another, changed history. I think that if you don't allow for this, then literature is not really worth bothering with. (152-153)

To conclude, New Historicism is a mode of critical interpretation which promises to be a valid and productive practice in both the interpretation of literary, historical and cultural texts and the understanding of the present by means of the other possible interpretations of the past. The newness of New Historicism lies not only in its being a different approach to text, history and culture, but also in its critical force. Its refusal to see a literary text as having a fixed meaning embedded in it and history as a single and coherent line of progress, its acceptance of the ceaseless interaction between text and history and of the impact of the culture in which a text is written and its emphasis on the relation of the text with the other texts – which are supposed to be adjacent to that text – all contribute to New Historicism as a critical practice. The focal

concepts in New Historicism, textuality of history, historicity of text, contextuality and intertextuality not only help to define the new historicist concerns and the objects of the new historicist analysis but also offer new ways of analysis and interpretation of both literary works and history and culture.

### **3.2 Old Historical Approach versus New Historicism**

The great American critic, Greenblatt, is considered to be the father of New Historicism and, because of his pioneering efforts, it has spread from English departments to history departments and from history to many other disciplines. There are some basic differences between old and new histories. The old approach was merely interested in making use of historical data. To the old historicists, the literary text was of primary importance, while the historical background was merely the setting and, as such, was of lesser worth. The old historical method considered literature and history as text and context, while the New Historicism considers them as text and co-text, and refuses to distinguish between literature and history, the aesthetic and the real (179). But the New Historicists give importance to literary and non-literary texts and study them as parallel texts. As a major difference between the old and new historicism theories, Peter Barry clearly expounds the idea as follows: "The practice of giving equal weighting to literary and non-literary materials is the first and major difference between the new and the old historicism" (168). New Historicism is of the view that, since historical events are irrevocably lost, what deserves our attention is history as represented and recorded in written documents, that is, history as a text. Historical events and attitudes now exist as writing and this writing may be fully subjected to the same type of close analysis as literary texts. A second important difference between old and new historicisms... is... that new historicism is indeed a historicist rather than a historical movement (168). New Historicism accepts Derrida's opinion that there is nothing

outside the text and that everything about the past is available to us only in the form of texts. I've found striking examples of the New Historicism in action in the writings of Greenblatt and Louis Montrose. The New historicists' approach to literature and history constitutes the key phrases in New Historicism: 'historicity of text' and 'textuality of history'. New Historicism juxtaposes narratives with other written texts, such as historical, penal, medical and cultural documents.

The older historical method stated that literature was a reflection of a particular age's shared 'world-view'. New Historicism deviates from it in upholding that no age or culture has a single homogeneous world-view, but is internally diverse and hence heterogeneous. Yet another difference between the old method and New Historicism concerns the significance of the roles played by history and textual authors. Says Greenblatt, ". . . the traditional historical approach to literature . . . finds history to lie outside the texts, to function, in effect, as the object to which signs in the text point" (Greenblatt, viii). The old historicism presented history as blocks of periods, one following the other and indicating progress and evolution; the New Historicism "projects a vision of history as an endless skein of cloth smocked in a complex overall pattern by the needle and thread of power. You need only pull the thread at one place to find it connected to another" (Porter 765). A further distinction between the New Historicism and the older method is manifest in the shift of the focus from the old objectivity to the new 'object' and from history to 'histories'. Tyson shortly put it as follows:

Historical analysis (1) cannot be objective, (2) cannot adequately demonstrate that a particular spirit of the times or world view accounts for the complexities of any given culture, and (3) cannot adequately demonstrate that history is linear, casual, or progressive. (286)

New Historicism tends to regard texts in materialist terms, as objects and events in the world as a part of human life, society, the historical realities of power, authority and resistance; yet at the same time, it rejects the idea of "History" as a directly accessible, unitary past, and substitutes for it the conception of "histories", an ongoing series of human constructions, each representing the past at particular present moments for particular present purposes (Cox and Reynolds 4). The older historical method was of less worth in comparison with New Historicism as it was a study of the text in the 'background' or 'context' of history. As earlier mentioned, in New Historicism, history becomes the co-text and is a record of written documents. It is these recorded facts in history which will be subject to a close reading earlier reserved for literary texts. As a result, it becomes a witness to the textual facts' proof. This makes New Historicism of greater worth than the old method.

### **3.3 Paradigms of New Historicism**

#### **3.3.1 Textuality of History and Historicity of Text**

The interactions between history and literature are numerous and varied. They crisscross in different ways. In fact, in many areas, history is cited and mentioned as a source of literature. In historical constructions, the interactions between history and literary textualizations indicate how discourses are presented as history. In the context of discourse, historical discourse dissolves into literary history and literary production reveals how history constitutes itself as a specific discourse.

Theoretically, New Historicism was influenced greatly by Louis Montrose's "textuality of history and historicity of text". Mainly, the theory emphasizes the interaction of text with such aspects as political power and cultural constructs. Focusing on understanding the text through its historical context and on understanding cultural history through literature, new historicism

interprets literature in a different way. Thus, its way of interpreting and approaching texts, its interpretation of the historicity of texts and the textuality of history, is different. According to new historicists, those specific texts are produced by many factors that are written, and are not only socially produced, but also socially productive.

As Montrose said it, "historicity of texts and the textuality of history" utmost significance in the understanding of historical narratives and their relation to literature. In his essay "Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture," Montrose defines his terms.

By the historicity of texts, I mean to suggest the cultural specificity, the social embedment, of all modes of writing-as in the texts in which we study them. By the textuality of history, I mean to suggest, firstly, that we can have no access to a full and authentic past, a living material existence, unmediated by the surviving textual traces of the society in question-traces whose survival we cannot assume to be merely contingent but must rather presume to be at least partially consequent upon complex and subtle social processes of preservation and effacement; and secondly, that those textual traces are themselves subject to subsequent textual mediations when they are construed as the "documents" upon which historians ground their own texts, called "histories". (20)

As to the new historicist view, history is textualised and fictionalized; thus, it can be interpreted as a narrative. The stories told over the years and their various versions grow into different shades of each other. People's affairs and the country's history are constructed based on gossip and hearsay, travel experiences, and the texts of foreigners, as well as reports gathered from generation to generation. As a result, the literary text had its own, distinct historicity at the time of its creation. According to Louis Adrain Montrose, the historicity of texts "suggests the

historical specificity, the social and material embedding, of all modes of writing—not only the texts that critics study but also the texts in which we study them" (Greenblatt & Gunn 209). New Historicism advocates the close relationship between the text and society (or context), especially the history of when the text was produced.

The issue of the textuality of history is at the center of the work, which is "at once metafictional and historical in its echoes of the texts and contexts of the past" (Hutcheon 3). The return to history, however, is a problematic issue, as Hutcheon has maintained:

It is a return made problematic by overtly metafictional assertions of both history and literature as human constructs, indeed as human illusions- necessary, but none the less illusory for all that. The intertextual parody of historiographic metafiction enacts, in a way, the views of certain contemporary historiographers...: it offers a sense of the presence of the past, but this is a past that can only be known from its texts, its traces, be they literary or historical. (4)

By stating that the past can only be known from its texts, Linda Hutcheon is pointing to the textuality of history, the issue of which has generated a remarkably theorized body of a "new" philosophy of history.

... By the textuality of histories, Montrose meant that people have no access to a full and authentic past, a material existence, unmediated by the surviving textual traces of the society in question—traces whose survival we cannot assume to be merely contingent but must rather presume to be at least partially consequent upon a complex and subtle social process of preservation and effacement. (Greenblatt & Gunn 331)

In a strict sense, textuality refers to the multiplicity of meanings inherent in a text. In postmodernism and new historicism, the concept of text refers to more than just the written word. Chris Barker in *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice* defines a text as "anything that generates meaning through signifying practices" (393). Text is any construct that is read, deciphered, decoded and interpreted, in order to unearth the embedded information.

In this regard, Silverman, an American philosopher and cultural theorist, argues in his online essay "Phenomenology" that the textuality of a text is defined by its decidability.

He further said:

The text's defensibility is developed in terms of and as an operational feature of its textuality. Textuality is that which constitutes a text as a text in a particular way. The textuality of a text produces knowledge about the text. A reading of the text occurs *through* its textuality or textualities. The text is *what* is read, but its textuality is *how* it is read. (3)

While history distinguished between historical and literary texts, the New Historicism is interested in history as it is represented and recorded in written documents, in history-as-text. According to new historicists, "historical events are irrecoverably lost, and history can only be known through the texts that have come down to us." (Barry 174-175) The idea that historical events are comprehended in terms of discourse manifests itself in New Historicism as the textuality of history. What has been described as the textuality of history here is similar to Jacques Derrida's famous declaration that – alternatively translated as "or "there is nothing outside the text "This post-structuralist idea of text is central to the new historicist perspective, which accepts that the past exists only in texts, and thus, the past can only be known through written texts. Hence, through its textuality, the text makes itself come about in a particular way.

Likewise, Edward Said argues in his article, "The Problem of Textuality: Two Exemplary Positions," that textuality is a practice. Through its textuality, the text makes itself come about in a particular way. Because of its textuality, the text eludes itself, defines itself, or determines itself in particular ways. The textuality of the text is both a condition of the text and the practice of the text. It is a polyphonic thing, not a single thing. There is a lot of textuality in each text. These different textualities are read and interpreted.

Accordingly, the term textuality is closely associated with intertextuality, which means that individual texts are inescapably related to other texts and the meaning constructed by these texts is not final, but provisional and plural. Hence, postmodern and new historicist theories of textuality argue that the referent of a linguistic sign cannot be fixed, as the meaning of a text is rather unstable. Moreover, in postmodernism, the distinction between a pre-existing material world and its textual representation always gets blurred.

Traditional historians regard history as an objective examination of historical events that reveals the spirit of the time.

For most traditional historians, history is a series of events that have a linear, causal relationship: event A caused event B, event B caused event C, and so on. Furthermore, they believe we are perfectly capable, through objective analysis, of uncovering the facts about historical events, and those facts can sometimes reveal the spirit of the age, that is, the world view held by the culture to which those facts refer. (Tyson 282)

Since "literary and non-literary texts circulate inseparably" (Wofreys 176), understanding history with the help of literary texts is required in order to see culture and history in historical texts. According to new historicism, one can "gain a more comprehensive understanding of literature

by considering it in a historical context while treating history itself as historically contingent on the present in which it is constructed" (Greenblatt 2).

The writing of the past and present is another method that writers employ in their versions of the past. It turns into an 'interactive context' which the writers expose as a 'text' whose historicity opens up the complex cultural traces of the past to be reinterpreted. Thus, the narratives function as the embodiments of the historicity of all texts, and they present a sense of the textuality of all histories.

Textuality has been the primary engagement in the practice of new historicism since its inception. The idea of the textuality of history and the issue of narrative are now at the heart of contemporary historical theory. In his collection of essays, *Tropics of Discourse*, *The Content of the Form*, Hayden White notes, "In contemporary historical theory, the topic of narrative has been the subject of an extraordinarily intense debate" (26). According to White, history is a type of discourse that is based on four fundamental literary tropes: metaphor, metaphory, synechoche, and irony. In his words, "the historical field is constituted as a possible domain of analysis in a linguistic act which is tropological in nature" (430). White defines historical writing as "the arrangement of selected events... into a story," which he refers to as "emplotment" (7). "Emplotment is the process by which a sequence of events fashioned into a story is gradually revealed to be a story of a particular kind" (7). White's emphasis on the literary aspect of historical writing has not only opened up an ever-growing debate over historical studies, but has also determined the politics of historical interpretation. In "Historical Text as a Literary Artifact," White's assertion becomes more emphatic: "Historians may not like to think of their work as translations of 'fact' into 'fiction,' but this is one of the effects of their works" (53).

History thrives on the discovery of all the possible plot-structures that might be invoked to endow sets of events with different meanings. And our understanding of the past increases precisely to the degree to which we succeed in determining how far that past informs the strategies of sense making that are contained in their purest forms in literary art. (53)

The linguistic nature of historical writing has been the focal point of the new historicist criticism's interpretive strategies. All kinds of cultural production, including historical texts, are discursive practices. Literary texts, like all other forms of discourse, are produced by discursive practices. Thus, as productions of time and discursive practice, historical narratives, cultural discourses, and any literary text can be approached through the new historicist approach. And it asserts the multiplicity and different versions of the past as produced within and by the discourses of time and culture.

### **3.3.2 Intertextuality**

The term intertextuality was first believed to have been coined by Julia Kristeva in "Word, Dialogue and Novel" in 1966. Essentially, she was looking for any connections between different texts. A theory of the text that tries to look after the source text and matches it to its origins and its uses of texts of the past is Intertextuality. No text is self-born and every text in the present is an inter-text with something happening between it and a text from the past. After that, Gerard Genette widened the study area of Kristeva, and called the relation between a text with other texts or different from its own "transtextuality". Genette subdivided this type into five categories where intertextuality was only one type.

After Kristeva, Genette developed his study area and defined "transtextuality" or textual transcendence as the relation between a text with other texts or different from its own. He categorizes them into five types, in which intertextuality is a text that contains words coming

from another text or writer; paratextuality is a text in which we are influenced by items which are not in the text themselves, such as titles; metatextuality, which is about the citing of another work's text in a different text; architextuality, which is about a text by title; and hypertextuality, which includes something like translation and adaptation, which is limited to a text, but also to film, painting, and even music.

As for transtextuality, Genette says that "all that sets the text in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts which cover all aspects of a particular text" (83-84). He views the relationship between a text and other texts in a broader and more systemic way than Julia Kristeva and Roland Barthes. According to him, it is an interpretive approach in which the relationship between two or more texts that have an effect on each other is studied. To read and interpret a text, according to intertextuality, you should now use intertextuality, that is, the text within which other texts reside or echo their presence. There are several ways in which one text can refer to another. For instance, by way of parody, pastiche, echo, allusion, direct quotation, structural parallelism and so on.

Because the concept of "intertextuality" or "intertext" is a fundamental concept in the field of textuality, all types of "transtextual" categories operate at the most fundamental level on the basis of intertextuality. The term is also used to indicate a more diffuse penetration of the individual text by memories, echoes and transformations of other texts.

A text... is... a multidimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a collection of quotations...the writer can only imitate a gesture that is always anterior, never original. His only ability is to mix words, to counter one with another in such a way that he never relies on any of them. (Barthes 1997)

Texts are, therefore, not structures of presence but traces and tracings of other texts. They are formed by the repetition and transformation of other textual structures. These absent textual structures at once constrain the text and are represented by and within it. Texts are made out of cultural and ideological norms; out of the conventions of genre; out of styles and idioms embedded in the language; out of other texts.

Questions about the originality of a single person's thoughts and even expression are raised and investigated. As Julia Kristeva said, human subjectivity itself is composed of texts and discourses as a signifying system. This new way of looking at intertextuality is becoming even more diverse and more interesting than ever. The new ways of intertextual analysis presented are stated by Graham Allen as such:

Intertextuality reminds us that all texts are potentially plural, reversible, open to the reader's own presuppositions, lacking in clear and defined boundaries, and always involved in the expression or repression of the dialogic 'voices' which exist within society. A term which continually refers to the impossibility of singularity, unity, and thus of unquestionable authority, intertextuality remains a potent tool within any reader's theoretical vocabulary. By that same logic, however, it also remains a tool which cannot be employed by readers wishing to produce stability and order, or wishing to claim authority over the text or other critics. (209)

Therefore, intertextuality thus exists and operates not only at a very conceptual level, but has its origins, existence and functions in the daily act of writing and reading of literary texts. Intertextuality concerns more than two texts, including the previous text or source text and the present text or the target text. It brings texts and contexts of each text which also have an

intertextual relationship. As a result, it is assumed that the new historicism theory will be useful in further analyzing literature from the standpoint of intertextuality. This paper will be a practical and creative attempt to analyze the selected narratives, and how to interpret and appreciate literature from this point of view of intertextuality.

### **3.3.3 Text, Context and Co-text**

The New Historicism involves a parallel reading or juxtaposition of the literary and non-literary texts of the same historical period. Both are given equal importance and allowed to work as sources of information or interrogation of each other. This way, the non-literary text becomes not a con-text, but a co-text, along with the literary work. The literary text is placed within the framework of the non-literary text, which is closely read. Previous writings on the text are ignored, and the text is subjected to new scrutiny, primarily from a historical standpoint.(Barry, Tyson etc.)

The New Historicists do not accept the distinction between canonical literary works and other non-literary texts. To privilege the literary text over the non-literary text is not acceptable to the proponents of new historicism. Yet they read both literary and non-literary texts belonging to the same historical period. "That is to say, new historicism refuses (at least ostensibly) to 'privilege' the literary text: instead of a literary 'foreground' and a historical 'background', it envisages and practices a mode of study in which literary and non-literary texts are given equal weight and constantly inform or interrogate each other" (Barry 116). The new historicists see both literary and non-literary narratives as products of discursive practice and of their culture. Therefore, both literary and non-literary texts are viewed as "co-texts." Both literary texts and non-literary texts are seen as expressions of the same historical forces. Interpretations of texts (both literary and

non-literary) would become much more enriched and comprehensive, as there would be attempts to grasp at the underlying structure or system of meaning, the invariant or the "culture-text."

Starting from its inception, the new historicism was a counter reaction to the new criticism, which argues that great literary works are timeless, autonomous art objects that exist in a realm beyond history. Rather, the new historicism treats literary texts as cultural artifacts that reveal the complex web of social meanings, operating in the time and place within which the text is written. However, like the formalists, the new historicists acknowledge the importance of literary texts, but they also analyze the text with an eye on history. To a new historicist, the literary text and the historical situation from which it emerged are equally important because the text (the literary work) and the context (the historical conditions that produced it) shape and create each other. New historicisms argue that literary texts shape and are shaped by their historical contexts.

By reading those literary works in their contexts, that is, contextualizing literary works, Greenblatt developed a new historicist method through which a literary text can be considered to interact with its context without giving priority to the genre-wise dictum of literary and non-literary categorization.

It also deals with no boundaries as the new historicists investigate the ways in which text and context as co-text interact. Therefore, the relationship between a text and its historical context becomes the main focus. "Not only is history itself only accessible as a text, the text itself is also the result of certain non-discursive forces" (Colebrook 26). Therefore, the result of this interaction between text and history breaches the line between fact and fiction, which in turn mixes the reading of literary and non-literary texts, as the new historicists say. Thus, this deals with the context of historical discourses that are both inside and outside of texts. As an outcome,

in New Historicism, the historical conditions in which a text is produced are regarded not as extraneous but as productive of the text's meaning.

To see how literary texts function, new historicists suggest that reading them in their own context is also of importance. The new historicists claim that all human knowledge and practice are constructs and inventions. Thus, this leads to the practice of interpreting texts as products and producers in the construction of an ideology. New historicists insist that there is no division between text and context or between literature and politics because "texts are understood as participating in the production of ideology and culture". Because of this belief, new historicist critics treat literary texts "on an equal basis with texts and documents of all kinds, professing not to privilege 'literature' as a form of expression outside the realm of society or politics or history" (Brannigan 21). In order to interpret a literary text, what is required for the new historicist critic is to return to the term's history and to read the other literary texts, historical, political and penal documents. "Questions are not directed to what lies beneath the text but to those other texts and events which surround the work" (Colebrook 207).

Focusing on the interaction between text and history, the new historicists investigate the ways in which texts produce boundaries. Therefore, in this theory, the relation between the text and its historical context becomes dynamic and it is accepted that "not only is history itself only accessible as a text, but the text itself is also the result of certain non-discursive forces" (Colebrook 26). As a result of such a dynamic, unstable interaction between text and history or text and the world, the text can no longer be a reflection of the pre-textual world. This principle can be regarded as New Historicism's entailment of reading "literary and non-literary texts as constituents of historical discourses that are both inside and outside of texts". Henceforth, its practitioners generally posit "no fixed hierarchy of cause and effect as they trace the connections

between texts, discourses, power and the constitutions of subjectivity" (Gallagher in Ryan 45). In consequence, in New Historicism, the historical conditions in which a text is produced are regarded not as extraneous but as productive of the text's meaning.

Another important key concept in the New Historicism is the recognition that historical context contributes to the meaning of a text. Contextuality, according to the new historicist viewpoint, implies that a text can have no useful meaning outside of the context in which it first appeared. For new historicists, understanding a text requires understanding its context. Greenblatt became a key figure in the shift from literary to cultural poetics and from textual to contextual interpretation. Hence, by means of reading literary works in their contexts, that is, contextualizing literary works with their historical means of reading, the new historicists have developed a new historicist method through which a literary text can be considered to interact with its context.

A literary text is no longer regarded as an isolated, self-contained and full entity, but as a text which is as important as historical documents, through which the openness of literature is revealed. Literature continually takes part in the mutual circulation of various kinds of historical and cultural discourses. The New Historicism represented by Greenblatt, Montrose, etc. provides a new method for studying historical literature, which lays stress on the relationship between literature and co-texts. Therefore, in my analysis of the two selected life narratives, I mainly interpret the relationship between text and history as well as the relationship between text and context so as to the detailed nature of literature and history.

### 3.3.4 Thick Description

Thick description, an approach to culture and cultural artifacts, which has been one of the main traits of New Historicism, was borrowed from an American anthropologist, Clifford Geertz. Human beings, like all other cultural productions, are cultural artifacts, according to Geertz. Thus, through the anthropological approach, or thick description, the practice of literary study can be analyzed and put in its context for a full understanding. As Clifford Geertz put it in his book, *The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays*, in his essay, "The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man", Geertz reflects the idea that man is a cultural product:

Our ideas, our values, our acts, even our emotions, are, like our nervous system itself, cultural products – products manufactured, indeed, out of tendencies, capacities, and dispositions with which we were born, but manufactured nonetheless. Chartres is made of stone and glass. But it is not just stone and glass; it is a cathedral, and not only a cathedral, but a particular cathedral built at a particular time by certain members of a particular society. To understand what it means, to perceive what it is, you need to know rather more than the generic properties of stone and glass and rather more than what is common to all cathedrals [...] It is no different for men: they, too, every last one of them, are cultural artifacts. (Geertz 51)

The thick description, which deals with the personal side of history, focuses more on the history of family dynamics, leisure activities, sexual practices, and child-rearing customs, which are often overlooked by traditional histories. Private life is frequently left out or ignored in traditional

histories as subjective and irrelevant, whereas new historicism attempts to incorporate it into the co-texting of private practices as significant cultural codes.

A significant element in the new historicist methodology is the use of anecdote, that is, the crucial contiguity of a historical anecdote with a literary text, which is indicative of the blurring of the boundaries between literature and history. "That both literary work and anthropological (or historical) anecdotes are texts, that both are fictions in the sense of things made, that both are shaped by the imagination and by the available resources of narration and description, helps make it possible to conjoin them," Gallagher and Greenblatt write (31).

The interpretive practice described here is "thick description", which is, in a sense, "an analysis of the conditions of cultural production" (Ryan 96). "Thick description" proposes focusing on the effect of the text on a network of practices rather than seeking the meaning of a text through the intention of the author of the work. Geertz's "thick description" has become a practice in New Historicism. If "thick description" is applied to literary criticism, the text could be seen as "an effective symbol: a social fact which makes action meaningful and is part of a culture's way of performing its actions in an ordered and understandable way". By means of the application of "thick description", new historicists "focus on the effect of the text on a network of practices" and "descriptions of texts would be 'thick' if they referred to the social and cultural forms in which the text operated" (Colebrook 75).

The thick description backs the new historicists' stance by locating a text's meaning both in the text and in some general pre-existing background. New historicist critics thus interpret texts as cultural events, not as general historical phenomena. As Gallagher and Greenblatt argue, Geertz's thick descriptions of cultural texts strengthened the insistence that the things that draw us to literature are often found in the non-literary, that the concept of literariness is deeply

unstable, that the boundaries between different types of narratives are subject to interrogation and revision (Gallagher and Greenblatt 30).

Using the theory of thick description has opened a new way of investigation in the cross-disciplinary study of culture and of literary studies. By employing the method of thick description, New Historicism analyzes the social and cultural processes by which "the lives and cultures of whole sections and classes of people were neglected and marginalized" (Brannigan 35).

New historicists have evolved a method of describing culture in action. Using Geertz's method of "thick description," they seize an event or anecdote and reread it in such a way that the behavioral codes, logics, and motive forces controlling a whole society are revealed through the analysis of minute details (Veeser xi).

### **3.3.5 Power Relations and Operations**

Influenced by Michel Foucault's analysis of the different ways in which power operates in society, New Historicism examines different texts to throw light on the extent to which power relations coordinate and advance dominant or accepted ideologies.

Thus, the new historicists believe that power is not just a set of relations between the oppressor and the oppressed, and is not even located within institutions such as the state or the government. It is a system of relations diffused throughout society. There are multiple power equations, assuming different forms and activating performance within families, institutions and the government. To Foucault, power is not simply a form of oppression, something that just restrains individuals and curtails freedom, but also something productive, generating new forms of behavior and events. Foucault in *power/knowledge* says "It needs to be considered as a

productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression" (119).

According to Foucault, power relations suffuse all relations within society and he studies the ways in which power operates and is resisted, and he conceives individuals not as passive recipients, but as active subjects. Power is not a possession, but a strategic performance. Foucault asserts in *Power/Knowledge*:

Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between their threads, but they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are always the elements of its articulation, not just its inert or consenting target. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application. (98)

Foucault understands power as a network of relations and how power-relations condition society, government, discourse, and the way we look at things. New historicism's concept of power is useful for the understanding of the relationship between society and works of art and for the interpretation of literary and historical texts. Inspired by Foucault's suggestion that history is more registered in its discontinuities, the New Historicists are inclined to study the breaches and interruptions in history. Instead of bringing a single, unifying perspective to the analysis of a historical period, its ideas and practices, it is treated as a site of conflict, as a location of discursive elements and practices. Subsequently, a literary critic is expected to study these diverse, multiple elements in the light of the ways in which power is produced, deployed and

harnessed for particular interests. Foucault in the History of Sexuality refers to the "omnipresence of power," (93) because power is inherent in every relationship. Foucault asserts: "Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but it comes from everywhere" (93). But despite its pervasive nature, power is unstable, since the exercise of power inevitably generates resistance. In the power network these resistances are present everywhere and so there is no single source of resistance, but "a plurality of resistances" (Power/ Knowledge 96). Foucault examines the ways in which power is produced and organized in a society and how it constructs particular identities and institutions and how it generates challenges and resistances to established patterns of behavior. Influenced by Foucault's interpretations of power mechanisms, the New Historicists maintain that literary productions do not merely reflect the concepts, ideologies and aspirations of a society in a disinterested manner; they are influenced and shaped by them and are vigorously involved in maintaining or resisting them, as the case may be. Similar to other discourses, literature and culture are also locations of power and resistance.

