After Joyce

Thesis submitted for the award of Doctor of Philosophy by

Jinan Ashraf

BA, MA

Supervised by Professor Derek Hand and Professor Eugene McNulty

School of English

Dublin City University

August 2026

Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work, and that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original and have conformed to the regulations on the use and declaration of Generative AI, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

I hereby certify that no Generative Artificial Intelligence (Gen AI) tools have been used in the creation of the thesis.

Signed: Jinan Ashraf ID No:20214782 Date: 7 August 2026

List of Publications

Review of *Modern Writers, Transnational Literatures* by Ragini Mohite (Clemson UP, 2021) in *The Modernist Review* no. 39, 2022. https://modernistreviewcouk.wordpress.com/2022/04/04/book-review-modern-writers-transnational-literatures-rabindranath-tagore-and-w-b-yeats/

"Gendered Authorities: James Joyce and the Indian Avant-garde." *Joyce Studies in Italy* 24, 2022, pp.127-138.

"A Ulysses Gathering." *Dublin James Joyce Journal,* no. 14-15, 2021-2022, pp. 130-132. https://muse.jhu.edu/issue/55014.

"Caliban's Mirror." *James Joyce Broadsheet* 2022, pp. 3. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/48713689.

"The Construction of the Courtesan in *Ulysses* and *Sin*: Notes on Irish and Indian Orientalism." *Critical Language and Literary Studies* vol. 34, no. 22, 2025, pp. 77-86.

Review of *Finnegans Wake – Human and Nonhuman Histories* edited by Richard Barlow and Paul Fagan (Edinburgh UP, 2024). *Estudios Irlandeses* no. 21, 2026, pp. 229-231. https://doi.org/10.24162/EI2026-14177.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations 6

Table of Figures 8

Abstract 9

Acknowledgements 10

Introduction 12

Transnational Joyce 16

James Joyce in Progressive Writing 20

"Outside the Archive": Gaps in Scholarship 26

Domestic Space, Contagion, and Containment 32

Domestic Fiction and the Body 36

Modernist Readers and Reading 40

Theoretical Paradigms, Questions, Methods 58

Terminology and Narratological Concerns 62

Overview of Chapters 71

Chapter One Interpreters and Interpretations: The Leprous Body in *Untouchable, Ulysses, and Finnegans Wake* 79

Introductory 79

The Leprous Body in *Untouchable* 87

Public Health, Theosophical Contexts, and the Construction of the Leprous Subject 99

The Leprous Body in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* 106

Conclusion 134

Chapter Two Architectures of Containment:

Carceral Imaginary in James Joyce and Rashid Jahan 136

Architectures of Containment 142

Constructing the Carceral City in Joyce and Jahan 147

Priests and Police: Joyce's Carceral Colonial City 160

The Carceral City in Rashid Jahan: Gender, Domestic Space, and Containment 165

Carceral Imaginary in Rashid Jahan 181

Ayahs and Lodging Homes 184

Conclusion 190

Chapter Three Strange Customs:

The Construction of the Courtesan in *Ulysses* and *Sin* 193

Charting Parallels 197

"Weaving Dreams on Paper": Female Sexuality and Reader-response 201

Modernist Readership and Print Cultures 204

Masculine Modernisms and Imaginative Reconstructions 214

Perspectives on Sexuality and Orientalism in Irish and Indian Modernist Productions 216

The Nautch Girl in Colonial Writing and Women Performers in *Sin* and *Ulysses* 226

The Representation of the Harem and the Eunuch 237

Conclusion 249

Conclusion 252

Works Cited 258

Appendix: Glossary 287

Abbreviations

A	Ahmed Ali, Mahmud-uz-Zafar, Rashid Jahan and Sajjad Zaheer, Snehal Shingavi, *Angaarey*
ARHC	Rakshanda Jalil, *A Rebel and Her Cause: The Life and Work of Rashid Jahan*
C	Mulk Raj Anand, *Conversations in Bloomsbury*
D	James Joyce, *Dubliners*
FW	James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake*
JJ	Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*
MBK	Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper: James Joyce's Early Years*
OCPW	Kevin Barry, *Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing*
P	James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*

SE	Virginia Woolf, *Selected Essays*
SL	James Joyce, *Selected Letters*
SH	James Joyce, *Stephen Hero*
S	Wajida Tabassum, *Sin*
U	James Joyce, *Ulysses*
U	Mulk Raj Anand, *Untouchable*

Table of Figures

Figure 1: The Little Review "Ulysses": Episode XIII 46

Figure 2: Magazine Archive, *Shama* 56

Figure 3: "Dear Dirty Dublin, Wanted a Public Health Department",

The Leprecaun Cartoon Monthly, December 1908 113

Figure 4: Tonic for Manliness in the back cover of *Biswin Sadi* 211

Figure 5: "Ithaca", *JoyceImages* curated by Aida Yared 212

After Joyce

Jinan Ashraf

Abstract

Recent advances in Joyce Studies have been marked by the confluence and integration of new approaches and methodologies, namely, petroculture studies, animal studies, sound studies, ecomedia studies, ecofeminism, and the blue and energy humanities. This trend signals the radical novelty of emerging scholarship grounded in the twenty-first century in terms of methods, discourses, and practices, as well as its attention to contemporary readers of Joyce *vis-à-vis* Joyce's original audience. The research draws on historicised readings of James Joyce, Mulk Raj Anand, Rashid Jahan, and Wajida Tabassum to examine the complex conditions of modernist experimentation in the ex-colonial metropolis and the peripheries. *After Joyce* advances new interpretive frameworks that expand received ideas of the medical and carceral imaginaries at work in Joyce Studies. In the first instance, the research brings into focus metaphors of contamination across socio-political and nationalist twentieth-century contexts to demonstrate how transnational modernist prose beyond the fin-de-siècle narrates experiences of contagion and containment. In the second instance, the research probes into ideological factors (such as the circumscription of reproduction and child-bearing) leading to the incarceration of women within the home in the turn of the century against the broader comparative contexts of the growing emphasis on women's duties within the domestic sphere in Ireland and India. In the third instance, the research documents catalytic modernist exchanges and modes of circulation, enabling readers to envision Joyce's impact not only one-dimensionally but disruptively and even reciprocally in decolonial contexts.

Acknowledgements

drive to the Emergency again
for readmission to the huge
vessel that heaves water month
after month, without leaving
port, without moving a knot,
without arrival or destination,
its great engines pounding.

— Donal Hall, "The Ships Pounding"

At liberty at last like mad Arnaut
To cultivate the wind, to hunt the bull
On hare-back, to swim against the tide.

— Bernard O'Donoghue,
"The Day I Outlived My Father"

I would like to thank Professor Derek Hand for the incredible guidance and support he has continuously extended to me during the course of my research, without which I would never have been able to arrive at the end. I hope he knows how much his kindness and feedback on drafts have meant to me. I would like to thank Professor Eugene McNulty for his time, in-depth reading of my drafts, and incisive critique of my work. I thank Professor McNulty with all my heart for pushing me as a researcher, writer, and thinker. I am incredibly fortunate to have had the opportunity to work with them both in the School of English at Dublin City University.

My thanks are due to the Head of the School of English at Dublin City University, Professor Michael Hinds, for his support of my research and for the award of travel grants, which made it possible for me to attend significant conferences in the field and undertake valuable professional training and certification. I am immensely thankful to Professor Derek Hand, Professor Eileen Connolly, and Dr. Jivanta Schottli for the scholarship from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences and the Ireland-India Institute, which enabled me to undertake research in the School of English at Dublin City University, Ireland. I am profoundly grateful to Dr. Ellen Howley for her scrupulous eye and feedback on my chapters, and my external examiner, Professor Sunayani Bhattacharya at the University of Maryland, California, for her enriching comments and feedback on my research. I am thankful to Gearóid O'Flaherty for chairing my viva. My sincere thanks to the School of English for providing a culture of exceptional intellectual rigour and academic integrity in research.

I am thankful to Dorothy Kim and Jordan Clapper for the opportunity to conceptualize an interdisciplinary, intersectional, and CRT framework in DH research, teaching, and practice. I

am grateful for the opportunities and funding extended to me by the Modernist Studies Association, the British Association of Modernist Studies, the Laura Bassi Foundation, the International James Joyce Foundation, and Centre de recherche interuniversitaire sur les humanités numériques (CRIHN). I am thankful for the print collections and research spaces made accessible to me with the Library Link: CONUL Access Scheme in Ireland, the staff at the National Library of Ireland, Trinity College, Dublin, Marsh's Library, and various public libraries in Ireland, Canada, and the US, for facilitating access to rare materials for my research and broadening the horizons of my academic and private reading over the course of the degree. I am grateful for Libraries Ireland, the American Studies Research Centre (ASRC), now OUCIP, in Osmania University and Kannur University for being vital library lifelines.

I am indebted to Dr. Mobeen Hussain (early career historian of the British Empire and the colonial legacies of consumption, material and literary cultures, and economic exploitation at the University of York) for the gift of her scholarship and friendship, which unfolded over many blissful biryani dates. I am thankful for her encouragement in the writing stage, and the incredible resources, materials, scholars, and worlds she introduced me to over the course of my research. I have looked to Dr. Hussain as an inspiration and as a model to emulate. I am indebted to Dr. Shahriyar Mansouri, Associate Professor of Modern Irish and English Literature at Shahid Beheshti University Tehran, for the wonderful gift of his scholarship, time, and advice. I have greatly benefitted from the many discussions and correspondences on Irish literature and modernism and collaboration on IASIL bibliography. My special thanks are reserved for Professor Udaya Kumar for his scholarship, time, and conversations on Joyce's modernism, and Professor Pasha M. Khan for introducing me to the wonder and magic of Urdu. I am thankful to Dr. Laura Gibbs, Dr. Anab Naiyer, Dr. Sheelalipi Sahana, and the network of scholars in Irish Studies and specialists on South Asia who have set the bar so dizzyingly high. Much thanks to my colleague Dr. Hadjer Taibi in the School of Education at Dublin City University for her support. Thanks are due to Maria, Milena, and my wonderful cousins who bring me deep joy, adventure, and comfort.

My love and gratitude remain eternally with my dear late father, Mohomed Ashraf, for his love, which transcends *all* worlds. His unwavering feminist and humanitarian principles and championing of women's education has made it possible for me to be a researcher today. I am grateful to my sister Jumana Ashraf for her deep love and fierce support of my research and academic pursuits. This thesis would not have been possible without her. Much thanks to my mother Yasmeen for still coming to terms with the idea of research and for putting up with daughters she cannot quite understand.

All praise to Allah for the accomplishment of this Ph.D., and for the even higher honour of being the *dotter of my father's eyes*.

Introduction

> Each of them is interpreting his own Joyce and therefore producing afresh, despite the precedent.
>
> — David Hayman and Elliott Anderson, *In the Wake of the Wake*

This thesis examines Irish and South Asian networks of modernist literary production, with a focus on Anglophone Indian modernism and Urdu modernism in translation. The purpose of this "Introduction" is to demonstrate questions of literary affiliation opened up by James Joyce's modernism in the Indian sub-continent not only in the first but also into the second half of the twentieth century in the genre of the short story, the novelette, and the novel.[1] The thesis examines transnational networks of modernism as both developed and actively developing. Scholars in New Modernist Studies continue to show how modernism percolates into the second half of the twentieth century as well as into contemporary fiction,[2] offering a framework through which to recover writers and their works for inclusion in Global Modernism. These networks are examined in the thesis not only in terms of "originary" or "positive" but also "negative" ties — as when modernists resist inclusion in an Anglophone modernist canon and assume multiple and resistant strategies and agencies. Sajjad Zaheer writing *London ki Ek Raat* (1938) in Urdu instead of English is one such instance.[3] This introductory chapter places Irish and South Asian modernisms in their appropriate historical and transnational contexts, providing a thematic overview of the

[1]See "Overview of Chapters" for an extensive list of the novel and short stories under examination in the thesis.
[2]A phenomenon known as "transhistoricism" (Jarzab-Napierala 55).
[3]See Schrag 2023 for extended treatment of Zaheer's "negative ties" in the network theory of global modernism.

research, and introducing the writers and works being examined. The chapter below is divided into sections titled “Transnational Joyce”, “James Joyce in Progressive Writing”, ““Outside the Archive”: Gaps in the Scholarship”, “Domestic Space, Contagion, and Containment”, “Domestic Fiction and the Body”, “Modernist Readers and Reading”, “Theoretical Paradigms, Questions, Methods”, “Terminology and Narratological Concerns”, and “Overview of Chapters.” The sections titled “Transnational Joyce” and “James Joyce in Progressive Writing” are intended to provide critical contexts and a broader understanding of the transnational circuits under examination in this thesis, while ““Outside the Archive”: Gaps in the Scholarship” introduces the gaps identified in the field. The next three sections titled “Domestic Space, Contagion, and Containment”, “Domestic Fiction and the Body”, and “Modernist Readers and Reading” introduce and organise the research thematically. “Theoretical Paradigms, Questions, Methods” explores the theoretical frameworks, methods, and research questions energising the research. “Terminology and Narratological Concerns” offers an introduction to narratological terms and concerns. “Overview of Chapters” lists and outlines the work undertaken in each chapter while providing brief plotlines and introductions to themes and characters.

In “Definitional Excursions: The Meanings of Modern/Modernity/Modernism”, Susan Stanford Friedman (2001) defines “modernism” in the humanities as most often associated with the “radical rupture” from “post-Renaissance Enlightenment humanism and accompanying formations in the West” (501). Friedman emphasises how this radical rupture contributes to conditions of modernity in Europe, Britain, and the United States (501). Building on this definition, my thesis examines modernism in the Irish and Indian context as distinct literary movements with significant overlaps and distinctions, with modernist style continuing into the latter part of the twentieth century in the case of South Asian modernism. In terms of periodicity, Irish modernism emerged in the late nineteenth century, while South

Asian modernism is situated before the middle mark of the twentieth century. In both the Irish and South Asian contexts, the process and period of modernism coincided with colonialism and the transitory period of decolonisation. In the Indian context more specifically, as E.V. Ramakrishnan and Udaya Kumar have pointed out in "Modernism in Indian Literature" (2016), modernism is better understood as a "protean" category with regional variants encompassing a diverse range of linguistic and literary communities and cultures.[4] In the Indian context, I read the modernist moment closely with the "progressive" movement associated with the All-India Progressive Writers' Association since modernism and progressive writing (associated with the Progressive Writers' Association) overlapped in defiance of decorum in literature (Ramakrishnan and Kumar 2016).[5] The avant-garde movement in Indian literature attempted to break from the tyranny of romantic ideals associated with the Renaissance era in the nineteenth century.[6] Modernism in the context of India encompasses both the influence and ideas of European modernisms and the development of indigenous modernisms in the twentieth century (Chaudhuri 943).[7] Several regional strands of modernism in the Indian context introduced formally innovative literature which was provocative in content, consequently drawing censure from orthodox and religious bodies, groups, and movements. Sajjad Zaheer (1905-1973), Rashid Jahan (1905-1952), Ahmed Ali (1910-1994), and Mahmud-uz-Zafar (1908-1954) of the All-India Progressive Writers' Association (PWA) drew from Irish and other European modernisms in introducing conversations around the pressing concerns of the day (socialism, nationalism, parochialism, anti-imperialism, and emerging women's issues). Therefore, in the Indian context, modernism

[4]The online source is referenced in the Works Cited. No page number available.
[5]See section titled "James Joyce in Progressive Writing", where I offer a definition of the All-India Progressive Writers' Association and rationale for abbreviation (PWA).
[6]The term "avant-garde" is a military metaphor. In literary parlance, it has come to mean a radical subversion of tradition and a pursuit of obscurity (also seen in modernist work). In the thesis, I use the term "avant-garde" in those instances where the violation of convention is rendered in extremity. Partha Mitter places the beginning of the avant-garde in India in Calcutta 1922, with the exhibition of Paul Klee, Wassily Kandinsky, and other Bauhaus artists (10).
[7]See Chaudhuri 2010.

represented not only an aesthetic but also a set of conditions encompassing freedom in the social and historical sense (Chaudhuri 943). It is not uncommon in the Indian context to find modernist prose that is written in plain language, and where genre is deployed in the service of a social cause, as in the case of Rashid Jahan.

Modernism has been argued by scholars to be ongoing in the South Asian context, which provides both historical context and ground for situating my research more broadly within the theoretical paradigm of "transnational modernism" (Winkiel 85).[8] "Transnational modernism" as a theoretical paradigm has allowed scholars such as Jessica Berman, Aarthi Vadde, Laura Doyle, Rebecca Walkowitz, and Laura Winkiel[9] to maintain that modernism transcends national borders and dismantles the ideological, geographical, and cultural centres of a Eurocentric canon.[10] The elitist history of modernism is invoked by these scholars in calling for a turn toward alternative centres and cultures of modernist production. In other words, in line with Partha Mitter on the Western origins of the avant-garde, I read modernism as being "enmeshed" in complex discourses of "authority, hierarchy, and power" (7). The transnational modernist paradigm is also used in the related context of "geomodernism", a broader term, which encompasses the "less hegemonic" study of aesthetic projects including but not limited to canonical modernism (Doyle 532) and its temporal dimensions (it encompasses, in other words, nineteenth, twentieth-century, and twenty-first century aesthetic projects).[11]These frameworks allow for the advancement of comparative methodologies across a wider temporal range while transgressing the boundaries of the national, thereby offering scholars an avenue to explore resonances and discordances across discrete cultural and national contexts. Transnationalism is approached in this thesis as a "reading practice"

[8]The framework of "transnational modernism" is expanded in the section titled "Theoretical Paradigms, Questions, Methods".
[9]See complete reference in Works Cited (Berman 2001, Doyle and Winkiel 2006, Vadde 2017, Walkowitz 2007).
[10]Borrowing from Aamir R. Mufti, I employ the term "eurocentric" to refer to "the social and cultural force of [the] idea of Europe in intellectual life" (474).
[11]See Doyle "Transnational History at Our Backs" (2006).

and an "orientation" toward the comparative, one which frames the "setting, composition, publication, and reception" of Irish literature (Parsons 2). The transnational orientation allows me to map networks and politics of connection and affiliation between and among the Irish and Indian modernists examined in the thesis. Rabindranath Tagore's appeal to harmonise growth with "world tendencies" in the wake of anti-colonial movements in Ireland and India echoes Joyce's own aesthetic and political vision: "we must show, each in our civilisation, that which is universal in the heart of the unique" (Viswanathan 8).[12] Here Tagore engages with revisionary questions of community and cosmopolitanism, which Jessica Berman has shown to have begun on writers like James Joyce in *Modernist Fiction* , and which I expand in the thesis (Berman 4).[13]

Transnational Joyce

James Joyce (2 February 1882 – 13 January 1941) has been read in a comparative framework with and against several world writers and cultures. In my thesis, I approach Joyce as a "transnational" figure around whom significant literary and cultural debates have been advanced in colonial and decolonial contexts of the world, particularly in the context of South Asian modernisms. In order to demonstrate the movement of Joyce's ideas in colonial India, I examine the modernist prose and networks associated with Mulk Raj Anand, Rashid Jahan, and Wajida Tabassum.[14] One of the most significant Anglophone Indian modernist publications to allude to James Joyce's *Ulysses* is Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* (1935). Mulk Raj Anand is a crucial link in situating the transmission of Joyce's works in the Indian subcontinent during the early part of the twentieth century. Anand is included in the thesis based on a recognition of his role in popularising Joyce and his legacies within the Indian

[12]See Viswanathan 2004.
[13]See Berman 2001.
[14] See section titled "James Joyce in Progressive Writing", where these writers are introduced briefly.

subcontinent and the PWA.[15] Anand offers one of the earliest hints at the possibility of intercultural circulation and exchange in his memoir *Conversations in Bloomsbury* (1981) in an engagement with Joyce as a radically transnational writer whose works have impacted the conception of his own modernist oeuvre. *Conversations* further acts as a profound documentary evidence of Joyce's legacy on modernists of Mulk Raj Anand's generation. The traces of significant "spectral" references to Joyce within the Bloomsbury group are documented in *Conversations*, which registers the question of his influence on modernists as geographically dispersed as the All-India Progressive Writers' Association as they deployed and adapted the avant-garde form to their own novelistic ends. The term "spectral" in such a context gestures toward Joyce's physical, material, and spatial absent-presence within the group at the time in which *A Portrait* and *Ulysses* are referenced in the gathering of Bloomsbury modernists by Anand's contemporaries.[16] Despite the globality of Joyce's reception across geographical space and time, his "cultivated isolation" as a modernist aesthete had buttressed his position on the fringes of national literary movements in Ireland even as he remained peripheral to the Bloomsbury group (*OCPW* xxviii). Mulk Raj Anand's portrait of the development of the artist through his own exposure to the Bloomsbury circle demonstrates his first impressions and encounters with "hypercanonical" figures such as T.S. Eliot, that "Boston Brahmin" (*C* 20), and James Joyce, and as readers, we witness his own negotiation with questions of marginality and literary production as a modernist writer of colour on the fringes of the Bloomsbury group. In *Conversations*, Anand demonstrates an awareness of the metropolitan British liberal preoccupation with Indian "progress" revealing simultaneously deep-seated racial biases within the group.