### **3.3.6 Self-fashioning**

The notion of self-fashioning is a variation of power in institutionalized power relations. The role of power in institutionalizing social systems that engineer individuals into subjects is being studied. The concept of self-fashioning was introduced by Stephen Greenblatt in his 1980 book Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare. Self-fashioning "mediates our understanding of the Renaissance as it colors our notions of selfhood" (Demoor 20). Self-Fashioning can also be understood as self-construction, through a complex process by which the subjectivity, the true-self of each individual is constructed within a heightened awareness of the position of the self within structures of different powers, either visible or invisible. "No physical or military force need be deployed or exercised for power to operate effectively in the interests of

dominant ideological systems when the self, ideologically and linguistically constructed, will reproduce hegemonic operation" (Brannigan 7). Thereupon, the expression and characterization of self becomes one attractive and significant theme of literature as well as self- construction turns into the ultimate goal of what culture wants to realize through literature and literary texts.

Explaining the concept of self-fashioning Greenblatt opines that even 'self' is constructed on the basis of power relations that are embedded in social discourse. Subjectivities or identities are shaped or fashioned in accordance with dominant cultural demands. New historicism is interested in the contingent self, conditioned by the expectations of its class, gender, race, religion and national identity, which in turn inject changes into the historical course. 'As every element of action, every form of behavior, every gesture becomes significant, intentional, and consequential, individual agency is insisted upon, and meaning and intention are attributed to impassivity and marginality.

New historicism sees the conflicting relationship between the formation of subjects and power. New historicists like Greenblatt and Montrose, under the influence of the anthropologist Geertz, believe that culture fashions individuals as subjects. Unlike Montrose, Greenblatt focuses not only on self- fashioning of subjectivity of individuals but also on how renaissance culture fashioned itself. Greenblatt's concept of self-fashioning holds that the self is a product of power, rather than being pre-determined and then governed by a repressive authority. Consciousnesses of our never-ending effort to discover, define, and construct our selves, or, to use Greenblatt's term, self-fashioning. Greenblatt's theory is revolutionary because it highlights the presumption that the self is not a given but can be fashioned, and fashioned by the subject itself, although not without cultural and historical interference.

As the author ponders, self-fashioning derives its interest precisely from the fact that it functions without regard to a sharp distinction between literature and social life. It invariably crosses the boundaries between the creations of literary characters, the shaping of one's own identity, the experience of being molded by forces outside one's control, the attempt to fashion other selves (Greenblatt 3).

Greenblatt opens his book *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* with a discussion of the growing awareness of identity as a "manipulable, artful process" in the more secular scenarios of the sixteenth century. After probing into the origins and meanings of the verb "to fashion," he offers the following possibilities of interpretation for the term: "the imposition upon a person of a physical form;" "the achievement of a distinctive personality;" and "a characteristic address to the world" (2).

As he focuses on the more particular characteristics of the early modern writers, Greenblatt produces an extensive list of the "governing conditions common to most instances of self-fashioning" in the period (9). Among these conditions are the ideas that self-fashioning "involves submission to an absolute power or authority" and also the belief that "self-fashioning is achieved in relation to something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile" (9). It is possible to attend to those conditions in the study of the nineteenth century as long as the instances of power and "aliens" are qualified. Whereas in the sixteenth century, these instances were associated with the king or the church, and with aliens as "heretics" or "adulteresses," in the nineteenth century, power was associated with the figure of the publisher, images of ancestry, domesticity, and various models of heroism and literary/intellectual achievement.

On the issue of narration, Greenblatt's concept of self-fashioning constitutes an important operative device that enables the perception of authorship as a category that blurs the boundaries

between social life and performance. In life writings, especially on memoir and auto biography, when it comes to the issue of the authorial and the actorial modes the line is so fuzzy. In this case, the authors appear as both autobiographical subjects and as narrators in the narration. Furthermore, life experience and memory of the past rekindle their interest in historical relevance and imaginative commissions.

### **3.3.7 Subversion and Containment**

Subversion and containment is a concept in literary studies introduced by Stephen Greenblatt in his 1988 essay, *Invisible Bullets*. Greenblatt developed his idea of power and raised two terms- "subversion" and "containment", which can be traced back as residues of a cold war ideology that had pernicious consequences in both international and domestic policy (Greenblatt & Gunn 401). Subversion is a reaction to the dominant power structure, being used to define "those elements in Renaissance culture that contemporary authorities tried to contain or, when containment seemed impossible, to destroy, and that now confirm our own sense of truth and reality" (Greenblatt).

The contradiction between two opposing forces of power in relation to the values, principles, and morale of a system of places is referred to as subversion. It is an attempt to subvert or transform the established social order and its structures of power, authority, hierarchy, and norms. Blackstock defines subversion as: the undermining or detachment of the loyalties of significant political and social groups within the victimized state, and their transference, under ideal conditions, to the symbols and institutions of the aggressor (56).

According to Stephen, there was a connection between personal power and the prevailing ideology. Specifically speaking, while creating a work of literature, the prevailing ideology at the time when a work of literature was written can inevitably become one of the forces that will have

an influence upon the author's value, attitude, original creative purpose, etc. As a result of this connected circulation, there will be an inevitable contradiction between the prevailing ideology and individual thought and behavior, which, in most cases, will result in a rebellion of the subverted class to express their discontentment and indignation. To put down a rebellion or subversion, the suppressor tries to contain it and stay for a longer period of time. Such a kind of rebellion is usually called subversion and the means of controlling it is called containment by the New Historicists.

The fundamental concept of subversion is that an established system of repression is brought into question. Whilst the subversive body tries to subvert the running system, the repressive system still tries to contain it to extend its power and make it stronger. In other words, the repressive power itself allows subversion to occur so that it can be contained. Its containment makes the original system even stronger than it was before the subversion had occurred.

Subsequently, the concept has become a much-used term in New Historicist and cultural materialist approaches to textual analyses (Montrose 1996). The central idea in Stephen Greenblatt's subversion containment dialectic is that, in order to sustain its power, any durable political and cultural order not only to some degree allows, but actively fosters "subversive" elements and forces, yet in such a way as more effectively to "contain" such challenges to the existing order (Stephen Greenblatt 6).

According to the concept, in order to maintain its power, or contain the challenge to the prevailing order, any strong political and cultural force openly encourages subversive policies. Greenblatt originally wrote about this theory in its application to the theatre.

To summarize, subversion means the subverting of the social ideology that represents the ruling class, while containment means the containment of this subverting power. Rulers allow and

encourage the coexistence of subversion and containment. Subversion gives ordinary people a way to express their dissatisfaction. To a certain extent, rulers encourage this kind of subversion so long as it does not endanger their actual interests and change the relationship between the ruling class and those who are ruled. Containment controls this kind of subversion to an appropriate and acceptable degree, so as to prevent it from resulting in destructive effects. New historicists inspired by Foucault tend to concern themselves with forces of subversion and containment and the ways hegemonic forces consolidate the status quo. They look at moments of political cracks to examine how the forces of subversion can be contained by power. The new historicists are concerned with relations of power within society, and they think of history in terms of power relations, and they are fascinated by the 'circulation' of power within society.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### A NEW HISTORICIST ANALYSIS OF THE EMPEROR AND TOWER IN THE SKY

#### 4.1 Historicity of Text and Textuality of History

As part of the study, I shall take up the analysis of the works of the two writers, Hiwot Teffera's *Tower in the Sky* and Ryszard Kapuściński's *The Emperor*, from the perspective of new historicism, using historical and literary works as co-texts and or counter-texts. *Tower in the Sky*, Hiwot's memoir, was published in 2012/13, and it covers her entire life, focusing primarily on the political movement she and her comrades were involved in during their military days in Ethiopia. On the other hand, Kapuściński's work, *The Emperor*, was published in 1978/1983 (tra.) and covers the unsuccessful coup coupled with the revolution and the fall of the last king of Ethiopia, His majesty, Emperor Hailesilasse I. It encompasses the latter part of the reign of Emperor Hailesilasse I, the last king of Ethiopia.

In light of the new historicist viewpoint, this chapter examines the social, historical, and cultural influences on both *The Emperor* and *Tower in the Sky*. In their respective works, Hiwot and Kapuscinski both cast doubt on the existence of an official history. The belief that there is no single grand narrative of history is fundamental to both postmodernism and new historicism, and both authors expose their propensity to adopt a postmodernist view of history and literature by trying to recreate an alternate history.

*The Tower in the Sky* covers the final period of the king and the era of the Derg regime. Kapuscinski deals with a series of historical events after the collapse of the last autocratic system in Ethiopia. Emperor Hailesilasse's meticulous but tragic death; the rebellious students' movement; the formation of various political movements and their role in national politics, leading to partition and the riots and bloodshed in the aftermath of partition, against political

movements, and so on. In other words, Emperor Haileseilasse had failed to protect the economic, political and territorial integrity of the state. Thus, the failure to properly lead the country has created a big problem concerning its stability and even the legitimate heir of the throne. As a reporter, Kapuscinski was in Ethiopia at the time, and he was likely aware of the country's mounting political and economic problems and struggles.

On the other hand, Hiwot was one of the students who staged demonstrations, starting from high school up to university. She and her friends were one of the elements who weakened the emperor's rule during their time. However, after the military government took power, she and her friends didn't stop fighting the military dictatorship. Thus, Hiwot's story covers the last era of the emperor and the Derg regime.

So it is quite obvious that she was keenly aware of the historical incidents and the problem of writing these incidents. In this piece, Hiwot shows the social and political turmoil in Ethiopia and skillfully relates it to the world's history. *The Tower in the Sky* is also a memoir of profound psychological insight and of powerful political implications. It tells the story of an Ethiopian generation that has gone wild. The narrative serves both literally and metaphorically as the source of the country's story and the politics of the generation. In what follows, I have attempted to give a new historical reading of these two texts.

#### **4.1.2. Historicity of Text**

When seen from the perspective of new historicism, *The Tower in The Sky*, besides the writer's own life experience, is created under the influence of the social, historical and situational backgrounds of the period in which it is set; and this is where the text and the reader influence each other. The same can be said about *The Emperor*. In Montrose's words, "the writing and reading of texts are being reconstructed as historically determined and determining modes of

cultural work". Based on this, the production of the two narratives, analyzed here, must be influenced by the social and cultural background of the period. Likewise, it is obvious that the production and publication of these narratives has also affected people in society. In other words, the authors' creating process and the readers' interpreting process are manifestations of the historicity of the text.

One way in which Kapuscinski deconstructs history is by subverting the linear notion of causation, which is a postmodernist reaction to the traditional linear narrative form. Since it is produced in a specific historical context, as a result of the process of the writer's creation, it is inevitably influenced by the attitudes, emotions and power of the masses. Hence, it is obvious that *The Emperor* was produced under the influence of society, which itself was affected by the historical development of the country at the time. Based on this, the authorities will show how a text is a kind of historical and social event by itself. As the text constitutes an indispensable part of history and has effects on the development of society and history, it is a part and parcel of modern history. Just as Montrose indicated in *A Midsummer Night's Dream and the Shaping of Fantasies of Elizabethan Culture: Gender Power Form*, the play "creates the culture by which it is created, shapes the fantasies by which it is shaped".

Kapuscinski, in his effort to construct an alternative history that is fragmented and, in order to demolish the difference between history and literature, employs memories and interviews. As a postmodern writer, he collects many anecdotal metanarratives from different unanimous people, and blurs history with fiction as he tries to compile these narratives. While organizing his biography, Kapuscinski relied on everything he gathered from courtiers as a source of information, though he never allowed his imaginative interference, with a seemingly new intention of blurring the boundaries between history and fiction. Following this, in his biography,

Kapuscinski has focused his attention either on historical figures, or on the act of recording history itself, with the intention of questioning the very feasibility of historical verisimilitude.

The Emperor, a mostly medium-sized biography, is divided into three parts: "The Throne" describes how the Emperor, HaileSelassie, maintained his power for a long time. "It's Coming, It's Coming," the book's second section, tells the story of the failed 1960 palace coup, hunger, student unrest, the subsequent peasant uprising, and the unexpected revolution. The third and last part is "The Collapse". This span of the story covers the tragic removal of Emperor Hailesilasse from power in 1974 without his ever quite realizing (or wanting to realize) what was happening, until there was no one left with him in his palace and his last suffering and alienation from the people who were once around him, and finally, his death.

The biography is presented as a historical document or history as a recorder of facts. Yet, it seems that the author is taking a postmodern view that history is not a truthful record of the past, but only a representation of the past with personal and imaginative additives. Therefore, Kapuscinski, in his biography, attempts to reconstruct an alternative version of the history of the last king of Ethiopia, Emperor Hailesilasse. In the process, he has also explored the social and cultural forces at work at the time. In order to make his narrative trustworthy and close to the subject, he deliberately chooses characters from the courtiers of the Emperor, people who are close to the palace. As a result, from the sparse details available, Kapuściński made up a fictional biography of Emperor Hailesilasse I. As a politically committed correspondent and journalist, Kapuscinski works to recover the missing and untold voices of some courtiers (some of whom are listed in other historical documents) and to present history from the bottom up, enabling the oppressed and courtiers to tell their stories.

In his effort to construct an alternative history that is fragmented and in order to obliterate the difference between history and literature, Kapuscinski employs the use of archival records, personal observations and mementoes, interviews, lyrics of popular songs, films, maps and even dreams. In trying to put history in its context, Pechter says about new historicists that "Their whole endeavor is to situate the literary text in social history and thus to see it in a determined or secondary position" (295). To locate history in its context, Kapuscinski has been engaged in an attempt to incorporate marginal figures of the historical past into the main historical narrative. In this sense, Kapuscinski included some narratives of the marginal characters which were ignored by the totalising narrative of Emperor Haile Selassie and of Ethiopia as a whole. In *The Emperor*, Kapuściński chose to explore the history of the country that historiographers have failed to record, or have recorded in other ways with other versions, by writing an unofficial version of history. The following excerpt is a story told by one of the marginalized people.

F.: It was a small dog, a Japanese breed. His name was Lulu. He was allowed to sleep in the Emperor's great bed. During various ceremonies, he would run away from the Emperor's lap and pee on dignitaries' shoes. The august gentlemen were not allowed to flinch or make the slightest gesture when they felt their feet getting wet. I had to walk among the dignitaries and wipe the urine from their shoes with a satin cloth. This was my job for ten years. (Kapuściński, 5)

This man's story is among those who were marginalized and left out. As far as my reading is concerned, I had never heard of the story and his job at the palace. Of course, everyone knows Lulu, the Emperor's dog, but a dog pees on a wiper. Since new historicism focuses on a close look at how some stories are given less attention, by giving close attention and incorporating the marginalized story to the "main" story, it gives a significant meaning to its time. Kapuscinski's

practice of using marginal figures from history, on the other hand, does not make his work become a typical historical novel. His use of historical incidents and imaginative explanations, on the other hand, results in a poetic fiction that manages history.

In the eyes of new historicism, the process of writing history has given us a new perspective. Louis Montrose says: "I am describing the text's status as a discourse produced and appropriated within history and within the history of other productions and appropriations" (22). In this case, historiography is all about an imaginative reconstruction of the past through the process of writing. By recognizing that the present can also reshape the past, Montrose resists the tendency of New Historicism to privilege the historical social context. The following is the story of Hailesilasse, the Emperor's pillow bearer. As his solo job was to carry and slide pillows underneath the Emperor's feet, this man's story was among the marginalized ones, yet as a part of the past, it has been recorded.

His Majesty would take his place on the throne, and when he had seated himself I would slide a pillow under his feet. This had to be done like lightning so as not to leave Our Distinguished Monarch's legs hanging in the air for even a moment. We all know that His Highness was of small stature. (Kapusinski, 27)

The facts of history cover the events concerning the empire, the king, important personalities, and the major historical incidents. History has never been, and perhaps never will be, all-encompassing. Thus, considering this, when writing a historical account; any historian must visualize the event in his mind. S/he puts himself/herself in the target situation and attempts to understand and narrate the event during this process. In other words, a historian mentally re-enacts events or characters before writing them down. As we can see clearly in the extract, the pillow bearer was one of his kinds. Although the biography gives an impression that this version

of the story is almost reported and tries to present the facts, it curiously mixes real people and events with some sort of fiction. Hence, symbolically, coupled with its stylistic effect, besides its historicity, the biography portrayed literary craftsmanship. Let's see the following quote, which further elaborates on this incident.

... Therefore a contradiction arose between the necessity of a high throne and the figure of His Venerable Majesty, a contradiction most sensitive and troublesome precisely in the region of the legs, since it is difficult to imagine that an appropriate dignity can be maintained by a person whose legs are dangling in the air like those of a small child. The pillow solved this delicate and all-important conundrum. (27-28)

Emperor HaileSelassie's throne was most troubled by the lower-ranking dignitaries. Besides his failure, the lower members of his power structure, corrupt and uneducated, were the ones who put him through all the mess. As indicated in the quote, the *throne*, *region*, *contradiction*, *leg* and the *pillow* are among the words and symbols which are to be interpreted to fully grasp the richness of the book. People's history is nothing more than a textualized past, and the text is a form of discourse, as a type of discourse. As a result, the biography establishes the historical significance of previously marginalized groups by incorporating their stories into the country's conventional narrative, while also depicting the discourse of the time and the historicity of its textuality.

Therefore, taking history as fiction and history, I can say that Kapuscinski fictionalizes the biography by presenting the testimony of others who were around the king during his time. These testimonies (characters) appeared to play different roles during their time at the palace, and Kapuscinski appears to have purposefully chosen the characters who presumably provided

the desired effect to his craft. Thus, the objectivity of history gets bumpy as the blurring of the boundaries between history and fiction continues.

In *The Emperor*, Kapuściński's ultimate objective is to rewrite the history of the last Emperor of Ethiopia, the Emperor of the World Emperor, Emperor Haile Selassie. In so doing, he created another version of the King's life story by providing an alternative version of biographical history. Considering the limitations of Kapuściński's knowledge of the cultural background of Ethiopia, it was impossible for him to go beyond the prevailing ideology at that time. Living in a crumbling feudal system and a poor society, the history he wrote in his book is a mix of fiction and fact. In his book, Kapuściński purposefully combines fact and fiction, as well as history and imagination, to create a work of art. Here is an illustrative excerpt of this idea:

They begin with support and end up with invective. They start with cheering, and end with shooting. Once more, my friend, you see here the awe-inspiring prescience of His Supreme Highness. In the general confusion they didn't manage to call off the demonstration. When the march of the supporters, composed of policemen disguised as students, started, a great and rebellious mass of real students quickly joined it, this ominous rabble started rolling toward the Palace, and there was no other solution but to bring out the army to enforce the restoration of order. In this unfortunate confrontation, which ended in bloodshed, the leader of the students, Tilahun Gizaw, perished. (102)

Postmodern writers reject the concepts of faithful narration of historical events, impartial presentation of historical figures, and an attempt to present a true history. The texts do not depict a historically accurate depiction of events; rather, the writers purposefully alter, invent, and present an entirely different version of history. This concept is echoed in the preceding quote.

The rolling and unfolding story of the country was full of confusion, movements and uprisings. After university students were made aware of their country's situation, demonstrations were more frequent. As a result, demonstrations were held everywhere, from universities to high schools, and from taxi drivers to peasants.

Moreover, in other historical documents and narratives, the death of Tilahun Gizaw has been recorded as being shot dead around *Afncho Ber* while he was walking along with his female friend. This fact cannot be overlooked unless it is purposefully distorted for some effect or to alter the flow of events. Thus, the above quote mixes both the historical insistence and the imaginative narrative. In order to depict the history of the time, the writer used the fusion of both history and imaginative narrative. Though he portrays and includes a direct presentation of historical events and historical figures, obviously, there is a tension between the truth and a fictional account of the past that is narratively "faithful" to how things might have been.

As can be understood from the above analysis, it is no longer a matter of history providing the background for literature; instead, it is a matter of literature and history occupying the same area and being given the same importance. New historicisms underline that historical events shape and are shaped by the culture in which the events take place. There are many such historical instances on which the events in the text are grounded. For example, in the following quote, during the last stage of his reign, the Emperor is depicted in an impressive and odd way.

The older he grew, the greater became his greed, his pitiable cupidity. One could talk about it with sadness and indulgence, were it not for the fact that H. S.-he and his people-took millions from the state treasury amid cemeteries full of people who had died of hunger, cemeteries visible from the windows of the royal Palace.

(160)

Paralleling the cemeteries of the dead citizens and the seat of the king, the palace, is one of those discourses of the time. In this sense, works of literature like the Emperor are discursive representations of that culture from which they emerge. They are the result of a struggle between active agents of culture and dominant power ideology. According to New Historicism, literature does not reflect human action; rather, it reconciles it to a product and a producer. Since it is a product of social practices and interactions, it can thus be said that literature plays a big role in shaping and being shaped by, rather than reflecting, human experience and political struggle as an imitation. In *The Emperor*, the writer used interviews in order to represent imagined events realistically and in a complex manner. The hazy distinction between historical facts and fictive elements is rooted in a problematic reading of power dynamics.

Similarly, the emotional and reoriented details of Hiwot's life are embedded in the *Tower in the Sky* as to portray her traumatic past. The narrative presents the lives of Hiwot and her friends from the perspective of a surviving hero who transformed herself. Hiwot suffered greatly as a result of the domestic conflict and disharmony between her party and the government, as did her friends, who paid with their lives for the success of the struggle. The self-reflecting experience of Hiwot's hard life has the power to emotionally draw us closer to the life she had. However, while revisiting history and reinterpreting it, Hiwot does not discuss her personal life explicitly. A sharp reader is expected to comprehend these phenomena with the help of concepts in new historicism and cultural studies. Taking the version of her life into study, the researcher finds that the work can be discussed in detail as an art fact that constitutes the textuality of history and the historicity of the text.

*The Tower in the Sky* can be considered a literary text that succeeds in representing life in its fullness, complicatedness, inexplicability, fragmentation, and in sub-textual richness, which

cannot be represented by the traditional method of linear narrative of historical facts. The inviting beauty of the text, coupled with its historical scenes, unfolds into a kind of pattern. The pattern is constantly different and constantly recalls the same historical incidents. The descriptions of the events are lively and interesting. Let's see the following quote:

I had other serious undertakings at the time such as going to the movie and organizing parties or being invited to them every weekend and of course reading books. I knew those outings to the streets were directed against the government but I didn't understand any of it. It was the sheer sense of adventure that lured me into the chaos in streets. Besides, that was what high school students did at that time. Losing face was my Achilles' heel. (Hiwot, 17)

As a youngster, Hiwot viewed history in her own way. Thus, this view provides an alternative version of history. She draws almost the entire material from her history with a new historic intention of blurring the boundaries between history and fiction. The text emphasizes the effects of historical incidents on the main characters' lives rather than the reconstruction of historical reality and historical truth.

In fact, Hiwot's work challenges the past narration of the history of that generation. To that end, dozens of other life writings about that generation were published after *The Tower in the Sky* was published. Yet most of the texts do not agree on some issues regarding some events. I believe this comes from the emphasis they give. Some give immense emphasis on the incidents and others give some details about the people. This changed the course of the narratives and forced them to go in different ways.

In *The Tower in the Sky*, the life of the main character is presented within the context of a country at war, where lives are under threat on a daily basis. The civil war in Ethiopia, as

recorded in the text in the 1970s and the 1980s, involved many small political groups, such as the EPRP, MEISON and the Derg (Government), the anti-government insurgents in the north, (TPLF and EPLF), who attacked the government for its political, economic and military policies. As described in *Tower in the Sky*, the EPRP was the primary group against which the government was fighting. Meanwhile, Hiwot is narrating the EPRP's history in line with her life and it is here where all the brutality and ruthless murders and killings happen as part of the story.

That was exactly what it felt like in the country from October 1976 to February 1978. On February 4, 1977, Ethiopia saw Satan rise up like a blot of lightning from its belly in the shape of a man named Mengistu Hailemariam. Mengistu drew his sword against everybody and anybody committing one of the most heinous crimes in history. He plunged the country into mourning, tears trepidation and horror.

(290)

The relationship between historical and literary works is similar to that of discourses. Both discourses generate the meaning system that allows us to comprehend the past and its reality. Furthermore, meaning is found not in the real events which have already occurred, but in the system of signification through which we learn about history in the present. In Hiwot's view, all the groups and the government at large - were engaged in mindless acts of terror that resulted in heavy casualties on all sides. The police and the military used to descend on villages suspected of conspiracies and slaughter the residents indiscriminately. The government tried to put an end to the violence, but to restore peace and riots, it used torture and kidnapping. Thus, they all jumped into mindless violence. Ordinary people were helplessly caught in the crossfire. After decades of escalating conflict, which brought untold suffering and mass casualties, many Ethiopians simply want the violence to end. The gruesome nature of death and destruction

caused by incidents, particularly those perpetrated by the government, as well as by violence and counter-violence, is the cultural specificity with which Hiwot's Tower in the Sky is built.

The Tower in the Sky, therefore, can also be read as a narrative about a trapped woman. A woman who is trapped in her past and the past casts its shadow on her present life. In addition, the text can be seen as therapeutic life writing as she tries to let the traumatic past go and hold on to the future. When Hiwot narrates, the fragments of her story form a pattern and a new interpretation emerges. As a new interpretation and meaning emerges, so does her life. Like the young, visionary and unswerving Hiwot in the Tower in the Sky, she is also a displaced, dislocated and fragmented person because it is unfitting for her to live in the place where she lost her beloved ones and her vision at the same time and in the same place. After her flight, she wrote a memoir in which she attempted to recount her past.

History is a complex interrelation of discourse and power relations. Thus, the new historicists put literary texts and non-literary texts together to interpret literary texts. In fact, they do not read them separately. They passed them around and read them aloud to one another. In light of the New Historicist theory of power, taking the narrative into historical terms; we can say that none of us have any control over other peoples' stories. Hiwot's message in her memoir writing is that we are all implied authors, each trying to live our own lives while also giving meaning to our readings.

Though history can be presented by texts-both literary and non-literary, the authenticity of these texts should be under discussion. The materials we rely on cannot include all the things that happened and it is quite possible that some events may never be known if the related materials are missing. All the materials that we have access to, whether literary or non-literary, can not reflect what has happened faithfully and objectively, like mirrors. That is to say, texts are not

worth trusting. In fact, the history we have access to have been carefully selected. However objective a historiographer claims himself to be, consciously or unconsciously, he cannot avoid being influenced by such factors as living environment, life experience, class, gender, etc. Therefore, the objectivity of history remains in doubt. To some degree, history can be fictional, just like literary works which are created by writers based upon their own experiences. If not all, most life narratives are similar to literary works and are considered as the products of the negotiation between the writer and the prevailing ideology of the time. Thus, as far as new historicism is concerned, literature and history are the products of cultural interactions.

From the above analysis, we can see clearly that both Kapuscinski and Hiwot were influenced by the political and historical situations of the time when they created *The Emperor and the Tower in the Sky*, respectively. Both writers were keen observers of the political struggle during the Emperor's reign and the Derg's regime. The political struggle is shown undisguised in their respective works. This can easily show the similarities between the works and their reality.

#### **4.1.1.1 Fact and Fiction: Issues of Truth and Reliability**

As many cultural theorists observe, writers like Kapuscinski challenge the politics of literary works and historicize fiction. The ideological treatment of history and the urgency to question the apparent distinctions between history and fiction characterized the writings of Kapuscinski. By blurring facts and fiction and embracing viewpoints and self-conscious reflexivity, Ryszard Kapuscinski, as a life writer, questions history and subverts objectivity.

New Historicism emphasizes that knowledge is discursively produced; hence, the meaning embedded in a text is always unstable. The interpretation and deciphering of the meanings which are inherent in a text and that are in a constant state of change constitutes textuality. According to new historicist trends, *The Emperor* can be regarded as both fiction and fact, based on some

verifiable historical reality. Moreover, a biography demonstrates a plurality of forms. The work consists of some sort of metahistoric narrative text, which makes it difficult to categorize as a generic type that challenges conventional notions of reality. Besides his fictional treatment and subversion of history, he promotes another version of history with a different approach. Symbolic and rich in metaphor, the writer followed his own style, blurring the lines of fact and fiction.

Set during the Emperor's last reign, *The Emperor* narrates the stories from the perspective of the voice of the "other", an external reporter, who presents an alternative version of the history of the same period and defies the traditional chronological way of narrating history. Borrowing language and style for his biography from literature and history, Kapuscinski treats them with a new historic intention-to fictionalize history. In doing so, Kapuscinski shows all the voices of the palace men in the palace and the unheard voices within and out of the palace under the Emperor, HaileSelassie's rule.

Y.M.:

I see him now as he walks, stops, walks again, lifts his head upward as though absorbed in prayer. O God, save me from those who, crawling on their knees, hide a knife they would like to sink in my back. But how can God help? All the people surrounding the Emperor are just like that--on their knees, and with knives. It's never comfortable on the summits. An icy wind always blows, and everyone crouches, watchful lest his neighbor hurl him down the precipice. (p.7)

Employing free indirect discourse, Kapuscinski was successful in creating a literary effect on the narrative. Being a factual narrative derived from an interviewee, the symbols, language usage, and style are flawless. The Y.M provided his information, but Kapuscinski's technique and

imaginative reach elevated the story and added color and beauty."It's never comfortable on the summits. An icy wind always blows, and everyone crouches, watchful lest his neighbor hurl him down the precipice" (7). This expression is not only an informant's expression, to put it in such a way. Not only the speech, but the symbol is also questionable. Therefore, as a work of art, both thematically and technically, *The Emperor* defies the norms of conventional history. Thematically filled with ideological motifs, Kapuscinski deconstructs the dictums of fiction and history.

Although his book is presumably the story of the fall of Emperor HaileSelassie, it is really challenging to accept it as a fact, for the reason that the writer fashioned reality in an imaginative way. Coupled with his expressive and symbolic language, narrated by a series of autonomous courtiers' interviews, Kapuscinski impresses readers with the ways he represents reality. Added to his sharp imagination and symbolic expression, it is not uncommon to find such a literary kind of style in the Emperor's life narrative. As Kapuscinski himself noted in an interview, it is evident that his writing is not the truth or a factual story, but another version of the story. "How could I describe a jungle in the language of the press?" he asked (Klinkenborg 1).

Therefore, Kapuscinski's work is not a pure report or an interview. This is evident in what he offers us as an interpreted version of the Emperor's story. Even if some characters and events are verifiable, for the most part, Kapuscinski invents and recreates their history and emanates the quality of historiographic meta-fiction. Hence, reading *The Emperor* requires an intertextual approach and a critical enquiry to interpret where there is no final arbiter of truth and where meaning is derived from an interrelationship of texts, and the problem of language and other signifying practices.

Kapuscinski tries to challenge history in order to present an alternative version of the past. He writes with a fresh perspective on historical figures from the Emperor's time or on the act of recording history itself; he provides some highlights with the intention of calling the Emperor's actions and deeds into question. In this regard, Kapuscinski views history from the new historicist perspective, which treats history not as a background source of a literary work, but as a co-text that is ideologically and discursively constructed. In fact, Kapuscinski seems a self-conscious postmodern writer with a new historicist perspective as he challenges the very making of fiction and history. Here is an example that can best illustrate the half-fiction and half-fact nature of his work:

F.:

It was a small dog, a Japanese breed. His name was Lulu. He was allowed to sleep in the Emperor's great bed. During various ceremonies, he would run away from the Emperor's lap and pee on dignitaries' shoes. The august gentlemen were not allowed to flinch or make the slightest gesture when they felt their feet getting wet. I had to walk among the dignitaries and wipe the urine from their shoes with a satin cloth. This was my job for ten years. (5)

True, the Emperor had a small dog, and yes, its name was Lulu, but he would never have permitted any animal to humiliate his courtiers. No one would have done this to a man, let alone the Emperor HaileSelassie, who is considered to be a God-fearing person and who built many churches in his own name. The king may have had many kinds of cleaners, but it is unlikely for him to hire someone whose sole job is cleaning a dog's urine that is peed on the shoes of dignitaries.

Likewise, in the *Tower in the Sky*, besides conveying the story and political struggle of the EPRP, Hiwot presented a work of art. The story of the EPRP's struggle is written skillfully and is narrated in an impressive way. The author, eloquently and colorfully, wrote a confessional memoir. Ghelawdeos Araia, in his review of the memoir, describes it as "...very much a literary work that could be classified as a non-fiction genre". Hiwot successfully blended non-fictional creative writing with authentic political discourse that virtually affected the entire social fabric of Ethiopia. As a blended form of fact and fiction, the *Tower in the Sky* is fictionalized in an impressive and artful way.

In the *Tower in the Sky*, Hiwot, from the sparse details available, conjures up a fictional memoir of her deeds, revealing the conflict-torn and bloody history of Ethiopia and its political movement.

Even God wept in regret.

Babies were wrenched from the breasts of their young mothers. Many were orphaned. Those who survived Abyot Tebakis', soldiers and cadres' bullets trekked out of the country. (Hiwot 292)

Almost all of the stories in the memoir are narrated by the author and the narrator, Hiwot. And in order to capture the scene's actions, she utilizes hyperbole, similes, and metaphorical language that goes into recreating her memory. She also uses verbal patterns, including rhythm, to dramatically depict some frightening scenarios that, in turn, capture the horrendous torture and killings of the Ethiopian youth in general and her own comrades in particular, at the hands of the Derg and her very own party, the EPRP.

The Derg reveled in voyeurism.

Blood flowed like water in the streets all across the country. Mothers wished they were sterile. Their tears of anguish drenched the earth and their wailings reverberated through the heavens. (Hiwot 291)

In addition to rewriting the history of the party or of political movements, in view of historicism, this memoir breaks down the borders of fact and fiction. Hiwot rejects the linearity of a single or monolithic narrative of history, and presents a highly fragmented country with subjective signification and, yet in some parts of the narrative, we can still see the linear or traditional course of the story swaying her.

The book is beautifully written and easy to read as the author, evidently, has exhibited extensive creativity and meticulous craftsmanship in putting the piece together for its literary effect and putting the theme in a simple and concise way. Hiwot starts each chapter with sayings maxims and political quotes. All the quoted sayings and maxims perfectly fit into the context of the narrative and are descriptive. Those quotes and maxims are so beautiful and give the book an intertextual theme. Every sub-section or section starts with a relevant maxim. For instance, the leaf next to the title consists of two quotes from different sources. Of these two quotes, the second one is so appealing and also portrays her confession and pain. Hiwot quotes:

“To speak of this is painful for me: to keep silence

Is no less pain. On every side is suffering.”

(-Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound)

Hiwot’s voice can be put the way she put it in the above quote. The pain, anguish and all the ups and downs she passed through are manifestations of the reality she lived in. After finishing reading the subsections or chapters of the book, the message of the quote becomes crystal clear. Yet, the quotes render additional flavor to the narrative itself.

Individuals see history in their own way from their vantage position. As such, in *The Emperor*, Kapuscinski employs a slightly different narrative strategy that fragments the narration and uses various kinds of unconventional micro narratives or thick descriptions in the same text with the purpose of textualising the history of the Emperor Hailesilasse artistically. The use of prose, interviews, songs, snippets, and newspaper clippings in *The Emperor* enhanced the artist's unbounded imagination and kept the text a hybrid. The AFP obtained the following newspaper clipping. Kapuscinski's incorporation of such quotes and references gave the biography an impressive angle to the narration.

#### HAILE SELASSIE STILL BELIEVES HE IS EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA

Addis Ababa, February 7, 1975 (Agence France Presse). Imprisoned in the rooms of the Menelik Palace on the hills above Addis Ababa, Haile Selassie is spending the last months of his life surrounded by soldiers. According to eyewitness accounts, these soldiers, as in the best times of the Empire, still bow before the King of Kings. Thanks to such gestures, as a representative of an international aid organization discovered recently when he paid a visit to the Emperor and other prisoners remaining in the Palace, Haile- Selassie still believes that he is the Emperor of Ethiopia. (163)

This quote came from AFP, a new agency, but Kapuscinski used it for literary effect. Those kinds of news clippings and extracted passages and songs gave the book a literary flavor. Mentioning all the facts and historical incidents, Kapuscinski was successful in depicting the story and crafting a literary piece.

Both in *The Emperor* and *Tower in the Sky*, the narratives and the metaphorical significance develop through the narratives suggest similar history. In *The Emperor*, Kapuscinski structures

and unifies the narrative and the poetic sections of the narrative by blending and merging incidents, senses, and interviews to write his version of the story. Hence, in creating his version of the story, the line between fact and fiction becomes blurry and the fusion of events and incidents becomes indistinct.

In the *Tower in the Sky*, on the other hand, Hiwot attempts to document her personal life, intertwining it with the bloody history of Ethiopia during the Derg regime. As an assortment of facts and fiction, the memoir chronicles and reconstructs both the story of the nation and her story by interlinking stories and events from history. The double perspective of being an outsider and an insider in her own story enables Hiwot to reclaim her lost history in fragments. Similarly, Hiwot does not confine the text to her own version of the facts. Rather, she added many interviews and other characters' views of the time. Tadelch's perspective on the time, as well as the recounting of all the inmates' actions, can be used to support this claim. As the new historicists claim, history is not a single narrative of events constructed from many stories. In this context, *Tower in the Sky* espouses an explicit political and ideological agenda, as well as revisiting and rewriting the EPRP's history from various perspectives.

Kapuscinski's biographical writing, of course, provides a constructive attempt to add to the stories of Ethiopian literature and includes narratives of the working class and minorities. However, the facts and anecdotes presented are somehow unreliable, and even far from the nature of reality and the truth. It is obvious that Emperor Hailesilasse was feared and respected very much. However, the title Kapuscinski gave the Emperor (pretending it was given by the informants) is not a fact but fiction. The poetic license taken by Kapuscinski is unlimited and history was fictionalized for the sake of artistic beauty.

For instance, the author has referred to the emperor variously as His Majesty (6), His Highness(6), His Supreme Majesty (7), His Venerable Majesty (7), His Venerable Highness (8), His Distinguished Highness(9), His Benevolent Majesty (15), His Virtuous Majesty (28), His Sublime Majesty (32), His Most Unrivalled Majesty (34), His Indefatigable Majesty (35), His Magnanimous Highness (39), His Most Extraordinary Majesty (40), His Kindly Majesty (72), His Noble Majesty (102), His Most Singular Highness (110), His Gracious Majesty (110), His Benevolent Highness (110), His Most Ineffable Highness (117), His Serene Majesty(117), His Most Puissant Majesty (128), His Most Singular Majesty (134), His Most Exceptional Majesty (143) His Merciful Highness(149), His Enlightened Majesty(149), His August Majesty(159), His Imperial Majesty(161).

For those of us who speak Amharic and fully understand its usage, as native speakers, we can see that Kapuscinski is ostensibly creating conversations with informants. Such titles and callings are uncommon in the language's register. As most commonly used by many, a simple *Kiburnetachew, Janhoy* or "his majesty" would have sufficed. Throughout the book, in a very elusive and attractive way, Kapuscinski attempts to manipulate the information, not to dignify the Ethiopian Emperor, but to ridicule him. Considering the Ethiopian culture and language register, the titles mentioned here are more ironic and demeaning. These kinds of expressive techniques are common in biographies.

Therefore, by employing and merging fragmented stories, traditions and generic conventions, Kapuscinski claims a cross-discipline inheritance and he knits fact and fiction together as an alternative literary tradition. As he tries to fictionalize the biography, he intentionally distorts the factual incidents. Another intentional distortion of fact can be traced in the following quote: "I'll remind you that our Emperor brought the first cars into Ethiopia, and he was always well-

disposed toward the exponents of technical progress, whom unfortunately our traditional nation always disliked" (12-13).

Cars were introduced to Ethiopians during the reign of Emperor Menilik II (1889-1913). This fact is intentionally distorted by using informants as a cover. Otherwise, let alone for a man who is so close to Menilik's palace, every Ethiopian could well tell that cars were introduced during Emperor Menilik's reign along with other technological innovations, including banking and electricity. There are many factual errors in the narrative, yet, it seems that those factual errors are intentional and made for a reason. They are done to draw readers' attention to multiple perspectives on the stories presented. Unfortunately, these deliberate errors have had a significant impact on destroying the Emperor's and Ethiopia's image in general.

The Emperor, as a hybrid narrative, contests the "objective" narration of Emperor HaileSelassie's story through multiple perspectives, and explores the themes of nationhood, corruption, and political struggle and the like. Hence, both as a journalist and a writer, Kapuscinski draws attention to the very act of writing as a construction. He grounds his stories in psychology, cultural practice, written and oral history and individual experience, inviting the reader to interpret the events which are presented as a factual account.

The threatening atmosphere fed on the Amharas' pathological suspicion. To them, no man could be trusted, not even another Amhara. No one's word can be trusted, no one can be relied upon, because people's intentions are wicked and perverse; people are conspirators. Because the Amharic philosophy is pessimistic and sad, their eyes are sad but at the same time watchful and searing, their faces solemn, their features tense, and they can rarely bring themselves to smile.( 23)

Besides his pessimist psychological reading of people, he associated every scene with his work, continually crossing and re-crossing the boundaries between real and fictional identifications. He narrates the story as if there is no truth or reality to be checked. His smooth and flawless narration and impressive language use seemed to help him achieve his goal of directing readers' attention to the desired interpretation of the information presented. By employing such narrative strategies, he attempts to inadvertently convey the message he wishes to convey to readers. The characters (people who he claims are real) are often placed between these lines of fiction and facts, too. For this reason, one of the reviewers of Kapuscinski's work attacked him, claiming that his narration was a lie, since the author interviewed people behind bars and drunken people, characters who cannot be trusted as reliable informants.

All of them have weapons; they are in love with them.

The wealthy had whole arsenals in their courts, and maintained private armies. In officers' apartments there were arsenals, too. Machine guns, pistols, boxes of grenades. A couple of years ago, you could buy guns in the stores like any other merchandise. It sufficed to pay for them; nobody asked any questions. The arms of the plebeians were inferior and often quite old: flintlocks, breechloaders, muskets, shotguns, a whole museum to carry on one's back. Most of these antiques are useless because nobody produces ammunition for them anymore. Thus, on the street market the bullet is often worth more than the gun. Bullets are the most valuable currency in that market, more in demand than dollars. After all, what is a dollar but paper? A bullet can save your life. Bullets make your weapons more significant, and that makes you more significant. (23-24)

As events bounce around in chronological order and points of view constantly shift, its fragmentation is still maintained, "... They've learned to draw their guns and shoot for any reason.

To kill "...

"But they think differently. Their thoughts run not toward life but toward death" (24). Like the fragmented and disjointed narrative structure of the narrative, the reader also experiences a fragmented narrative strategy and a constantly shifting point of view. Using free indirect discourse, the author tries to answer the questions running in his mind. He makes numerous secret intrusions, gaps, and transitional interferences; however, these interferences contribute significantly to the textuality of Kapuściński's texts.

To sum up both Hiwot's and Kapuściński's treatment of history, it is possible to say that they are both essentially postmodern writers. Their works represent, in many ways, the best of contemporary Ethiopian literature in English. Their writings obviously explore the concepts of power and the political and social movement of Ethiopia from a new historic perspective.

In their respective works, both Hiwot and Kapuściński have incorporated marginal figures and micro events excavated from the historical past into a non-historical genre. They wrote the histories of marginalized characters and events neglected and forgotten by the mainstream narratives. Both have subverted the monological linear narration of canonical historiographies through the use of a disjointed and fragmented narrative mode that is at once plural and polyphonic. The authors of both life narratives create fictional biography and memoir based on real historical figures. However, as historical figures, Kapuściński and Hiwot encounter the impossibility of objective history in their quest for the 'true' truth. It is this idea of the mixing of facts with fiction or reality with imagination that the new historicists' practice helps to

investigate and understand historical texts and historiographic life writings that have recorded the past.

#### **4.1.1.2 The Multi-face Truth: The Tension between Fact and Fictionality**

In *The Emperor*, the well-known journalist and writer, Kapuściński, reveals the eye of a political analyst with a highly personalized perspective. In the biography, his dual roles are so intertwined that the reader's consciousness recognizes the journalist behind the writer and vice versa. Kapuściński's main strategy in his non-fiction involves the transference of facts into fiction through the application of the interpretative imagination to various perspectives of history. Here is an excerpt:

Dear friend, of course I remember. Wasn't it just yesterday? Yesterday, but a century ago. In this city, but on a planet that is now far away. How all these things get confused: times, places, the world broken in pieces, not to be glued back together again. Only the memory-that's the only remnant of life. (12)

History can never be presented, remembered or textualised unchanged. As a matter of fact, as the new historicists say, history is a matter of interpretation of the past, either by the reader or by the writer. Here, what is evident in the quote is that the character blatantly claims he remembers every detail of the past. He may be missing or nostalgic at the time, but the text actually presents his lost history by retrieving it from his memory. Remembering every detail that happened a century ago is impossible. As history is recounted and described, giving the interviewee a free and unhindered chance to speak his mind, the character speaks of his own regret. Here, what is worth considering is that while he is remembering past history, the makeup of society and their culture has its own effect on the interview discourse of the time.

To the New Historicists, literature and culture are born of one another. As a result, the writer's primary focus tends to be political history and its impact on society and literature. But Kapuściński, unlike any other writer, holds a perspective from a reporter's vantage point. History and historians, as scholars such as White and Jenkins have argued, cannot be free of the unreliability of time. It can also be said that the discourse of the time cannot be free from the shackle of reality. But, despite the problematization offered by postmodern historicism, new historicism views literature as socially constructed fiction and sees the inevitability of authors as products of their specific cultural ideology.

Interpreting history as a textual reconstruction can lead to a blurry line that distinguishes fact from fiction. The past is always the historian's construction, and as such, it possesses no authoritative materiality. Then, without textualized versions of the past, we would be unable to access it. This argument, that we can only know the past in its textual traces, has initiated a wide array of theoretical discussions among the new historicists. To give an example, the death of Emperor Haile Selassie is still a puzzle in our Ethiopian history. As far as my reading and orally collected narratives are concerned, there is no one who, for sure, knows about the death of Emperor Hailesilasse. Yet there are many versions of history that narrate his death. Here are some examples.

On August 27, 1975, Emperor Haile Selassie died at the age of 83. Rumor was circulating that Mengstu Hailemariam himself had killed him. (Hiwot136)

The Ethiopian herald: Addis Ababa, August 28, 1975(ENA). Yesterday Haile Selassie I, the former Emperor of Ethiopia, died. The cause of death was circulatory failure. (Kapusinski 164)

በነሐሴ ወር ከዚህ ህበሬት የታወቀው የጤና ችግራቸው ያገርሽ ወይም ሌላ ዛሬ የማላስታውሰው እንደገና ስለመታመማቸው ተነግሮን እንደ ተለመደው ተገቢው የጤና እንክብካቤ እንዲደረግላቸው ከታዘዘ በኋላ ማረፋቸው ስለተነገረን በብዙሃን ማሰራጫ ሕዝቡ እንዲያውቀው ተደረገ። (Mengstu 27)

*In August, we were told that he had been diagnosed with a recurring health problem or something else that I do not remember today, after being ordered to receive proper medical care as usual he had died and we announced through the mass media.*

ከሥልጣን ከወረዱ ዓመት ሊሆናቸው ጥቂት ቀን ሲቀር ከዚህ ዓለም በሞት ተለዩ ለሕዝቡ ህክምና ላይ እንዳሉ ቢገለጽም በጦር መሀልና በኮሚቴው እንደ ታመነበት ግን በመንግሥቱ ትዕዛዝ እንደ ተገደሉ ተረጋግጧል። (Dawit 18)

*Despite the fact that the people were told he was in medical treatment, after a few days left to make a year, since he was ousted, he pronounced dead. According to committee and army sources, he was killed at Mengstu's command.*

...ከሃገር ከወጣሁ በኋላ እንደሰማሁት “ኮሎኔል አጥናፉ እና እሱ ሆነው ገብተው በመርዝ ገደሏቸው” ተባለ። የቤተመንግሥቱ ሠራተኛ ነው የተባለ ሰው ነው አሉ እንዲህ ያለው ። ሌላ ወሬ ደግሞ “በትራስ አፈሩቸው” የሚል ነው ። ዳዊት በፃፈው መጽሐፍ ደግሞ “አንድ ወታደር አዞ አስገደላቸው” ይላል። ወያኔ ደግሞ “ገድሎ ቀብሮአቸው፣ የሚቀመጥበት መቀመጫ ሥር ራሳቸው አፅም ላይ ነው የተቀመጠው” ብሎ አስወራ። (Genet 168)

*Later, after I left the country, I heard it said, "Colonel Athanfu and he came in and poisoned them." It was a man who works at the palace who said so. Another rumor is that he was "suffocate by a pillow." "A soldier killed himat the order of Mengstu," says Dawit in his book. And Weyane said "After he killed and buried the Emperor, it is over his bones that Mengstu seats."*

What is seen in the above quotes is a good illustration of Paul Hamilto’s saying that, "history becomes nothing but the stories people tell... (113). Blurring the line between fact and fiction, the dominant historical discourse is unidentifiable. In its historical context, employing a literary foreground, what emerges as a dominant point is the death of the Emperor. Every narrator or historian tries to describe the Emperor’s death from the point of his/her own version of history.

This point then shows that the textuality of history inevitably produces many viewpoints and voices in history that cannot be easily avoided.

Regarding the death of emperor Haile Selassie there are also multiple oral narratives. Some of the narratives I have collected include; "Mengistu tortured him at Arategna Kfletor. He (Mengstu) killed and buried him under his office, and some say after killing the emperor, Mengstu threw his body out in to a desert". There is also the testimony of an engineer in a video posted on YouTube, which shows the place where Mengstu was keeping the emperor's corpse, beneath his office at the grand palace, and it was later, after Meles came to power, that the Emperor's corpse was removed from where he was believed to be buried and given a proper burial at the Holy Trinity cathedral.

As historical narratives are concerned with multiple versions of historical discourses, we need to have the historical contexts and the processes of their production in order to understand history. They are especially interested in reflexive representations of history, which results in a self-critical and self-conscious outlook on their constructions of the past. In this case, I believe that Colonel Mengstu Haile Mariam knows what is true about the death of the King, except that he selectively tells us about it.

Similarly, in its formal linking of history and fiction, the *Tower in the Sky* narrates the story of a young girl, Hiwot Teffera. As both historical and literary texts are products of linguistic operations of language, they are obviously marked by their nature of textuality. The *Tower in the Sky* lays its basis of textuality on historical incidents and its fictional writing in a synchronic configuration. The death of Getachew Maru, a founding member of the EPRP and a lover of the writer, is still another mystery unsolved. Apart from the plurality of narratives around the

incident, there is no one who talks about it with any certainty. Textually written down, the constructed death narratives of Getachew Maru are many. Among them are:

“The squad leader picked up the pistol and followed him and shot him dead” (Hiwot, 268).

“They decided to kill him and they put his body in a sack and threw it away” (274). This version of the story was believed to be collected from an eye-witness.

I heard about his death when I was in prison. ...when I was there, I heard that squad member Surafuel Kaba and his colleague gave a statement during interrogation saying that Getachew was not shot dead. They beat him to death with a club. They put bleach on his face and encased his dismembered body in a sack (275).

Because the narrative is based on fragments of memory, reality becomes hazy. Unfaithfulness smears the line between right and wrong, and reality seems to be untrustworthy. As a consequence, history, according to Hiwot's opinion, is more or less fetched from memory, which in turn points to an endless narrative. The tales are passed down through the generations, and their many variants fade into the background.