[15]See section titled "James Joyce in Progressive Writing", for the definition and scope of the Progressive Writers'Association.

[16]In Irish Studies, the idea of spectrality has traditionally manifested as a mode of signalling the "presentness" of the past, or continuing influence or presence, particularly with relation to the "afterlives" of the dead.

Anand's own experiments in life-writing in *Conversations* provide a nascent sense of how Indian modernists were discovering that Joyce could not just be read as a stand-alone text, but that it was also possible to put his work in conversation with other formative influences — in the case of Mulk Raj Anand, influences as "local" as Mohommed Iqbal. The gathering of avant-garde Indian novelists in London staged a discussion on imperialism and the crisis of representation in the modern Indian novel. Sajjad Zaheer in *London ki Ek Raat* (1935) was beginning to explore the formal and anti-colonial influence of James Joyce's *Ulysses* in Urdu fiction while evading reference, unlike Anand, to the Bloomsbury group. In Anand's case, it is possible to examine Joyce as a form of "originary" influence — in *Conversations*, he admits, "I blushed because I had decided in secret to emulate Joyce's example. I had taken inspiration from his self-examination" (*C* 13). Anand charts various influences, signalling also how Joyce approximates *to* the ideal of Mohommed Iqbal (*C* 13). Anand thus demonstrates both European and Indian influences on the novel. His essay "The Story of My Experiments with a White Lie" foregrounds aspects of Joyce's modernism that resonated with his modernist contemporaries in India. His contemporaries in the South Asian context looked past the "obscurity, the overwriting and the formal imposition of the Homeric symbolism on to contemporary reality" in *Ulysses* in favour of the lessons learned regarding the unity of time and space (31). The day-in-the-life format, for instance, is transposed into *Untouchable* from *Ulysses.* Anand writes extensively on the creative process and aspects of Joycean modernism which appealed to him directly in his own depictions of the colony in *Untouchable*. From Joyce, Anand drew on the knowledge that raw material for fiction presented itself in matters of consciousness along with a growing realisation that the nineteenth-century novel had come to its logical end. Anand and his contemporaries drew from Joyce's stream-of-consciousness and inventive use of the modern idiom and language. Joyce's philosophy of fiction is juxtaposed against the traditional concern in Anglophone

Indian fiction with "old philosophies" and "god realization", which undergoes a radical change with the advent of the modernist turn (Anand 28). Modernist Indian writers wrote to reflect the changing contours of the world in a new form. In the course of the search for the "proper stuff of fiction", several probable answers are elicited — against the rise of the machine and the significance of the individual, the modern Indian writer found all of "human experience" has become "legitimate material" for artistic treatment (Woolf 158). The "heart and mind" of the modern writer is now moved by "other casualties than salvation" (Anand 28).

It is intriguing to observe how James Joyce is presented to Indian modernists primarily through European currents of modernism, and how he is largely perceived as operating on the broader scale of European modernism though his Irish origins are known. *Conversations in Bloomsbury* (1981) reflects critically on a group of Indian novelists in Bloomsbury interrogating and speculating the nature of Joyce's sympathies to national borders and boundaries: "Even Yeats wants to write Irish-English… And, as for James Joyce, we all know where his sympathies lie" (*C* 13), or as in "[Joyce] wants to be Homer. He thinks history repeats itself" (*C* 12-13). Joyce's European tastes, alliances, and influences are alluded to in these passages. A few modernists gathered in the Bloomsbury group conceived of his cosmopolitan tendencies as necessary to the radical aesthetics underpinning the modernist movement: "James Joyce ruthlessly exposes himself and the Irish" (*C* 13) or even yet the ways in which his techniques stage the interior: "Rather inward — his rhythms!" and "[t]here are so many substreams of consciousness yet to be expressed (*C* 13). Anand confirms that the "universal consciousness" in Joyce makes it a subject of interest to "an Indian like me recognis[ing] myself in the hero of portrait" (*C* 14). The "uncreated conscience" of the Irish race becomes the subject of Joyce's *A Portrait* and *Ulysses* and sharply influences the making of Anand's *Untouchable*. The idea of the "self-portrait" and "self-imposed exile" (*C* 16), so

central to Joyce, lends itself to the avant-garde form in Anglophone Indian writing. Anand documents how the metropolitan experience of Bloomsbury privileges an Anglocentric "living culture" (*C* 18) with "lurking prejudices in all of them about the East" (*C* 24): "I felt I was still self-conscious, because I knew there was, in Bloomsbury circles, an intellectual snobbery and I was still an outsider"[17] (*C* 85). *Conversations* documents Anand's impressions and observations of the racial attitudes underpinning European modernism, drawing attention to the imbalance in power relations and the problematic relationship between "non-Western artists and the international avant-garde" (Mitter 7).

James Joyce in Progressive Writing

This thesis examines the encounter between James Joyce and colonial India by surveying and mapping transnational networks involving Mulk Raj Anand (12 December 1905 – 28 September 2004), Rashid Jahan (25 August 1905 – 29 July 1952), and Wajida Tabassum (16 March 1935 – 7 December 2011). The rationale for the inclusion of three Indian modernists, rather than a broader range of writers, is to attend with sensitivity and depth to the underexplored aspects of these transnational modernist networks, and to examine minoritarian literature in translation systematically while paying close attention to the intersections of disability, illness, caste networks, and feminist critique of societies. James Joyce and Mulk Raj Anand may be relatively well-known literary figures in world literature in comparison to the two Indian women writers included in the thesis. As the author of *Dubliners*, *A Portrait*, *Ulysses*, and *Finnegans Wake*, James Joyce's radically avant-garde works map the city in local and global terms, transcend the national borders and boundaries of Ireland in general and Anglophone Irish literature in particular, and resonate in world literatures and cultures. Mulk Raj Anand is the author of a number of significant texts in

[17]See also: "I came from a world where everyone was hampered, where desires were frustrated, and happiness thwarted by the elders, who were all important. And inside me was the longing to be free, to expand my consciousness, to live and to be on equal terms with men of learning…" (*C* 18).

Indian English literature, such as *Untouchable* (1935), *Coolie* (1936), and *The Big Heart* (1945). Anand's position within (and historic connections to) the Bloomsbury Group and the Progressive Writers' Association makes him a crucial link in mapping the migration of Joyce's modernist ideas in the Indian subcontinent. His reflections on the emerging Anglophone Indian modernist aesthetic centres James Joyce's modernism, thereby bridging Europe, Ireland, and India. The two women modernists included in the thesis, Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum, are chosen to amplify the significance of their connection with, or disaffiliation from, the Progressive Writers' Association. Doctor, member of the Communist Party of India, and one of the founding members of the Progressive Writers' Movement, Rashid Jahan is Urdu literature's "first angry young woman" (Mirza 99-101). She wrote stories for the radio and the stage. Jahan collaborated with Sajjad Zahir, Ahmed Ali, and Mahmud-uz-Zafar on *Angaaray* (1932). She is the only female writer to be associated with the publication of *Angaaray* (1932), and a ferocious female modernist voice in twentieth-century India. Rashid Jahan's association with the Progressive Writers' Association is documented in Sajjad Zaheer's *The Light* (2006) and Rakshanda Jalil's *A Rebel and Her Cause: the life and work of Rashid Jahan* (2014). The inflection of scientific and rational attitudes in fiction and clinical attention to the colonial city and its ailments brings her in close contact with Joyce's own avant-garde aesthetics. Wajida Tabassum from Deccan Hyderabad, not formally associated with or endorsed by any nation-wide literary movement in the Indian subcontinent, is a profoundly radical, if obscured, feminist voice documenting colonial modernity from the margins. Tabassum's modernist prose is serialised in *Biswin Sadi* and *Shama* and is radical in its transcendence of Joyce's avant-garde aesthetics and representation of female sexuality. I map the transmission and reception of James Joyce in a transnational context by looking toward documentary evidence of Joyce's legacy within the Progressive Writers' Association (PWA), which I examine closely as representative of the

modernist moment in India.[18] The Progressive Writers' Association refers to a broad association of South Asian writers who advocated for "progressivism" in literature and culture in the twentieth century in response to the ascendancy of the British in India (Hasan xvi). These writers advocated for the adoption of a "rational outlook on life" as the basic constitutive principles of literary progressivism (Khan ix). Several South Asian writers from across geographical and linguistic collectivities were associated with the Progressive Writers' Association, which was organised primarily by writer Sajjad Zaheer from 1935 to 1947. In the thesis, modernist prose by Mulk Raj Anand and Rashid Jahan, associated with the Progressive Writers' Association, are examined alongside modernists who refused to be endorsed by the movement, such as Wajida Tabassum, in order to gain a complex sense of the transnational transmission of Joyce's texts and ideas in colonial India.

While the thesis chapters are arranged to reflect the progression from "positive" to "negative" ties, there is a curious element of creative affiliation and disaffiliation at work in the writing of the Indian modernists in relation to Joyce's modernism. While I do not argue that these authors "adopt", "assimilate", or "appropriate" Joyce's modernism, I conceptualise what "affiliation", "influence", or "legacy" might look like in a comparative context and pay close attention to the language used by these writers, particularly as they comment on Joyce's works, when suitable materials or archives are available. In the case of two of three Indian modernists, Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum, this has not been the case. While James Joyce's influence on writers associated with the PWA, such as Rashid Jahan, has been made apparent in *The Light* by Sajjad Zaheer and in *A Rebel and Her Cause* by Rakshanda Jalil, no archival data exist in the case of Wajida Tabassum, who "transcends" Joyce's modernism in ways that signal a modernist aesthetic more radical than canonical modernism in general and Joyce's hypercanonical modernism in particular. In the case of Mulk Raj Anand, however,

[18]The abbreviation *PWA* is retained in the thesis to refer to the All-India Progressive Writers' Association, closely following the prevalent usage of the phrase "Progressive Writers' Association" by Ahmed Ali Khan and Sibte Hasan in Sajjad Zaheer's *The Light*. See complete bibliographical information in Works Cited.

strong or positive ties to Joyce's modernism are illustrated in "The Story of My Experiment With a White Lie". By "positive ties", what is invoked is the strong degree of influence of and/or affiliation with Joyce's avant-garde aesthetic, whereas "negative ties" alludes to degrees of distance, removal, rejection and/or overcoming of ties to Joyce's avant-garde aesthetics. Anand observes, in the first instance, that the fascination of the novel *Ulysses* was "absolute" for his generation (Anand 31). As a spokesperson for writers of his generation, he states that modernists such as himself "accepted" Joyce's "defects of obscurity, overwriting, and the formalist imposition of the Homeric symbolism onto contemporary reality" (Anand 31). Joyce's *Ulysses* "taught" Indian modernists the possibility of the unity of time and space; the possibility of reproducing, in the Indian context, the "stream of consciousness" of the "people of our time"; and the end of the "beginning", "middle", and "end" of the nineteenth-century novel (Anand 31-32). In a revelatory passage in the essay, Anand states, "The influence of Joyce had not been assimilated, but more or less imitated" in the composition of *Untouchable* (Anand 32). Anand's usage of the word "imitate" points us to the rather rudimentary way Joyce's modernism was being grasped and studied by writers of Anand's generation. It must be noted here that official records do not exist in the same way for Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum on Joyce. I argue that Joyce's influence may have similarly extended to writers like Rashid Jahan, whose critical role and positioning within the Progressive Writers' Association (which was highly receptive to Joyce's modernism) places her in proximity to Joyce's influence, which manifests as similarities to Joyce's modernist style and intertextual allusions rather than a form of imitation.

As the earliest specimen of "progressive" writing, Indian modernists constituting the driving force of *Angaaray* demonstrated techniques of a high modernist range, signifying that "nothing was taboo in literature" (Zaidi 350-351). In advancing a critique and satire of "Moslem conceptions, life and practices", they come close to Joyce's motives in writing the

moral history of a city steeped in colonial mores (Mahmud-uz-Zafar 1933).[19] Here it is worth noting that Urdu fiction gave way to the short story and the novel largely through Western influences (Komal 157). In *The Light*, Sajjad Zaheer documented the impact of James Joyce on *Angaaray* (1932): "In some places, where the focus was on sexuality, the influence of D.H. Lawrence and James Joyce was apparent" (6). Sajjad Zaheer's novelette *London Ki Ek Raat*, written in Urdu, represents the transnational influence of James Joyce. In terms of temporality, it alludes to *Ulysses* in its attention to unity of time (an evening in the life of Indian students in London). Bilal Hashmi, who translated Sajjad Zaheer's *A Night in London* for an Anglophone audience in 2011, draws attention to the novelette and its nod to James Joyce ("Translator's Afterword").[20] Writers such as Rashid Jahan, who remained connected with the Progressive movement, translated Joyce's works and may potentially have adapted works for the stage after coming into contact with the works of European writers (Jalil xviii).[21] In order to ensure the "truthfulness" of the portrait advanced in *Angaaray* (1932), the writers of the *Angaaray* collective undertook a range of technical exploits in narrative and narratorial voice, manoeuvring through third-person omniscient, interior monologue, and stream-of-consciousness (Mahmud-uz-Zafar 1933). These narrative characteristics lent the modernist prose collected in *Angaaray* a symbolic form. Modernist literature in the Indian context has had several locational variants, which prompted different aesthetic and ideological decisions to be made between the deployment of a formally innovative technique and a more ambivalent realist mode in presenting unusual or provocative themes targeting the malpractices in sharif household. While these narrative techniques are drawn from European modernism, they were not adopted unquestioningly. In the case of the *Angaaray* collective, the influence of Joyce lies is evident in the motif of the "cracked lookingglass" which

[19]In this instance, I have retained the year of publication in the in-text citation due to the unavailability of the correct page number.
[20]See "Translator's Afterword" by Bilal Hashmi (no page number available in the section titled "P.S. Insights Interviews & More…") in Works Cited.
[21]References to Jalil in the thesis relate to *A Rebel and Her Cause* (2014), unless otherwise specified.

allowed its authors to deploy the short story format in critiquing Muslim society and rendering psyche and consciousness at the level of the individual.

Angaaray has been regarded as the "beacon of progressive thought" and the "precursor of the Progressive Writers' Movement" (Jalil 33). *Angaaray* (1932) comprises nine short stories and a one act play in Urdu by Sajjad Zaheer, Rashid Jahan, Ahmed Ali, and Mahmud-uz-Zafar. Sajjad Zaheer's "Can't Sleep" models itself on Joyce's *A Portrait* in following the consciousness of a man torn by his desire to escape the nets of religion while also seeking, like Stephen in the early chapters, salvation in God after an indulgence in the pleasures of the world.[22] Similarly, Zaheer's "This Uproar, Too" begins in medias res, continuing some of the delirious imagery previously encountered in "Can't Sleep": the form is non-linear, opening with visions of Satan and Gabriel encountered by someone reading a novel (*A* 62), progressing next to the intertwined lives of strangers against questions of hopelessness and disillusionment. In the method of "Wandering Rocks" in *Ulysses*, the story demonstrates how the lives of denizens from across class divisions in colonial India intertwine and intersect at specific moments against the realities of hunger, cholera, dysentery, and death in the colonies with naturalistic precision (*A* 64). These themes are continued by Ahmed Ali in "The Clouds Aren't Coming" and "A Night of Winter Rains". Ali's stories disrupt the linear format in continuation of Zaheer's experiments with form of the short story, introducing the stream-of-consciousness mode to relay the protagonist's cynical worldviews and a thoroughgoing questioning of religious precepts. Echoing Stephen's reflection of God being a "shout" in the street, Ali's protagonists reflect on God as being a mere "smokescreen" (*A* 97). "The Clouds Aren't Coming" merits critical attention as it comes close to Joyce's play with unreliable/shifting narrators and voices in *Finnegans*

[22]This contrapuntal pattern can be observed in the streams of thought positioned in different parts of the story — compare the cynical "You can't fill a stomach on prayers" (*A* 6) against the closing lines, "Dear God, save me from the fires of hell. You are the merciful and the beneficent. I am just a worthless, sinning servant of yours…" (*A* 18). See complete references in Works Cited.

Wake. What strikes the reader of "The Clouds Aren't Coming" is the frequent change of person — there is a switch from the third-person "we" to the first-person "I" to the second-person "you" (*A* 77-87). These hardly relate to a stable entity.[23] The "I" who opens the story appears to be a homodiegetic narrator who is a character in the storyworld.[24] The tone is cynical and critical of religious authorities such as the maulvis.[25] Joyce's modernism has thus expansively and radically opened up questions of literary affiliation, both local and global, offering me a chance to read colonial cities such as Dublin, Delhi, Lucknow, and Hyderabad, for instance, as palimpsests.

"Outside the Archive": Gaps in the Scholarship

While scholars have looked at Joyce in relation to Bengali literature and little magazines (Sen 216-217),[26] Udaya Kumar's penetrating essay "Destitute Recollection: Joyce's Indian Translocations" (2024) surveys scholarship on Joyce from Southern India, particularly the work of scholars and translators from Kerala in translating Joyce's *Ulysses* into Malayalam. Kumar's perceptive attention to literatures of destitution signals the critically underexplored aspects of Joyce Studies in the context of South Asian modernism, namely

[23]There is a swift change in narrative person in Ahmed Ali's story. Most of the voices in the story are all indiscernible peripheral characters, such as the Maulvi Sahib and an unnamed "I" who exchange a ridiculous conversation briefly (*A* 78-79). The narrative takes on an idiosyncratic tone when references are made to the inscrutable Hare-Bhare Sahib and the elder Pir Sahib as though the reader were already familiar with, or part of, the narrated universe. Thus far, the second-person "you" has been addressing the Maulvi Sahib and his visitor, but this quickly shifts. A paranoid voice remarks that the British are "laughing" at the natives and mocking their reverence for God (*A* 80). The third-person omniscient narrator appears very briefly to bring the story back to its opening reflections on the coming of the clouds, but there is a change in voice to a certain "me" — different from the first-person narrator who was cynical of God. This indiscernible voice appears to be a religious apologist accounting for the coming of end times. The final passages concern the dominant voice of a woman, a homodiegetic narrator, who speaks on behalf of Indian Muslim women as she laments their plight (*A* 81-84). The ensuing passages offer a sharp critique of the patriarchy underpinning Indian Muslim societies:"[Religion is only a] comfort for men" (*A* 84).

[24]See the section titled "Terminology and Narratological Concerns" for a definition of "homodiegetic narrator".

[25] See "Glossary" for a definition of the term "maulvi".

[26]See Sen 2011 for a discussion of James Joyce in relation to precursors and contemporaries in the context of India.

Dalit writing.[27] There is little work on how the oppositional energies of Indian modernism drew writers from lower castes and classes to use the modernist form for emancipatory ends even as a distinct strain of feminist and women's writing appeared after the Second World War. Joyce's metaphor of the "smithy" offers some reflections on the question of why the avant-garde has been a site of interest for Indian modernists to "prove" their humanity: "I came from a coppersmith family, and the truth of his metaphor about the smithy went home" (*C* 14) and "I too wanted to face the actual realities of my experiences" (*C* 14). Joyce's transnational position is quite evident in instances such as these as his works traverses and transcends the boundaries of the Irish nation. This is where I trace textual and archival sources which reveal the interconnectedness of Irish and Indian modernist scholarship while beginning to move away from hegemonic accounts of modernism toward those voices "outside the archive" (Parsons 74).

The focus of the thesis has thus been in exploring modernist writing from the Indian subcontinent in an attempt to examine how Joyce's modernism has transcended its influence beyond Mulk Raj Anand's generation and into feminist and women's writing in the period marking Indian modernism, which is notably belated in comparison to its Irish counterpart. The metaphor of the "smithy" extracted from Joyce's modernism had served in a transnational context to provide energy and impetus to modernists operating from India, however, it also unravelled a burdensome history of gendered literary production. The tradition of the male author "writing" the woman into existence or writing "for" (or on behalf of) women had driven modernist women in the South Asian context to reclaim the liminal space of literature and articulate subjectivities previously denied to them in genres such as the short story. Where in the Irish instance the "woman author" and her "fictional personae" are orchestrated by a male author in *Ulysses*, often foregrounding female differences in "sexist,

[27]See Kumar 2024.

racist and ableist" terms, Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum show how the male voice has inflected traditional narrative representations of "fallen" women, rendering these women mute and homogenous entities in similarly oppressive ways (Fogarty 68). In *Angaaray* (1932), Ahmed Ali's short story "The Clouds Aren't Coming" presents an unnamed narrator as he sends curses to his colonisers: "May God destroy the British. They have taught us so much English that they've turned us into atheists, into eunuchs, cut off our balls and run off with them" (*A* 80). This theme of castration and emasculation further gestures toward the experience of colonialism and loss of identity. The construction of Indian masculinities in Ali's story offers a fascinating parallel to the construction of the Nawabs by Wajida Tabassum in *Sin*: in each instance of a representative moment of colonial modernity, the narrative accords women space to imagine a "homeplace" offering them refuge, however temporary, from the crushing weight of masculinist traditions.

In reimagining and reconstructing Joyce's place within a South Asian modernist context, I have looked to Rashid Jahan (1905-1952) and Wajida Tabassum (1935-2011) operating from Lucknow and Hyderabad. It must be noted that while the thesis examines Rashid Jahan, the sole female modernist in the *Angaaray* collective, over Sajjad Zaheer, Ahmed Ali, or Mahmud-uz-Zafar of the *Angaaray* writers, or even other Urdu modernists such as Saadat Manto and Ismat Chughtai, my readings are still tempered by a critical and contextual recognition of the role and position of Joyce for each of these modernists affiliated to the Progressive Writers' Association. Though Mulk Raj Anand does not fall within the purview of Urdu modernism, he is retained in the thesis for the centrality of Joyce's transnational thought to Anand's conception of modernism. A critical reconstruction of this kind has yielded more questions and gaps: potential traces of archival information and documentation relating to the translation or transmission of Joyce across various media have been lost to the ravages of time, as in the case of Rashid Jahan (Jalil 84). In light of the

absence of material connections bridging Joyce and Jahan, I attempt to offer new connections by examining both Joyce and Jahan against the armature of domestic space and gynaecological tropes.[28] Rashid Jahan's modernist prose is significant for the ways in which it captures women negotiating domestic space in the context of colonial modernity, demonstrating a marked reluctance to essentializing women's experiences in portrayals of the zenana.[29] Jahan's female protagonists, who occupy the space of the zenana, are lent a voice in her fiction in a deliberate attempt to overthrow male authorial tradition. Through a scrupulous treatment of female agency, Jahan is able to bring the woman writing body from under erasure to embracing more fully the [formation of] women's subjectivity in the novel form (Gopal 40). Her prose challenges and overturns both the orientalist perspectives of the West, but also the Indian nationalist rhetoric which extended the idea that the contested site of the home, and by extension the zenana, was a sacred and separate sphere from the world, in its attempts to reclaim the discourse of the formation of the home from the imperialists. Antoinette Burton's extensive work on representations of the contested space of the zenana in the British colonial imaginary (1996, 2000, 2003) demonstrates how the space has often been pathologised as unhygienic and dark in addition to its portrayal as carceral; take, for instance, her observations in "Contesting the Zenana: The Mission to Make 'Lady Doctors for India,' 1874-1885" (1996): "...the conviction that Indian women were trapped in the "sunless, airless," and allegedly unhygienic Oriental zenana motivated the institutionalization of women's medicine and was crucial to the professionalization of women doctors in Victorian Britain" (369). These depictions served the imperialistic medical project well, even as it aided the conscription of British medical professionals who could extend their national and imperialistic projects to provide medical care to the women in the zenana.

[28] See "Overview of Chapters."
[29] Refer to"Glossary" in the "Appendix" section of the thesis for a definition of the term "zenana".

In the second instance of finding a gap against a broader South Asian context, Joycean circuits in Urdu modernism have not been systematically studied even as the reception of Joyce in the Deccan remains unchartered terrain. I build on the minoritised position of the Urdu literary tradition in the Deccan within mainstream Urdu modernism and literary historiography to tease out the question of Joyce's influence, particularly on those who have remained peripheral to mainstream literary modernist moments and movements. For this reason, I have selected Wajida Tabassum (1935-2011) as an underrepresented specimen of modernist prose from the Indian subcontinent. Tabassum was an Indian writer of fiction who wrote in Dakhini Urdu, and whose fiction is set in the princely state of Hyderabad Deccan following her own move to Hyderabad Deccan from Amravati, Maharashtra during the partition (1947). In doing so, I work with literary texts in translation where the princely state of Hyderabad is examined as a centre of modernist production with an underexamined history of modernist women's writing.[30] Due to its neglected position in modernist canon and historiography, there is little documentation on the interactions between Urdu modernism from the South (Deccan) and European and Irish modernisms.

As an Indian modernist from a younger generation of writers from a non-elite background, I have chosen to engage with Wajida Tabassum rather than her contemporaries Jeelani Bano (b. 1936) or Najma Nikhat (1936-1997) since Tabassum has often been overshadowed by female modernists such as Rashid Jahan and Ismat Chughtai (1911-1991) who have more productive archives in the South Asian continent. Tabassum has additionally remained an obscure modernist to date, representative of the many women who exist in the "haze of misery, numb and silent" (Abbasi xviii). While a proliferation of scholarly studies have emerged around the analysis of Joyce's construction of Dublin as "semicolonial" city — including, but not limited to, *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (1995) by Vincent Cheng and

[30]In the third chapter, I examine obscure modernist writing from the princely state of Hyderabad, which the chapter frames as the centre of modernist literary production in colonial India.

Semicolonial Joyce (2000) by Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes — Wajida Tabassum remains critically understudied in Indian modernist literary accounts of the colonial city owing primarily to archival difficulties; next, to her work (comprising stories and personal essays) being lost to the tides of time (Tabassum 108); or her critique of "feudal patriarchy" continually disregarded as "vaahiyaat" or "rubbish" (Akhtar 2) due to the "shock value" of her approach in depicting erotic desire and female sexuality in the imperial centre of Hyderabad (Akhtar 73, 236). Such an approach, centred on the representation of the "forward piece" in modernist fiction, finds its precedent and parallel in *Ulysses* (*U* 294). In terms of positionality, Tabassum identified as a Muslim Syed woman from a social location where education was forbidden, and the purdah imposed. Tabassum's impression of the city of Hyderabad is informed by her experience of being witness to the tumult of police action in 1948 following the violence of the partition. Her access to the world of letters was facilitated by Urdu magazines such as *Shama,* in which she would eventually publish. She remained an obscured and isolated voice operating within Indian modernism until the publication of a translated volume of her fiction into English by Reema Abbasi in 2011. Scholars such as Jennifer Dubrow have pointed out the nature of experimentation undertaken by Urdu modernists on form, with a special focus on satire and colonial critique (Dubrow 62). While this has guided my reading of the complex modernists chosen for analysis in my thesis, I have wondered if in "writing back" to Western colonial ethnographic representation and unravelling its contradictions modernists such as Wajida Tabassum have paradoxically played into reproducing the same representational strategies they sought to critique.

Domestic Space, Contagion, and Containment

The private, gendered domains of Indian society are brought to the fore in the thesis and examined against Joyce's oeuvre where the house and the novel come together in complex ways. Joyce's, Jahan's, and Tabassum's early experiments with the short story and fiction are read in the thesis as operating within the "private" or "domestic" genre. The space of the home as a site of oppression and domestic violence runs consistently across *Dubliners* through to *Ulysses*, with the "home" being conceptualised as being founded on coercion, primarily from religious surveillance forces: "And why should I superimpose on my child the very troublesome burden of belief which my father and mother superimposed on me?" (*SL* 61). The focus on the home as being surveilled by state and religious forces in Joyce's representation of colonial Dublin is useful in foregrounding twentieth-century discourses of domesticity in colonial India. In reading these modernists as operating within the private or the domestic novel, the focus shifts to the sphere of the home: "Government, empire, and war flicker on the peripheries of the novel, subordinated to the details and politics of family life" (Seshagiri 150). From the beginning the house and the novel are interconnected as the novel is intrinsically domestic. The temporal arc of exploring a connection of this nature ranges from the composition of *Dubliners* through to the publication of *Ulysses* in the first half of the twentieth century, the publication of *Angaaray* in the 1930s, through to the production of modernist output by Jahan and Tabassum in the middle and close to the end of the twentieth century. The undercurrents of frustration, abuse, and avoidance in the Irish homes depicted in Joyce normalise derogatory and berating practices toward women as the female body is increasingly objectified merely as a "reproductive agent" regulating the domestic interior of the Irish family, which I juxtapose against the reductivist representation of women as the sexual slaves of their husbands in the colonial contexts of Lucknow, Hyderabad, and Delhi

(Scheible 13).[31] The currents of new thought from the burgeoning discourses of psychoanalysis and the influence of the Bloomsbury group in the exploration of the intimate and domestic aspects of fiction offered modernists in general a radical vantage point from which to explore female subjectivity. Molly's bedroom in *Ulysses*, the zenana in Jahan, and harem contexts in Tabassum are juxtaposed in the thesis to foreground modernist deployment of psychological space.

While a broader transnational paradigm informs the research undertaken and presented in my thesis, more specifically I examine the permeation of domestic borders by the onset of liminal bodies and their intrinsic linkage to contagion, untouchability, and disease in the colonial contexts of Ireland and India. The research focuses on conceptions of contagion, untouchability, and disease and its subsequent containment on the basis of the recurring themes of venereal disease and the trope of the "fallen" woman signifying to readers and consumers of modernist fiction how prostitution and untouchability in these respective modernist texts is represented both as "product" and "problem" of the empire. In colonial India, efforts to effectively contain venereal disease would rest largely on the "control of female prostitution" which pathologises the non-white female body of the prostitute as the assumed origin of venereal disease, through a series of legislative acts, namely the umbrella Cantonments Act and the Indian Contagious Diseases Act in the 1860s, which frame my reading of the Indian modernist texts chosen for analysis in the thesis (Levine 580). Until the 1920s, the extent and impact of venereal disease in India remained unknown. In order to investigate these and other issues arising from military enclaves in India, David Arnold produced a penetrating study titled *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-century India* (1993) in which he examined how

[31]This is expanded further in the section titled "Domestic Fiction and the Body" and is interrogated at length in Chapter Two and Chapter Three of the thesis. See "Overview of Chapters".

Europeans introduced venereal disease into India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[32] According to this study, although white "soldiers and sailors" remained a significant source of infection, venereal disease was conceived of as an illness that threatened the military "from without, especially from contact with low caste Indian prostitutes" in spite of the state-sponsored "harlotry" (Arnold 84, 86). It is worth noting here that state sponsored harlotry is a recurring theme in many of the stories in Wajida Tabassum's *Sin*, which is examined in the final chapter of the thesis. The historical contexts framed by an understanding of the Cantonments Act and the Indian Contagious Diseases Act have informed my reading of the constructions and intersectional representations of the prostitute in Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum. The link between the first chapter and the second and third chapters is provided by the transition from an explication of "lock hospitals" in the context of an analysis of Hansen's disease in Chapter One and its historical connections with deviant sexuality to the detailed exploration of sexuality and class in the construction and exploitation of the figure of the courtesan in Chapter Two and Chapter Three. The chapter centres the figure of the courtesan in the title since "courtesan" subsumes the colonial categories of prostitute, performing women, and the nautch girl.

The courtesan has consistently appeared in modernist texts and literary journals in the South Asian context and the occasional Irish instance as both colonial iconography and caricature, often conjured in a sequestered space. The courtesan has been portrayed curiously and even carelessly, ventriloquized by a male voice, often mute, misrepresented, and an object of oriental fantasy. The haram or harem has also had a pervasive hold on Irish and South Asian modernist imagination as unchanging, one characterised by sexual orgies, where women contest for the affections of the master. Thomas Moore's orientalist work "Lalla Rookh" (1817) comprising four narrative poems references the "haram" in an imperial

[32]The chapter specifically being referenced here is titled, "Colonial Enclaves: The Army and the Jails" from *Colonizing the Body* by David Arnold.

context in the nineteenth-century. The space of the harem, themes of slavery, and the figure of the eunuch as guardian are further referenced in two articles from March 1876, featured in *The Irish Times* and *Weekly Irish Times*, where the wife-slave status of harem women is further reinforced with reference to an imperial harem whose source is in the East.[33] These images, archetypes, and ideas have not been compiled and studied in a way that systematically brings together Irish and Indian modernisms. The courtesan appears in *Ulysses* inscribed in colonial ideals of virility where pleasure becomes "competitive commodity" (Findly 89). Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum target these colonial ideals in advancing a cultural corrective from the North and South of India respectively: in exploring colonial attitudes to women and language itself as a male-shaped institution, they reassign narrative space and agency to the figure of the courtesan. I draw out these images, analyse them, trace sources of reference where possible, and frame them in a comparative context in establishing new connections between the texts selected for study.

Though Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum carve out new subjectivities previously denied to those immured in the zenana or women's spaces, it must not be assumed that they shared aesthetic ideals of modernism or that they were celebrated as equal collaborators in the expansion of modernist literature. It is true that Rashid Jahan was "the product of a privileged background and education" denied to most young Muslim women (Jalil xvi). Unlike Wajida Tabassum writing from what was perceived as the anarchic Deccan, Rashid Jahan is seen as one of the luminous icons of the Progressive Writers' Association operating from Lucknow, the "cultural capital of Upper India" (Jalil 31). South Asian scholars such as Nazia Akhtar and Wafa Hamid have pointed out that modernist scholarship on Wajida Tabassum has remained critically untapped owing to a range of archival difficulties. Tabassum's writing was subject to the harshest terms of literary censorship as an unpopular modernist writer who

[33]See "THE SULTAN'S SULTANS HAEEM." *The Irish Times* (1874-1920), 03 Mar., 1876, pp. 4.
See "TRANSPORTING WOMEN FOR THE HAREM." *Weekly Irish Times* (1876-1920), 11 Mar., 1876, pp. 5.

refused to cater to mainstream readers' protocols in twentieth-century Hyderabad. Secondary material on Tabassum comprising scholarly studies, translations, annotations, interviews and exchanges are limited in the English language and constitute a gravely critical gap in current scholarship and anthologies. It is revealed over the course of the research that what manifests as an absence of sources points to the harsh realities of the politics of writing and institutionalisation. Tabassum's positioning "outside the archives" is thus examined in this thesis as a call for correctives to institutional modernism and the need to rethink and broaden established canons as being inclusive of "a variety of alternative traditions" (Miller 89). The project of such an "undoing" of elitist accounts and the expansion of modernist archives is useful to the concerns I advance in the thesis. Such a framework is particularly useful in juxtaposing underexamined colonial modernities and the tropes, themes, intertextual echoes, and differences emerging from a collision of modernist worlds. It must be noted here that in undertaking a mapping of transnational networks of modernism in this way, James Joyce (1882-1941), Mulk Raj Anand (1905-2004), Rashid Jahan (1905-1952), and Wajida Tabassum (1935 - 2011) are examined for their critical interventions in undoing elitist and Aryanist impulses within Irish and South Asian modernisms. These authors are either positioned critically or anxiously in relation to historic contexts, literary movements, and schools of thought constituting literary modernisms in Ireland and India, with a particular focus on their positioning toward the Bloomsbury Group and the Progressive Writers' Association. Mulk Raj Anand, Rashid Jahan, and the writers in the *Angaaray* collective are generally perceived as being within the establishment and against it.