The interactive use of literary techniques, historical texts, and intertexts (interviews and other documents) serves as a formal marking of the Tower in the Sky's historicity. Thus, it is clear that the question of historical narratives has created a similar uncertainty in the nature of narratives and other genres as well. Many similar incidents and historical accounts are textualised in the Tower in the Sky. For example, the death story of Birhanemesqel Redda is not different from that of Getachew's. It has many versions. Colonel Mengstu claimed that Birhanemesqel was killed by Wollo farmers "የገደሉት ገበሬዎች ናቸው::..."*"ማክህ? ምንድ ነህ?" ብለውት በደንብ ደርሰውበታል፤ አውቀውታል::አናገደሉት::*"*It was the farmers who killed him," he said. "They were well aware of him and knew who he was." "Who are you? What are you? They interrogated him and then murdered*

*him.*"(Genet 192), while others say that after interrogation and gruesome torture, he was executed. "...a newspaper circulated in the dorm, which announced the execution of Berhanemesqel Redda! (Hiwot366).

There is other evidence which supports Hiwot's claim about the death of Berhanemeqel. "They took Berhanemesqel every day, from morning till evening, for interrogation" (Hiwot 364). Finally, Brhane's widow, Tadelch Hailemicheal, claimed to have seen him in prison as they were transporting him elsewhere. Though it is not exactly known when and how they killed him, it is written in his biography that, after capturing him along with his comrades, they executed him. Such kinds of cases and historically ambiguous narratives are common in Ethiopian history. Whatever the reason might be for the use of such different historical sources and cultural discourses of the past, the narratives do not have a grand and generally accepted version. History has been produced in the past by re-constructing and rewriting these narratives, and as a result, the meaning of history differs and varies. These narratives highlight the structural connection within the new historicist theory, taking the position that every text is a fusion of textualised history.

Often, historiographers and life writers cross the line between fact and fiction. Following this, the historicity and textuality of history proved to be mixed with fact and fiction. Therefore, according to the new historicists' notion of literature, history is more to be considered as a production of art work rather than as a naive representation of facts. As such, the Tower in the Sky is a reflection of the typical new historic structure and narrative that shows both history and fiction to be necessary human constructs.

Taking into consideration that human beings find it difficult to be objective, history could not be guaranteed objective since it is narrated by human beings. Thus, the texts analyzed above are

examples of objective narration being done all the time. Since history was mostly recorded in the form of narration, historians could access it in the form of memory and textuality as well. The Emperor portrays the strange condition of Emperor Hailesilasse around the end of his reign, and some historical events were written into the text. The most obvious event was the change of social classes that changed the course of the country forever. The Tower in the Sky, likewise, depicts a sensational memoir of a young girl's political and romantic adventure. Here, what needs to be noted is that her representation of reality is colored by her attitude to situations and that her work is affected by subjectivity. Historical events and scenes were fictionalized. Graphic narration of the memoir coupled with horrible acts and killings were recounted, textually constructed and retold.

#### **4.1.1.3 Literature as an Anecdotal Presentation of History**

The influence of anecdotal presentation in both the texts analyzed here is most striking in its adaptation of the textual fragment that is revealed in the appearance of the first-person narrator. Under the representation of the works from which it is drawn and the particular culture in which the works were produced and shaped, the anecdote gives more meaning than a lengthy narration of an event. That culture, in turn, renders the fragment explicable, both as something that could have only been written at a moment characterized by a particular set of circumstances, structures, and assumptions and as something that conveys the life-world of that moment.

This anecdotal, fragmentary style has a wonderful effect, making the narration of incidents impressive. As the paragraphs and sections are fragmented, they evoke a nice mood for the reader. For instance, in every transition, Kapuściński uses his personal anecdotal presentation as a spring board to lead the reader back to the story. He brought in the informants after giving a

broad overview of the situation. This unusual construction of anecdotal history makes the narrative lively and interesting.

When I showed a colleague what I was writing about Haile Selassie, or rather about the court and its fall as described by the people who had frequented the chambers, offices, and corridors of the Palace, he asked me whether I had gone alone to visit the ones in hiding. Alone? That would hardly have been possible. A white man, a foreigner -none of them would have let you get a foot in the door without powerful recommendations. And in any case, none of them would want to confide in you (in general, it's hard to get the Ethiopians to open up; they can be as silent as the Chinese). How would you know where to look for them, where they are, who they were, what they could tell you? No, I was not alone. I had a guide. (Kapuscinski 17)

The above anecdotal story is scattered and fairly thin in its organization. Because the anecdote was intended to highlight something for the reader, it deserves careful consideration for interpretation. In addition to his own interpretation of people, Kapuscinski is linked to his own social circumstances. These circumstances are the main reasons that compelled him to write about his anecdotes and incidents. Kapuscinski, in his transitional anecdotes, tries to expand the story through his encounters. The expansion of the narration consists of a narrator-driven anecdote recounted at the beginning of a complex, circumstantial, novel-like story.

The historical background in which the story is found affects the story line. In fact, he is trying to expose society because he thinks that people are deeply suspicious and somehow xenophobic. Hence, by adding some anecdotes to build up a historical atmosphere in his literary text, Kapuscinski is deeply influenced by the Ethiopian people and, mainly, by the people and the

society around him. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the above anecdote is a reflection of current society. It is as if the fragmentary passages he has selected for his story reflect the whole system. The anecdotal method implemented by the writer seems to start from the belief that fragments represent a larger reality. A literary work's textuality reflects or imitates a lived experience. The result of this influence is the tendency to consider culture as a text and the text as the embodiment of culture. Intense analysis of fragmentary moments in culture can illuminate the thoughts of an age and open its emotional register.

In the *Tower in the Sky*, Hiwot showed how the Derg regime was a brutal and merciless, blood-thirsty government. And in order to show how the leader of the military government was devilish, she tried to put it into an anecdotal story. In the following quote, though the story appears to be a funny joke, it still fully shows the gruesome actions of the Derg regime. The story goes:

There was a woman who was worried about her dying daughter, went to see a sorcerer after medical treatments failed to cure her. The seer told her to hang a picture of the devil on the wall above her daughter's head. The women couldn't find a picture of the devil, so she bought the picture of Mengistu Hailemariam instead, believing him to be the devil incarnate. The girl died instantly. Angrily, the women returned to the magician saying he was a liar because her daughter died after she put Mengistu's picture over her head. But the diviner reprimanded her, saying if she had followed instructions everything would have been fine; by using Mengistu's picture instead of the devil's, she had given her daughter an over dose!(Hiwot 294)

A text is produced under specific historical and cultural circumstances, and in turn, it produces an effect on readers, being a reflection of society. Set during the end of the King's reign and the beginning of the brutal Mengistu's military government, *Tower in the Sky* shows major events in the 1970s, as a product of its time. During the Derg regime, the Ethiopian people were killed, executed, buried alive, lost forever, never to be found, jailed with no trial and sentenced with no jury. Thus, the above anecdotal presentation of history depicts all the devilish deeds of Mengistu's government.

The new historicists relate anecdotes to the presentation of a variety of stories and disruptions of history. Joel Fineman says a significant aspect of anecdote, which narrates a singular event, and its unique reference to the real. He argues that "the anecdote determines the destiny of a specifically historiographic integration of event and context" (56). Fineman, in the light of the narrative qualities of the anecdote, admits its literary quality. At the same time, the anecdote moves beyond the literary and it is this that gives it "referential access to the real" (56). The anecdote can be taken as a segment of the whole story and yet, as a self-sufficient story, it is told in its entirety. The anecdote, as a complete part of the larger historical structure, provides a smooth and continuous flow of the story. This kind of presentation of an anecdotal scene suggests something real outside of the historical narrative.

As an incident, the following excerpt is taken from *Tower in the Sky*. Instead of the story line, the anecdote presents another story of the reality of the time. It is a part of the larger story, but it is also complete on its own. In fact, the presentation of the anecdotal form both reveals and destabilizes history's line or narrative direction.

I knew I had to be convincing and above all, I had to say something that would probably soften the diehard's heard. I said sobbing violently, "I went to look for

my husband. My husband is a soldier and had gone to Eritrea to fulfill his *gedaj*. He left just before our son was born. He didn't even have the chance to see him. I haven't had news from him for over a year. I was told that he was sent to Mekele for some kind of training so I wanted to come and look for him. I went to the division he was said to have been staying at but... I was told that he has never been there. Now I know for sure he is dead ... how is it possible not to hear from him for over a year? My poor son! Who is going to look after him? My mother is an invalid." (99)

In a literary context, readers find these anecdotes striking and evocative. These kinds of anecdotal presentations give a nice break and color to the narrative strategy. The use of personal anecdotes, in particular, is an attempt to create more historicized events. The personal anecdote quoted above is used to point out the similar story she shares with society at large and to illuminate her struggle as a member of the EPRP, in particular. This combination of the 'literary' and the 'real' makes the story beautiful. The beauty is further reinforced by the anecdote. Fineman asserts that the anecdote produces the effect of the real, the occurrence of contingency, by establishing an event as an event within and yet without the framing context of historical continuity, i.e., it does so only in so far as its narration both comprises and refracts the narration it reports (61).

The notion of anecdote enables New Historicism to establish a point of contact with Clifford Geertz's use of the term 'thick descriptions'. Colebrook explains that Geertz employs the term in the New Historicist way of analyzing a particular social event which has meaning for the people involved and discovering the patterns of conventions, codes and modes of thinking that attribute those meanings to the cultural event: Rather than seeking the meaning of a text in the intention or

mental content of either the author or the work, we could focus on the effect of the text on a network of practices. We could see the text as an effective symbol: a social fact which makes action meaningful and is a part of a culture's way of performing its actions in an ordered and vivid way. Descriptions of texts would be 'thick' if they referred to the social and cultural forms in which the text operated (Colebrook 75).

During the Derg regime, Ethiopians were abused, humiliated, kidnapped, forced to do things unwillingly and they were killed everywhere. Hence, as part of the country's history, Hiwot incorporated these kinds of anecdotes as a component of the volume, which, in turn, shows the history of the country and the people. These anecdotes reveal, at a small level, the power forces at play in the historical period. Going off the story line and the flow of the story, anecdotes reveal the concealed truth of a particular age. As Gallagher and Greenblatt explain, "the anecdote could be conceived as a tool with which to rub literary texts against the grain of received notions about their determinants, revealing the fingerprints of the accidental, suppressed, defeated, uncanny, abject or exotic-in short, the lost survivors-even if only fleetingly" (52).

The two authors imply both an unreliable narrative and subjective matters that account for their narration by showing the narration with historical accounts of various anecdotes. They also allude to the unreliability of language in terms of clarity and authenticity as a reliable source.

#### **4.1.2 Textuality of History: The Reconstruction of History**

The analysis in this section focuses on the interrelated matrix of textuality and historicity. It focuses on the problematic representations of history in *The Emperor and the Tower in the Sky*. Since man's life is short, it is impossible to experience a past that is far longer and older than his own age. The history we read and encounter is a constructed summary of history, not a recounting of particular historical events or figures.

When writing and collecting history, historiographers must pick, conflate, and emphasize certain historical materials while removing others, thereby building their own version of history, under the influence of various factors such as hobbies, personal histories, life experiences, and politics. As a consequence, even though it is very likely that the same past incidents and statistics will resurface, it is also very possible for the same historical events and figures to take on entirely different, even conflicting, forms. Therefore, history often bears the imprint of the historian.

In this study, both the subject narratives explicate the linking of history and fiction in a new historical sense. Arguing that the new historicists subvert and challenge the traditional understanding of history as a grand narrative, in this section an attempt is made to analyze *The Emperor and the Tower in the Sky* from the perspective of the textuality of history. The two narratives are both good examples of the process of textuality in history. They offer a new historicist version of the past, which raises the readers' curiosity about what really happened back then.

Sharing Foucault's concept that a historical occurrence never has a singular cause, the new historicists partake in the idea as a foundational thought. Rather, each event is tied to a vast web of economic, social, and political factors and dynamics. New historicism supports the idea of a de-centered perspective from which there is no privileged vantage point. Within the narrative, the vantage point of the narrator switches from each of the characters to an omniscient narrator and back again.

Consequently, as the new historicists claim, language plays an important role in the construction of knowledge. Hayden White gives a central place to the role of language in producing both fictional and historical narratives. In his seminal article, *Historical Pluralism*, White argues that readers of history and novels can hardly fail to be struck by the similarities. There are many

histories that could pass for novels, and many novels that could pass for histories, considered in purely formal (or I should say formalist) terms. Viewed simply as verbal artifacts, histories and novels are indistinguishable from one another (121).

#### **4.1.2.1 Reconstruction of Ethiopian History**

The core tenet of new historicism's "textuality of history" is that history is made up of obtained texts that are then gathered and interpreted by historians. Historians bring a number of internal and external operations, such as cultural, social, psychological, and ideological bearings, to bear on the text they read when reading it. This is further complicated by the fact that the text was originally written by someone with his or her own set of knowledge which is culturally determined or, at the very least, affected.

In *The Emperor*, while writing the personal history of Emperor Haile Silasse, the writer, Kapuściński, as a journalist and writer, does not sequence the events chronologically. In fact, he had various interviews with the courtiers, and while it may have been difficult to organize them all in the way that someone desired, the fragmentation added another layer of beauty and a narrative strategy to the story. This has resulted in making fragmentation a motif that juxtaposes and merges legend, fact, fiction and voice in this biography. Consequently, Kapuściński employs a bricolage (in art or literature, construction or creation from a diverse range of available things) narrative strategy that is typical of the textuality of postmodern texts.

Being a postmodern writer, Kapuscinski fragments the narration and employs a polyphonic approach. Furthermore, he uses all kinds of unconventional and micro narratives or thick descriptions in the same text that are considered irrelevant by macro narratives. In order to textualise the history of *The Emperor* artistically, Kapuscinski incorporates poetry, prose, songs,

snippets, interior monologues and fictitious interviews and newspaper clippings. The following poem can be taken as one good example of this fact:

Negus, our Negus,  
Only you can save us  
Our lines in the south  
Have been caught in a rout  
And to the north of Makale  
All our tactics are folly.  
Negus, our Negus,  
Give me shot, give me powder.

(Prewar Warsaw song)

As can be seen in the above quote, Kapuscinski uses an inventive and reconstructive way of writing history in his biography. By bringing the similar history of the Polish revolution, he consciously sways the song into the Ethiopian context. What we can see historically is that the last Ethiopian king and the communist ruler of Poland at the time, Edward Gierek, had some similarities. This book is said to be an allegory about the Polish government, specifically about Edward Gierek. "The Emperor" was "the best diagnosis of the situation in Poland in 1978—that is, the last years of Edward Gierek's fabulously corrupt and incompetent regime," according to Lawrence Weschler in a *New Yorker* review. In Montrose's view, history is a textual reconstruction of the past, and as such, it can possess no authoritative materiality.

Thus, Kapuscinski's distortion of the song has to do with fabricated history with the involvement of plenty of well-known historical figures. This is why it is said that Kapuscinski is careless about writing reliable biographical information, but a piece of work that plays with the fine line

between literature and history. As the history of the Emperor is among the well documented modern Ethiopian history, the history presented by the writer is a continuation or part of the large narrative of the country. But, the textuality of the history presented by the writer is a bit different. The presentation of another version of history is made by modifications and fabrications of commonly accepted historical facts. In the following quote, Kapuscinski claims: "And here I would like to make one thing clear: His Venerable Majesty was no reader. For him, neither the written nor the printed word existed; everything had to be relayed by word of mouth" (p.7). Though Emperor Haileselassie didn't attend a proper school, he used to read and write, including in English and French. The following quote is an assertion of the Emperor's educational background.

ያን ጊዜም የፈረንሳይ ቋንቋ መማር ጀመርኩ። የሚያስተምሩንም በቅርብ ራስ መኩንን ከፈረንሳይ አስመጥተውት የነበረው ሐኪም ዶክተር ቪታሊያ የሚባልና አባ ሳሙኤል የሚባል ኢትዮጵያዊ፣ የነአባ እንድርያስ የካቶሊክ ሚስዮን ሰው ነበሩ። እነሱም ከቀኑ ሁለት ሰዓት አንደኛው ጧት አንደኛው ወደማታ፣ ከሐረር ወደ ጥምቀት ባህር እየተመለሱ ነበር የሚያስተምሩን። በተረፈው ሰዓት ግን ያገራችንን የሚያስተምሩን መምህር ገብረ ሥላሴ ይባላሉ። (ልዑል ራስ እምሩ ኃይለ ሥላሴ 3)

*About that time, we started learning French. The instructors were Dr. Vitalia, a French doctor, and Abba Samuel, a Catholic missionary from aaba Andrew. They taught us for two hours, one in the morning and one in the evening, coming and going back from Harar to the Sea of Baptism. The rest of the time, however, it was teacher Gebre Selassie, who taught us about our country.*

Similarly, the combination of non-fictional characters in the narrative, such as Solomon Kedir, Makonen Habte-Wald, and Premier Aklilu, and fictional characters in the narrative creates another version of history in the biography, where real historical figures participate in the task of reconstructing history. History must be reconstructed, and, as previously stated; historians lack an objective and authentic stance. The following quote is from an interview with one of the

interviewees (characters) whom Kapuściński preferred to refer to by an abbreviated form or name.

L.C:

Let me add, however, that the Emperor never showed the slightest sign of irritation, nervousness, anger, rage, or frustration. It seemed that he never knew such states, that his nerves were cold and dead like steel, or that he had no nerves at all. It was an inborn characteristic that His Highness knew how to develop and perfect, following the principle that in politics nervousness signifies a weakness that encourages opponents and emboldens subordinates to make secret jokes. (6)

While exploring the characteristics of the King, Kapuscinski examines the artistic craft that shapes them. He skillfully uses the prose narrative poetically to portray the Emperor, HaileSelassie's situation and bring out the emotional turbulence and turmoil within him. Furthermore, there is a mix of voices between the writer and the interviewee, which makes it hard to identify each separately. This indistinct line is where the confusion and fusion of fact and fiction comes from. It is also where the textuality of history becomes a real problem and a challenge to a historian, as it is hard to put history objectively. Thus, the description of the Emperor during his hard times as presented in the quote above can be taken both as history and as a fictional text.

When we come to the Tower in the Sky, it is noteworthy to note the identification of the author with the intended narrator of the story. Hiwot's history is complete in the sense that the author's own memoir has been dissolved in the past. It is also evident that a true account of history is not possible and the textuality, in this case, is the author's personal identification with the narrator and with those who influenced history. Hiwot's narrative depicts her as a character torn between

the longings of her past history and her memory. The history/story of Hiwot's life is expressed and textualised in the memoir in prose and artistic form.

Hiwot's memoir has been transformed into a narrative of a search for a lost past in order to associate the lost dream with appearing real. This is achieved through the reconstruction of old memories, associating fact and fiction to create a story of self-discovery. The story presented in the narrative is a result of stories told from another perspective, too. Besides, these stories are marked by their fragmentary and incomplete nature, as they rely on pieces of stories and scraps of memories.

A similar reconstruction of the past story of Ethiopia is found in the *Tower in the Sky* that of *The Emperor*. Hiwot uses a variety of intertextual structures in the *Tower in the Sky*, and she does so in a variety of ways. Hiwot uses several images, interviews, and short quotes in the text to give it a sense of artistic authenticity. She, for example, used a poem in the very first section of the book from which she derived the title of the book.

The noontide is upon us and our half waking has turned to fuller day, and we must part.

If in the twilight of memory we should meet once more, we shall speak again together and you shall sing to me a deeper song.

And if our hands should meet in another dream we shall build another tower in the sky. (Hiwot)

History, according to traditional historians, is an objective study of past events that reveals the spirit of the time. In the *Tower in the Sky*, besides showing the social fabric of the system and of society at large, Hiwot creates a speculative account of her life. The author combines historical figures and fictional characters to create a different history of the time period just like

Kapuscinski, she, too, creates an inseparable fusion between fact and fiction, and history and literature.

New historicists, on the other hand, agree with Foucault's idea that a historical event never has a single motive. Rather, each incident is interconnected with a complex network of economic, social, and political influences and dynamics. The history of "that generation" of Ethiopia has left many uncertain conclusions that could have shaped the event. In this regard, the writer tries to subvert the reliability of the historical accounts and offers several other versions of the same historical events. Especially in the secret moves and killings made by her party, EPRP, with fictional recreation/modification/fabrication, the writer attempts to foil the historical claims pertaining to objective narration. She retells the story of Ethiopia during the Derg regime.

Moreover, Hiwot deepens the narration in *Tower in the Sky* by introducing many innovative narrative tools that adds to the textuality of the text. These include unusually constructed short sentences that come in the form of verse. "He broke our hearts with his premature death." (2). "It was tuberculosis that I had." (2). "I chose to brave it out." (3). "None of my friends knew I did that." (3). "I endured it all silently." (4). "I thought my life had changed forever." (4).

All these short sentences in the text are almost similar in length and structure. Considering her writing style, Hiwot used slightly long sentences and difficult words in some places. But when we look at those short sentences, they appear to be a summary of a paragraph and she used them to mark the gist of a description or a scene. This could be attributed to the fast moving and short-lived political movement and the emotional unity of its participants at the time. Every page and leaf is full of those kinds of short and summary sentences. Meanwhile, those short sentences give the memoir its own beauty and literary flavor and coherence.

In *The Emperor*, the textual fragments become increasingly interwoven and the imagery increasingly ambiguous as the narrative moves towards the inevitable collapse of the throne and the death of the Emperor, Haile Selassie. The literary effect of this ambiguity can be taken as the presentation of reality in the form of fiction or one's reality. In contrast, *The Tower in the Sky* shows a chronological narrative strategy, though it is presented in fragmented but coherent scenes and sections.

Kapuszcinski presents the Emperor's history through mixed writing. He used a variety of sources, including the emperor's courtiers and his own imaginative abilities, to create a polyphonic and diverse narrative voice. As he further uncovers the facts about the historical events, he uses a literary form of writing. While writing the Emperor's biography, Kapuscinski drew on his memory and used his brief stay in Addis Abeba as sources. In some parts, Kapuscinski has taken advantage of the unreliable version of Ethiopian history because it allows him to fantasize about the facts as a private writer as well as stretch the boundaries of fact and invade the domain of fantasy. In *The Emperor*, the sources of the story are many and, somehow, not trustworthy.

T. K.-B.:

Dear friend, of course I remember. Wasn't it just yesterday? Yesterday, but a century ago. In this city, but on a planet that is now far away. How all these things get confused: times, places, the world broken in pieces, not to be glued back together again. Only the memory-that's the only remnant of life. (12)

"Regarded within the author's native Poland as a metaphor for the ingrown corruption of dictatorship, this prose poem about the fall of Ethiopia's emperor penetrates deeply into the workings of autocratic power and its effects on the attendant courtiers" (Jennifer Seymour Whitaker). Here, time blurs reality, as the reports rely on fragments of memory. Infidelity blurs

the line between right and wrong, and the truth appears to be untrustworthy. Thus, in Kapuscinski's view, history may resemble personal relationships, turning into mere gossip that lasts forever. The stories are told over the years and their many versions grow in the shade of each other. People's affairs and the country's history are constructed based on gossip and hearsay and travel experiences.

The Tower in the sky, on the other hand, is told almost entirely through the eyes of a first-person, singular narrator. The pronoun "I" in the memoir stands for the narrator, who uses the name and surname of the writer – Hiwot Teffera - to achieve the goal of rebuilding the memories of past struggle and journey. The characters in the memoir are members of her family, friends and comrades. Even if the writer's aim is to write about her life, experiences and memories, it is necessary to consider that the account is truthful or real, or to believe the narrator and the author are the same person.

The Tower in the Sky, thus, is an evocative account of a journey back to the beginning of Hiwot's political struggle and a confession of its aftermath. The book dazzles with its range of imagination, the richness of the language and the consistently interesting changes of mood and tempo. The employment of a literary style makes stories transcend time and space.

EPRP reached its zenith of popularity in 1976. Its fame crossed land and water.

Everybody whispered its name. It appeared might and invincible. It soared into the sky. The clouds and the moon seemed to fall under its dominion.

But, like Icarus, who flew too close to the sun and got the wings of his chariot burned, it came too close to the "sun" for its own good, too. (170)

Hence, the style and the structure of the memoir incorporate a series of interrelated stories to form concentric circles, all of which converge on Hiwot's act of telling the story of her party.

She offers several stories that weave into one another, and suggests the numerous ways in which a multitude of stories can be shared.

Similarly, Kapuscinski employs a style of narration that is non-linear and highly cinematic in nature. Not only space, but also time is rendered textually in the biography. Because of the way he presents those incidents and narratives, his writing blurs the border between fact and fiction, history and literature. Perhaps this is his version of the collapse of the autocrats:

A. A.:

Nobody, but nobody, my friend, had any foreboding that the end was drawing near. Or rather, one did sense something, something haunting, but so vague, so indistinct, that it was not like a presentiment of the extraordinary. For a long time there had been a valet de chambre who floated around the Palace, turning off lights here and there. But one's eyes got used to the dimness, and there followed a comfortable inner resignation to the fact that everything had to be turned off, extinguished, obscured. (108)

In the above quote, leaving the genre-wise category of fiction and fact behind, Kapuscinski performs a critical intervention that draws attention to the historical function of Ethiopian literature as a cultural product. In one example, not only is space rendered textually, but so is time. The past events we learn about the Emperor and his palace people are only because of the material presentation, in the form of texts, rerecords and other forms of inscriptions. Writing in an unconventional form, employing a fictional narrative technique to blur the distinction between fact and fiction, is a distinct feature of the new historic writers. Kapuscinski, too, consistently and meticulously incorporates truth and fictional structure into his writing, without favoring one over the other.

The indications concerning the rejection of a purely historical re-inscription of the king's past can be found in *The Emperor* in a number of ways. As John Berger said, "Never again will a single story be told as though it were the only one" (Epigraph). In this biography, the story of the last King of Ethiopia, Emperor Haileselassie, is not a good one either. Having different versions and story lines, the narration goes in different ways. Above all, the author defies the notion of a linear, straight, traditional narration. Accordingly, narrating an account of events by pointing to their simultaneity and reducing the narrative to a storyline is not common in *The Emperor*.

While reconstructing history, Kapuscinski heavily leans on the information given by court men, records, personal observation and notes, films and newspaper clippings. Then there are archives, libraries, bookstores, and news outlets, all of which play a significant role in Kapuscinski's story, since he collects literary and historical texts from the past. However, the majority of these documents upon which he heavily relies are not presented to the reader directly. Instead, these materials are either referred to or described within the text by one of the characters or the narrator himself. Kapuściński's intention seems not to display these materials as documentary evidence, but to foreground the circumstances of their production and explore the parameters within which each form of cultural production operates aesthetically and ideologically. The reader is then lured into the role of a searcher, a role which demands the ongoing pursuit and exploration of boundaries which delimit the biography's textual and geographic worlds, all of which exist in a state of perpetual unrest.

In *The Emperor's* narrative or story line development, the flow is not linear or chronological. As an input into his progression, Kapuscinski used two techniques that breached the flow of the story. First, the fact that it is a fragment of a wide range of varied and diverse stories and voices

continually unseats the reader's expectations as to which direction the narration will take. The second technique through which the narrative obstructs the linear progression is by the employment of different schemes of temporality, as evidenced in the text. The narration, for example, brings the reader back to every incident or events back then without linking it with the rest of the stories or scenes. The Emperor, thus, invites its readers and its characters, each in different ways, to play the role of a searcher, to trace out and negotiate and often to explode the boundaries of fact and fiction within which they exist and work.

Besides the abbreviated names and not as much description of the narrators and the characters, the recurrence of the narrator as a transitional narrator also highlights the absence of a coherent narrative structure. Each character's role can be seen as a manifestation of various personalities and subject positions rather than disguises which serve to conceal an essential and predetermined character. However, taking the narrative as a biography and a real story, the concealment of the characters' real personalities triggers suspicion and makes us question the reliability of the characters.

The Emperor had created around himself a myth, the force and vitality of which it was impossible to ascertain. He was well-liked in the world, full of personal charm, universally respected. What's more, he was the head of the Church, the Chosen One of God, the ruler of men's souls. Raise one's hand against him? It always ended in anathema and the gallows. (141)

To stay in power longer, Ethiopian kings associated themselves with the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Church, which was established based on the teachings of Jesus Christ. The Emperor HaileSilasse used to claim that he was a God-chosen ruler of the people. Though this narrative was one of the hegemonies used by kings to control the people, it didn't serve the last king in his

last days, as it lost its power in the face of the revolution. It was proven that he was a human being just like every Ethiopian and there was no divine interference in his reign. This mythic narrative was used to create its own version of history and its objectivity became unstable after the Derg dethroned the last emperor of Ethiopia. As we can see from the above quote, the objectivity of history is unstable. This instability undermines the notion of history as a monodimensional single version, instead allowing for different readings of history as well as different versions of history.

On another note, Kapuscinski's *The Emperor* is also literary nonfiction that succeeded in representing life and history by underlying its fullness, complicatedness, inexplicability, fragmentation, and intertextual richness which represented by traditional or linear narrative of historical facts.

L. C.:

The Emperor slept in a roomy bed made of light walnut. He was so slight and frail that you couldn't see him—he was lost among the sheets. In old age, he became even smaller. He weighed fifty kilograms. He ate less and less, and he never drank alcohol. His knees stiffened up, and when he was alone he dragged his feet, swaying from side to side as if on stilts. But when he knew that someone was watching him, he forced a certain elasticity into his muscles, with great effort, so that he moved with dignity and his imperial silhouette remained ramrod-straight. Each step was a struggle between shuffling and dignity, between leaning and the vertical line. His Majesty never forgot about this infirmity of his old age, which he did not want to reveal lest it weaken the prestige and solemnity of the King of Kings. But we servants of the royal bedchamber, who saw his unguarded moments, knew how much the effort cost him. (6)

In addition to his rich language and historical documentation, Kapuscinski himself was shaped and fashioned by his culture and by historical incidents. A new historical reading of the text underlines that historical events have played a lot in shaping and reshaping each other. The historical events that the narratives are grounded on are the foundations of history and the narratives. But in the above quote, the writer has mixed the writing of history with an imaginative story. As Kapuscinski was depicting the emperor's actions through the eye of an informant, he probed into the mind of the King and narrated the story from an omniscient narrator's point of view.

Similarly, besides what she remembered and witnessed, Hiwot also interviewed some comrades for the sake of collecting some information. For example, it was later that she learned how Getachew and many of her comrades were brutally killed. "I asked Nebiyu about Getachew's alleged attempt to escape. He said, 'Somebody told me that Getachew had tried to escape when he was at the Casanchis house hitting the squad with Karate. "However, there is no proof of that."(274-275).

Using various literary techniques and discourses, Kapuscinski and Hiwot recreate history in a slightly different form. Through breaching traditional approaches and techniques of authorial control and the meta-narratives of fiction, both writers succeed in subverting the old perception and tradition of history. The intentional use of textual variants such as imagery, interviews, fragmented stories, anecdotes, different narrator shifts, fictional style and language produce different textualities in the works. To this end, Hiwot's and Kapuscinski's postmodern narrative strategies keep their texts open and readable forever. Their narratives necessarily subject the reader to the textuality of history. Moreover, the texts themselves are historically and theoretically self-reflexive and are inherently engaged in literary analysis since they read, affect,

or reflect on history and political power. Both authors emphasize the central aspect of new historicist thought, namely the pervasiveness of power. Therefore, the consideration of interdisciplinary activity in their texts brings out their attempts to textualize history and historicize literature.

In both texts, fiction triumphs over fact. Fiction is present in all potential readings of both narratives. The fictional characteristics of the texts can be discussed in a variety of contexts, including when analyzing the book's genre or the version of Ethiopian history represented by various texts and authors. When it comes to memoir writing, concerns about memory are unavoidable. The text is a product of the writer's mind, and it is a product of the writer's perceptions of the truth at the moment. Truth is textualized and put into text in life narratives. As a consequence, each text has a critical point that has an explicit relationship with the truth. As a practice, life writing can be seen as a commemoration of truth – of a writer's reality and, more importantly, of the reality of an age. This is the point at which new historicism asserts that the literary text itself is treated as a source of fact, not just the representation of reality, i.e. historical sources.

## **4.2 Intertextuality and Co- (n) Texts**

Intertextuality is another new historic feature employed by postmodern writers. As most scholars say, intertextuality sees the writing and reading of a text as an interrelated act of production. In this aspect of intertextuality, readers are empowered to build their own understanding of a text. Hiwot's and Kapuściński's works are interesting narratives for the exploration of intertextuality. The texts involve tracing the genealogy of texts, literary as well as historical, in their search for national history or political movements. The two books are not only historical documents and works of art, but also maps of reading. The texts appeared to be signposts for the reading of

historical and literary writings in order to learn where they came from and where they were going.

A glance into the patterns of intertextuality in *The Emperor* offers some indication of the directions towards which Kapuscinski's experimentation leads. The biography draws on and reworks a number of sources and traditions. These include the revolution song from Warsaw, which comes at the very introduction of the book, an ancient Ethiopian legend or myth of Queen Sheba, and the twenty-first century socialist ideology, as well as other Ethiopian oral and written narratives. Through this intertextuality, Kapuscinski draws attention to his alternative histories.

To see how literary texts function, new historicists suggest that reading them in their own context is also of importance. The new historicists claim that all human knowledge and practice are constructs and inventions. This leads to considering the practice of interpreting texts as products and producers in the construction of ideology. In order to interpret a literary text, what is required for the new historicist critic is to return to the term history and to read other literary texts, historical, political and every contextual production and documents. Reading literary texts intertextually is a way of reading the past and of reading the power relations of past societies and cultures (Brannigan 80). Thus, a text's other possible meanings can be reached rather than the meaning of the text, which is supposed to be placed in the text by its author.

Often, most writers accept the fact that their texts are interdependent with other texts. Though both Hiwot and Kapuscinski do not openly admit, in their respective narratives, the intertextual nature of their works, it is true that books are made of books. Texts and narratives depend on other narratives and books that have been written before. Through such relations, a text evokes a representation of the discourse situation, the textual resources that bear on the situation, and how the current text positions itself and draws on other texts.

As the intertext relationship refers to the relationship of mutual penetration among texts, no text stands alone but is interlinked with the tradition that came before it and the context in which it is produced. Any context is indispensable to any text and intertextuality indicates at least two contexts corresponding to each text. Here, in my analysis, I will apply the classification set up by Xinbin.

#### **4.2.1 Employing Reference as a Way of Intertextuality**

Intertextuality infiltrates everything we say or write. Our utterances or texts respond to previous utterances or texts, and they reflect, re-contextualize, or even re-accentuate them via implicit or explicit references [9]. Norrick (1989:117, quoted in Xinyue p, 28, 2018) assumes that intertextuality occurs at any time. One text suggests or requires reference to some other identifiable texts or stretches of discourse, spoken or written. Reference, as a basic form of specific intertextuality, is used to specify the source text and construct the intertextual relations between the source or previous text and the target or present text. An intertextual approach permits conversation where a text can be read in reference to other texts. The Tower in the Sky and The Emperor share ideas with other authors and the texts can be said to have been influenced by their antecedents. Here is an extract from the very introductory verse of Tower in the Sky:

Farewell to you and the youth I have  
spent with you.

It was but yesterday we met in a dream.

You have sung to me in my aloneness,

and I of you longings have built a tower

in the sky.

But now our sleep has fled and our dream  
is over, and it is no longer dawn.  
The noontide I upon us and our half  
waking has turned to fuller day, and we must part.  
If in the twilight of memory we should  
meet once more, we shall speak again  
together and you shall sing to me a deeper song.  
And if our hands should meet in other  
dream we shall build another tower in the sky.

The above verse was taken from Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet*. Published in 1923, Khalil Gibran's *The Prophet* has been one of the world's most widely read and translated literary pieces. The verse is entitled *Farewell* and it was originally quite an extended verse, but Hiwot only took some parts of it. The main theme of the poem revolves around humanity and life. With the ship's departure drawing near, the prophet shares some last thoughts with the people of Orphalese. He makes sure that, one day, if they want him, he will be there for them. He recalls his time among them with nostalgia, as if he were already far away. He speaks with love of the universal spirit he perceives in each of them. And he exhorts them to judge themselves by their spiritual triumphs rather than their failures.

Kahlil reveals in his writing that in life he had many ups and downs and, because of those challenges, he was tried and wounded by his own arrows and torn by belief and doubt. This paradox characterizes the nature of the search for truth: there can be no belief without doubt, for

doubt asks questions that sharpen belief. The many truths about life and living revealed in Almustafa's search are his gift to the people of Orphalese. One day, they will understand it.

Thematically speaking, Hiwot is trying to assert the traumatic past she and her comrades fought for. During that time, the setting of the book, her generation and comrades along with her had dreamt a nice dream of their country. Unfortunately, that dream turned into a nightmare. Ethiopia's utopia has vanished and will be lost forever. As a result of their failure, many young lives were tragically lost. Ethiopia had been boiled, and history had been written in blood and sacrifice, while Hiwot's party, the EPRP, had finally surrendered. They eventually ended up in chaos, killings, disarray, and exile. It is this cause that Hiwot tries to depict in her memoir. The title of the book, "Tower in the Sky", which is taken from Kahlil Gibran's poem, "Farewell", stands symbolically to point towards this truth.

Intertexts in postmodern texts are not spontaneously used as sources, but rather distorted and abused for parody; they are manifestly assimilated and often ironically transformed to suit the author's aim to rewrite previous texts. Hiwot tries to show her love, passion, grief, hope, struggle, suffering, agony, and loss in her political life using the above quoted verse. Ultimately, this verse is a lamentation of the loss, regret and dismay of life. Hiwot's political struggle along with her friends was quite a loss and it did not pay off as expected. All the sacrifice and struggle was nothing but a dream that never came true.

In terms of context, however, if readers do not know what happened during the era, the historical experience and themes of the narrative will be lost on them. The reader interprets the theme primarily through verse and prose forms, as implied by the texts. Both the writers share similar emotional disturbances, but have different historical incidents and contexts. The background of the writer's story in the case of the Tower in the Sky actually refers to historical incidents and

political turmoil in Ethiopia during the military rule. Hiwot chose the poem as the basis for her memoir. The verse, in return, suggests the main theme of the narrative. To achieve the intended effect, the writers and the reader have to share the same historical background. Otherwise, the anticipated effect may not be accurate and the intertextual background might be missed. Thus, intertextuality helps us to read texts in their historical and contextual background so that the theme of the narrative can be attained and a text can be interpreted and appreciated.

#### **4.2.2 Quotation as a means of Intertextuality**

Quotation is another form of intertextuality, which has to do with quoting others' words or sentences from previous texts. The quoted words or sentences are either exactly the same as the source text or a variation of them. All the quoted texts help subordinate the theme of the narrative as a whole. Despite their apparent indifference to forms and techniques, all of the quotes are essential in the process of reading the text because they provide us with a clue or background that can help us interpret and understand it. Some quotes are also presented as a direct foreshadowing technique.

Kapuscinski provides an excellent intertextual connection between *The Emperor* and other texts. The following quote from the biography demonstrates the intertextual logic that I believe connects it to its antecedents.

Observing the behavior of individual fowl in a henhouse, we note that birds lower in rank are pecked by, and give way to, birds of higher rank. In an ideal case, there exists a linear order of rank with a top hen who pecks all the others. Those in the middle ranks peck those below them but respect all the hens above them. At the bottom there is a drudge who has to take it from everyone.

( Adolf Remane, *Vertebrates and Their Ways*)

Adolf Remane (1898–1976) was one of the most versatile German zoologists of the twentieth century. The quoted paragraph from *The Emperor* is given by the writer to tighten the theme or the thesis of his narrative. The quoted text (Adolf Remane, *Vertebrates and Their Ways*) is about animals' ways of living. The intertextual quote, both symbolic and precise, is a perfectly matched explanation of Ethiopia's feudal system at the time. The mood of the discourse in different contexts aroused by intertextual relations is fitting and subordinating to each other. This, in turn, emphasizes the narrative's central theme in general and the subsections or chapters in particular.

When we look at it broadly, rather than assuming that Kapuściński's writing is influenced by other texts, he introduces us to encountering other texts in new ways. In other words, to emphasize the focus of his text, he recognizes the first advantage of intertextuality. Reading the quote at the very beginning helps us to use it as a theme or a technique of foreshadowing. When we read further into the text, we can see how the life of the hens symbolically represents the feudal class, beginning with the King, courtiers, officials, and ending with ordinary citizens. Thus, the quoted intertext has a big role in developing the narrative as a literary piece.

Since Kapuscinski and Hiwot are authors who intelligently create complicated intertextual networks within their biographies and memoirs, it made sense for me to focus on author-influenced intertextuality. The interrelationships are easily recognizable when using style to focus on the author's 'authorial' aim and presence. As can be seen easily in her memoir, Hiwot was a voracious reader before she wrote her book. Therefore, her work as a literary text is inevitably influenced by and made up of references, quotations and influences of every kind. This reiteration of past or contemporary texts can range from the most conscious or sophisticated

elaboration of other writers' work to the scholarly use of sources or the quotation of snippets of conversation, songs, and poems typical of a particular social milieu.

Employing energetic language and style, the *Tower in the Sky* is influenced by many books. This is to say that the memoir is influenced by other writers. Each chapter in the book opens up with relevant intertextual maxims. Quoting related maxims gave the book additional flavor to the way in which the struggle is depicted. For instance: "Mystery and innocence are not akin". -Hosea Ballo (Hiwot 1). This extract is taken from the first page of the book. The quote warps up the entire message Hiwot described in detail in the specific sub chapter as she gives her background story, her family's history, and all the pre-political involvements. Any reader can come to the conclusion that she was a young, immature and innocent girl and in the ascending chapter and while she fashions herself, a new mystery opens up.

A text is available only through a long process of reading. What is produced at the moment of reading is due to the cross-fertilization of the packaged textual material (say, a book) by all the texts which the reader brings to it. Thus, both authors' works are full of intertextual quotes, references, allusions and, mainly, their style says much more than the narrative. In the *Tower in the Sky*, Hiwot starts every chapter/sub chapter with a quote from different scholars. Kapuscinski was quoted a number of times. For example, the introductory part has more than five quotes without any explanation except for a citation. In both narratives, all the intertextual references help us to pin the theme or the quotes appear as the main theme of their respective sections, especially in the *Tower in the Sky*. In *The Emperor*, the intervals appear as foreshadowing techniques and a reference to the theme too.

Every chapter in both books begins similarly, with short excerpts from some other text. These short excerpts/quotes often come as the theme of the following narrative. Yet rarely, especially in

The Emperor, the quotes come as a foreshadowing technique. Thus, through intertextual reading and sometimes through the juxtaposition of other passages, the narrative gains its meaning. The quotes and intertextual structures reveal an intense historical sense and a consciousness of complex inter-textual relations. Similarly, given the volume of the book and the nature of its themes, the quotes in *Tower in the Sky* are numerous, and each section begins with one.

To conclude, as New Historicists focus on social texts and history to interpret a narrative, social context and co-texts are important backgrounds in intertextual study. A text is seen as a space through which other texts pass through, and the text's meaning derives from this process of text passing through text. It is important to note that this intertextuality is a product of both authorial intent and chance, for the author brings other texts into the text automatically, subconsciously, and in both cases, they do it deliberately.

### **4.3. Self-fashioning in the Composition**

The theory in which the notion of self-fashioning was created is commonly known as new historicism. This critical school of history is based on the idea that the shaping of one's self is always influenced by cultural standards, traditions, and institutions. According to the proponents of new historicism, traditional interpretations of history make a mistake by treating literature separately from the contexts provided by everyday life. According to the new historicists, the main focus of new historicism is to show that every literary text is connected to the creation of other texts and discursive practices.

Life writing, whether memoir, biography, or autobiography, belongs to both history and literature. Thus, the texts bear the characteristics of both history and literature. The self is considered to be the same person as the author, a character, in works of life narratives, especially when the narrator is the writer. Because life is a work of art, many life writers have constructed it

in ways that call one's reality into question. In discussing the relationship between autobiography and literary history, Philippe Lejeune claims that literary genres are not beings in and of themselves, but rather a sort of implicit code in each era; they are linked to other institutions such as the educational system of the time, the publishing industry, and so on. With these statements, he aligns himself with the new historicism's viewpoints.

### **4.3.1 Hiwot's Self-fashioning and the Quest for Self**

Since the *Tower in the Sky* contains memories and is heavily reliant on past events and history, I intend to demonstrate that the volume can be read as a historical narrative and a memoir at the same time. Because the memoir's arrangement presents a skillfully constructed narrative of the speaking self, it is necessary to address some questions about history, identity, and life writing in general, and the memoir in particular.

Hiwot has undergone a process of change since she was a freshman student, and then showed herself as a politically involved and active woman. Perhaps taken unconsciously, this is precisely the first step in her self-fashioning. Hence, fashioning one's self is not merely modifying old identities but creating new identities. As a writer and the main character of the narrative, Hiwot deliberately makes herself the narrator of the story so that she can take it in any direction she wants to go in.

Anecdotes, legends and personal stories are used or excavated in order to expose the history of history. As a result, in this complex network of literary and historical texts, everyone is inevitably involved in the field of power, and Hiwot's self-fashioning is achieved in terms of the contradictions, subversions and suppressions between the mainstream ideology and the rebellious factors. Such self-fashioning reflects the dynamic process when the self is suppressed

and relieved during the fashioning process, and demonstrates the omnipresent inherent connection between self and power structure and ideology.

Getachew's death was the major game-changing incident in Hiwot's life. Getachew's death left her devastated, yet she never quit her party. Despite being fragmented and confused by her comrades' actions, her love for the party drove her to strive for her goal. However, the incident not only takes away Hiwot's lover and mentor, but it also turns her utopian journey on its head.

Hiwot was lucky to survive all the killings and bloodshed, and in the end, she found herself in prison, at Keftegna and later at Kerchele, where she completed her self-fashioning journey.

These are the two prison houses where Hiwot breaks away from her life journey and thinks of creating another, new, Hiwot. Hiwot met many of her comrades in prison, including Tadelech Hailemichael, the widow of Berhanemesqel Redda. She was delighted to see Tadelech, but she also witnessed the most horrific torture in Kerchele. Living with Tadelech and Mimi (Birhanemesqel's daughter) also gave her a break from the restless thoughts and boring daily routines of prison and restored. "Tadelech's arrival at Kerchele made a huge difference in my life... I regained confidence in myself and trust in others (384).

After all the misery, suffering and ups and downs, Hiwot was imprisoned. But the prison was a test, set for her to achieve her destiny. Prisons have changed Hiwot's life greatly and forever. Keftegna and Kerchele prisons, by default, propel Hiwot's psychological makeup to a completely different angle. It was in those days of imprisonment that she finally had the time to see through herself. At Kerchele, Hiwot was presented with an opportunity to explore the other side of her personality. In fact, Hiwot's self was fashioned through all the circumstances all the time. But it was in prison that she discovered the new Hiwot and revealed everything to the

reader. Though all the changes and fashions were visible, the following quote taken from the imprisonment segment says it all.

“Slowly, I felt a *new person* surging in me,” says *Hiwot*, and “I gained confidence in the knowledge that can define and redefine myself. I could determine who I wanted to be and where I wanted to go. I did not need a Party or a group of people to tell me who I am or where I am going. I tasted the beauty of freedom. I embraced it and vowed to stand by it no matter what the ramifications.” (356)

In her life journey, Hiwot was surrounded by her family, friends and EPRP comrades. As can be seen from the extract, she was dependent on other groups or people to define herself, but, here, she seems to deviate from the habitual way she used to follow in order to find her real self. In some cases, it is the dynamism of change of the self that causes a crisis of the self, but in the case of Hiwot, she is attempting to disassociate herself from everything and stand alone in the ever-changing process of self-fashion. This dissociation provided her with the strength and opportunity to see herself in order to achieve the style of her own life.

The death of Getachew was obviously the most devastating to Hiwot, but the death of Berhanemesqel also "felt like the end of an era" to her. Hiwot is a sensible revolutionary who has not lost her humanity in spite of all the dehumanizing practices perpetrated by the Derg murderers. Apparently, these contradictory positions do cause a feeling of uneasiness in Hiwot's life, but the condition can be endured through self-fashioning. Hiwot writes:

Having plunged myself into the League, I now saw the texture of my existence changing rapidly and completely. I had peeled off the layers of my former self and felt like a new person was emerging out of the old skin. Life became imbued

with meaning. It seemed that I was leading a conscious, purpose –driven, value-laden, fuller and richer existence.

A feeling of plentitude ascended in me. (155)

As indicated in later part of the book, prison life after all was not a completely shattering ambience for Hiwot. Many of her life lessons came from the prisons and the friends she met and made there. Helping prisoners and serving them in various careers in prison contributed to her serving human dignity, particularly in humanizing all types of convicts. Prison life was a blessing in disguise, and, as Hiwot correctly puts it, the prison experience reflected "proof of the triumphal power of the human spirit" (391).

Hiwot's search for a human mystery is mentioned later in the book. There is human nature, something that can respond to goodness and badness at the same time. This human nature puts her on a swinging pendulum.

Hiwot was highly disturbed by the ruthless killings and horrific crimes committed by the Ethiopians. Talking about criminal deeds with convicts and murderers like Zinash, Zergi, Bogeye, and Biri, Hiwot was amazed at how they could do that. She stopped being naive and began inquiring about human nature."At Kefteгна, I had learned to be suspicious of human nature and even life itself" (423). She never expected to see this kind of crime in a relatively puritan and religious society like Ethiopia. At any rate, these kinds of crimes could have served as the impetus behind Hiwot's attempt to explore "the mystery of the human mind." It is worth noting that, on page 423, Hiwot says, "Life in Kerchele taught me that what people were actually going through was much more important than striving to build a rosy future, which they may never live to see, if it happened at all" (423).

Hiwot learned a lot about human nature while spending much of her time in a fast-moving political movement and revolution. Through all the suffering and happiness, through all the pain and anguish and dreams, she was unbeatable until her imprisonment, where she underwent many changes and transformations. But ultimately, besides her self-fashioning, Hiwot did not give up on humanity. The following short extracts are some examples of the fashioning of Hiwot's own body.

"I learned in Kerchele that I could still believe in the beauty of life and the fundamental goodness of people." "Almost before I knew it, I had been tossed into a solemn but fascinating and fulfilling adulthood"; "My Afro shrank." "In the struggle, I felt I had found my essence, my soul's vocation, and my true self," I said as I stepped down from my platform shoes. "It was as if my journey of knowledge and self-development had been consummated." "My wandering soul finally found an abode"; "The struggle was my present, my future, my life."

Hiwot's entire life was devoted to politics. Her personality and self-fashioning can be caught in her consciousness as an EPRP member. It is clear that being a member of the EPRP is a crucial point in her self-identification, and is expressed similarly to the methods of expressing herself as a trusted member. The fashioning of herself as a virtuous and trusted comrade is fulfilled by the means of diverse techniques. Hiwot created a transformed writer who comes out of her past adventure in the EPRP. Thus, self-fashioning enabled her to see her past experiences and life lessons as products of their times and context.

#### **4.3.1.1 Patterns and Ideals of Self-fashioning in the Tower in the Sky**

One always has to identify and evaluate him/herself in the given circumstances, express his/her attitude towards the social frames and institutions that surround her/him. This may happen either through the rejection of the existing patterns, or the conscious following of them.

In the *Tower in the Sky*, one can find patterns and ideal figures that Hiwot imitated. The reflections upon the ideals she followed, which played a role in her self-fashioning, may happen explicitly or implicitly. If one tries to draw the net of figures that might have an influence on the fashioning of the narrating self's formation, it is a must to trace back all the sources of the tangible personal elements that emerge in the text. "Self-fashioning employs submission to an absolute power or authority situated at least partially outside oneself—God, a sacred book, an institution such as the church, court, colonial or military administration" (Greenblatt 9). In general, in the memoir it is noticeable that moving forward chronologically the narration gets more public, yet the fashioning and manifestations of the writer increases.