Domestic Fiction and the Body

As one of the central preoccupations of Joyce's work, Joyce's development of the question of "likeness" is central to his rendition of the epic of the body as well as its

translation into the imagination of the city more broadly as a social organism. Richard Ellmann's apposite description of Joyce's intimate knowledge of the city embodied in his commentary — "Joyce knew the limbs and bowels of a city" (*JJ* 100) — is telling of the connection between the city and the body in Joyce's work.[34] Colonised bodies form the subject of literary interrogation for Mulk Raj Anand, Rashid Jahan, and Wajida Tabassum as a symbolic site on which hierarchies and rules are inscribed. Jahan and Tabassum interrogate the colonial reduction of women as the "sexual slaves" of their husbands — in *Ulysses*, a starkly similar image is presented before the reader, one where the "concubine" is conflated with the "wife", and where women operate as an "erotic vessel for men's needs", with an emphasis on the physicality and sexuality of Joyce's women as opposed to their intellectual inclinations (Eide 79).[35] Take, for instance, the following lines from *Ulysses*:

> Then see him of a Sunday with his little concubine of a wife, and she wagging her tail up the aisle of the chapel, with her patent boots on her, no less, and her violets, nice as pie, doing the little lady. Jack Mooney's sister. And the old prostitute of a mother procuring rooms to street couples. (*U* 258)

The idea of the boarding house in the above lines ("procuring rooms to street couples") as a "fluid" and thus, dangerous, space is curiously reflective of Rashid Jahan's own time when houses for boarding (especially for women) were fraught with perils and opportunities for dangerous liaisons. The threat that separate boarding for adolescent girls and women would lead to the production of "nautch girls" or be perceived as a "whorehouse" was yet another aspect of colonial misrepresentation in Upper India (Jalil 17, 47). It is curious to note here the similarities between colonial conditions and perceptions of "space" and propriety represented in "The Boarding House" in *Dubliners* (1914), alluded to in the above passage from *Ulysses*,

[34]Joyce's *Ulysses* was itself conceptualised as an epic of the cycle of the human body (*SL* 271).
[35]See Eide 2009.

and debates around boarding covering roughly the period 1909-1914 in India.[36] On the basis of these polemical debates concerning colonialism, modernity, and propriety, I argue that Joyce, Jahan, and Tabassum operate primarily within the "private" genre, inviting readers to view the site of the "domestic" as a multifaceted and contested space where imperialist discourses are played out against nationalist discourses espousing the inherent purity and the sanctity of the home, revealing in its wake the curious predicament of "public" or "performing" women in the colonial contexts of Ireland and South Asia in the twentieth century. I examine textual moments where my authors point me toward the repressive ideology of the family and colonial notions of propriety underpinning the construction of the superfluous woman, who is disruptive as she is subversive. In other words, modernists such as Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum portray women in their domestic as well as their agential capacities. In the first instance, the liminal figures examined in my thesis encompass, but are not limited to, nautch girls (Indian dancing girls or courtesans), performing women, courtesans and dancers, prostitutes, eunuchs, and women of the Nawab's harems each of whom have been subject to exoticising and dehumanizing characterization in Orientalist imagination in representative Irish and Indian texts. In the second instance, I center my readings around other colonial bodies such as spinster characters, children, women and disabled folx, nannies, Ayahs, and housemaids in the private domain.

I interrogate Molly Bloom's construction in traditional scholarship on Joyce as "wanton" and "immoral" deriving largely from her identity as a public performer (Brown 3).[37] I also depart from Bloom's homogenous categorisation of courtesans and harem women to draw out parallels in colonial misrepresentations of public women between Dublin in 1904

[36]Challenging colonial mores of respectability to a great extent are the founders of *Khatun,* founded by Sheikh Abdullah and Waheed Jahan Begum. Waheed Jahan has written: "Uneducated women, who do not go out, think that respectability is confined to the four walls of their houses. They think that people who live beyond those walls are not respectable and not worthy of meeting. But God has ordained education for both men and women, so that such useless ideas can be gotten rid of" (Minault 6).
[37]See Brown 1985.

and Delhi and the princely state of Hyderabad in the twentieth century in modernist Indian prose. I build on extant readings and scholarship on Joyce, sexuality, and representations of the harem in Irish and Indian contexts to show that the concept of sexual foraging is not unique to *Ulysses* in the first half of the twentieth century but has fascinatingly been explored by Tabassum in the latter half of the twentieth century in her characterization of the nawabs as powerful, oppressive figures, who sexually exploit women "incarcerated" in the harem. It must be noted here that the representation of the debauched nawab or aristocrat can be traced back to *Fasana-e Azad*, one of the first Urdu novels to have originated in the late nineteenth-century, with a lengthy picaresque plot (Dubrow 36). It is fascinating to note that where a female ascetic reforms the figure of the debauched nawab in the context of *Fasana-e Azad* in the late nineteenth-century, Wajida Tabassum restrains from having her female characters reform the despotic and debauched nawabs in the late twentieth century, choosing instead to focus their energies on the exploration of themselves as sexual and agential actors, castrating the nawabs in the process. The adoption of the romance plot by Wajida Tabassum is likely to have been a response to the common anxiety surrounding the circulation and consumption of the romance novel, demonstrated by responses from the editors of instructional Urdu magazines in the late nineteenth and and early twentieth century. In the Indian context, Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum stage the anxieties of the imperial imagination surrounding the courtesan, the prostitute, and the nautch dancer as public women whose bodies have been the center and constructions of the male gaze. The nautch has often raised questions of propriety since they had access to space and movement and led a non-domestic and non-marital lifestyle. Their presence in boundless spaces make them contaminatory in stark contrast to the inherent purity and sanctity of the sharif home. The nautch girl has been the subject of descriptions in English colonialist representations, nineteenth-century treatises, missionary and reformist accounts, colonial iconography, and

travel writings. Carol Shloss has pointed out the similarities between Bloom's fantasies with late nineteenth century travel writers and explorers whilst tracing ancient sources behind Leopold Bloom's fantasies of the Orient as a place to indulge in sensual delights (Shloss 107).[38] Shloss undoes Bloom's sumptuous fantasies in revealing the underlying social and religious realities in harem contexts. In the thesis, I juxtapose Bloom's homogeneous representation of harem women with Tabassum's representation of harem contexts in an attempt to tease out the pervasive hold of Western ethnographic representation.

Modernist Readers and Reading

Though there is a gap in research on twentieth-century readers in relation to peripheral modernist literature, a critical and extended study of the reader in the twentieth-century contexts of Ireland and India (particularly a study of readers and how readers have read or made sense of these texts) does not fall within the aim and scope of the thesis. The writers examined in the thesis each aim to question and challenge normative assumptions about reading. In this section, I briefly signal the construction of implied readers of novels, short stories, and periodicals across transnational contexts. Such a juxtaposition has revealed the extensive work on the figure of the reader and reading practices across decades of Joyce scholarship while demonstrating the felt gap in a study of professional readers (critics, commentators, scholars, and editors) and institutional protocols and practices which have come to produce readers in the twentieth century in the modernist prose of Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum. Given the history of interactive reading practices shaping the serialisation of Urdu prose in the nineteenth century, the construction of the twentieth-century reader as one sensitive to the multiple interpretive frames offered by Jahan

[38]See "Behind the Veil" (1988).

and Tabassum alongside an examination of the "several robust reading practices" which have framed the composition of these unusual texts by Jahan and Tabassum would be a welcome addition to scholarship (Bhattacharya 93). While the reception of Joyce's works have been singularly enhanced through generations of sustained critical engagement with source materials such as biographies and letters, it must be noted that translators Rakshanda Jalil and Reema Abbasi introduced the works of Jahan and Tabassum to Anglophone readers in the twenty first century, and while Jalil has authored a definitive biography of Rashid Jahan, there is as yet no biography or a collected body of letters serving as a bridge between the mind and work of Wajida Tabassum — this thesis argues then, against the grain, that we are learning to be Jahan and Tabassum's contemporaries.

In the thesis, the particular focus in the context of Anglophone Indian modernism and Urdu modernism in translation has been on shorter narratives (or *afsanas*, in the Urdu context), but in turning to twentieth-century Urdu journals and periodicals such as *Biswin Sadi* and film journals such as *Shama,*[39] I hope to illustrate the predicament of the archive in the context of Urdu modernism more concretely, where "archive" has pointed to informal evidence drawn primarily from interviews, personal communication with Urdu scholars, writers, translators, and distributors. When the serialisation and publication of vignettes written by peripheral modernist writers such as Wajida Tabassum is juxtaposed against the serialisation of *Ulysses* in avant-garde journals such as *The Little Review*[40] — which itself was confronting a society dominated by "Victorian sexual mores" in its conception as a "vehicle" for conversation about beauty in literature and art (Hassett 10-11) — it is possible to see a picture of twentieth-century readers in the context of Urdu modernism appear more sharply in view. The success of journals such as *Shama* in which Tabassum was published points to the relevance it enjoyed with its twentieth-century readership despite its

[39]This is expanded in Chapter Three.
[40] The ideal reader of *The Little Review* is someone who has "read poetry with a feeling that it was your religion, your very life" (Hassett 9).

unconventional energies. This phenomenon is by no means an easy feat, considering not only the growing debate around the Hindi-Urdu divide in the print public[41] and *Shama*'s cosmopolitan use of Urdu,[42] but also *Shama*'s delicate negotiation with twentieth-century literati founded on conventions of *akhlaq* (moral conduct) and *islah* (correction) (Niazi 80). *Shama* attempted to attract the greatest number of potential readers while maintaining its risqué element and retaining the cosmopolitan use of Urdu, thereby contributing to the rise of Tabassum's own readership. There is an observable trend in Urdu criticism encompassing romance novels and modernist work to project anxieties surrounding the effect of print culture on its female readers. Instructional Urdu periodicals specifically aimed to counter reading habits (primarily of women) which notoriously earned the readers of romance novels censure. These instructional journals and magazines eschewed the literariness of the work and instead directed their energies to exploring its effect on the conduct of readers. This arguably stemmed from an impulse to address and reform the women's role and place in the construction of the nation, but Jennifer Dubrow has also shown how "respectability and status" remained important issues in an earlier context for nineteenth-century readers in terms of both fictional characters and readers' own identities (Dubrow 84). In a transnational context, it is possible to witness a similar concern with the effect of literature on the conduct of readers and women more broadly, as seen in the attitude of John Quinn, patron of *The Little Review*, toward *A Portrait* and *Ulysses* for their perceived conduciveness to undesirable conduct. Quinn opined that Joyce's *A Portrait* was not a book for "all young women" (Hassett 36).

As this section will aim to briefly speculate, the reading habits that the twentieth-century readers of fiction inherited in the context of Urdu modernism could not be identified as inveterate as there existed a robust critical, interactive, and participatory culture

[41]See Orsini 2000.
[42] See Taj 2020.

between readers and authors; at the same time, these readers were groomed on the mannered prose of instructional literature and periodicals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, largely embodying and extending sharafat conventions to practices and protocols of reading. The Urdu modernist texts examined in this thesis thus reflect the fraught tensions resulting from a clash of traditional readerly values on the one hand and transgressive readerly practices which authors such as Mulk Raj Anand, Rashid Jahan, and Wajida Tabassum sought to forge on the other. While Ben Baer has gestured toward the construction of the implied Bloomsbury reader in the case of Anand's *Untouchable* (Baer 577), scholarship on Jahan and Tabassum leaves much to be desired in terms of a (re)construction of transgressive readerly values and its material manifestations in terms of print circulation and holdings. How, for instance, did early readers of *Angaaray* and the serialised prose of Tabassum "read" fiction of this kind? While extant scholarship on Urdu modernism points toward the effects of modernist prose produced by Jahan and Tabassum in terms of censorship and obscenity trials, an analysis of institutional reading practices would look toward archives, holdings, and subscriptions to draw conclusions on sales and readership, particularly in the context of Tabassum's serialisation, and editorial responses to readers' objections and censorship trials, if any. As scholars such as Nazia Akhtar and Sarah Rahman Niazi have shown, this continues to be a difficult task in modernist scholarship on Urdu writers due to institutional constraints, language barriers, and the informality of evidence.

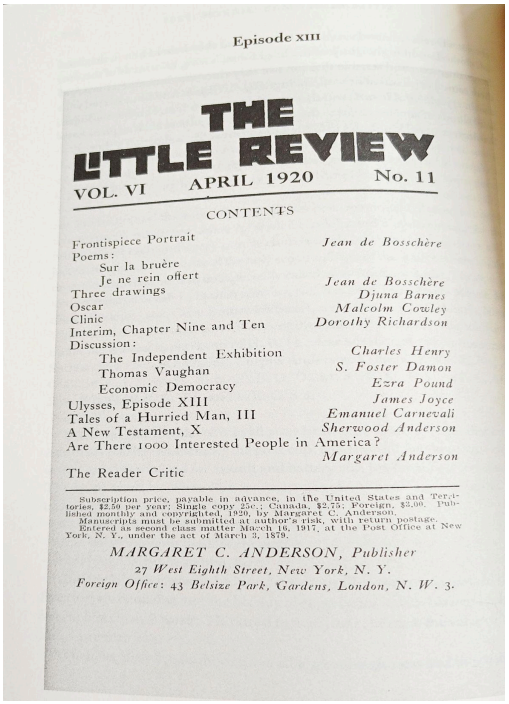
In a sharp contrast to Victorian narratives, in the modernist text narrators are fallible, meanings are indefinitely deferred, temporal and spatial dimensions drastically altered, subjectivities are fragmented. Modernist texts assume an audience that comprehends its "central interpretive nodes" and several admittedly fail to perceive these nodes (Richardson x). The problems of reading modern fiction, as E.M. Forster identified in such essays as "T.S. Eliot", was the inability of the reader to "rise to the level" of "difficult" writers whose works

escape the easy comprehension of general readers (104).[43] Forster advances the idea that only the reader who possesses a "sense of the past" would be able to appreciate modernist work. The common reader is likely to feel baffled and even slighted by modernist fiction (Forster 106). Virginia Woolf drew a fascinating parallel between the readers of sensational novels and viewers of the cinema. The viewer, like the reader, rarely needed to make any great effort in translating or processing the images on the screen. The cinema plunged the brain into an "agreeable somnolence" (*SE* 172). Woolf shows how spectators settle down to watch without thinking, demonstrating a great likeness in the twentieth-century reader whose reading habits discouraged any scope for active and engaged thinking, making them ill-prepared to engage with the modernist text. During the composition of *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce confided to Weaver about the harm caused by the commercial literary market valuing people by sales (Gilbert 219). In a letter dated 6 September 1932, Joyce curiously mentioned that his readers were the "writing public" (Gilbert 325). In the context of European modernism, avant-garde journals and periodicals like *The Little Review* (1914-1929), which serialised parts of *Ulysses*, were dedicated to the publication of modernist literature in forging a new readership targeting specialists, or scholars, commentators, critics, and/or other classes of readers, which presently also include bibliographers and philologists.

James Joyce's writings produced a change in "the relations between reader and text", and in doing so, set a precedent for modernists in the Indian context who were grappling with Anglophone influences on modernist form (MacCabe 1). Textual encounters with Joyce draw attention to the notion and practice of reading — for instance, MacCabe has noted how the "difficulty of reading Joyce" is traceable to "a difficulty in our notion of reading" (MacCabe 2). In Joyce criticism, readers who fail to perceive the interpretive nodes of modernists texts form the subject of guidebooks and annotations, constructed as requiring orientation in order

[43]See Forster 1967.

to grasp Joyce's avant-garde project. Charles Duff (1932) and William Powell Jones (1955) theorised the notion of the "common" or the "plain reader" in the early phase of Joyce criticism. The "plain" reader is assumed to be incapable of forming any idea of the modernist text, shown to prefer straightforward and realist fiction, horrified by Joyce's blasphemies (Duff 17, 20, 25). This development is not unique to Joyce, but is a defining characteristic of high modernism. Jones' conception of the "common reader" primarily engages (without departing from) the eighteenth century construction of the reader (derived from Samuel Johnson) as being endowed with "common sense" but "innocent of subtlety and learning" (Kermode 2). In a stark contrast to the mercantilism of the eighteenth century which fostered the notion of the common reader whose interests were not identified with any one profession (Knight 7), avant-garde literature necessitated the creation of a class of readers who predominantly "taught, or were taught, in colleges" if they were not themselves aesthetes (Kermode 4, 7). This kind of audience was created by periodicals such as *The Little Review*. Critics, reviewers, editors, and writers have, since the publication of James Joyce's *Work in Progress*, attempted to advance efforts to "unravel" the meaning of the work. Samuel Beckett demonstrated how the reader needed to be equipped with "general esthetic vigilance" to grasp the sense of texts such as *Finnegans Wake* (Beckett 14). That the most rewarding aspect of the endeavour remains the "unimaginable prize" of understanding (Campbell and Robinson xxi) signals us more broadly to the implicit construction of modernist readers as "savvy interpreters" (Richardson 5). In *Re Joyce,* Anthony Burgess defended Joyce's methods in constructing the ideal reader: in Burgess' words, Joyce did not set out to confuse the "average reader" but rather he was "unwilling to compromise with a subject-matter of great complexity" (6).



Episode XIII

THE LITTLE REVIEW

VOL. VI APRIL 1920 No. 11

CONTENTS

Frontispiece Portrait	*Jean de Bosschère*
Poems:	
Sur la bruère	
Je ne rein offert	*Jean de Bosschère*
Three drawings	*Djuna Barnes*
Oscar	*Malcolm Cowley*
Clinic	*Dorothy Richardson*
Interim, Chapter Nine and Ten	
Discussion:	
The Independent Exhibition	*Charles Henry*
Thomas Vaughan	*S. Foster Damon*
Economic Democracy	*Ezra Pound*
Ulysses, Episode XIII	*James Joyce*
Tales of a Hurried Man, III	*Emanuel Carnevali*
A New Testament, X	*Sherwood Anderson*
Are There 1000 Interested People in America?	*Margaret Anderson*
The Reader Critic	

Subscription price, payable in advance, in the United States and Territories, $2.50 per year. Single copy 25c.; Canada, $2.75. Foreign, $3.00. Published monthly and copyrighted, 1920, by Margaret C. Anderson.
Manuscripts must be submitted at author's risk, with return postage.
Entered as second class matter March 16, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

MARGARET C. ANDERSON, Publisher
27 West Eighth Street, New York, N. Y.
Foreign Office: 43 Belsize Park, Gardens, London, N. W. 3.

Figure 1: "Episode XIII. *Little Review* 6.11 April 1920"[44]

It has been observed in an earlier discussion on the locational specificities of Indian modernism that modernist writers were not always formally innovative; at times, plain language was deployed in the delineation of unconventional themes with an intent to shock a readership that was primarily weaned on late nineteenth-century didactic and instructional condition-of-women reading material, informed by a public sphere which was still debating the theological roles, duties, and status of women. While I have located the writers in the *Angaaray* collective in my thesis as being within and against the establishment, I argue that the dynamics and impulses of the material collected in *Angaaray* build on an organic connection between aesthetic expression and socio-political commitment; therefore, its audience remains polymorphic, even oppositional, inclusive of minority readers. Rakshanda Jalil has fascinatingly observed how readers of *Angaaray* (1932) "read the book behind closed doors" and with "relish" even as they denounced it in the open (Jalil 38). Though these lines suggest the receptiveness of readers to the kind of transgressive writing being forged by

[44]See Garpa et al. entry in Works Cited.

the *Angaaray* collective, it would be useful to pry open the question of twentieth-century Urdu readership in its negotiation of *adab* (literature and protocol inclusive of civility, manners) and new writerly practices questioning the very "propriety" that literature was founded on. The contents of *Shama*, which would publish Tabassum, were similarly devoured in secret.

In order to gain a better understanding of the furore raised by the publication of *Angaaray* (1932), it is important to signal the construction of sharafat or respectability in twentieth-century readers, significantly in the context of Urdu modernism. This is closely related to the patriarchal underpinnings of literature and its use in an instructional capacity to serve the male desire for "educated" and "enlightened" wives (Minault 3). In the early part of the twentieth century, women's journals such as *Ismat*[45] and *Tehzeeb-e-Niswan*[46] remained united in the cause of constructing in women a "competent domesticity" over cultivating "individual autonomy" (Minault 9). The appropriate reading material for women from "respectable" homes was instructional and beneficial to the management of the home, and thus, cookbooks, etiquette books, and manuals for housekeeping were the "ideal" literature to cultivate women "competent" in domestic affairs and household management. These materials were seen as being valuable to the creation of a new class of enlightened wives, mothers, and homemakers. *Tehzeeb-e-Niswan* articulated ideals of womanhood that were essentially patriarchal, and which revealed the nexus between social reform and misogyny in keeping women confined to domestic ideals. It catered specifically to promoting "useful" literature for the woman observing the parda at home (Minault 3). The targeted readership for *Ismat* was the "respectable" literate Indian woman, creating a need for a female readership rooted in ideals of modesty and propriety while circulating fiction which painted a portrait of the ideal woman at the start of the twentieth century as dutiful and subservient. In Rashid

[45] Urdu for "purity" or "chastity". Founded in Delhi in 1908
[46] Founded in 1898 in Lahore

Jahan's "Behind the Veil", a reference is made to other instructional manuals and sources underpinning the construction of sharafat culture. While the main characters Muhammadi Begum and Aftab Begum discuss the plight of the Indian Muslim woman, Muhammadi Begum's children, unnamed but going by "Boy" and "Girl" enter the narrative. The boy accuses the girl of reading "dirty books" like *The Brave-heart Lover* or *The Young Rake*, while the girl asserts her reading material is instructional and even reformist as she references Maulana Ali Saheb's *Bahishti Zewar*.