At the beginning of the memoir, Hiwot wrote about the history of her family, her origins, schooling and the death of her younger brother. These statements mostly seem objective, and personal. The first personal element, a turning point in her life, emerges in the text when she writes all about her sickness. Her sickness, tuberculosis, with all the pain and trouble, psychological trauma and scars, introduced the ups and downs of life. As the author ensures the similarity of the narrator, the author, and the hero of the text, it follows a simple first-person narrator, allowing the reader to easily distinguish between these three roles of self in the memoir. The narrator of the present is speaking about the hero of the past, and thus the narrator tells the story of her own formation, the path she took from a past point to a present one. The "I" is the narrator, hero, and author. Hiwot writes:

After my brother died, I came back to Addis and had an operation on my neck.

The test showed that I had tuberculosis. I was shaken to my core. I had always been fountain of health, and all of a sudden, there I was hit by an illness. I felt I

had contracted the most shameful disease imaginable. I kept my sickness a secret, as if it was taboo.

It was tuberculosis that I had. (2)

In the case of early modern life-writing, as Cemal Kafadar argues, in first-person narratives and autobiographical texts, there is "no *obvious* distance between the narrator and the narrated self." The authors do not look upon themselves from such a three-fold perspective. Thus, in the *Tower in the Sky*, what we see is a narrator, author, and hero merged as one. Hiwot's passage into life was not smooth. Rather, it was rough and full of ups and downs. She was lucky to be alive today after escaping all the killings and executions. Now, the character we find in the book and the writer's Hiwot are different; at least, the transformed and fashioned and refashioned character appears to be the later one.

Hiwot's memoir is mainly about her past situation, but it also states her present situation. As she composed the memoir after many years and presumably compiled the volume from memory, the hero and narrator are not distinct. Her memoir tells us about the events of her past deeds, which all reflect on the author's current situation. In this case, the distance between the narrator and the author is not extended, and this closeness affects the reading of the text; the reader gets closer to the hero and the narrator as the memoir agreement operates more intensively. The narrative agreement provides a unique reading method for the reader and influences his or her expectation horizon.

Grand dreams of becoming something or somebody sank in to oblivion. Only my positive attitude toward life and books kept me from plunging into abyss. I learned that life was not a bed of roses. ... I learned patience and self – composure even when my heart quivered with agony. I saw my life change in a

flicker of moment from a turbulent puberty to a painful and haunted transition to adulthood.

I thought my life had changed forever. (Hiwot4)

As we encounter it now and in the future, the pain and suffering she endured as a result of the TB has changed her in numerous ways. First of all, the pain and agony she put up with was skillfully sketched as a foreshadowing technique to introduce what came later. And secondly, as an innocent girl, she was not familiar with the mystery of life. Thus, after her diagnosis, she tried to blend with society and tried to cope with her life and education. Hiwot expressed her positive attitude to life no matter what. Holding firm ground for the future, she set out on another transformational life journey. Hiwot's narration gets more personal in the descriptions of her intimate relations with Getachew Maru and her deeds throughout the struggle. Interestingly, one can find ideals which played a role in the self-fashioning of Hiwot in both of these cases. The tendency towards being more personal in the description of the issue remains in the narration in connection with the aspects of her deeds as well.

The other ideal of Hiwot, which is connected to the other important aspects of her life, is the political participation that she had. Getachew Maru was her mentor and role model, who dragged her into the politics of university life. According to Natalie Z. Davis, situations in which you write about yourself involve a relationship, most often with God, but others, such as a patron, friend, or lover, may also become involved. She emphasizes the role of the family in influencing self-fashioning. She followed the pattern of Getachew, when he was already her lover and one of the founding members of the party at that time. Her attempt to follow in Getachew's footsteps as a good model was a major move in her life.

Meanwhile, in a way, following Getachew's pattern represented an important step in her development as a hero. His reading and discipline impressed her that she wished to be like him. Further evidence shows that Hiwot has followed in Getachew's footsteps as her ideal mentor. She believed in him and his reading and arguments impressed her in many ways. "However, it was what I learned from Getachew Maru, the hero of my life, that I always wanted to emulate: respect for human life, tolerance and peaceful resolution of conflict" (437). His political outlook and gentle soul touched her to the end. Hiwot's self-fashioning as the memoir's main character was primarily influenced by her political movements and actions.

Hiwot had role models to emulate in the process of fashioning herself as a writer, in addition to her peers, comrades, and party. Hiwot obviously read a lot of books, as evidenced in the memoir. As a result, the *Tower in the Sky* leaves traces of her reading history, both directly and indirectly. "Self-fashioning always means submission to an absolute power which is outside the subject: God, an institution, etc" (Greenblatt). Books have been Hiwot's friends since she was a teenage girl. "Agatha Christie mystery novels were the staple of my life in my early teens" (4). She is a voracious reader and it is obvious that those books had a role in fashioning herself.

On a similar note, Hiwot loves books more than anything, which I guess she took from her ideals. "I liked the Black Panthers... Bobby Seale, Jesse Jackson, Hugh Newton, Stokely Carmichael, Eldridge Cleaver..." she went on "I admire Angela Davis. I've read *Soledad Brother*..... Wandering around with his book was my way of telling the world that I'd outgrown Harold Robbins and Jacqueline Susann....." "My cousin had subscriptions to *Time*, *Newsweek* and *Readers Digest*" (24). Regarding the writer's consciousness, valuable information may also be gathered from texts where he refers to and comments on writing

techniques. Some of these are clear technical comments on the method of writing, as, for instance, in the above extract.

Because of the intertextual nature of the memoir and her language expertise, Hiwot shows a concrete connection with other works. Many uncertainties make it difficult to declare any direct connections between them. Here, I would like to mention that, although the books are different texts, it is obvious that they have played a role in the fashioning of Hiwot as a creative writer. In other words, the self is created through and within the text. This interpretation supports the idea of Greenblatt that self-forming, its framework, and the relationship to power exist in language.

#### **4.3.1.2 Hero, Narrator, and Author in the Tower in the Sky**

Hayden White claims that "History is never only the history of us; it is always history for us. And it is history in the sense of being written for a specific social group or public, as opposed to history in the sense of being written with some ideological goal in mind." The Tower in the Sky is Hiwot's memoir of the history of her political struggle (along with EPRP members) and her love story. As a narrator, the anecdotes Hiwot selects play an important role in her narrative.

As Hiwot's life continues to shake, it changes and adapts to the powers that change it. Yet her commitment to the party was mind-boggling. She gave her all to the party. Despite all the challenges, she is still a trusty member. "Getachew's brutal death has left an indelible scar on my soul. My being was shaken to its core (285)." But Hiwot never left the party until her last day of detention. Thus, the role she played and the sacrifice she made for the party had a major role in her identity construction.

Through her eyes, readers see massacres and executions befalling the world around her. There are a large number of deaths throughout the memoir, to which Hiwot is the invariable witness. In an incredible twist, she cheated death countless times. She had to witness unbearable suffering,

killing, and loss; she was subjected to a series of Derg trials. She experienced beatings, interrogations and imprisonment. She experienced the loss of her lover and mentor, Getachew Maru, alongside her comrades and friends, one by one, were hunted down and killed by the very party she was working for. The downfall of EPRP was the shock of her life and the end of her political adventure.

There was a time when happiness for her seemed too far to reach, especially after her involvement with politics. It was a journey filled with ups and downs, as well as loss and grief. However, she was not defeated. She reinvented herself and eventually became a writer. Thus, in a way; she survived all the shackles of life and got energy that propped her up, moving toward the summit of a life she had never dreamt of.

Hiwot's self-fashioning: physical, spiritual, emotional, or creative, was the means through which she gained respect and publicity. And her self-fashioning was accomplished in the struggle for power and survival. Looking back, Hiwot is an indication of self-fashioning in the memoir context. Her self-fashioning has two stages, first as a naïve, trustworthy EPRP member, and then, as a grown woman, a wise and transformed writer.

She identified herself as a trusted party member and a skilled internal fighter, a friend – and a writer. The manifestation of the speaking self's fashioning as a survivor is depicted in the narrative entirely as a narrator, character and author of the book. It is a clear example of her personality, as she has stated in numerous encounters with her deeds. Arrest, spying, messengers, lovers, and comrades are some of the evidence in the anecdotes; she even cried once, pretending to be a mother, in a conscious effort to escape her opponents. On the other hand, if one looks at the formation of the self in the text, these are the stories that really make the memoir a personal

narrative: the individual character of the subject of the memoir (hero, narrator, and author) is created by them.

If one follows the thematic and psychological structure of the volume, he/she may find a fictional memoir hidden in the order and arrangement of the book. Starting from this piece, a very personalized line in the volume emerges and sketches the system of values and a history of the narrator's psychological and mental changes in the writing process. To turn the question around, it is clear that autobiography demands a special way of reading. The reader has to accept the sameness of the author, the narrator, and the main hero of the text. If the reader accepts this sameness, the autobiographical pact comes into existence.

The agreement between the author and the reader is often expressed explicitly at some point in the text. Hiwot expresses herself in the title of her memoir, *Tower in the Sky*. The title of the memoir assures the reader of the creativity of the author; the text implies that it tells the truth, but in a way that a creative writer would put it. This, of course, may be an imitation, as the memoir also contains fictive elements. One of the most critical issues with using life writing as a source is reliability. It is obvious that the writer is always trapped by the issue of objectivity and cannot be objective, since she is using her memory to recount past events. Hence, one has to be extremely careful while studying life's narrative texts. At the same time, the texts offer a reading that follows the formation of the author's identity and self.

#### **4.3.2 Journalism or Literature: Kapuscinski's Fashioning of Self**

The shaping of oneself may occur through a process similar to the creation of a piece of art, a piece of art which overlaps with the life of the artist. Such a process is at work in *The Emperor* of Ryszard Kapuscinski. Thus, I will examine the topic and placement of the narrative in the volume to give a picture of the process of self-fashioning as a work of art.

Kapuscinski's styling aims to create a devious reporter who is also a skilled craftsman. His self-identification and its manifestation concern the manner in which he behaves as a writer and his relationship with his readers. Here, I will collect and evaluate those parts of the biography where the narrator refers to himself, explicitly or implicitly, as a writer in the process of composing the narrative, the writing techniques he used, and those where he reflects on his writing development.

In a talk held in Berlin in 2003, entitled "The Art of Noticing", Kapuscinski stated the problem of journalistic language in the midst of his writing. "How could I describe a jungle in the language of the press? He claims, As a result, the biography he wrote represents an escape from journalistic language through a literary craft. In this case, the form of the biography itself reflects a soft adherence to the regulations of journalism established by the professional and ethical canon of the discipline. The text's form is successful in developing and establishing its own tradition.

Kapuscinski intentionally produced *The Emperor* as a hybrid narrative. This is confirmed by the existence of both fact and fiction intermingled and meshed in the biography. In the narrative, Kapuscinski fashions himself as an unassuming narrator. To do so, he seldom appears as a transitional narrator (as he usually appears on the theatrical stage). The very presence of this narrative technique demonstrates that Kapuscinski considered his audience. "In the evenings, I listened to those who had known the Emperor's court," he says. They had once been people at the Palace or had the right of admission there. He went on to give some to the reader. "I visited them after dark. I had to change cars and disguises. The Ethiopians are deeply distrustful and found it hard to believe in the sincerity of my intentions: I wanted to recapture the world that had been wiped away by the machine guns of the Fourth Division" (4).

The above extract is a significant example of self-forming for two reasons. First, it demonstrates the narrative's power in the text's self-creating power, i.e., the Emperor himself. Second, it shows the tradition of life-writing created by his literary fashion. "In the evenings, I listened to those who had been to the Emperor's court. Once, they had been people at the Palace or had enjoyed the right of admission there (4). In this passage, the narrator talks directly to the reader. Such workings of the author are not unknown in contemporary literature; most published books also contain a preface, often accompanied by a dedication. What is different in the case of *The Emperor* is the position of the narrator. He is aware of his peculiar situation and he uses it as the primary symbolic tool for positioning himself.

The reader may find evidence of the speaking self's consciousness in a number of other places. They all demonstrate that Kapuscinski saw himself as a writer and crafted his speech accordingly. The forms of these utterances may be formulated, for example, as transitional texts from one part to another. Kapuscinski employed this technique throughout the book. These transitional segments played a big role in showing the fashioning and refashioning of the writer. Texts that refer to the author himself also belong to the group of this kind of utterance. Where there is interference by the author, it further gives detailed and valuable information about the author. This behavior presupposes an active reader who is willing and able to operate with intertextual reading skills. Other cases can also be found in the volume when Kapuscinski refers to himself. The method of doing this depends on how he emphasizes the role of self. A notable example of the writer's consciousness can be found in this extract, which presents the speaking self as a narrator and a writer. In the end, the text is a manifestation of the writer's self.

When I showed a colleague what I was writing about Haile Selassie, or rather about the court and its fall as described by the people who had frequented the

chambers, offices, and corridors of the Palace, he asked me whether I had gone alone to visit the ones in hiding. Alone? That would hardly have been possible. A white man, a foreigner -none of them would have let you get a foot in the door...

(17)

As in the preface, Kapuscinski expresses his intention by using an abbreviated form to change some characters' names for the sake of their security. His structure of the biography frames the entire composition of the book for the reader. If one intends to map the features of this relationship, one has to investigate the intentions of the author, the possible readings the text offers and the horizon of expectations of the reader. The general theory of life writing holds that in autobiographical texts, memory itself is the creator of identity; memory organizes, forms, and communicates the author's self to the audience.

The Emperor can be considered as a history mingled with various anecdotes and individual stories. Yet Kapuscinski's choice of anecdotes is a selective and unmarked flow of time with discrete elements. This selection of anecdotes gives the narration a different tone and creates suspense for the reader.

I penetrated the muddy alleys, making my way into houses that from the outside looked empty and abandoned. I was afraid. The houses were watched, and I was afraid of getting caught along with their inhabitants. Such a thing was possible, since they often made a sweep through a neighborhood or even a whole quarter of the town in search of weapons, subversive leaflets, or people from the old regime. All the houses were watching each other, spying on each other, sniffing each other out. This is civil war; this is what it's like. I sit down by the window, and

immediately they say, "Somewhere else, sir, please. You're visible from the street.

It would be easy to pick you off." (4-5)

A factually incredible anecdote becomes part of the biography that people make up around their own lives and those of others. As a foreigner and a new comer to the country, Kapuscinski enjoyed the stories his informants told him, which allowed him to conceal his real thoughts in the chaos and to achieve his own self-fashioning. The diversity of the informants and the chaotic nature of the time gave Kapuscinski a chance to exercise his imaginative creativity fully.

Brannigan states that self is "a construction, a site of masques, roles and adopted personas", and it is "constructed in relation to society and is fashioned in the interaction between social norms and self-invention" (75). As the biography's narrator, Kapuscinski gathered stories from informants, palace officials, and society and reframed them with his own creative abilities. The culturally constructed self is always a work in progress. The Ethiopian culture had an impact on the writer, Kapuscinski, as a self-styled journalist. The writer's personality and the way he fashioned himself were influenced by how society behaved. This point is illustrated by the following example."As is characteristic of the Amharas, who are very conscious of their honor, he knew how to show gratitude" (22). This is how a constructed, autocratic culture influences others.

There is a distance between the story and its author, in the sense that how much the author chooses to represent his true self remains questionable. Given the author's background, it is important to understand why he chose to distance himself from the narrator. Yet, the descriptions are so rich in showing how much power ideology and social rules or decorum exercise over one's self-fashioning. Greenblatt himself recalls in the epilogue that as he worked on the book, he became more acutely aware of the complexities of self-fashioning, in which cultural

institutions play an important role. The biography, however, focuses on the authors' self-fashioning as authors in a literary context.

Born in 1932, Kapuscinski worked for four decades reporting on Asia, Latin America and Africa, becoming personally acquainted with Che Guevara, Salvador Allende, and Patrice Lumumba. He witnessed 27 coups and revolutions and was sentenced to death four times. He died in 2007 and his books have been translated from Polish into 19 languages. (Artur Domsowski – review)

Here, what is most important is that one can willfully take an identity and write oneself. Kapuscinski continued to change himself in every situation while working as a journalist. All the correspondence work, all the anecdotes everywhere he goes, and all the encounters, I believe, have shaped himself to be a writer; of course, to be a well-known and respected writer. Ultimately, Kapuscinski created a new language for telling the stories of oppressed people and the oppressor, Emperor Hailesilasse I. As Greenblatt argues, self-fashioning is mostly done through language.

The threatening atmosphere fed on the Amharas' pathological suspicion. To them, no man could be trusted, not even another Amhara. No one's word can be trusted, no one can be relied upon, because people's intentions are wicked and perverse; people are conspirators. Because the Amharic philosophy is pessimistic and sad, their eyes are sad but at the same time watchful and searing, their faces solemn, their features tense, and they can rarely bring themselves to smile. (23)

As can be seen in the above quote, the author appears in the transitional narration. In many parts of the narrative, the author's viewpoint is only heard in occasional introductions to different sections of the narrative. Here, what Kapuscinski is trying to show us is the set up and the fabric

of the society. However, as he attempts to narrate, we see glimpses of the writers' true selves. Assimilated and well blended with the society, he seems unaware of his changes. As he assimilated himself into the society, he became aware of Habesha's mind's unique, often bizarre twists. Hence, he behaves similarly to other people.

## **4.4 Power Analysis: Subversion and Containment**

### **4.4.1 Subversion in The Emperor and Tower in the Sky**

#### **4.4.1.1 Subversion in The Emperor: The Rebels' Subversion of a Feudal Society**

Creative writers often foreground certain subject matters in their literary works in a deliberate attempt to contribute to the societal discourse on such issues. They portray or show matters of urgent currency in their societies. Often, writers engage in reflecting on social, economic, historic, and cultural situations. Besides their historical theme and what they intend to impart, *The Emperor and the Tower in the Sky* are exemplary books that are full of subversive scenes and political struggles. They engage in a series of subversive acts in their respective narratives. As a result, the texts lend themselves to readings of subversive texts, which this study has done. Both Hiwot and Kapuscinski inherited the historical discourses constructed by their respective systems. While writing the narrative, on one hand, both inherited the historical discourses constructed by society concerning the past system and, on the other hand, to the best of their writing, both participated in the reconstruction of history by selecting scenes and interviews, compressing historical events and even creating new incidents.

The text's subversions are manifested with a clear understanding of how the text composition represents the monarch's 'all' power. There are several instances which can be taken as the result of a political struggle. These interruptions represent the subversive acts and voices of the rebel group against the monarch's system. According to Kitson, subversion is "interlocking systems of

actions, political, economic, psychological and military that aim at the overthrow of established authority in a country" (5).

According to Kapuscinski's *The Emperor*, land was at the heart of the feudal system and became the focal point of a political conflict among the peasants, students and the imperial government. "Land to the Tiller" was a popular slogan at the time, because a few feudal gentry controlled the land and received a large share of the tillers' output. In addition to other social, economic, developmental and educational problems, this seems to be the main reason for the endless struggle between the students and the king. The struggle to tackle these problems shook the foundation of the empire.

Facing many internal problems, the monarch, as king of kings and Emperor of the country, had to control every subversive action to save the monarch from collapsing. Thus, he gets all the updates on his subject's movements through his security agencies. One of the most significant challenges stems from university students. After Hailesilasse I University was established, many students enrolled and took advantage of the opportunity to further their education in another country. Unfortunately for them, the reign, soon the students opened their eyes and stared, demanding changes and, ultimately, the overthrow of the King. The increasing levels of education meant this elite section was expanding beyond the state's control. Graduates were placed in the state bureaucracy while their increased numbers placed a strain on the budget.

One of those rebel students was Germame Neway, a young man who originally came from a loyal and noble family and was sent on a scholarship to the United States by the emperor himself. After his return from the United States, Emperor Hailesilasse appointed Germame as the governor of the southern province of Sidamo. Soon after his appointment, the dignitaries around Germame started their denunciations. They were also defaming his name by dropping hints in

conversational lulls-that Germame took bribes. The Ethiopian officials' minds were changing all over the place. They simply oppose changes, whether good or bad. This is the main cause of the subversion and containment interplay of power relations in *The Emperor*. Thus, every developmental change was considered as subversion and the system was ready to contain those changes. Here is an example:

It is a slippery business, Mr. Richard, to denounce one's superiors. One cannot do it haphazardly, without first buckling on one's armor, because the governor might just have a mighty patron in the Palace. The patron could fly into a rage, look upon the dignitaries as backstabbers, and perhaps even rebuke them. So the dignitaries started their denunciations in monosyllables, hints, whispers, but then more and more boldly (even if still informally), delicately, dropping hints in conversational lulls-that Germame took bribes and used them to build schools.(66)

To the surprise of the local nobility, he began to build schools and allegedly gave land to landless peasants. Knowing all this, the king preferred to be quiet. From the time Germame was back from the United States, he believed there was another world beyond his comfort and the destitute life of his people. The world he was picturing was a world of possibilities, where Ethiopia could be lifted up from its destitute state and changes its people's lives once and for all. Ignoring such thoughts was fleeting, but the meaning was profound, and Germame was enlightened enough to seize this opportunity. From that moment on, he was reborn. All he did was conspiring and struggle from the inside to depose the emperor.

Soon after his appointment as governor of Sidamo, he used the chance to conspire against the king. He began to take over his position as administrator of the Sidamo province, building

schools, bridges, and even stealing land from land lords to give to those in need. All things seemed well and quite secure. He felt a force ready to break, as he was preparing to coup and depose the throne and revolutionize the country.

Because his actions were deemed detrimental to the system, he was soon assigned to govern Jijiga, a region dominated by nomads with no land to plough. Though it had been some time since he had conspired against the King and gone off the road, it was during his reappointment that the real trouble began, when Germame left without kissing the Emperor's hand. Later, along with twenty other men, including his brother, Mengstu, Germame was set to topple the monarch. A coup is a move to subvert the monarch's reign. His brother, Mengstu, along with some top officials from the imperial guard, also tried to overthrow and dethrone the King.

After the Emperor's departure, Mengistu handed out weapons to the officers of his Guard and instructed them to wait for further orders. It was Tuesday, the thirteenth of December. That evening, in the Empress Menen's residence, Haile Selassie's family and a group of high dignitaries gathered for supper. As they sat down at the table, Mengist's messenger arrived with news that the Emperor had fallen ill during his trip, that he was dying, and that everyone should meet in the Palace to discuss the situation. When they had all assembled there, they were arrested. Meanwhile, officers of the Guard were arresting other dignitaries at their homes. But, as so often happens in a nervous situation, many dignitaries were forgotten. Several managed to escape from the city or to hide in friends' houses. Furthermore, the perpetrators of the coup were slow to cut off the telephones, and the Emperor's people had a chance to communicate and organize themselves. They were able to notify the Emperor that very night through the British

Embassy. Haile Selassie broke off his visit and started for home, but without hurrying. He was giving the revolution time to collapse. (69)

Thought-provokingly, the king turned a blind eye to their hostility to each other, and making use of it to constrain them mutually, enjoyed watching them conspire gamble themselves in the battle for his favor as he wouldn't like to see any power be too strong to control. After all, he was a unique ruler, while all of them were his chessmen. Emperor Hailesilasse, as a cautious monarch, would know how to act accordingly, as he was surrounded by shrewd and merciless powerful dignitaries. The Emperor's eyes and ears were highly sensitive to what was happening to his power. As a result, much of his concern stems from fear and the knowledge that some officials are willing to go to any length to depose him.

The night breeds dangerous conspiracies, and HaileSelassie knew that what happens at night is more important than what happens during the day. During the day he kept his eye on everyone; at night that was impossible. For that reason, he attached great importance to the morning reports. (7)

The King and his talented civil officials recognized that in a nation where a large proportion of the population was illiterate, particularly in the outlying regions where poverty, famine, illiteracy, injustice, and a lack of responsibility were deeply ingrained, the Emperor effectively portrayed the ideology of the time. On the other hand, Emperor HaileSilasse I, as a changeable and artful ruler, connived that such subversive forces coexisted with containment with an ambiguous attitude, but actually his maximum tolerance was only on the condition of not endangering the substantial interest of his domination and not changing the dominating relationship, to achieve the aim of providing secure restraint to those real destructive, subversive aspects while reducing the general public's discontent. The relationship between power and

resistance was not simply and obviously antagonistic, in which process there were a variety of competitive forces operating. Through the portrayal of the Emperor and through presenting his self-fashioning in *The Emperor*, Kapuscinski shows how power is operated by a series of subversion and containment. The following fairly lengthy quote would support this idea.

Friday, the sixteenth of December, is the last day of the coup. Fighting between army and Guard regiments has been going on since morning. The revolutionary council defends itself in the Palace. The assault on the Palace begins in the afternoon. A battalion of tanks, commanded by the Emperor's son-in-law Captain Dereji Haile-Mariam, leads the assault. "Surrender, you dogs!" cries the captain from the turret of his tank. He falls, cut down by a burst of machinegun fire. Shells explode inside the Palace. Smoke, flames, and a terrible din fill the corridors and chambers. Further defense is impossible. The rebels burst into the Green Chamber, where the dignitaries from the Emperor's circle have been held prisoner since Tuesday. The rebels open fire. Eighteen of the people who had been closest to the Emperor die. Now the leaders of the conspiracy and scattered regiments of the Guard leave the Palace grounds and withdraw from the city toward the eucalyptus woods on the Entoto Hills. Evening draws near. The airplane carrying the Emperor lands in Asmara. (71-72)

The Emperor employed subversive forces and kept a balance between different forces, and containment prevailed all the time. Subversive power reached its peak, but in the end, the ill-fated coup failed. The dynamic between him and Gername has shifted. They became enemies. Both of them were eager to root out each other entirely. Finally, the king maintained his power and the coup d'état was contained successfully.

The Emperor's survival and power were entirely dependent on the upper echelons of society. Besides, the king was pro education and he was hiring young educated people in many sectors. But increasing levels of education meant this elite section was expanding beyond the state's control. Graduates were placed in the state bureaucracy, but these increased numbers placed a strain on the budget. In order to pay for the increased cost of bureaucrats, it was decided to raise taxes on the peasants. It is here that the feudal nature of Emperor Hailesilasse's regime is most apparent. The peasants are revolting against paying taxes in order to fund their own oppression. Commoners revolt against the government because they are dissatisfied with the current social system, which is characterized by classes. They sweep away all those who represent the existing society, inspired by the spirit of deposing kings and lords.