The Maulana Ali Saheb mentioned in "Behind the Veil" is, more specifically, Maulana Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi (1864-1943), the author of *Bahishti Zewar*, known as "Heavenly Ornaments" in English. *Bahishti Zewar* is a multi-volume instructional text centering on a Deobandi approach to self-reform as well as jurisprudence targeting the education of girls and women and reform of Islam in the twentieth century.[47] Theological concerns such as God, the individual, gender, and society are approached through his reformist vision of Islam. Its placement in the play "Behind the Veil" in the hands of Muhammadi Begum's daughter is telling not only of the circulation of the instructional material in northern Indian Muslim homes and its role in "perfecting" women but also demonstrates its intended female readership.[48] This is because women were increasingly projected as the custodians of tradition and partners of men in the private sphere. As Partha Chatterjee has argued, the "home" was the principal site which could reflect the spiritual quality of national culture, and women were to nurture this quality; the new national construct of the "Indian woman" symbolised qualities such as "self-sacrifice", "benevolence", and "devotion" (Chatterjee 126, 131). The incongruence between the training of Muhammadi Begum's young daughter and the life of unquestioning domesticity led by Muhammadi Begum is not lost on the attentive reader, and is likely to be signalled here as to

[47]See Glossary.
[48]See Metcalf 1992.

present before twentieth-century readers the dissonance between the self-effacing lives led by women and the equality of the sexes projected in reformist vision. The reference to *Bahishti Zewar* against the context of Muhammadi Begum's documentation of internal complications from annual child birth, the children's starvation, and her husband's near frequent demands for sex despite her poor health is ironic in that the juxtaposition exposes the harsh social and material realities stemming from women being the target of religious and moral instruction (*ARHC* 200, 202-203). While twentieth-century magazines, manuals, and journals constructed women as being responsible for bringing sanctity to the home sphere, they did not depict the rot within respectable or sharif homes, which is where modernist fiction intervened. While these journals inculcated a certain level of critical engagement with its female audience, female subjectivity and autonomy were not fully developed, and the task of reformation in the women's cause was taken up by patriarchal male critics and clerics. Indian modernists gathered in the Bloomsbury group have frequently drawn attention to Hindu reform movements at home, as documented in *Conversations*: "After all we did help to abolish the burning of widows…" (*C* 12). Sylvia Vatuk has shown how Muslim reformers viewed literature as primarily didactic, often attacking what was perceived to be "wasteful" and "non-Islamic" practices and rituals, literary or otherwise (43). Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum's modernist prose engage and critique Muslim reformist ideals centring womanhood and domesticity.

An early exposure to these twentieth-century journals is likely to have made modernists such as Rashid Jahan sensitive to the constructedness of the ideal female reader as "respectable" or contributing to the making of a "respectable" household.[49] Her story "Mute" reflects precisely the twentieth-century fixation on respectability: "The same age-old traditions, the same men's quarters in the outer part of the house where a crowd assembles

[49]Jahan's parents founded *Khatun,* a twentieth-century journal for the promotion of women's education.

each evening and the same confines of the women's seclusion" (*ARHC* 146). Jahan's "Mute" also reflects what was prominently considered to be the standards of sharafat, or civilised behaviour, against which social, cultural and literary practices were measured. This is embodied in the character of Hamid Hasan who opposed the education of girls, followed tradition and laid down his life for his ancestors, and kept himself "aloof" from new ideas (*ARHC* 146-147). Spinster characters such as Razia Begum provoke fear in the minds of young unmarried women in "Mute", showing the intrinsic colonial links between domesticity, idealised womanhood, and sharafat ideals. Modernity represents "wickedness" to characters like Hamid Hasan and his wife, who maintained strict observance of the zenana and stood against the education of women and the adoption of the English language. English-speaking and reading protagonists forming a part of the urban literate populace are similarly inaugurated in Tabassum's disruption of rigid practices of gender-based spatial segregations in twentieth century fiction. In a story entitled "The Dove" in Wajida Tabassum's *Sin*, the female protagonist Maina weaves "dreams on paper", has command over the English language like few characters in her oeuvre, and consumes magazines and adult novels which are "unsuitable for single girls" (*S* 133). Maina's embrace of English and modernity invites reproach and backlash: "Girls and daughters-in-law are the life of a home. Why is your home so wayward?" (*S* 134). As in "Fallen Venus" where the entry of "fallen women" brings about the destruction of the home, in "The Dove", a divergence from tradition affects the home sphere at first, manifesting as the "widening gulf" between Maina and her family (*S* 134); such a splintering of the foundations of the home is attributed to Maina's English education (*S* 136). Subsequently, Maina's English education is closely linked to her "free" interactions with men, which becomes the unsparing "talk of the town" (*S* 139).

In many ways, the publication of *Angaaray* in 1932 reproduced the attack of modernism on the "conventional" presentation of texts by the marketplace (Willison xvii).

The assault of *Angaaray* was on the conventional reader who failed to grasp the fallibility of narrators and who did not exercise thorough suspicion of sanctioned knowledge. *Angaaray* inaugurated a form of literary radicalism in India which aimed to construct a new kind of reader-interpreter, a collaborator in the endgame of the intertextual. Ahmed Ali attracted an English readership with *Twilight in Delhi* when he introduced the manuscript to E.M. Forster, and was published by the Hogarth Press in 1940. The complex narrative techne of Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* approximates closely to the implicit Western or Bloomsbury reader. Jahan and the co-founders of *Angaaray* (1932) were pushing back against the burdensome legacy of appeasing the "respectable" reader and a literary tradition which advanced patriarchal ideals of womanhood even as it purported to advance the frontiers of women's causes. The fragmented form and the obscurity of Ahmed Ali's "The Clouds Aren't Coming" in *Angaaray* (1932), for instance, allowed the modernist to throw censors off track for immoral allusions in the story while also veiling a scathing attack on white rule and men with brown skins and white masks: "Wah! Does Polly want a cracker? Wah! You've spoken so well! Keep on reading Monsieur Parrot, keep on. God is truth, God is pure, Pure is the Prophet of God. Send the Prophet. Dear God, send him" (*A* 78). The latter part of the passage introduces the next part of Ali's attack on religious authority, drawing attention to the superstitious and irrational beliefs that *maulvis* prescribe for their followers, as well as exploitations of God's word for personal profit. This is satirised in the lines, "Re-ci-i-it-er of the Qu-u-ur-ran. There's a pie-e-ce of haa-aay in your ho-o-ly tur-ur-ban" (*A* 79). Ali's scathing portrait of Indian Muslim society is reminiscent of Joyce's moral and religious history of twentieth-century Dublin.

Critical reviews warning readers about the potential of Wajida Tabassum's fiction to offend "noble" girls or married women (comprising the common reader in the Indian context) offers us more possibilities to reconstruct who the intended reader(s) could have been in the

comparative context of Urdu modernism from the Deccan, and what the state of reading practices and protocols in twentieth-century India could potentially have been at the time in which Tabassum was writing. Tabassum's fiction signalled the transition from nineteenth to twentieth-century attitudes to sexuality and the redefinition of sexual roles against the perpetuation of sexist constructions of traditional female protagonists in twentieth century Indian literature and film. It also interestingly corresponded with the development of the private sexual narrative in Joyce's fiction of the early to mid twentieth century, which moved away from the concept of sexuality with relation to sexual health and reproduction to inquiries into sexual perversity (Brown 52). While "noble" girls and "married women" in heteronormative Hyderabadi Muslim households may not have been the intended targets of Tabassum's attack, they comprised a sizable section of "common readers" on behalf of whom enraged male critics or clerics could raise concerns. Tabassum's potential to scandalise and "offend" these categories of women from sharif or noble households (particularly married women) unravels that had become habitual, and that was beginning to be destabilised by Tabassum's modernist project: fiction prior to modernism reproduced deference toward the clergy and nobility in sustaining gender hierarchies and roles. Tabassum seems to have been aware that when it became habitual, readers were "resistant to novelty" (Mahaffey 4).[50] The quality of leaving the work of fiction almost entirely in the hands of the reader becomes the nodal point at which the modernisms of Joyce, Jahan, and Tabassum converge: "It [...] makes the reader feel uneasy and culpable if he misses the intended but always unstated meaning [...]. The artist abandons himself and his reader to the material" (*James Joyce* 84). Tabassum's modernist prose pieces, particularly her short stories, share the quality of *Dubliners* in remaining elusive and open-ended.

[50]See Mahaffey 2007.

The reader was drawn to the modernist text through a series of textual and visual tactics employed by twentieth-century highbrow and middlebrow Urdu magazines and journals such as *Biswin Sadi* and *Shama* publishing the leading Indian modernists of the day, even as the publication of such writers as Wajida Tabassum scandalised the reader belonging to the sharif (legitimate, righteous) household. *Biswin Sadi* and *Shama* introduced readers in the subcontinent to unconventional representations of the harem and homes in Tabassum's fiction. In doing so, these journals simultaneously demonstrated how Urdu belonged to "more than one faith, one region, or one politics" (Khosla 2025)[51] which closely echoed the delineable characteristics that Jeniffer Dubrow has termed the "Urdu cosmopolis" in the nineteenth century:

> The Urdu cosmopolis acted to resist the fractures of religious communalism—political forms that relied on religion as a "hard" marker of identity—and incipient nationalism. Against this backdrop, the actions of members of the Urdu cosmopolis to claim a shared space and affiliation on the basis of language, rather than religion, region, caste, or class, became an act of resistance, the construction of a cosmopolitan ideal that was soon challenged, yet revived in other forms and other locations. (Dubrow viii)

This "reading public" is founded on its affiliation with the Urdu language,[52] consequently allowing us to move away from conceiving of it spatially toward its conception more broadly as a "network" (Taj 178) spanning various cities and regions (such as Lucknow and Hyderabad, for example). The cosmopolis is presented as a liminal zone where questions of community are reconstructed on the basis of language so as to facilitate the reception of texts in transnational contexts, thereby emphasising what Berman (2001) would call the

[51]The date of publication is cited here in the absence of a page number (online publication).
[52]Taj has perceptively observed the shift in the perception of Urdu as a secular and cosmopolitan language to its gradual identification with a religious minority, and the role of magazines such as *Shama* in retaining the association of cosmopolitanism with the Urdu language (183).

"discursive" versions of communities engaging with texts (4). Twentieth-century Urdu readers were exposed to Rashid Jahan from the North and Wajida Tabassum from the Deccan as "active cultural media" (Spivak 9). *Biswin Sadi* and *Shama* account for theories of transmission and reception of new ideas based on the ideal of a critical cosmopolitanism. This cosmopolitanism is not based on an exclusionary nationalism as these journals and magazines strived to retain and preserve the cultural particularities of the language. It illuminates another aspect of the implicit construction of the modernist audience for these journals. Tabassum's writing had a restricted permeability due to her choice of Dakhini Urdu, which was deployed to attack the nobility in Hyderabad; that readers were offended by it suggests that Tabassum was writing in order to deliver a blow to readers sharing the linguistic register and culture, so that they may recognise themselves in the pages of her fiction carried in the leading magazines and periodicals of the day.[53] However, that it was published in film journals such as *Shama,* which deployed Urdu as a cosmopolitan language, suggests its relevance to a broader Urdu speaking and reading public, thereby admitting Tabassum's work into a broader field of transmission. It is possible to argue that the ideal reader of Tabassum's text is expected to have an intimate knowledge of Hyderabad Deccan of the mid twentieth century much as Joyce's ideal reader performs an intimate knowledge and awareness of Dublin. Tabassum does not provide her readers any handrails in making sense of the customs being referenced, thereby consolidating the idea of implied Dakhini Urdu readers in the context of the mid twentieth century. *Shama*'s role in launching and publishing Tabassum (from the Deccan) allowed her text to share a "habitus" with other texts in the modernist and progressive canon though she refused to be endorsed by the Progressive Writers' Association. *Biswin Sadi* played a role in the construction of (among other readers) modernist writers and aesthetes as implied readers of these magazines themselves; it cultivated a rigorous

[53] This is evidenced in her choice to write in Dakhini Urdu, which is a very distinct choice of dialect.

standardisation in launching modernists, and thus, served as an intriguing parallel to avant-garde magazines like *The Little Review* in publishing select writers and serialising their works for the first time in print.

At the beginning of this section, a sampling of twentieth-century Urdu women's magazines such as *Tehzeeb* and *Ismat* founded in Lahore and Delhi showed how "competent" domesticity was assigned to the woman for her own reformation. These magazines did not fully allow women to articulate their own complex subjectivities. In introducing a new kind of writing which privileged the representation of female sexuality and invited readers to bear witness to the "rot" within the sharif or respectable home, writers in the *Angaaray* collective opened up the possibility of a literary radicalism which shocked readers "out of their inertia" of a passive acceptance of the puritanical and patriarchal (Jalil 44-45). The ensuing public reaction demonstrates an enraged Muslim readership who branded *Angaaray* unsuitable for a readership comprising "respectable" girls or women; those who read it would have been regarded "shameless" and thus lose face (Jalil 46-47). Intriguingly, preceding the public reaction to *Angaaray* over a decade earlier in the United States of America, the cultural impact, reception, and trial of the thirteenth chapter of *Ulysses* found an unprecedented focus on the "policing of what women read" and the "corrupting influence of unsuitable material on a female audience" (Fogarty 58). In both instances, women are implicated as a readership. During the serialisation of chapter thirteen in the *Little Review* (see figure 1), Pound and Anderson introduced several cuts to foil censors (Garpa xvii).



Figure 2:"Shama, New Delhi: Shumaara Number-004"[54]

The influence of reading cultures is witnessed in Joyce's modernism and the modernisms of Anand, Jahan, and Tabassum. They remain interrelated in their salient representations of the uncritical consumption of knowledge, conventions, and fictions propagated by colonial institutions and literary traditions. In Rashid Jahan's short story "Chhidda's Mother", the protagonist makes a reference to "Alif Laila" or *A Thousand Nights and a Night* demonstrating its centrality to world literature and the influence of the "frame narrative" in the narratological structure of the story in itself (*ARHC* 186). While *A Thousand Nights and a Night* has been adopted by Orientalists, Jahan demonstrates and counters the pervasive hold of orientalist tropes in domestic narratives. A little over the middle of the twentieth century in the Deccan, we witness the cultivation of the readerly woman's subjectivity in the fiction of Wajida Tabassum. In *Sin,* one encounters English-speaking and reading protagonists as a part of the urban literate populace though these figures are

[54]Tabassum herself was published in twentieth-century literary magazines such as *Shama* (figure 2), and *Biswin Sadi.*

encountered in odd numbers. These portrayals inaugurate the act of Tabassum's disruption of rigid practices of gender-based spatial segregations in twentieth-century fiction, which places a literal and metaphoric veil in gender interactions. While scholars such as Shloss and Sen have attended to Joyce's representation of the East, I argue that in "Nausicaa" the interactions between Gerty and Bloom seem to unfold over an imaginary veil. While both Gerty and Bloom, as representative of heteronormative sexual identities, never meet in reality, their interactions are constrained by an imaginary line of sight, the brim of Gerty's hat acting as a sort of curtain or veil that partially blinds Gerty's (and the reader's) vision of Bloom (and vice versa): "Till then they had only exchanged glances of the most casual but now under the brim of her new hat she ventured a look at him" (*U* 292). Gerty's hat allows her to withdraw into the private familiar chamber of her imagination and back into a veiled interaction with the object of her desire as and when she chooses: "She put on her hat so she could see from underneath the brim…as she caught the expression in his eyes" (*U* 295).

In Tabassum, women deliberate on complex issues relating to gender, religion, morality, and imperialism across social class. As noted previously about *Ulysses*, the modernist phenomenon of reading as a highly sexualised activity is also observable in *Sin.* The *woman-as-reader* is encountered in *Sin* when a female character borrows a copy of a Thomas Hardy novel from her beau (*S* 83). In "Penelope", Molly emerges as a reader of romance and epistolary novels such as *The Moonstone* (1868) by Wilkie Collins (*U* 622), revealing also an interest in reading longer material, particularly in the form of letters sent to her by her lovers (*U* 624). Molly's reading habits are associated closely with a desire to seek intellectual and sexual validation from men (*U* 638). While Molly and Gerty tend to readily identify reading as a sensual activity, the act of reading in Tabassum is encoded as a means through which to sublimate sexual desires. In *Sin*, women weave "dreams on paper" and consume "improper" magazines and adult novels which are "unsuitable for single girls" (*S*

133). These are fairly "libertine choices" for a woman in colonial Hyderabad in the twentieth century (*S* 133). Given the opaque nature of modernist texts, Tabassum was at work in these pages, as Joyce, Anand, and Jahan before her, constructing the implied reader of her texts as a critical interpreter-collaborator.

Theoretical Paradigms, Questions, Methods

The thesis participates in and contributes to critical conversations on the disciplinary dynamics of modernist studies and comparative literature. The transnational frame (as an orientation and comparative paradigm in literary studies) allows the scholar to conceive of the borders of the nation and state as no longer serving "sufficient hermeneutic boundaries" in a world of ideas (Parsons 1). Parsons has shown how transnationalism is an "everyday feature" in the Irish context (4). This transnationalism, I argue, is a radical feature of James Joyce's modernist aesthetics. Where the transnational frame maps migration and accompanying transformations of culture (Parsons 4), literary modernism allows scholars to examine the material conditions of modernity and their representation in modernist style. I argue that "transnationalism" and "modernism" offer scholars a way to conceptualise connections between Ireland and India in the twentieth century, more specifically through the examination of the movement of Joyce's modernist works and ideas beyond the constructs of the Irish nation to the decolonial context of the Indian subcontinent. The thesis examines how Indian modernist movements have engaged with Joyce's ideas (which migrated from Ireland and Europe) in the construction of a newly emerging modernist aesthetic. To map the movement and circulation of Joyce's ideas in the twentieth century and understand both "transnationalism" and "modernism" in relation to the degree and extent of Joyce's movement in the Indian subcontinent, varying (and often underrepresented) perspectives and approaches are drawn from three allied fields, through a comparative framework: the medical

humanities, carceral studies, and print cultures. In adopting a transnational and comparative approach to modernists and the modernist moment in Ireland and India of the twentieth century, the thesis advances critical commentary on underexamined structures of modernist production and circulation. It focuses on the modernist archive and its intersections with gender, caste, illness, ability, and social exclusion.