So they can also happen to an Empire, and in 1968 this is what happened to us: in Gojam Province the peasants jumped on their rulers' throats. All the notables found it inconceivable, because we had a docile, resigned, God-fearing people not at all inclined to rebellion, and here, as I said, suddenly, for no reason whatever—mutiny! To us humility is uppermost and even His Majesty, as a young lad, kissed his father's shoes. When the elders were eating, children had to stand with their faces to the wall to avoid any ungodly temptation of considering themselves equal to their parents. I mention this, dear friend, to help you understand that if the peasants in such a country go on a rampage, they must have an extraordinary reason. (Kapusinski, 95)

They deposed local rulers in order to undermine the autocratic system, which was soon followed by peasant revolutions in Bale and Tigray. All the scenes and actions in the book are filled with dissatisfaction and a hunger for power. Hence, all the discontent with the systems and their own

situation, the subversive forces in *The Emperor* mount against the prevailing ideologies. The characters fight against a monarchical system. Their subversion of the prevailing ideology is being carried on to an acceptable degree. Whatever movement, action or intention of subversion that is believed to be endangering the ruling class, it is contained. Nonetheless, all the fights end up claiming lives and destroying society and the economy of the country. Ultimate failure was the end result.

For he seldom talked about things with the thought that there was no use in justifying himself. Emperor Hailesilasse gave the others an impression of firmness as a good lesson so that they would not try to mess with him. The mystery surrounding his power made others easily notice that Emperor Hailesilasse did not take a gamble with his power. Maybe the greatness of Emperor HaileSilasse lies in his paying great attention to the details and telling us those stories about lots of nobodies who are buried in the dust of history. By doing so, a buried and marginalized history materializes.

In presenting this process, the writer managed to construct and reword such old histories. The ideas he expressed and the language he used are both an embodiment of contemporary ideology. In other words, this cognition and interpretation, in fact, is a review of a self-existing situation. And, as the epoch has changed, the past we've known is being rewritten again and again, which can be viewed as a subversion of the previous one, or an innovation in its realization.

In their entirety, it appears that all the employed images and expressions are metaphors of the failing state and he used them to affect the resistance to the power of the state. Moreover, in *The Emperor*, the experiences within the autocratic discourse are also subversive of the power of the monarchy. This subversion of power arises since transgression is not contained by the force of the state's order. The self-fashioned military, which submits to the discourse of honor and

thereby becomes a product of the discourse of autocracy, has finally assumed power. The military's subversion of the dominant ideology continued to an acceptable extent, as people under the old system suffered and was actually made subjects. When this type of subversion poses a threat to the ruling class, it is attempted to be contained. But all the containments failed and ended in dethroning the last king of Ethiopia.

#### **4.4.1.2 Subversion in the Tower in the Sky: Subverting a Military Dictator**

As Stephen Greenblatt put forward, the concepts of subversion and containment are among the paradigms of the new historicism. According to Stephen, there was a connection between personal power and the prevailing ideology. As a result of this connected circulation, there will be an inevitable contradiction between the prevailing ideology and individual thought and behavior, which, in most cases, will result in a rebellion of the subverted class to express their discontentment and indignation.

Filled with many rebellious actions The Tower in the Sky is a book of struggle and power. As the two systems, monarchical and socialist, are at odds all the time, their relationship is expressed through subversion and containment interplay. As part of many rebellious parties or bodies, Hiwot's struggle was not different either. Specifically speaking, while creating a work of literature, the prevailing ideology at the time when a work of literature was written can inevitably become one of the forces that will have an influence upon the author's value, attitude, original creative purpose, etc. Regarding her journey into the world of politics, Hiwot writes:

Marxism opened my eyes to the injustice around me and inspired me to fight and destroy the oppressive and explosive system and build a better one on its ashes. I did not look out for my own salvation but wanted to live and die for the liberation of the masses.(157)

Young, energetic and moving, Hiwot and her fellow friends were always after one thing: subverting the ruling system. Employing different methods and taking different forms, there was always a move to subvert the system. So, as the systems were different; the subversion had many forms too. Songs, demonstrations, slogans and directly confronting and attacking the system were among the tactics they used. The following is an excerpt taken from the book, Tower in the Sky:

*“Ewagalehugn lemebte”* inspired me to stand up for our rights and to partake of the struggle.

እዋጋለሁኝ ለሙብቴ ላንገብጋቢው የእግር እሳት

የትግል መርህ ቅኝቴ ትግል ነውና ሕይወቴ

*I'm fighting for the right to a fair go*

*My struggle is a struggle and that is my life*

Le Zemenat, the most famous of all revolutionary songs, wheedled me to take up arms and vanquish the oppressor.

ለዘመናት በጭቆና ማጥ በግፍ ሰንሰለትታስፊ

ሙብቴን ላስከብር ጨቋኙን ልጥል

ተነስቻለሁ ዛሬ ይኸው ታጥቋያለሁ ዛሬ (Hiwot 161)

*For millennia, I've been enslaved by oppression.*

*To overthrow the tyrant and defend my liberties,*

*Today I am armed, and I have risen.*

The political struggles in Hiwot's Tower in the Sky are numerous. The battles were mostly between the military government and its opponents, as well as opponents of opponents, and the worst of the worst was widespread killing of members of the same group. Though killing each other was a means to contain their internal subversion, as can be seen from the quote above,

slogans, songs, leaflets and other means were also used to subvert the system. Their struggles are channeled into dynamic and integrated structures. These subversions are strikingly similar to those that took place in the Emperor's court at the time the book was written. The war was between the Derg and guerilla fighters on opposing fronts.

Power and subversion have been proved not to be in simple opposition, but are engaged in a complicated correlation. Subversion assumes various forms which are used to spoil attempts at subverting dominant power relations. However, subversion in the Tower in the Sky operates in the text itself only as a part of the whole. Examining the text as an example of subversion and containment, the subversive elements of the text are adjusted as tools of revolutionary hegemony. Subversion is an attempt made mainly by an internal revolutionary power that can be easily contained, creating the illusion of freedom. Instead, it enabled us to lose the attempt to be contained and mute the revolutionary voice by giving it a false and controlled sense of subversion.

Staging and marching demonstrations were among the many ways used to subvert the ruling system. University and high school students, peasants, taxi drivers and other societal factions joined in the revelation. Something new was inevitable, and it was happening. The following extract asserts this idea.

Something new was happening.

Placards fluttered high up in the sky bearing slogans such as:

“Land to the tiller,” “Democratic rights now,” “Education for all,” “Peoples’ government “Equality of religions,” “Lower food prices,” “Down with feudalism and “imperialism.”

I chanted slogans with others until my lungs burst like balloons, demanding the resignation of a countless number of ministers most of whose sins I didn't know.

Resign! was perhaps the most shouted slogan at the time. (71)

The Tower in the Sky enfolds examples of subversive actions and a reaction to them directly or indirectly. After the demonstration, the emperor directly appeared on TV, pleading for calm and making promises and concessions. But, as time passed, the protests grew stronger, and the containment mechanisms evolved as well. Prohibition of any form of political thought regarding free thinking was set. This led the country into a bloody civil war. Because of this tyranny, every subversive move was thwarted.

So far, we have seen the patterns of subversion in both texts, but we can still draw other themes and conclusions, especially through the identification of subversive elements. Contrary to the texts' typical interpretation, I contest that the process of subversion and containment reinforces the hegemony of the dictatorial maxims in the text. These maxims actually hamper any revolutionary dictum that could otherwise be part of the texts' interpretation. In other words, the typical reading of the texts reveals that the Tower in the Sky embodies a struggle for liberation from dictatorial oppression and, in The Emperor, the struggle is to dethronean oppressive monarch.

## **4.4.2 Containment in the The Emperor**

### **4.4.2.1 Religious Power as a Means of Containment**

In order to see how a monarchal agenda is realized in The Emperor, we must examine the allusions to subversion and containment built into the formal construction of the narrative. Althusser (1970) demonstrates how dominant classes/ruling powers can use ideological state apparatuses (ISA) such as the media, educational institutions, religious institutions, and families,

among others, to maintain state power, as well as repressive state apparatuses (RSA) such as security institutions. He further asserts that ideology functions through interpellations, making individuals subject to certain ideologies or social power.

Looking through *The Emperor*, we can see the tension between subversion and containment in different forms. As Emperor Hailesilasse became aware that his position was under threat, he began to focus his efforts on containing the subversive actions in any way he could. To maintain its power and feudal class ideology, the monarchy used religious power and power relations (to Althusser, the ideological state apparatus) in its discourse.

The Emperor had created around himself a myth, the force and vitality of which it was impossible to ascertain. He was well-liked in the world, full of personal charm, universally respected. What's more, he was the head of the Church, the Chosen One of God, the ruler of men's souls. Raise one's hand against him? It always ended in anathema and the gallows. (Kapuscinski 141)

The Ethiopian Kingship, as seen in the excerpt, has added a title to itself in order to remain in power for a longer period of time. By associating itself with the biblical people of power, the Jews, the monarchy obtains social validation for its power and maintains its own class ideology. Thus, religion and the state were run by the same ruler; the King was both the head of the state and the head of the religion. As can be seen in the above extract, Kapuscinski relates the indisputability of the power of the monarchy, which is political, to leaning on its own Christianity, which is religious. He implied in his narrative that betraying and defaming the emperor and his political system was also a crime. In doing so, he implies to its subjects that the power of the ruling class is indisputable and endowed by God. He indicates that it is not right for people or groups in society to criticize or blame their superiors in the feudal class system. For

example, the text references the monarchical system of hegemony through the institution of religion as "Haile Selassie, King of Kings, Elect of God, Lion of Judah, His Most Puissant Majesty". Hence, it calls upon society to respect the power of the emperor as "*Syume Egziabiher*" (Elected by God). This was one way of containing any kind of subversive action against his power. The narrator strengthens the ideology of the ruling class by associating it with supernatural power; he associates disobedience to the Emperor and his power with disobeying God and his will. Because the narrative surrounding the King's palace and the entirety of Christianity was designed to portray him as the one and only elect of God, his human mistakes are not his mistakes. Instead, they are forwarded to others.

If a move by the Emperor dazzled everyone with its accuracy and wisdom, it was one more proof that God's chosen one was infallible. On the other hand, if from some corner the breeze carried rumors of discontent to the monarch's ear, he could blame it all on the minister's stupidity. (8)

This extract asserts that Emperor Haile Selassie was believed to be endowed with God's power never to commit a mistake, which is a means to show to the general population that he was fair enough to lead the country and nobody like him exists. In this way, he was attempting to quell popular discontent and subversion, and if any unfairness arose, it was his dignitaries who bore the brunt of the blame. So he was trying to contain cases of opposition by coating himself with some supernatural powers in the name of the religion, Orthodox Christianity.

From the secret cabala of the monarch's words he could construct any decision that he wished. If a move by the Emperor dazzled everyone with its accuracy and wisdom, it was one more proof that God's Chosen One was infallible. On the other

hand, if from some corner the breeze carried rumors of discontent to the monarch's ear, he could blame it all on the minister's stupidity. (Kapusinski, 7)

Even though the church and the state are supposed to be different, The Emperor also reveals society's religious complacency and ignorance of the political manipulation of the church as an ISA. To show how religion was manipulated as a means of controlling rebels, quoting one of his interviewees, Kapuscinski depicts it as follows. "An airplane circles overhead dropping leaflets. The leaflets contain the text of the anathema that the Patriarch Basilios, head of the Church and friend of the Emperor, has pronounced on the rebels" (71).

As is evident in the extract, the monarchy and its feudal class ideology are fused with religious teachings and sermons. In fact, the narrative suggests that in the Christian kingdom, it is hard to distinguish between state power and religion. The above quote shows the monarchy's usage of the church as an ISA in consolidating and maintaining its political power. Such confusion and mixing of power enables the ruling class to use both political power and religious power to control or run the state inseparably. Actually, this kind of fusion helped the ruling class to keep society silent and united.

Ultimately, the method gets support from society for the coercive action it takes against those who oppose the monarchy exercising its power. As is evident in the extract, the archbishop approves the curse that the governing body can take against people who oppose the feudal class ideology. The ruling class owns RSA (repressive state apparatuses), like prisons and other security forces, another means of exercising power, as reflected in the extract. The head of the church employs such discourse to inform citizens that the ruling body's action against those who oppose the dominant ideology, the ideology of the ruling class, is correct.

Over all, the writer's inclusion of religious ideology in the book helped to unmask how the feudal class ideology was intermingled with religious ideology. It enabled the monarchy to have power and create a cohesive society. This fusion had negative consequences in that it made society ignorant of earthly forces and mystified things. It also had a positive side in that it created a cohesive society.

#### **4.4.2.2 Hunger as a Means of Containment**

In addition to religious power and power relations, there are other power relations, like the family and the media, which produce discourses that can create social consciousness and exercise and resist certain social powers.

The Emperor shows how hunger was used as a means to contain people from asking their right. As religious power was used for reproducing the discourse that could reinforce the monarchy's power and its dominant ideology, hunger was used similarly as a means of containing opposing forces and running the feudal class ideology. Ethiopia was hit by a catastrophic drought during Emperor Haile Selassie's reign, which was followed by famine and starvation, the northern part of the country was devastated and people were dying and many were fleeing to other parts of the country. "News of a raging famine in the provinces of Wollo and Tigray has spread like wildfire through the capital city." The assembly was called to express opposition to the famine. It was primed by the shocking pictures of emaciated children and adults posted in the Arts Building" (Kapuscinski 43).

Despite the fact that the emperor's courtiers kept the incident secret, an English journalist by the name of Jonathan Dimbleby made a documentary and showed it to the world. It was after that documentary exposed "The Unknown Famine" that the emperor's government tried to react.

However, it was too late when the students of Hailesilasse I University started to demonstrate and tried to help those who were around the capital with their rations.

After Jonathan Dimpleby's documentary was broadcast, many journalists came from different parts of the world to cover the famine. Unfortunately for the people, the officials were so deceitful that they denied the fact that there was a famine and, if there was any, that it was common in Ethiopia. They challenged the minister with questions: "What," they asked, "does the problem of death from hunger, which decimates the population, look like?" "I know nothing of any such matter,"... (Kapuscinski, 111).

"Can we go north?" asks Kapuscinski's correspondents. "No, you can't," explained the minister, "because the roads are full of bandits" (111). The Minister tried to show the journalists, who came to report the famine, around the city to cover his government's failure by showing them some developments only concentrated around the capital. "They don't want development, they demand hunger and that's all there is to it." "Well," said the minister, "you won't get hungry. How can there be hunger if there is development?"(111-12).

As hunger was evident and the government could not conceal the fact, it intentionally used it as a means of controlling the people from asking for power. In the following quote, the minister of information tries to justify it: "Consider also, my dear friend, that-between you and me -it is not bad for national order and a sense of national humility that the subjects be rendered skinnier, thinned down a bit (Kapuscinski, 112). Power gets its way with religion to cover up the inhuman gamble of power and life. The Minister of Information keeps justifying it:

Our religion ordains a strict fast for half of all the days in the year, and our commandments say that whoever breaks the fast commits a deadly sin and begins to stink all over of hellish sulfur. During a fast day one cannot eat more than once, and then only

a piece of unleavened bread with spices for seasoning. Why did our fathers impose such strict rules on us, recommending that mortification of the flesh be practiced unceasingly? (Kapusinski, 112).

Though ineffective, the government used the famine to keep the people quiet for a long time. The minister mentions in the following quote that keeping people hungry or poor aids in forcing people to submit to power.

How, then, is one to confront this threatening creature that man seems to be, that we all are? How to tame him and daunt him? How to know that beast, how to master it? There is only one way, my friend: by weakening him. Yes, by depriving him of his vitality, because without it he will be incapable of wrong. And to weaken is exactly what fasting does. Such is our Amharic philosophy, and this is what our fathers teach us. Experience confirms it. A man starved all his life will never rebel. Up north there was no rebellion. No one raised his voice or his hand there. But just let the subject start to eat his fill and then try to take the bowl away, and immediately he rises in rebellion. The usefulness of going hungry is that a hungry man thinks only of bread. He's all wrapped up in the thought of food. He loses the remains of his vitality in that thought, and he no longer has either the desire or the will to seek pleasure through the temptation of disobedience. (Kapusinski 113)

The author depicts how the autocratic system was used to contain power subversion, as indicated by the above quote. The monarchical rule attempted to maintain its power by "taming" animals by denying food and "taming" people by intentionally starving and eventually killing the poor. With all the senseless justification and explanations, the minister tried to give evidence from the

north, the famished region. He claimed that the starving north did not rebel against the system. Thus, it is evident that the government is using hunger as a means of containment.

Reading *The Emperor*, specifically, the second part, "It's Coming, It's Coming" and the third, "The Collapse", we can see the tension between subversion and containment in many forms and the subversion of power relationships in the text is evident. Kapuscinski depicts the resistance to this hegemony through the means of his artistic expression. The elements of containment are more open and easier to detect. Containment, being the means by which monarchical power prevents subversion from reaching full fruition, the case is visible throughout the narrative. Greenblatt explains that subversion is, in consequence, the "very product of that power and furthers its ends" (48). In other words, the repressive power itself allows subversion to occur so that it can be contained. However, unfortunately for this particular system, this move was not successful.

### **4.4.3 Containment in the Tower in the Sky**

#### **4.4.3.1 Execution and Imprisonment as Means of Containment**

Inside the Tower in the Sky, the interplay of both subversion and means of containment is so vast and harsh, that they eventually become unsuccessful. Mengstu grasped the military's mentality and planned to get rid of the old corrupt aristocratic system. Along the way, Mengstu longed to make Ethiopia a better place for the common people among whom he was born. He hated the monarchical system bitterly and tried to limit the power of the entrenched aristocrats one by one. As the Derg committee attempts to dismantle and kill members of the royal courtiers, we see that subversion is possible, and the subversive perception does not vanish but cleverly hides itself; insofar as it remains within the structure of society, it is attempting to be contained and, indeed, serves to heighten a power it appears to question.

Prohibition of any form of political thought regarding free thinking is the main feature of the military government of Ethiopia. This led the country into a hidden political struggle in the major cities and a military struggle on different rural fronts. In particular, the EPRP was the main party that was trying to subvert Derg's ideology and military rule in different ways. Publishing leaflets, painting walls and poles, killing officials were among the many ways they used to subvert Derg. As subversive texts sensitize the members of the public to the burning issues of the particular period in which they are written, they present or propagate subversive ideas and feelings towards the established governments and societies of the time (Howard, 2006). In view of this, they usually generate controversies and these controversies have to be contained. This is then the feature of the political operation of power, to subvert and contain it. Derg tried to contain the subversion in many ways. Let's see the following example:

On March 23 1977, the Derg launched a five-day assessa-search. The Derg , Meison, Nebelbal, Abyot Tebaki, the army, and Marxist groups such as Woz League (workers league) and Malerid (Amharic acronym for Marxist Leninist revolutionary organization) all rolled their sleeves up to crack down on the common enemy –the EPRP. (Hiwot 223)

Searching people everywhere, in the house, street, workplace etc. was a means used by the Derg to contain the subversion action of the EPRP. Thus, people found with some suspicious documents and any other evidence were gunned and thrown away. There were merciless and unjustified killings everywhere, and the methods used to contain the EPRP's actions and struggles were harsh and ruthless. Hiwot writes:

House to house searches were conducted to disarm the EPRP. Many of its members and supporters were thrown into jail or killed. Anyone suspected of

counter-revolutionary activity was subject to *netsa ernija* and could be shot by cadres and Abyot Tebakis with impunity. (223)

Every subversive move was attempted to be contained by the tyrants. Unfortunately, for the system and the country as a whole, it resulted in the deaths of many young and educated people, as well as the destruction and closure of the country. The Tower in the Sky is full of these hide-and-seek political bets. The following are among the horrific examples of containment measures taken against those who rebel against the Derg.

After the execution of Meles Tekle and others in March, the Derg had gone on a killing spree of students, worker, military officers, and peasants across the country. It claimed that many of the executed were former feudal lords engaged in “counter revolutionary activities.” It accused them of sabotaging the land reform. Some of them had indeed taken up arms and fled to rural areas to restore their confiscated land.

Executions were unabashedly announced on TV and radio. The dreadful and hateful *Yefiyel Wotetewas* played along when executions were announced.

የፍየል ወጠጤ ልቡ ያበጠበት

እንዋጋ ብሎ ለነብር ላከበት

የማትረባ ፍየል ዘጠኝ ትወልዳለች

ልጆቿም ያልቃሉ እሷም ትሞታለች (Hiwot 134)

*A young goat's with swollen heart*

*He sent for a leopard to fight*

*A worthless goat gives birth to nine*

*Her kids will perish, and she will die*

In light of the above quote, the subversive actions of the rebels led the Derg to control them in any way possible. The rebels are fighting to subvert the Derg regime. After assuming power, the Derg faced many challenges and subversive actions from society. As people in power would do, the Derg was trying to contain its subversive actions and sharpen its power. However, it chose a harsh method of containment. Here, both the Derg and the rebels are already judging each other as enemies; as one tries to subvert them, the other tries to contain them. To affirm that, Bezmenov says, subversion is "a destructive, aggressive activity aimed at destroying the country, nation, or geographical area of your enemy by demoralizing cultural values and changing the population's perception of reality" (1).

In the history of the regime, Derg's measures were far more harsh and severe than containing the power struggle as an ideological war. Executing people, releasing songs through TV sets and radio to terrorize the people, making people pay for a wasted bullet killing some families and others were means of containment taken by the Derg to keep its power in position.

Power and subversion have been proved not to be in simple opposition, but are engaged in a complicated correlation. Subversion assumes various forms which are used to spoil attempts at subverting dominant power relations. Because of the rough disagreement created between the Derg and the EPRP, subversive power has impacted the current ruling order from a bad to an aggressive and brutal regime. It is emphasized here that the authority allows and encourages the coexistence of subversion-containment dialectics in order to stimulate appropriate subversion of the ruling system by the ordinary or oppressed, which is based on not changing the substance relations of domination and will not seriously jeopardize the ruling class's interests. Subversion is controlled by secure containment. There are numerous scenes and descriptions like this throughout the text. As the Derg continued its killings to contain the subversion, the subversives

also continued their subversion in different forms. Unfortunately for the Derg, here too, the containment was not successful.

The Emperor and the Tower in the Sky's containment of subversive manifestations, as well as the consequences of this, were investigated in this study. As a result, it was clear that both the Emperor and the Tower in the Sky contained subversive elements and responses to them, either directly or indirectly. In The Emperor, there is always a fight to dethrone the king and the autocratic system in general, whereas in the Tower in the Sky, there is always a fight to bring down the Derg regime and, in response, there is ruthless bloodshed to contain it. The two life narratives reveal that the power of the ruling class originates from violence and hypocrisy and so it continually arouses suspicions about power and is characterized by violent and ruthless subversiveness. Power, according to the New Historiansists, requires subversion in order to justify its legality and make itself visible as a concrete power form. That is to say, power can only define itself in relation to subversion, to what is alien or other, and at the heart of power is, therefore, the production and subsequent containment of subversion.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

### **5.1. SUMMARY**

This study started by stating the problem that, when it comes to creative nonfiction, the line between fact and fiction and history and imagination is blurry and barely noticeable. Using the new historicists' premise that literary texts are products of the historical circumstances of the period when they were created, life narratives from Kapuscinski's *The Emperor* and Hiwot Teffera's *Tower in the Sky* were used as a means to investigate the problem.

In the literature review, the context of the research was established by critically reviewing related studies, critical reviews, reflections and proceedings that are related, in some way, to the texts analyzed in the study or new historicism in general. This, in turn, has helped to highlight previous studies on the texts and highlight the gap that the current research is intended to fill. The review is completed by showing the difference between the current study and previous studies done in the area, which differ from this study with regards to either the theory applied or the texts analyzed.

The study's theoretical framework was heavily based on insights from new historicism regarding literary texts. New Historicism is a mode of critical interpretation which promises to be a valid and productive practice in both the interpretation of literary, historical and cultural texts and the understanding of the present by means of other possible interpretations of the past. Its refusal to see a literary text as having a fixed meaning embedded in it and history as a single and coherent line of progress, its acceptance of the ceaseless interaction between text and history and of the impact of the culture in which a text is written and its emphasis on the relation of a text with other texts, all contribute to New Historicism as a critical practice. Accordingly, the framework

is designed to investigate two creative nonfictions, *The Emperor* and *Tower in the Sky*, as literary artifacts influenced by circumstances of the period they were created.

The analysis is structured in terms of major new historical paradigms that are used as the basis for the analysis in the study. Based on this, the analysis is carried out by focusing on concepts such as intertextuality, the historicity of texts, self-fashioning, subversion and containment and the like. As such, the analysis has allowed the exploration of different aspects of the two texts. Moreover, the analysis has helped to show both the factual and fictional aspects of the texts by providing textual evidence to illustrate the case. The research is concluded by stating the findings and implications for future studies in the area. Accordingly, the analysis carried out in chapter four made it possible to point out the following findings.

In both the *Tower in the Sky* and *The Emperor*, history is found to be a means through which the blurry line of fact and fiction is depicted. The narratives demonstrate the historicity of the text and the textuality of history in a smooth and clear way. As the presentation of history and literature has overlapped, the reliability and truthfulness of the stories has remained subjective. Thus, in terms of presenting history, it can be said that the practical histories of narrating subjects always inflect auto/biographical and memoir subjectivities. This, in turn, has demonstrated the importance of historical consciousness in the construction of life's written subjectivities. In this regard, there is an undeniable unity of discourse, history, course, and imagination in both their lives and their writings. This indissolubility demonstrates that both historians and life writers employ the same mechanisms in their attempts to create images of reality and history.

Another point that can be gleaned from the analysis found in both *The Tower in the Sky* and *The Emperor* is the creation of one's own self. In this case, self-fashioning is accompanied by obscuring the self's history and involving the self as a character and narrator. Hiwot's self-

fashioning: physical, spiritual, emotional, or creative, was the means through which she gained respect and publicity. And her self-fashioning was accomplished through the struggle for power and survival. Her self-fashioning has two stages, first as a naïve, trustworthy EPRP member, and then, as a grown woman, a wise and transformed writer.

In *The Emperor*, Kapuscinski fashions himself as an unassuming narrator. What is different in the case of *The Emperor* is the position of the narrator. He is aware of his peculiar situation and he uses it as the primary symbolic tool for positioning himself. All the evidence in the analysis shows that Kapuscinski regarded himself as a writer and fashioned his own speaking self accordingly. The forms of utterances in writing may be formulated, for example, as transitional texts from one part of the text to the other and Kapuscinski has employed this technique throughout the book. These transitional segments played a big role in revealing the fashioning and refashioning of the writer's own life.

Both *The Tower in the Sky* and *The Emperor* contain historical events written in fictional language, and fictional matters are treated as history and reportage by giving the impression of history at the same time. In *The Tower in the Sky*, the narrator's personality acquires that of the historian on the one hand and, on the other hand, it also acquires that of the writer (character) through the passage of time. In fact, for her, as someone who experienced it all, the past exists only in memory and she has only recounted the events. The narrator-historian's only resources for grafting on to history are memories, photographs, and diary stories. Those things are factually real and it is hard to erase them all. Yet, the events are reconstructed, often as accurately and as carefully as a historian, putting real people in imaginary situations, and conditions in documentary narratives, supplementing the significance of historical events by plausible and internally consistent depictions. And at the same time, it registered both the fictive aspect of the

stories and their historical context, which is connected with them in one or other way. Similarly, The Emperor conveys fictive elements, techniques, and language, as well as general historical information.

On another note, The Emperor and the Tower in the Sky show how power is operated by a series of subversions and containments. Both Hiwot and Kapuscinski captured the historical discourses constructed by their respective systems, through their construction of scenes and interviews, and by compressing historical events and even creating new incidents. In The Emperor, there is always a struggle to dethrone the king and the autocratic system, while in the Tower in the Sky, the fight is directed towards taking down the Derg regime and, in reaction, there is ruthless bloodshed as a means of containment. In general, the two life narratives reveal that the power of the ruling class originates from violence and hypocrisy and so it continually arouses suspicions about power and is characterized by violent and ruthless subversion and containment interplay. Ironically, this subversiveness is produced by power itself and power is built upon this subversiveness.

## 5.2 CONCLUSION

Throughout the study, it has been emphasized that New Historicism is a critical interpretation mode that promises to be a valid and productive practice in both the interpretation of literary, historical, and cultural texts as well as the understanding of the present through the lens of other possible interpretations of the past. The New Historicism is innovative not only in its approaches to text, history, and culture, but also in its critical force. The focal concepts in New Historicism, textuality of history, historicity of text, contextuality and intertextuality not only help to define the new historicist concerns and the objects of the new historicist analysis but also offer new ways of analysis and interpretation of both literary works and history and culture. The current study explored the interface of fact and fiction as they relate to history and literature. The findings suggest that, in addition to state construction and the master narrative, power operations and ideological apparatuses play a significant role in shaping one's own life.

In the *Tower in the Sky* and *The Emperor*, history has been textualised into numerous and fragmented stories. The narratives' cohesiveness, plural voices, and their lack of closure further undermine any notions of totality or single authority. Intertextual, or interdiscursive, features in both life narratives have indicated the textuality of our knowledge of the past and revealed the ideological basis of textual and historical materials. Confirming the concerns of New Historicism, both Hiwot and Kapuscinski reject the distinction between texts and their socio-cultural contexts. In doing so, both writers disregard the separation between public and private, high and popular culture for a longer, longer time. In general, Hiwot and Kapuscinski challenge conventional notions of history and historiography and acknowledge and confirm the value of history and historical contexts.

The shaping of oneself may occur through a process similar to the creation of a piece of art, a piece of art which overlaps with the life of the artist. Such a process is at work in *The Emperor* of Ryszard Kapuscinski. As he continued to do his job as a journalist, he found himself changing in every situation. All the correspondence work, all the anecdotes everywhere he goes, and all the encounters, I believe, have shaped himself to be a writer; of course, to be a well-known and respected writer. Ultimately, Kapuscinski created a new language for telling the stories of oppressed people and the oppressor, Emperor Hailesilasse I. Similarly, Hiwot's self-fashioning: physical, spiritual, emotional, or creative, was the means through which she gained respect and publicity. And her self-fashioning was accomplished in the struggle for power and survival.

In addition to this, power relations have proved to be simple opposition but are engaged in a complicated correlation. Subversive moves and reactions to containment can be seen in *The Tower in the Sky* and *The Emperor Enfolds*. In both texts, there is always a struggle to dethrone oppressive and dictatorial systems. Unfortunately, measures taken as a reaction to these struggles ended up in bloodshed and destruction. The two life narratives reveal that the power of the ruling class originates from violence and hypocrisy and so it continually arouses suspicions about power and is characterized by violent and ruthless subversion and containment interplay. Murder, starvation, arbitrary killing and imprisonment are used as means of containing subversive actions.

In recent years, Ethiopians have seen the publication of autobiographic, biographic and travel writings in numerous numbers. A fruitful study of works such as Hiwot's and Kapuscinski's can point out the affinities and differences between history and literature in the realm of Ethiopian literature. According to the study, narrating subjects' realistic histories frequently inflects biographical and memoir subjectivities. As a result, historical consciousness plays an important

role in the construction of subjectivities in life writing. Hence, it is possible to say that history and imagination are inextricably linked in both writings.

Before concluding this final chapter of the study, it is necessary to consider future research directions, such as the study's recommendations. Accordingly, on the basis of the research findings, the study has the following recommendations. Since creative nonfiction, as demonstrated in the study, offers ample instances of the creative representation of history and reality, this literary genre should be regarded as the fourth genre, next to fiction, poetry and drama, not for its own sake, but for its positive contribution to the realm of literature in general. With this in mind, encouraging research into this aspect of the literary area can help in the exploration and nurturing of the human intellect. In this respect, future research could profitably focus on the interplay of reality and imagination, which provides a specific vantage point from which to inspect the interrelatedness of history and literature in creating art.

Creative nonfiction, for example, could be meaningfully included in the mainstream of literary studies. Alternatively, the societal, political and historical aspects of the life narrative could be engaged in dialogue with disciplines such as anthropology, philosophy and psychology that are interested in lived human experiences. Rich insights gained from such scholarly endeavors would in turn help to create a space within the public consciousness for ways of interpreting reality that often seem hazy.

Finally, I suggest narrative nonfiction as a subset of creative nonfiction that would benefit students in composition, since creative nonfiction engages students in writing and examining the sociopolitical world from a personal perspective, which aids them in becoming writers for life.

## WORKS CITED

### Primary Sources

Hiwot Teffera. Tower in the Sky. Addis Ababa University Press, 2012.

Kapuściński, Ryszard. The Emperor. Downfall of an Autocrat, London: Penguin Books. 1983.

ልዑል ራስ እምሩ ኃይለ ሥላሴ። ካሁት ከማስታወሰው። 2ኛ እትም። አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ፕሬስ።2002 ዓ.ም።

ኮሎኔል መንግሥቱ ኃይለማሪያም። ትግላችን፡ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ አብዮታዊ የትግል ታሪክ። ቅፅ 1፣ ፀሐይ አሳታሚ ድርጅት። 2004።

ገነት አየለ። የሌተናንት መንግሥቱ ኃይለማሪያም ትዝታዎች። ማንኩሳ ማተሚያ ቤት፣2010።

ዳዊት ወልደ ጊዮርጊስ ። የደም ዕንባ ። ትርጉም ደበበ እሸቱ። ቦሌ ማተሚያ ቤት።

### Secondary Sources

Achebe, Chinua. “The Truth of Fiction” in African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory. Olaniyan, Tejumola and Quayson, Ato (ed.), Blackwell Publishing: United Kingdom, 2012.

Adam Schaff, History and Truth, New York and Oxford, Pergamon Press. 1976.

Adrian Stachowski. The Emperor on the Verge of Genres.(n.d)

Abrams, M. H. A Glossary of Literary Terms, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Fort Worth TX, 1993.

Akung, Jonas Egbudu. New Historicist Dimensions in Helon Habila’s Measuring Time. International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature. No. 1 Vol.4, 2012.

Allen, Graham. Intertextuality: The new critical idiom. London and New York; Routledge,2006.

Aleksandra Zygmunt. Literature or journalism? The Emperor: A controversial reportage by Ryszard Kapuściński as an image of the authority created by the author and an evidence of his writing mastery. Visited on 5/14/2018.

Althusser, L. A Letter on Art in Reply to Andre Daspre in Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1966.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus in Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1969.
- Anderson, Chris. (ed.) Literary Nonfiction, Theory, Criticism, Pedagogy. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1989.
- Anyokwu, Christopher. "Inheritance of loss: Narrative and history in Helon Habila's MeasuringTime" California Linguistic Notes, Vol.33 No.2, 2008.
- Ankersmit, Frank R. and Kellner, Hans (eds) A New Philosophy of History, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Ankersmit, Frank. "Statements, Texts and Pictures," in Ankersmit and Kellner (1995): 212-240.
- Ardian, Rizky. The Genocide of Rwanda in Terry George's Hotel Rwanda: A New Historicism Study. Surabaya: Universitas Airlangga, 2011.
- Aviezer, Tucker, ed. A Companion to the Philosophy of History and Historiography Malden: Blackwell, 2009.
- Azeez, T. Reading Kurunmi and Ijaye as factual historical war dramas: a genre and text. International Journal of English and Literature, (2013). 4.4:102-114.
- Baldick, Chris. Criticism and Literary Theory: 1890 to Present. NY: Longman, 1996.
- Bann, Stephen. The Inventions of History: Essays on the Representation of the Past, Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Barry, Peter. Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory. 3rd ed. New Delhi: Viva, 2010.
- Barthes, Roland. "The Death of the Author." 1967. Authorship: From Plato to the Postmodern. A Reader. Ed. Sean Burke. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2004: 125-130.
- Berkhofer, Robert F. Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse, Massachusetts, London: Belknap/Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Billington, A. R. America's frontier heritage. New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1975.
- Blackstock, P. The Strategy of Subversion: Manipulating the Politics of Other Nations. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964.

- Brannigan, John. *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998.
- Bezmenov, Y. *Soviet subversion of western society*. Retrieved June 2, 2017 from <http://www.yuribezmenov.com/>. 1983.
- Brauner, David. *Philip Roth*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2007.
- Butler, Judith. *Giving an Account of Oneself*. New York: Fordham UP, 2005.
- Canary, Robert H. and Kozicki, Henry (eds). *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1978.
- Carr, Edward Hallet. *What is History*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., edited by R.W.Davies. The George Macauay Trevelyan lectures Delivered in the University of Cambridge, January – March 1961.
- Chirobocea, Olivia. *Perspectives on the Relation between History and Fiction*. December, 2017.
- Rauch, Jonathan. "Journals." *The Times Literary Supplement* 18 March 1994. <<http://www.nas.org/publications/acadques/acadquestls9404.html>>
- Chung-Hsiung Lai. *Limits and Beyond: Greenblatt, New Historicism and a Feminist Geneology*, 2006.
- Clark, Roy Peter. "The line between fact and fiction" in *Creative Nonfiction*. Issue 16, 2001. <[http://www.creativenonfiction.org/thejournal/articles/issue%2016/16clark\\_the\\_line.htm](http://www.creativenonfiction.org/thejournal/articles/issue%2016/16clark_the_line.htm)>.
- Colebrook, Claire. *New Literary Histories: New Historicism and Contemporary Criticism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- Colebrook, C. *New literary histories*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. CUI, D. (2007).
- Re-evaluation of New Historicism (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation at Northeast Normal University, China). 1997.
- Collin, H.P. *Dictionary of politics and government* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London Bloomsbury publishing plc. 2004.
- Collingwood, R.G. *The Idea of History*. London: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Cornell, Saul. *Splitting the Difference: Textualism, Contextualism and Post-Modern History*. *American Studies* 36.1 (1995): 51-80. Web. 20 Apr. 2015.

- American Studies 36.1 (1995): 51-80. Web. Accessed on, 20 Nov. 2018.
- Cornis-Pope, Marcel. (2014) *New Literary Hybrids in the Age of Multimedia Expression: Crossing Borders, Crossing Genres*. John ISSN 2039-2117 (online)
- Cox, Jeffrey N. and Larry J. Reynolds, eds. *New Historical Literary Study: Essays on Reproducing Texts, Representing History*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993.
- Dejene Tesemma. Review on Tower in thesk, [yquateronet-wordpress-com.cdn.ampproject.org/v/s/quateronet.wordpress.com/2013/07/09/book-review-tittle-tower-in-the-sky](http://yquateronet-wordpress-com.cdn.ampproject.org/v/s/quateronet.wordpress.com/2013/07/09/book-review-tittle-tower-in-the-sky). Accessed on April 5/2019.
- Dollimore, Jonathan. *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology, and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1984.
- Dominick LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History. Texts, Contests, Language*. London: Cornelluniversity press, 1983.
- Domosławski, Artur (2010b), *Traktat o władzy, czyli „Cesarz” Ryszarda Kapuścińskiego* [online], <http://kapuscinski.info/traktat-o-wladzy-czyli-cesarz-ryszarda-kapuscinskiego.html> [20 marca 2014].
- Eagleton, T. *Marxist Literary Theories*. in Ann, J & David, R. Ed. 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory*. London: Verso. (1978 [1975]).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ideology: An Introduction*. London: verso. 1991.
- ECADF in News Analysis March 18, 2013“Tower in the Sky”Author: Hiwot Teffera Commentator: Ewnetu Sime. [ecadforum.com.cdn.ampproject.org/v/s/ecadfourm.com/2013/03/18/book-review-tower-in-the-sky/](http://ecadforum.com.cdn.ampproject.org/v/s/ecadfourm.com/2013/03/18/book-review-tower-in-the-sky/).
- Endashaw, Letera. “A conflict of Ideals vs. Idols”. *Voice*, vol.12, Mar.2015.
- Foley, Barbara. *Telling the Truth: The Theory and Practice of Documentary Fiction*. Ithaca: NY: Cornell University Press, 1986. PDF.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Foucault Reader*. Ed. Paul Rabinow. New York: Pantheon, 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage, 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Order of Things*. New York: Pantheon, 1972.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Truth and Juridical Forms. Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, J. D. Faubion. New York: The New Press. (2000[1994]).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Society Must be Defended": Lectures at the College de France, 1975-1976, edited by M. Bertani and A. Fontana. Translated by D. Macey. New York: Picador. 2003.
- Freeman, Jr. C. (2002). Owen Wister—Brief life of a Western mythmaker: 1860—1938. Retrieved from <http://harvardmagazine.com/2002/07/owen-wister.html>
- Greenblatt, S. (1982). The power of forms in the English Renaissance. NSW: Pilgrim Books.
- Galín, Müge. Between East and West: Sufism in the Novels of Doris Lessing. New York: StateU of New York P, 1997.
- Gallagher, Catherine and Stephen Greenblatt. Practicing New Historicism. Chicago: The University of Chicago P, 2000.
- Garner, Helen. "An Evening with Helen Garner." Nonfiction Now Conference. RMIT University, Melbourne. 2012.
- Geertz, Clifford. The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
- Genette, Gerard. The Architext: An Introduction. Berkeley: University of California Press, 83-84. 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree. University of Nebraska Press. 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation. Jane E. Lewin (trans.), Lincoln NE and London: University of Nebraska Press. 1997.
- Ghelawdewos Araia. Review of Tower in the sky, Tigrai Online, October 19, 2013.
- Gibson, Donald B. Text and Countertext in Toni Morrison's The Bluest Eye. Bloom's Modern Critical Appreciations: Toni Morrison's The Bluest Eye - Updated. 1989.
- Gossman, Lionel. "History and Literature: Reproduction or Signification," in Canary and Kozicki (1978): 3-39. (1990) Between History and Literature, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press. 1978.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. Hamlet in Purgatory. Princeton: PUP, 2001.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare. Chicago: U of ChicagoP, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Introduction. The Forms of Power and the Power of Forms in the Renaissance. Genre 15 (Summer 1982).
- \_\_\_\_\_. Shakespeare Negotiations. London: Clarendon Press. 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Resonance and wonder. K. Ryan. (Ed.) New Historicism and Cultural Materialism.55-60. London: Arnold. 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Greenblatt reader. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell. 2005.
- Greenblatt, S., & Gallagher, C. Practicing New Historicism. Chicago: University of ChicagoPress. 2000.
- Greenblatt, S., & Gunn, G. Redrawing the boundaries: The transformation of English and American literary studies. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press. 2007.
- Gutkind, Lee. Keep It Real: Everything You Need to Know About Researching and WritingCreative Nonfiction. New York: Norton, 2008.
- . You can't make this stuff up. Da capo press. 2012.
- Habila, Helon. Measuring Time. Cassava Republic Press, 2007.
- Haftu Kahsay. "The ideological plane in selected Ethiopian Diasporic prose narratives in English: A comparative study of political philosophy". Unpublished MA Thesis, Department of Foreign Literature, Addis Ababa University, 2012.
- Halliday, M. K. and Hasan, R. Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-semiotic Perspective. Beijing: World Publishing Corporation. 2012.
- Harold G. Marcus entitled prejudice and ignorance in reviewing books about Africa: the strangecase of Ryszard Kapuscinski's the emperor (1983).
- Hamilton, Paul. "Optimism and Pessimism of the New Historicism," English 42,173: 109-123. 1993.
- The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse end Historical Representation, Baltimore: JohnHopkins University Press, 1987.

- Hayden, White. "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact". Geoffrey Roberts. *The History and Narrative Reader*. Routledge; New York, 2001.
- Heyne, Eric. "Toward a Theory of Literary Nonfiction." *Modern Fiction Studies*, 1987.
- Hine, V. R., & Faragher, M. J. *The American west, a new interpretive history*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000.
- Howard, Joseph. Characteristics of subversive literature. 2016. Retrieved from <http://www.owlcation.com/>
- Hunt, Lynn, ed. *The New Cultural History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P, 1989.
- Hutcheon, Linda. "Historiographic Metafiction: Parody and Intertextuality of History," in O'Donnell and Con Davis (1989): 3-32. (1989).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The politics of postmodernism*, London, Routledge. 2002.
- Iggers, Georg G. *Historiography in the 20th Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*. Wesleyan University Press: Connecticut. 2005.
- Jenkins Keith. *Re-Thinking History*, London, Routledge, 2003.
- Joel Fineman. *The History of the Anecdote: Fiction and Fiction*. *The new historicism*, 65-92. 2013.
- Jonas Egbudu Akung. *New Historicist Dimensions in Helon Habila's Measuring Time*. Vol 1, no.4, 2012.
- Jones, James A. "Fact and Fiction in God's Bits of Wood". <http://courses.weupa.edu/jonesarchives/sec/sembart.htm>
- John Berger. *On Epigraphs and other incestuous things*. 1972.
- Journal of Literature and Art Studies*, ISSN 2159-5836, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp.259-263, April 2014.
- Kafadar, Cemal. "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature." *Studia Islamica*, no. 69, 1989, pp. 121–150. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/1596070](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1596070). Accessed 28 Sept. 2020.
- Kellner, Hans. *Language and Historical Representation : Getting the Story Crooked*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1989.

- Kirkscey, Russell T. *Finding Opportunities: a Reevaluation of Narrative Theory and Praxis in Communication Studies*.
- Kitson, Frank. *Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency, Peace-Keeping*. London: Faber, 1971.
- Korhonen, Kuisma. "General Introduction: The History/Literature Debate" in Korhonen Kuisman (ed.) *Tropes for the Past: Hyden White and History/Literature Debate*. Edition Rodopi: New York, 2006.
- Kristeva, J. *Semiotics: Researches for Semantic Analysis*. Paris: Seuil Press. 1969.
- Lessing, Doris. *Martha Quest*. London: Harper, 2009. MS Word File. 1952.
- McCann, Jerome. *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory*. OUP, 1985.
- Levinson, Marjorie, et al. (eds). *Rethinking Historicism: Critical Readings in Romantic History*, Oxford, New York: Blackwell. 1989.
- LIU Jie-xiu et al. *Power, Subversion, and Containment: A New Historicist Interpretation of the Virginian*. Northeast Petroleum University, Daqing, China. Vol. 12, No. 7, July 2014.
- Lopate, Phillip. *The Art of the Personal Essay*. New York: Doubleday, 1994.
- Ludmaila Martha. *Between agency and containment: A new historicist reading of Anthony Burgess' A clockwork orange*. MA thesis; Santa Dharma University, 2017. Online
- Macherey, Pierre. *A theory of Literary Production*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1966.
- Mahdi Sepehrmanesh. *A New Historicist Reading of August Wilson's Ma Rainey's Black Bottom*. *International Journal of Languages, Literature and Linguistics*, Vol. 1, No. 3, September 2015.
- Marwick, Arthur. *The Nature of History*. London: The Macmillan Press, 1976.
- Mesfin Adinew. "A Thematic Study of Selected Prose Fictional and Non-Fictional Writings of Ethiopian Diaspora in English". Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Department of Foreign Literature, Addis Ababa University, 2012.
- Michael Sabelli in his article, "Ryszard Kapuściński's Discourse on the Other: Literary Reportage's Perspective of Reality".

- Montrose, Louis. "New Historicisms." *Redrawing the Boundaries: The Transformation of English and American Literary Studies*. Ed. Stephen Greenblatt and Giles Gunn. New York: Modern Language Association, 1992.
- Morris, Wesley. *Toward a New Historicism*. Princeton: PUP, 1972.
- Murfin, R., & Ray, S. *The Bedford glossary of critical and literary terms*. (1998). Retrieved from [http://bcs.bedfordstmartins.com/virtualit/poetry/critical\\_define/crit\\_newhist.html](http://bcs.bedfordstmartins.com/virtualit/poetry/critical_define/crit_newhist.html)
- Myers D.G. "The New Historicism in Literary Studies" *Academic Question*. 1988-89. Nebraska Press, (2003).
- Ngara, A. (*Art and ideology in the African Novel: A study of the Influence of Marxism on African writing*. London: Heinemann. 1985.
- Norrick, N. R. (1989). *Intertextuality in Humor*. *International Journal of Humor Research* 2(2):117-139. *Communication and Linguistics Studies* 2018; 4(2): 27-31 31
- O'Donnell, Patrick and Con Davis, Robert (eds). *Intertextuality and Contemporary American Fiction*, Baltimore, London: John Hopkins University Press. 1989.
- Richard Wilson and Richard Dutton in the "Introduction" to their collection of essays *New Historicism and Renaissance Drama*.
- Ricoeur, Paul. *Time and Narrative*, Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Trans.) volume 3, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Roy, Anindyo. "Auto/Biographer, Historian, Griot: Measures of Realism and the Writing of Writing of History in Helon Habila's *Measuring Time*" *Ariel: a Review of International English Literature*. Vol. 41, No. 1, 2011.
- Ryan, Kiernan ed. *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism: A Reader*. Ryan, Kiernan (edi). London : Edward Arnold, 1996.
- Saussure, F. *Course in General Linguistics*. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press. 2012.
- Scheiding O. *New Historicism and Discourse Analysis*. In: Middeke M., Müller T., Wald C., Zapf H. (eds) *English and American Studies*. J.B. Metzler, Stuttgart, 2012 .
- Selam Beyene, PhD. July 14, 2013 by [EthiopianReview.com](http://EthiopianReview.com) [ecadforum.com.cdn.ampproject.org/v/s/ecadfourm.com/2013/03/18/book-review-tower-in-the-sky/](http://ecadforum.com.cdn.ampproject.org/v/s/ecadfourm.com/2013/03/18/book-review-tower-in-the-sky/).

- Sepehrmanesh. *A New Historicist Reading of August Wilson's MaRainey's Black Bottom*. 2015.
- Tyson, L. *Critical Theory Today: A user-friendly Guide*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge Tylor&Francis Group. 2006.
- Van Dijk, T.A. *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. London: Sage Publications. 1998.
- Veesser, Harold Aram (ed). *The New Historicism*, New York, London: Routledge. 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The New Historicism: Reader*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Xinbin *Critical Linguistics: Theory and Application*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press. 2005.
- YAN Jiansheng. *Information Construction of News Discourse under the Perspective of Intertextuality*. *Studies in Literature and Language* Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 18-21. 2017.
- Yuri Bezmenov : *Subversion and Control of Western Society*. YouTube, 18 July 2017, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=p6lksJhBvas](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p6lksJhBvas). Retrieved April 09, 2019.
- Zammito, John. "Are We Being Theoretical Yet? The New Historicism, the New Philosophy of History, and 'Practicing Historians,'" *Journal of Modern History* 65, 4: 783- 814. 1993.
- Zengin, Mevlüde. *A Study of Joseph Conrad's Lord Jim, Heart of Darkness and Nostromo in a New Historicist Perspective*. Diss. Ankara University, 2007.
- ZHU, L. *Historicity of texts and the textuality of histories—On The Last of the Mohicans, The Luck of Roaring Camp and The Virginian by the approaches of New Historicism* (Unpublished Master thesis at Guangxi Normal University, China), 2010.

## WEB SOURCES

<http://www.modlang.fsu.edu/conference/confboard/messages/11.html>

Folger Library. 2002. <http://www.folger.edu/sq/menu.asp>

Renaissance Quarterly. JSTOR. 2002. <http://www.jstor.org/journals/00344338.html>

Shakespeare Quarterly. JSTOR. 2002. <http://www.jstor.org/journals/00373222.html>

Social Text. MUSE. 2002. <<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/soc/>>

Michael Delahoyde. Clinical Professor of English Washington State University.

(<http://blogs.bcu.ac.uk/virtualtheorist/new-historicism/>)(Accessed on 16, Nov. 2018, 4:40)

[http://www.ethiopiafirst.info/etnews/index.php/component/k2/item/283-a-](http://www.ethiopiafirst.info/etnews/index.php/component/k2/item/283-a)

<http://www.ethiopiafirst.info/etnews/index.php/component/k2/item/283-a-achievement.html> -towering-