I foreground three understudied elements that modernists of colour draw (directly or indirectly) from Joyce in their own novelistic experiments from a period ranging from the nineteen thirties through to the second half of the twentieth century. The first element is the interest in parody, myth, and medical realism in narrative representation. The thesis distinguishes between Medical Humanities as a discipline within the humanities interrogating and critiquing the role of "stories and storytelling in our understanding of health and illness" (*The Polyphony* 3, 10), while exploring medical realism as a technique and approach employed by writers such as Mulk Raj Anand and Rashid Jahan (the latter a modernist writer and gynecologist in colonial India).[55] The concept of medical realism is drawn from Lawrence Rothfield's *Vital Signs: Medical Realism in Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (1992), which broadly argues that medical realism encompasses the novel's appropriation of "diagnostic presuppositions" (xiii) and the degree of value attached to clinical detail (7). This concept is particularly instrumental in interrogating scientific lexicons or presuppositions (10) used by writers in their representations of literary leprosy (Anand) and gynecological tropes (Jahan). Second, the thesis emphasises the idea that the dwelling is the archive through a study of "domestic architecture" as an archive of colonial life in modern novels from Ireland and India; and third, the thesis maps South Asian avant-garde journals and the role of the Urdu cosmopolis in the reception of Joyce's texts in the twentieth century. The broader preoccupation of the thesis has been to gain insight on how the transnational framework in

[55]The complete reference can be found in Works Cited under the entry beginning "MedHums 101".

New Modernist Studies breaks the moulds of the monocultural and opens pathways to examine transnational circuits as developed and developing. How would the radical aesthetics of avant-garde fiction, largely metropolitan in its origins, have informed peripheral/regional particularities of the modernist novel in India? In the thesis, Joyce is critically positioned as to interrogate his "arrival" in Urdu modernism, primarily through belles-lettres in the Anglophone context of *Angaaray* in the 1930s, the stage through Rashid Jahan, and translation in a broader South Asian context by Shahid Ahmed Dehlvi in the 1980s.

Since its publication, *Ulysses* has spoken "through the core of the local" to literatures "emerging from their own marginalization" serving as "inspiration for writers who put Istanbul, St. Lucia, New Delhi or Tokyo as their own centres, and from these have ventured out onto the wider stage of world literature without losing a sense of place or origin" (Gibbons 20).[56] These statements across Gibbons' text raise questions about comparative work as a tool to rethink or undo transnational modernism and elitist or Eurocentric accounts of modernism which has traditionally grasped non-Western textuality as being "pale or partial reflections" of European cultural history, coming to be "seen ultimately as coming late, lagging behind, and lacking in originality" (Mufti 474). Where Susan Friedman has argued that "[w]riters from the periphery compete in two ways — either by assimilation to the more powerful literary forms or by differentiation against it" (Friedman 179), Gibbons offers a portrait of how writers from minoritised and precarious backgrounds negotiate the demands of world literature even as they retain a sense of origin (Gibbons 20).[57] The fraught tensions between canonical modernist writing and the question of creative affiliation (or disaffiliation) exercised by modernist writers from minoritised backgrounds is captured in the title "After Joyce". Since modernism in the Indian context runs into the second half of the twentieth century, the term "after" in "After Joyce" additionally signals the unique temporal

[56]See Gibbons 2023.
[57]See Friedman 2012.

dimensions of the writers and works being examined. I invoke the sense of how modernist writers have followed *after* Joyce — in the tradition *of* Joyce as well as moving on or following *from* Joyce. I show how writers from modernist contexts retain and work with and through their "sense of origin", often explicitly engaging with themes of caste, racialization, discourses of colonial modernity, and the failures and compromises of colonialism's universalist project, which are essential to critiquing the traditional (European) bildungsroman form. The thesis aims to show how Indian modernists attempted to forge a consciousness of race that would enable them to decenter the barbarism and violence associated with the Eurocentric and Aryanist thought.

The methodological framework of the thesis is rooted in a close reading of texts in comparative interracial, class, and caste contexts, signalling various points of comparison across positions of racial and class privilege in the Irish and Indian contexts. In developing a study of this kind, turning to the Saidean idea of "contrapuntality" has been particularly useful.[58] Borrowing from Aamir R. Mufti, I employ the term to refer to a phenomenon that "enacts a complex relationship with the notion of tradition" that it "takes seriously and puts into question" by opening up any "particular tradition to interaction with other such purportedly discrete entities": this act of contrapuntal reading encodes a "comparativism to come" (Mufti 477-478). Said's intervention in comparatism with "contrapuntal reading" is to "think through and interpret together experiences that are discrepant, each with its particular agenda and system of external relationships" (Said 32).[59] In *The Long Space,* Hitchcock has argued that contrapuntal analysis reads the imperial archive against the grain. The real challenge for cultural transnationalism is thus contrapuntal writing — the ways in which the artist makes the form her own (Hitchcock 14). I make a case for the ways in which contrapuntal writing can be joined to other terms like "unthinking Eurocentrism" or

[58]The usage of the term "contrapuntal" can be traced back to Said's essay "Reflections on Exile", first published in 1984. See Works Cited.
[59]See Said 1994.

"decolonizing the mind" in envisioning the afterlives of modernist texts and their resurgence in the twenty-first century. More recently, Ragini Mohite has situated her readings of Irish and Indian modernisms in a comparative context, charting "complementarity, tensions, and thematic echoes" (Mohite 4). In the thesis, I have looked for ways to challenge hagiographic accounts of Joyce in showing how modernists such as Wajida Tabassum, for instance, remains critically underexamined in modernist studies in particular and world literature more broadly despite having attempted to radically disrupt the realm of Urdu letters and Indian modernism. The modernists examined in the thesis explore questions of personal stake, respond to censorship and political risks, and pose questions of identity and art, with every aesthetic decision contributing to the conception (and at times, *revisions*, of) the modern: the use of narrative voice, the combination of techniques, strategies, modes, and themes.

Terminology and Narratological Concerns

The Indian modernists examined in the thesis devised complex, at times hybrid, techniques associated with Joyce's modernism, for which reason a brief overview of Joyce's narratological tradecraft is merited here. While Joyce's *Dubliners* is preoccupied with the naturalist mode, in Joyce's later fiction, the realist mode, where it is deployed, is seldom done in isolation; it is often combined with a range of other techniques such as free indirect discourse and the stream-of-consciousness which are deployed extensively not only by the writers in the *Angaaray* collective, but also peripheral modernists such as Wajida Tabassum. *A Portrait* still employs some of the recognisable aspects of the realistic mode: a third-person narrator who sets and dramatises the scene, offering what appears to be "real referents" to Dublin in the early twentieth century. Readers are able to immerse themselves in a Dublin of the twentieth century since the narrative grounds the "story" in "place" or topography. Joyce

would extract from a reading of the realists a devotion to detail in rendering character type, life, temperament, taste, conscience, and action, all in relation to aspects of the novel. The projected environments in Joyce's early work is embedded by the very act of narration. Joyce's storytelling creates the impression of realism in its portrayal of the "undivined and squalid" way of life, the "dull phenomenon" of Dublin, and the "squalour" of the home characterising colonial Dublin life (*P* 88-89). *A Portrait* invokes complex memories and invocations of past events, people, and locations, forming a unique textual memory. Though Joyce's works mark a significant break with traditional conceptions of the novel, his early works, highly modernist in temperament, form, and technique, still retain Victorian residues of realist theme and form in their fidelity to truthfulness, verisimilitude, observation of truth to facts, and treatment of house and property as in *A Portrait*. To the mid-Victorian novelist, human life was unified and coherent: this necessitated a mode of representation most suited to reflecting reality with little mediation.

Joyce's conception of the modern in fiction is rooted in the idea that the experience of the human was neither coherent nor unified — in the early twentieth century, his experiments with fiction signalled changes in terms of what would constitute the subject of fiction, with a predilection for certain scandalous "images" (the woman as reader, for instance, or the transgendered desiring subject such as the "eunuch" in *Ulysses* in particular and the Irish imagination more broadly) that would outrage public morality and offend his readers, an engagement with the inner worlds of characters, and formally innovative linguistic techniques that would foreground the artefact in fiction even as it drew attention to the fact that there is in fact a world that the novel mediates — the site of colonial potentiality that was Dublin in the early twentieth century. Joyce's reliance on satirical Dublin papers (*Punch*, *Leprachaun*) in looking formally toward "caricature" in his ironic treatment of 'likeness" and "verisimilitude" is especially noteworthy. Where Victorian novelists employed the technique

in the service of social injustices and European realism in the portrayal of fine descriptions of realities, Joyce's realism in *Dubliners*, *A Portrait,* and parts of *Ulysses* is informed by textual moments of narrative paralysis, psychological realism, character-driven motivations and internal thoughts of characters. Joyce's oeuvre adapts the traditional form of the novel even as it parodies the form.

Ulysses relies heavily on the activation of textual memory for the reader to draw appropriate inferences in their attempt to "make sense" of the text. Phrases used in an episode of *Ulysses* make an appearance elsewhere in later chapters. In the "Wandering Rocks" episode of *Ulysses*, for example, Joyce's "cracked lookingglass" refracts the simultaneous actions of a range of Dubliners. Richard Brown (2002) "read[s] the city as a kind of text" and the text "almost as a kind of city" even as the authority of an omniscient narrator takes precedence in arranging the various refracted scenes in the chapter (59). The episode is characterised by naturalistic precision in its construction of realist temporality — several characters in the city pass each other by at different points in the episode, allowing readers to gain a sense of spatial and temporal simultaneity in the occurrence of these events. The narrator grounds the scene in an adherence to geographic realism by pointing to the exterior urban spaces of the colonial city (the Newcomen bridge, the tram, the funeral establishment, ice cream cars, bridge piers, the quays, and the docks); the narrator also times the scenes accurately to show how characters, signalled in a previous textual moment or anticipated in an upcoming section (of the seventeen that form the core of "Wandering Rocks"), cross paths unbeknownst to each other as they remain, for the most part, "unseen" (*U* 208) except by an overarching figure — the narrator itself arranging the scene for the readers, whose tone is often inflected by the imperial forces of the Church and the State (forming the symbols that inform the two bookends of the episode). In this episode, some characters are seen by "many persons" (*U* 194) unnamed and unknowable, presumably the dwellers of the city in the

mid-afternoon in which the episode is set, even as some remain "unperceived" (*U* 207) except by the the omniscient narrator. Joyce's commentary on realism and naturalism in fiction may offer signposts to trace the evolution and implications of the mimetic premise in fiction, besides demonstrating his intricate understanding of the functions and limitations of the realist mode. It is this intimate knowledge of the technique, acquired through the reading of precursors and pioneers of the mode, that would later enable him to exploit its plasticity even whilst demonstrating the limits and failures of language and representation in rendering the modern world and the modern experience. If *Dubliners*, *A Portrait*, and sections of *Ulysses* have demonstrated textual moments of narrative security, *Finnegans Wake* makes rigorous demands on the reader looking for any trace of the narrative norm. Joyce's later work presents pressing epistemic concerns both in terms of the instability of objective reality and the move away from the realist impulse. Though Indian modernists such as Mulk Raj Anand and Rashid Jahan were aware of high modernist techniques, they chose to primarily engage with the realist mode, as did Wajida Tabbasum. However, in the context of Indian modernism, the realist mode — its ambivalence characterised by its colonial origins and its complicity with hegemonic ideology (Anjaria 7) — operates as a highly metatextual technique deployed to varying effects (such as parody and irony, for instance).

In order to better grasp these issues in their basic narrative sense, I turn to some key concepts in narratology. Understood in its basic narrative sense, narrators carry out the function of narration/narrating the story and characters are understood as actants/participants/ agents in the story world in a particular time frame and given setting. According to Fludernik (2009), the narratee, or the "addressee of the narrator's discourse", may either be the reader or a fictional character (23).[60] At the level of narration, we encounter the extradiegetic/intradiegetic/metadiegetic narrator. The metadiegetic narrator, employed at the

[60]See Fludernik 2009.

level of the "story within a story within a story", is not encountered often in the texts under examination. The observer may be a first-person or third-person narrator figure narrating the story, detached from the events and actions in the story world. Rashid Jahan's "That One" and Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* are instances of these respectively. Sometimes the narrator may be covert, or a concealed narrator who "does not present him/herself" (Fludernik 22) or may be overt, one that may make themselves present either "stylistically as well as on a metanarrative level" as in the case with "That One" by Rashid Jahan (Fludernik 21). The concealed narrator is characteristic of *Finnegans Wake* and the *Angaaray* stories (with the exception of the story and play by Rashid Jahan). The overt narrator is seen in Rashid Jahan's "A Tour of Delhi" where Malika Begum overtly narrates the story of her day trip from Faridabad to Delhi. The observer might be a first-person or third-person narrator figure who is involved or part of the story being told but may not be the protagonist — the observer may be a peripheral figure or character merely commenting on the scene. Peripheral characters are encountered in stories such as Rashid Jahan's "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan", for example, in the character of Masitan, the family midwife. In texts like *Finnegans Wake* by James Joyce, the observer may sometimes take on the tone of an academic/scientific commentator offering ironic and often self-reflexive commentary on the scene. We encounter the narrators of Mathew, Mark, Luke, and John in the compounded figure of the historian Mammon Lujius in *Finnegans Wake*. This is a narratological concern which I use as a scaffolding in Chapter One to explore the historical construction of the leprous subject. It must be noted that the stories in Wajida Tabassum's *Sin* consistently deploy the third-person narrator, who at times uses free indirect narration to penetrate the characters' psyche.

At the level of types of participants, we may encounter major participant characters and peripheral participant characters who appear once in the course of the story. We may

encounter an extensive list of narrators, such as the embedded narrator (narrating a tale within a tale) and the unreliable narrator,[61] both of which is seen in stories such as "Chhidda's Mother" by Rashid Jahan, where unreliability stems from the use of "frame" narratives but also from intratextual cues, such as tendency in Chhidda's mother to exaggerate. The homodiegetic (first-person narrator) may be encountered in stories such as "That One" by Rashid Jahan; the heterodiegetic narrator, who is *not* the protagonist, is encountered in Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable*. The autodiegetic narrator (narrator is *also* a protagonist) is seen in the case of Malika Begum in "A Tour of Delhi" by Rashid Jahan. The relationship between narrator and character is characterised by whether they belong to the categories discussed: that is, in the case of the homodiegetic the narrator is also a character, the autodiegetic narrator is underpinned by the construction of the protagonist as character; whereas a heterodiegetic narrator does not take part in the plot. If we move further from relationship to the level of communication, we observe that the intradiegetic involves communication between characters and the hypodiegetic or metadiegetic involves communication at the level of the text between narrator and narratee. At the broader level of focalisation, the term "focalizing instance" refers to the *focalizer* of the story (perspective) and *focalized* refers to visible or invisible objects in the focalizer's purview. Zero focalization, a term from Gerard Genette's narratological inquiry, corresponds to a narrative situation wherein the authorial narrator is "above the world of action, looks down on it, and is able to see into characters' minds as well as shift[…] between the various locations where the story takes place" (Fludernik 38). Internal focalization tends to be limited to the perspective of a single character, whereas that of external focalization is "a view of the world from the outside, allowing no insight into the inner workings of people's minds" (Fludernik 38).

[61]Wayne C. Booth's *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (1961) offered the earliest definition of the "unreliable narrator", which has been challenged. Booth argued that a character's reliability stemmed from an adherence to the implied author's norms.

As I have shown in the section titled "James Joyce in Progressive Writing", unreliable narrators populate *Angaaray* even as it moves away from the naturalism of *Dubliners*. This allows me to argue that the narrative techne of *Angaaray* is arguably closer to Joyce's narrative motives in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* than *Dubliners*. Rashid Jahan's short stories retain the naturalism of *Dubliners* while coming close to Joyce's motives in the composition of *Dubliners* and *A Portrait.* In short stories such as "That One", at the level of narration, an intradiegetic narrator (narrator within the storyworld) introduces readers in the first-person to an unnamed woman who is constructed broadly as the "ungraspable other" (Spivak 32). Readers learn of the woman primarily through other characters in the narrative who call her a "common whore" or "prostitute" — the woman herself, alluded to as a "she" or a "her" or "that one" in the story, and frequently constructed as an object of disgust, an *abject* subject — does not speak except when attacked violently at the end of the narrative, and this too is reduced to a single line: "Now you know" (*ARHC* 120). Jahan demonstrates the voicelessness of women in sex-work, but also draws attention to the complicity of colonial Indian morality, literature, and legal frameworks in rendering the sex worker mute and powerless. Its modernist characteristics are visible in the elusive construction of "that one", in the inability of the narrative to penetrate the thoughts of the character who it attempts to "grasp" as the other.

Unlike the extradiegetic narrator (narrator outside and above the storyworld) of Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* who is able to penetrate Bakha's psyche while also remaining at a distance from him, at its most fundamental level Jahan's "That One" demonstrates the failures and limits of language and representation in the construction of the *abject* subject. Words such as "disgust", "repulsed", "rotting", "sickening revulsion", "repulsive", "revolting", "frightening", and "nauseating" are repetitively used to describe "that one" and her actions in the narrative (*ARHC* 117 - 119) while "that one" listlessly watches the narrator.

Unlike the prostitutes in Wajida Tabassum's narrative who have extended dialogues and even agential capacities, Jahan represents the predicament of the woman "dying of [venereal] disease" (*ARHC* 117). The prostitute remains unnarrated, but the probing questions of the first-person narrator reveal the intrinsic links between morality and venereal disease and deep-seated colonial prejudices: "Does she not know that she is paying for her sins? [....] Does she really think that I merely regard her as an ill person?" (*ARHC* 119). The autodiegetic narrator's prejudices reveal the plight of women practising prostitution, while the behaviours of peripheral characters like Nasiban point to the antagonistic and threatening attitudes taken toward women practising prostitution in the context of colonial India. Though themes of untouchability, caste-based segregation, and the stigma of pollution are explored to a greater extent in Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable*, in Rashid Jahan's "That One", the word "purda" is curiously used in the context of an encounter with "that one" to signal segregation rather than its normative usage as social practice. Here I see the veil as an assertion of "purity"; taken together with the emphasis on sharif culture or Saiyyed stock in Rashid Jahan's "Mute", the whore/begum dichotomy underpinning the narrative further complicates the symbol of the veil in this context, which in turn anticipates the dichotomy between the prostitute and the sharif woman in Wajida Tabassum's *Sin.*

The narratives chosen for examination in the thesis were among the first of its kind to explore radically new themes or forms in the context of Irish and South Asian modernisms. These texts introduced *radical sentences* hitherto unseen in fiction prefiguring modernism. Consider, for instance, Rashid Jahan's short story "A Tour of Delhi", more specifically the lines "Malika Begum was the only one who had sat in a train, and that too, travelled from Faridabad to Delhi for a day" (*ARHC* 121). While these lines might not seem bold or unconventional to a modern day audience, as Jahan shows, Muslim women's worlds were circumscribed by the courtyard, and both Malika Begum's story as well as Jahan's decision to

stage a female character as a storyteller in the space of the zenana functions as a radically *transgressive* act. The representation of Muslim women as the authors of their own life experiences is radical *and* new. Jahan also centred the perspectives of midwives and lady doctors in fiction such as "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan", showing how the protean form of modernist prose was increasingly becoming conducive to the composition of bold sentences such as "The placenta is yet to fall" (*ARHC* 126) in "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan" or "It was nothing but enteric fever" (*ARHC* 185) in "Chhidda's Mother", demonstrating the deployment of rational and scientific arguments to counter the persistence of colonial prejudices, beliefs, and superstitions regarding illness. The reference to enteric fever similarly appears in "Penelope" in *Ulysses* in reference to Molly's former lover Lieutenant Gardner who is killed in the Boer war (*U* 616).

I build on a reading of the sentences "Amid all the pranks and the laughter, no one spared a thought for the sleep or comfort of the woman who had just delivered a baby" to show its precedent in the "Oxen" episode in *Ulysses* in Chapter Two (*ARHC* 131). James Joyce would draw on "embryological monstrosities" and "curiosities from the history of embryology" in creating an atmosphere of the grotesque in "Oxen," (Benzenhöfer 611). The employment of sewing threads and rusted knives contributes to the bloodied and grotesque representation of birthing tools that are used in a home labour scene within the zenana in Rashid Jahan's colonial narrative of birthing and labour in direct contrast to the presence of "half-born foetuses, swabs, and the smell of disinfectants" looming large in James Joyce's composition of "Oxen of the Sun" (Power 82). Where the female body in labour is marginalised in the narrative amidst riotous scholarly debate in *Ulysses,* in Rashid Jahan's narrative, women in the clan assume control over the female body as well as the afterbirth. During this episode, all the women present in the room take turns to "examine [the afterbirth] and offer their views and comments" (*ARHC* 129) even as "witty scholars" in the "Oxen of

the Sun" episode discuss babe, parent, and Maker (*U* 319). Jahan carries much of Joyce's world into her own: in slow puffs, "a mouldy smell of soiled linen, foetidness of perspiration, of secretions, human skins, and the nauseating acridity of heaving aspirations" (Duff 63) pervades Joyce's Dublin even as women and midwives "loaded with grimy silver rings and bangles" mop up the mess following the birth of the child in colonial India (*ARHC* 147). I argue that the parallel between obstetric and medical metaphors transformed into narrative tropes in transnational contexts present me with theoretical possibilities to probe into ideological factors, such as the circumscription of reproduction and child-bearing, for instance, leading to the confinement of women within the home in the turn of the century against the broader comparative contexts of the growing emphasis on women's duties within the domestic sphere in Ireland and India. Finally, Rashid Jahan's stories, particularly those such as "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan", engage with the colonial theme and concern of colourism, which though not taken up in the thesis for examination, is still signalled for its import to modernist fiction in India in the twentieth century and its centrality to narrative voice and other narratological concerns hitherto unexamined in Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum.

Overview of Chapters

My thesis is an attempt to define aspects of Joyce's modernism that reverberates transculturally. While Joyce Studies is characterised by a proliferation of scholarly and interpretive scholarship, in my thesis I have taken careful consideration of textual moments from Joyce which would also serve to bridge connections between twentieth-century Ireland and India.

Chapter One charts out a comparative study of James Joyce and Mulk Raj Anand against the broader context of degeneration in the tropics and its management in the empire.

The texts under consideration are *Dubliners*, *A Portrait*, *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* by James Joyce and Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* (1935). *Untouchable* follows a day in the life of Bakha, a sweeper boy in the town of Bulashah in India, who is strongly focalised in the novel. While Stephen, the protagonist of *A Portrait*, determines to "fly" by nets of the social order,[62] Bakha, the protagonist of *Untouchable*, is inexorably fixed where he is by the laws of the Hindu social order. The "other" in the novel is the outcaste collectivity. The novel deploys recognisable techniques from the European modernist canon such as the day-in-the-life format as well as the interior monologue. *Untouchable* represents a crisis of representation in the modern Indian novel in English even as it demonstrates the interrelatedness of the Indian avant-garde project with the process of decolonization. The reputation of *Untouchable* is founded on the deployment of the modernist form in the rendition of subaltern subjectivity. Scholars such as Jessica Berman and Ben Baer have read James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) and *Untouchable* (1935) more closely as enacting cartographic and colonial intertextualities across transnational contexts. In my reading, I examine the embodied experience of caste, leprosy, and disease connecting Joyce's texts with Anand's *Untouchable*, an Indian narrative from the nineteen-thirties engaging explicitly with the themes of caste, racialization, and the failures and compromises of colonialism's universalist project. I examine the links between the "Hibernian metropolis" (*U* 96) and city as a social organism broadly; next, physical and bodily topography is examined with relation to conceptions of the body politic; and finally, I argue that the motif of excretion and contagion in *Untouchable* serves as intertextual allusions to *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* in the construction of the untouchable and the leprous body.

While this chapter contends that traditional readings of *Untouchable* have not challenged the role and functions of the extradiegetic narrator who constructs Bakha as a

[62]This is achieved through a number of artistic principles devised to profane the sacred by setting images of "purity" against images of "impurity" (*SL* xxv).

subaltern subject, I am not concerned here with the construction of Bakha's subaltern subjectivity so much as I am interested in the collapse of "untouchable" and "leprous" identities in Joyce and Anand. Where there is an engagement with the subaltern subjectivity of Bakha, it is in relation to Kristeva's theory of abjection. Across Joyce, Anand, and Jahan (as the next chapter overview will show), I argue that the subaltern subject emerges from expulsion, coming to be coextensive with "death infecting life" (Kristeva 4). My primary argument in Chapter One is that the "leprous body" has not received critical attention even as it embodies the experience of untouchability and social exclusion which is the subject of Anand's *Untouchable*. In a close parallel, I argue that the "leprous body" has also been understudied in the context of Joyce though he references a number of spaces in which the sick are inscribed. For this reason, the theoretical framework in the chapter does not gesture toward subaltern studies or postcolonial critics, but draws primarily from textual scholarship. While Edward Brandabur's *A Scrupulous Meanness* (1971) has probed the psychological malaise and pathological uses of vicarious experience in Joyce's early works (Brandabur 7), and Kathleen Ferris's *James Joyce and the Burden of Disease* (1995) has attempted to advance a rather controversial (if less compelling) case for James Joyce as a "syphilitic" (Kenner 1996), J.B. Lyons' *James Joyce and Medicine* (1973) has engaged convincingly in a full-length (biographical) study of the representation of illness in Joyce's fiction (alongside a "clinical examination" of the author's life and illness) in an attempt to remedy the lack of critical commentary on medical allusions in Joyce Studies of the preceding century. Lyons' work covers a range of illnesses (major and minor) and representations of medical jargon and anatomy in Joyce, including his daughter's schizophrenia and his own death from perforated ulcers. Vike Martina Plock's *Joyce, Medicine, and Modernity* (2012) is latest in line in uncovering a range of turn-of-the-century medical debates in relation to Joyce Studies, advancing the argument that medical practice related artistic creativity to pathological

configurations (45). *Finnegans Wake* demonstrates an awareness of its medical contexts, and as an extension of the argument, I argue that Joyce's works (particularly *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*) appreciate the socio-historical contexts in which Hansen's disease is inscribed, and for this reason, these allusions are worth investigating in greater detail.

Chapter Two looks toward James Joyce and Rashid Jahan (1905-1953) for representations of cloistered life against the background of colonial domesticity in twentieth-century Ireland and India. In order to preserve heteronormative family values and effectively enforce regimented lines to prevent the contamination of the family cell, state mechanisms were established in Ireland and India to contain the bodies of "fallen women" and constrict their movements, leading to the construction of non-ceremonial state mechanisms that infiltrate into the private sphere. To the Citizen in *Ulysses*, fluid and ambiguous borders of transitional homeplaces form a threat to national identity, and could potentially be seen as a blockage to the self-fulfilment of the idealised Irish family cell. Through an analysis of domestic sites of oppression across the Irish and Indian contexts, I argue that there exists sites of abjection, in the sense in which Kristeva imagines these spaces. I show how female characters in Rashid Jahan write under the condition of "being possessed by abjection" as I juxtapose this with the construction of prison-as-brothel in the "Circe" episode in *Ulysses* (Kristeva 208). In order to establish comparative connections between Joyce, domesticity, "fallen women", and venereal disease, I examine stories such as "That One" (Woh), which stages an upper-class school teacher's encounter with the superfluous, leaking body of a prostitute; "A Tour of Delhi" (Dilli ki Sair), the story of Malika Begum recounting her day trip from Faridabad to Delhi to women in the zenana; "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan", which documents colonial midwifery within the zenana; "Mute" (Bezubaan), which depicts the plight of Muslim women with a Western education navigating deeply orthodox households and values; "Man and Woman" (Mard aur Aurat),

which invokes the critical context of twentieth-century Urdu journals and literature which offered instruction to women on becoming enlightened wives and homemakers, and stages a dialogue between a man and woman negotiating the terms of a marriage; "Iftari" (Iftari), which reflects Jahan's Marxist-feminist concerns, focusing on the double-standards of Indian Muslim society in the month of Ramadan; "Chhidda's Mother" (Chhidda ki Ma), which stages colonial discourses of beauty and desirability against the prospect of finding and keeping a man; and "Behind the Veil" (Parde ke Peeche), which stages the marginal figures of Muslim women confined to their homes. Rakshanda Jalil's *A Rebel and Her Cause* (2014) brings together these translations of Rashid Jahan's stories from Urdu into English. I explore liminal and psychic spaces inhabited by the women in these stories and look toward the construction of "dreamworlds" which act as a sort of "interior refuge" to the women in the stories, who deploy privacy as strategies of survival in the first instance and ways to claim literary agency in the second.[63]

I examine the value of the "homeplace" for characters inhabiting the colonised spaces of the home in twentieth-century Ireland and India: a place for women to "transcend their tiredness" and seek refuge from the harsh, material realities of sexist domination and racial oppression while showing how interior spaces in the contexts of the bedroom in *Ulysses* and zenana contexts in the modernist fiction from India have allowed women to "dream in peace" (Bachelard 5).[64] Here Bachelard's conception of "thresholds" proves useful in beginning to examine spaces that exist in the liminal for women in Joyce: the half-open doorway, the boarding house, the asylum, the laundry for "fallen women" and all (material and psychic) spaces of the in-between that populate the world of *Dubliners*, *A Portrait*, and *Ulysses*. I argue that the less acknowledged subjects of the home (women, domestic help, disabled folx) have always only existed within these liminal spaces against the backdrop of the degrading

[63]See Henry 2022.
[64]Drawing on bell hooks' notion of the homeplace.

conditions and the squalor of the colony in the early twentieth century. In the shifting, liminal, and borderless spaces of the modernist imagination such as the boarding house, questions of "respectability" and "reputation" surface with the mingling of the sexes across class divides. The prospect of marriage for young women finds modernist expression across Joyce, Jahan, and Tabassum: the women in Jahan and Tabassum's fiction, like Joyce's construction of Eveline or Maria from "Clay", look to transcend harsh domestic realities and imagine alternative dreamworlds.[65]

In Chapter Three, I examine James Joyce's *Ulysses* and Wajida Tabassum's *Sin,* the first volume of translations of Tabassum's writing into English by Reema Abbasi, which contains nineteen short stories. *Sin* introduces the modern day reader to new and unconventional modernist writing from the Deccan, with female protagonists possessing domestic, literary, and sexual agency in the mode of "domestic fiction." Abbasi has classified the nineteen short stories in the volume into four sections around the theme of "deadly sins" (lust, pride, greed, and envy) functioning at once an indictment of the nobility and orthodox households in the Indian subcontinent. The stories explored in greater detail in the chapter are "Chhinaal" ("Fallen Venus"), "Hor Upar!" ("Up, further up!"), "Ladki Bazaar" ("The Flesh Market"), "Rozi ka Sawaal" ("The Cost of Survival"), "Talaq, Talaq, Talaq" ("Separation"), and "Zakat" ("The Alms of Death").[66] In examining these short stories, my chapter thus provides an overview of the interlapping representations of sex districts, the imperial harem, and conservative households as spatial axes around which Joyce and Tabassum wield a compelling social critique of colonial Dublin and the erstwhile princely state of Hyderabad with representational strategies that set out to critique Orientalist ethnographic portrayals

[65]Note: Rakshanda Jalil's *Whose Urdu Is It Anyway?* recovers the works of non-Muslim writers who have written (modernist, satirical, fictional) prose in Urdu, and in doing so, reclaims Urdu as an Indian language while paying attention to India's contested past and present. This is the revisionary background against which much of the Urdu writers examined in the thesis is better contextualised. In the thesis, Urdu is posited as a cosmopolitan language transcending religious, regional, and national identities.

[66]For ease of reading, the stories are generally referenced by their English titles in-text. In the Works Cited, they are arranged according to their Urdu and English titles to reflect the "Contents" page of *Sin*.

only to further reinforce them. Joyce's and Tabassum's modernisms are explored in relation to colonial mores concerning virility, purity, and respectability. The chapter probes into the reimagination of female protagonists from conservative South Asian backgrounds as agential actors who break from the shackles of self-denial in allowing themselves to explore the "primal" aspects of human nature beyond the liminal, psychic, and private space of the imagination. Tabassum's characterisation of begums, despotic Nawabs, sex-workers, and courtesans is compared with Bloom's homogenous representation of courtesans and harem women. The representation of Hyderabad as a despotic frontier (fragmented by the British empire) in Tabassum's fiction acts as a scaffolding against which I read Hyderabad and Dublin as being under the field of encroaching English influence and misrepresentation. As Spivak has shown, the "imagination" becomes the in-built "instrument of othering" (13). In order to establish the grounds for a comparison between misrepresentations of the colonial city, Ireland's construction as a "wild, *remote* borderland" and its linkages with the Oriental in imperial imagination (Lennon xv, xvii) is juxtaposed against the construction of Hyderabad as a "remote place in temporal as well as geographical terms" offering a powerful portrayal of the mediation of the Empire in colonial cities driven by surveillance and political disorder (Beverley 148).

Thus this final chapter of the thesis probes into the interactions between hypercanonical texts and minoritised literatures challenging the hypercanonicity of Joyce's modernism. Here what is at stake is not the question of influence. There is an attempt to demonstrate the intertextual condition of the Joycean text to a degree, but it is deliberately limited in the chapter considering, firstly, the sheer volume of advancements in genetic criticism and Joyce Studies by scholars such as Shinjini Chattopadhyay and Dirk Van Hulle in this line; and second, a suspicion of the practice of recovering neglected writers in a comparative context by reexamining them with "familiar aesthetics, names, or styles" of

connection (Schrag 304).[67] Where it is demonstrated, the "intertextual condition" of the Joycean text has served to draw tropes of the "fallen" woman in Irish and Indian colonial contexts and establish commonalities and/or oppositions between representational strategies and constructions of harem contexts in twentieth-century Irish and Indian writing. I argue that as a modernist operating from an underexamined centre of modernist production in colonial India, Tabassum's work has not received critical attention as a stand-alone testament to modernist prose nor has her work received attention across a cross-cultural, comparative lens which places her in comparison with and relation to her modernist counterparts on the scale of modernism and world literature.

As mentioned earlier in the "Introduction", the chapters in the thesis move from positive to negative ties between James Joyce and the South Asian authors. The chapters move from strong or positive ties represented by Mulk Raj Anand and Rashid Jahan to weaker or negative ties represented by Wajida Tabassum. Chapter Three does not court an inclusion of Tabassum in Joyce Studies; rather it emphasises the *weak ties* of modernism. Tabassum's minoritised literature engages with questions of sexual experience and aesthetic form unlike the case of "positive ties" to Joyce's modernism demonstrated by Mulk Raj Anand, and to an extent, Rashid Jahan and other members of the *Angaaray* collective. Tabassum's modernist project relates closely to textual acts demonstrating her female protagonists "negotiating with agency" in matters of textuality and sexuality, which I argue merits research and close reading as a stand-alone modernist text in the first instance, which this thesis advances, and an appraisal of its position within South Asian modernism and specifically Urdu modernism (Hamid 141). The thesis closes with a recognition of the value of pursuing a study of "negative ties" within global modernist networks which would better allow scholars of modernism to move away from the hypercanonical.

[67]See complete reference in Works Cited.

Chapter One

Interpreters and Interpretations:
The Leprous Body in *Untouchable*, *Ulysses,* and *Finnegans Wake*

Introductory

A theoretical consideration of comparative colonialisms, responses to the *Bildungsroman*, and modernist geographies have allowed scholars such as Jessica Berman and Ben Baer to read James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) and Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* (1935) more closely as enacting cartographic and colonial intertextualities across transnational contexts. Drawing from Joyce's cartographic experiments in *Ulysses*, Anand structured *Untouchable* in a day-in-the-life format, foregrounding limited perspective, a philosophical approach, and dialogic meta-theoretical sequence in the novel in an alternative geographic and socio-political location of modernist production referred to as the town of Bulashah in India, the centre of "pollution" in the novel. The concept of pollution implied in this context relates specifically to the embodied experience of caste in the modern Indian novel, which *Untouchable* inaugurates, and which adds more complexity and depth to any study of the "body" in a comparative colonial context. More specific to my concerns in this chapter have been the examination of links between the "Hibernian metropolis" (*U* 96) and city as a social organism broadly; more particularly, the examination of physical and bodily topography with relation to conceptions of the body politic; and finally, the motif of excretion and contagion in *Untouchable* serving as intertextual allusions to *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* in the construction of the untouchable and the leprous body which I examine closely in

this chapter. Anand's *Untouchable* is predominantly a nod to the influence of European literary modernism; however, I argue that certain textual moments in *Untouchable* replicates medical realism in a surveilled Indian colony, allowing the novelist to fully grasp the realities and paradoxes of colonial modernism whilst explicitly engaging with the horrors of the Hindu caste system, whereas James Joyce merges the realist tradition with fragmented and experimental modes of story-telling in *Ulysses* in narrating the experience of illness (Crispi 68).In this chapter, I argue that Anand grapples more broadly with the question of degeneration relating to leprosy and leprosy-affected individuals in the tropics whilst demonstrating the management of these concerns in the empire.[68]

As an "advance-guard" novelist in the early stages of Indian modernism, Mulk Raj Anand is confronted with the task of staging the high politics of imperialism whilst "forging" a new English language tradition in fiction for India (Berman 465).[69] The intimate and ambivalent gaze embodied in Anand's deployment of the extradiegetic narrator in realist representation would offer Anand wider scopic potential, which could be exploited to infiltrate and gain intimate access to the peripheries. A mode of narrative reproduction such as this would enable its direct consumption by the metropolitan reader. Anand is confronted with the novelistic task of representing subalternity as a caste Hindu novelist to implied Bloomsbury readers, which makes him vulnerable to attacks of a detached, third-person narrator, whilst also rendering the village of Bulashah a site of Orientalist reproductions in certain instances. Bakha watches with "contemptuous displeasure" the "indecent behaviour of a Mohammedan walking about with his hands buried deep in his trousers, purifying himself in the ritual manner…" (*U* 11). Words such as "contemptuous", "displeasure", and "indecent", which Bakha uses in relation to bearing witness to native ritual purification by the Hindu and the Muslim community, mimics the gaze of the occupying-power embodied in the

[68]The use of the words "leprosy" (Hansen's disease) and "tropics" here signals the colonial context of *Untouchable*.
[69]See Berman 2006.

imperialist-Caste Hindu perspective which underpins much of the narratorial tradecraft of *Untouchable.*

The narrator shuttles back and forth between offering readers a view of the outcaste colony and Bakha's individual consciousness; the narratee is constructed as complex but knowable, and the interior monologue is distributed across the rest of this modernist narrative. This colonialist narrative reproduction is exemplified in the scene where Bakha walks past the fruit-stalls in the town, and comes into contact with a range of diverse caste groups of stall-keepers (*U* 33). Here the experience of untouchability is rendered by the third-person narrator who reproduces a grammar of difference between "natu" and "sahib", but also delineates Bakha as a subject experiencing untouchability as embodied, corporeal caste-based practice: that is, the narrator detaches momentarily from Bakha's perspective to render a portrait of what is happening to him and his body as an untouchable subject as though to reiterate untouchability as the attribute of the narrated subject, an experience not shared by the narrator (*U* 34). This technical distinction is crucial (that is, the ideological distancing of the extradiegetic narrator from the narrated untouchable subject) and allows me to argue that an ambivalent colonialist narrator is borne of *Untouchable*'s implied reader, potentially the Bloomsbury subject, through whom the village of Bulashah and its people is Orientalised: take, for instance, how "Mohammedans" are described as "dirtily clad" and an unnamed turbaned boy portrayed as "dirty", contrasted against the depiction of "beautiful" European women (*U* 33).[70] Could this be Bakha's own voice, the voice of the narrative arranger, or the voice of a European administrator of Indian colonies? In records issued by colonial administrators and sanitary officers, where medical geography provided the dominant model of explanation, the native is associated closely with their "dirty habits"

[70]Bakha's usage of the term. In the thesis, I pay particular attention to the language surrounding leprosy. It must be noted that the reference to the term "Mohammedan" in this instance and elsewhere is usually a citation from the text of *Untouchable* and not my usage of the term. The more contemporary term would be Muslim.

(Kermorgant, Smith and France 41). In echoing this distinction, Bakha appears to be reproducing the grammar of difference upon which colonial hierarchies are established. European sanitary reform practices have distinguished between the "clean" white man and the "filthy" indigene, a distinction that is continually reproduced in *Untouchable*. This distinction characterises the high imperialist era, and as we shall see, not just in terms of an association of filth with the native body: the Englishman differentiates himself especially from the "inconceivable filth" of the mind of the subject race as their "heathen hearts" remain "black" (Kakar 47, 49). The construction of the lives of the natives as "dark" and "dirty" allows Europe to maintain and regulate the boundaries between the "healthy" empire and the "pathogenic" Orient, assigning a fatality to the Oriental subject.

In *Untouchable,* the body is represented as a powerful symbolic form on which rules and hierarchies are inscribed. The external cultural source (the Hindu caste system) engages with the untouchable body as a "docile" site, systematically signified by pollution and taboo. Anand's protagonist Bakha, despite being compelled to fly by the "nets" that contain him like Joyce's protagonist in *A Portrait*, is "born into a state from which he cannot escape and where he is excluded from social intercourse and the consolations of his religion" (*U* vi).[71] We observe here the bodily inscription of the untouchable into a locus of social and caste-based control. *Untouchable* opens with the haunting memory of an "outcastes' colony" (*U* 9); in other words, non-white and lower caste subjects situated in the outskirts of the town of Bulashah in North India, as the events of the novel unfold over the course of an autumn day (*U* 10), detailing the day in the life of a sweeper in the tradition of *Ulysses*. Social order comes under attack in Joyce's letters, and carries into work such as *A Portrait,* demonstrating how the very idea of the "human being" becomes an abhorrent heresy to religious order (*SL* 8, 25). His letters and works present a critique of oppressive structures, religious doctrines,

[71]See Forster 1940.

and systems which make victims of city-dwellers, showing how these forces wage "secret war" on the artist's nature (*SL* 25).

The figure of the beggar, associated commonly with the leper as later sections will show, is appropriated by Joyce to describe the experience of leaving the Catholic church whilst retaining his pride (*SL* 25, 26). While the protagonist of *A Portrait* determines to "fly" by nets of the social order through a number of artistic principles devised to profane the sacred by setting images of "purity" against images of "impurity" (*SL* xxv), the protagonist of *Untouchable* is inexorably fixed where he is by the laws of the Hindu social order. *Untouchable* is avant-garde for its critique of the caste system as a central concern of the modern Anglophone Indian novel. Bakha draws attention to what the "polluting" touch of the "untouchable" has meant historically in a passage demonstrating the infiltration of casteist ideology in the minds of upper-caste parents of school-going children: the other children would not allow their sons to be contaminated by the touch of the low-caste man's sons" (*U* 39). Anand strove to demonstrate that writing about untouchability and centering its inhumanity and ostracising effects through scatalogical tropes and allusions were not "polluting" acts or taboo in themselves. Read in this way, the opening paragraph introduces readers to Anand's radical project of non-polluting the novel (in other words, demystifying caste) form as he paints a realistic picture of the "dirt and filth" of the public latrine, the odour of the "hides and skins" of dead carcases, and the "choking, pungent fumes" emanating from the dung of cattle heaped up to be made into fuel cakes (*U* 9). From the outset, Anand introduces his readers to the absence of a drainage system in Bulashah, while offering a searing a portrait of the "ugliness, the squalour and the misery" of the outskirts of this Indian colony — the colony makes for something of a "natural prison" as it ensures boundaries are set in place, and that the "pollution" embodied by the untouchable remains contained with no boundary crossing (*U* 9). Anand points to the functions of clusters and rows in towns and

cantonments, and the boundaries and invisible hierarchies that segregate both people and place — mud-walled houses separate "scavengers", "leather-workers", "washermen", "barbers", "water-carriers", "grass-cutters" and other outcastes from Hindu society (*U* 9). These spaces are portrayed as highly segregated: "[t]he outcastes were not allowed to mount the platform surrounding the well, because if they were ever to draw water from it, the Hindus of the three upper castes would consider the water polluted. Nor were they allowed access to the near-by brook as their use of it would contaminate the stream" (*U* 22-23). The production of the insular spaces of white colonials such as the British barracks in *Untouchable*, for instance, is founded on the exclusivity of the outcastes' colony. Bakha is witness to "glimpses" of the Tommies' lives, who sleep on beds "covered with blankets, eating eggs, drinking tea and wine in tin mugs, going to parade and then walking down to the bazaar with cigarettes in their mouths and small silver-mounted canes in their hands" (*U* 3). The "uncongeniality" of the outcaste's colony is contrasted against the "fashun" of the sahib's colony (*U* 2).

While Anand portrays the untouchable colony with a focus on the Hindu caste system more fully in the South Asian context, the leprosy-affected person and the colony to which he/she may have been isolated ("the colony within the colony") in the twentieth century does not seem to make an appearance in the novel despite scattered references to that "great disease" (kushta roga) that is leprosy and the "leper" that surfaces in the odd instance in *Untouchable,* not as a sort of "plague of ancient folklore", but as an experience of disease revealing the "micropolitics of power and resistance" (Staples 1). The stigma of "ineradicable and contagious impurity" embodied in the figure of the untouchable has condemned them, not only to "perpetual banishment from the society of other human beings", but to "superstition, semi-starvation, squalor, dirt, disease, and ignorance" (Hunt 23). A specimen of colonial modernity, W.S. Hunt's work *India's Outcastes* (1924) offers insights into the

cultural construction of the outcaste as intrinsically "unclean": they are so unclean that "their proximity, much more their touch, pollutes" (Hunt 15). The pollution associated with the corporeal untouchable body embodies the nature of sin affecting their "karma" and "status" in the next life: "Ceremonial purity is, indeed, [...] the Hindu's most prized possession" (Hunt 16). While ceremonial purity is widely associated with the High-caste Hindu, what is worth noting about W.S. Hunt's scholarship is twofold: in the first instance, as a missionary text (a product of colonial modernity in India), it advances a connection between the untouchable and the "leper" guided by Christian disease symbolism, which it extends to the untouchable: "Being moved with compassion, he stretched forth His hand and touched him, and saith unto him : 'Be thou made clean'" What He did for the leper He can and will do — and is doing — for the untouchable. He touches him and he is made clean, not ceremonially, but actually" (Hunt 24). Healing the leper, a stock motif used in Biblical texts seen also in the Irish context of the saint's healing powers, is extended to the case of the untouchable. Leprosy is coterminous with untouchability in this passage (Paton 200).

As a complex motif in Irish accounts, the "leper" is cleansed of the "pollution" of his leprosy by the touch of the divine and "Holy" hand (Thornton 159). In both Irish and Indian accounts, then, what is observable is the enduring association between leprosy, uncleanliness, and pollution as later parts of this chapter will demonstrate. In the second instance in this passage, Hunt differentiates between the leprous untouchable and the leprous Brahman: "Outcastes are outside the pale of Hindu society [....]. They are regarded much as lepers were in Jewry [....]. Like the lepers, they have to live outside towns and villages, and (in some parts of India) announce their approach by a cry equivalent to "Unclean! Unclean!" and that although they may be, unlike the lepers, altogether free from any contagious disease, or any moral taint. A healthy, clean-minded outcaste would have to keep the prescribed distance from an immoral and leprous Brahman, so as to prevent the latter from being polluted by

him" (Hunt 17). Hunt demonstrates that the leprosy-sufferer in colonial India is attributed a "moral taint" due to their association with the disease. In other words, there is a notable difference between the biological nature of the sickness, and the ideas that have come to be associated with it. What is detectable in this passage is that it seems to affirm what is only the disease's postulated contagiousness: the association between the disease and its contagiousness is part of a medieval schema, which Hunt seems to reproduce here. This is evident in the natural association of immorality with leprosy in this passage.

Ceremonial purity is embodied in the "immoral and leprous" Brahman, whom the untouchable can still "pollute" despite being healthy and able-bodied. The caricature of the "leper" as having to alert communities of their uncleanliness and proximity is a shared history in both Indian and Irish contexts, reinforced by Brahminical and Levitical precepts. In this passage, the phrase "clean-minded" in association with the outcaste is reproduced (alongside the word "healthy") as a quality of virtue enshrined within the caste system: the word signals an awareness and practice of the hierarchical structures of the Hindu caste society. Its ironic positioning here in relation to the outcaste and the "leprous" Brahmin demonstrates its import in signalling a pollution not only of the body but also of the mind, that is, it seems to point to the untouchable subject's embodied knowledge and practice of the purported pollutant potential of the body as being greater than that of the "leprous" Brahmin. In other words, the passage seems to say, the healthy and able-bodied untouchable is far more potent in its susceptibility to contaminate than the leprosy-affected Brahmin. This is the context in which Bakha, the novel's racial protagonist, finds himself "fixed" unlike the protagonist of *A Portrait*.

What urges critical attention in my reading of *Untouchable* is thus an embodied experience of untouchability embedded into the novel that has not received scholarly attention despite its intersections with caste, religion, and colonialism. I have in mind here the

discourse of untouchability and moral degeneration attributed to racialised diseases such as leprosy as well as colonial constructions of the "leper" identity as the object of ethnographic encounter. When read in tandem with the "leper" of social and historical imagination in *Ulysses*, there emerges a connection between Anand and Joyce that transcends the rooted cosmopolitanism and comparative colonialisms in which these two modernists have been read and theorised to date. This chapter is an attempt to unravel the complexities of leprosy-related identities and its representation in *Untouchable* based on my glosses of "leper" references which recur in the novel, especially considering that Anand does not inquire into the confines of the leprosy community as a stated aim in the composition of the work despite the Indian context providing Anand a complex and productive historical site for imagining the "leper" subject in the tropics against the broader contexts of disability, caste, and ethnicity.

The Leprous Body in *Untouchable*

The "leprous body" has received little critical attention even as it embodies the experience of untouchability and social exclusion which is the subject of Anand's novel. The "leper identity" is inscribed into various narratives in the Indian context such as "colonialism, mission, indigenous Christianity and Hinduism, ayurveda, biomedicine, development, the State and non-governmental organizations" (Staples 3). These narratives often deploy leprosy as a metaphor to indicate a range of emotional and physical states which further serve to reveal the constructedness of the leper identity, and the continuity of the psychic trauma associated with the term. The very word "leprosy" is part of a "medieval, shameful, and ostracizing" terminology (Rotberg 648). It has historical and biblical associations with "disfigurement", "dirt", and "isolation", initially associated with contagiousness and

segregation, reflecting the European anxiety and vulnerability to infection in the tropics, and later shown to be hereditary and not contagious (Worboys 213). In *Illness as Metaphor* and *AIDS and Its Metaphors* (1991), Susan Sontag explores metaphors encumbering diseases such as cancer and tuberculosis (TB) in historical representation. Sontag's work provides an overview of the advent of Christianity and its imposition of moralised notions of disease, and indicates the punitive notions of disease underpinning the construction of leprosy or Hansen's disease, which greatly enhances my reading of its representation in *Untouchable* (Sontag 124, 127, 129-132).

In the argument pursued below, I show how leprosy carries the horror and stigma associated with it as a fundamentally "premodern" disease i.e. as a disease embodying the medieval notion of the "plague" bringing moral pollution: in the construction of the social text of the "leper", the victim of the disease is presented as an "emblem of decay" (Sontag 59). The earliest deployment of leprosy as a metaphor and instance of medical realism occurs in the following passage in *Untouchable*: "A strange leprosy seemed to have struck his tissues, his vertebrae seemed to be eaten up from within" (*U* 80). While standing at "polluting distance" from the marriage at Ram Charan's house (*U* 80), Bakha feels high-strung from the "incident" of being slapped by a Brahmin in public, and is not able to orient himself, or know his place in the world: he feels his "vertebrae eaten up from within" (*U* 80). Rather than signalling a concrete reference to Bakha embodying the disease (Bakha is not presented with any of the appreciable symptoms of Hansen's disease), here leprosy is invoked in its manifestation as disease of the peripheral nerves. The shock of his experience with untouchability temporarily renders him paralysed; here Anand's medical metaphor describes the shock sustained by the vertebrae as well as neuropathy as a "cardinal manifestation of the disease" as Bakha is rendered the shunned leprous untouchable subject, which was the very object of his revulsion in an earlier passage (Agrawal et al. 445). The debilitating nerve

damage affecting sensory, motor, and automatic fibres in the leprous subject, causing severe disabling of the body, is recalled here in a consideration of the traumatic impact of casteism and ostracisation experienced by Bakha at the psychological level to depict the severity of the resulting sensory loss. The metaphor is significant because of its allusions to the debilitating effect of leprosy on the central nervous system, and the medical connections advanced in this context. Anand transmutes it into a double metaphor to describe the impact of Bakha's experiences over the course of the day: the metaphor suggests casteism as disabling as leprosy. It is important to signal here that this shock is experienced temporarily because the following passages show Bakha coming to his senses as the nervousness dissipates and returns (*U* 81, 82). The predicament of futility is thus projected onto the leprous body. The representation of vector-borne parasitic diseases such as malaria in *Untouchable* are described as a pathology of energy (*U* 75). Leprosy, on the other hand, is represented as possessing a defective vitality, and has been associated with backwardness and "dark races" (Worboys 207).

As the sweeper protagonist of the novel in charge of three rows of latrines in the colony, Bakha is introduced in bodily, physical terms through the course of the novel — "strong and able-bodied" (*U* 9), "hot, massive frame" (*U* 12), "[e]ach muscle of his body, hard as a rock…" (*U* 15) — as a third-person narrator introduces readers to Bakha's psyche: Bakha's work in the barracks of a British regiment brings him in touch with the Tommies, and through them, he catches the glamour of the "white man's life" (*U* 9). Bakha is portrayed as a non-infectious, able-bodied, and healthy young man who occasionally engages in the practice of begging in stark contrast to the visual deformities characterising leprosy-affected individuals who also participate in the act of begging in Anand's novel, and from whom Bakha distances himself from in the text (*U* 62-65, 68, 76, 85). The leprosy-affected person, for Bakha, is a disruptive force in the fabric of social life representing abjected excrement.

The states of pollution and boundary-crossing are particularly manifested in the references to characters embodying racialised diseases such as leprosy (*U* 83, 125), essentialised as endemic among nonwhite subjects in a colony. Bakha's encounter with the "black leper" follows from his disillusionment with Colonel Hutchinson and the memsahib (*U* 134):

> His attention was diverted to a black leper who sat swathed in tattered garments, exposing his raw wounds to the sun and the flies by the wayside, his crumpled hand lifted in beggary, and on his lips the prayer: "Baba pesa de" (Oh, man, give me a pice). Bakha had a sudden revulsion of feeling. He looked away from the man. It was the Grand Trunk Road near the railway station of Bulashah. (*U* 134)

The distinction between Bakha as able-bodied untouchable subject and the disabled "black leper" as deformed and begging subject here is crucial since it situates my reading more firmly in the intersections between disability, infectious disease, and caste, and I argue that Bakha's sense of abjection at beholding the "black leper" is worth investigating. I understand the invocation of leprosy in *Untouchable* to be a sign of Bakha's internalisation of the "boundary disease par excellence", which manifests as abjection toward the leprous body (Edmond 10). What is curious in Anand's passage is the reference to the term "leper" which has since been argued to be a dehumanising term: it defines the person as a "whole" in relation to the disease (Staples 5).[72] While syphilis has been used as a standard trope in illness narratives as an infection that corrupts morally and physically, the term "leper" has been used in the adjectival form as in this passage, constructed as the subject of deep dread, symbolising at once corruption, decay, pollution, and weakness (Sontag 61).[73] The usage of the term situates the novel more concretely in the context of colonial modernity, signalling the historical import of the disease in the Indian context, and the medical missionary movement.

[72]I will be using the term "person affected by leprosy" or "leprosy-affected person" interchangeably in this chapter.

[73]Joyce's letters reveal an irony while engaging with syphilis. For further treatment of the boundaries of literature and syphilis through Joyce, see Lyons 1988.

The term "black" (kala) links to the memsahib's usage of the dehumanising term "nigger" (*U* 112) as well as Bakha's overwhelming memory of colour in reference to the abuse of the natives by the Tommies: "black man, you who relieve yourself on the ground" (*U* 10). The word "nigger" has gained currency among Anglo-Indians to refer to India's peoples after the Mutiny of 1857 (Kakar 16).[74] The word is often associated in a stigmatising context in Anand along with the uncritical term "leper", used often as metaphors in the name of which other horrors are imposed. A related term is the word "negro" used in relation to the Indian untouchable in W.S. Hunt's text: "He is certainly very much like a negro" (Hunt 26). Instances such as these contribute to an understanding of the racialization of illness. Further, Rod Edmond has observed the widespread attribution of "leprosy" to "negroes" and those of "mixed blood" (Edmond 114).

Leprosy is primarily associated with visible deformities: the victim's untreated body may keep producing "distinctive deformities until it finally burns out" (Staples 3). The reference to "tattered garments" in this passage signals the leprosy-affected individual's attempt to hide their deformities and keep them from full exposure to the public, leaving some parts open enough to suggest deformity, or in some cases, "accentuate" them to invite pity and alms (Staples 179). This suspicion is reinforced in colonial documents issued by European colonies in the early part of the twentieth century as part of sanitary reform practices in monitoring their colonies overseas, particularly in tropical countries, where the native "leper" is constructed as responsible for their own destruction: the "leper" is said to "scatter contagion broadcast" through their "suppurating wounds", which they display to "excite" pity for their fates (Kermorgant, Smith and France 41). These narratives demonstrate the assigning of a melancholic fatalism to the Oriental subject alongside demonstrating the cold indifference of the coloniser-as-narrator.

[74]See Kakar 2018.

In *Untouchable*, Anand draws attention to the leprosy-affected individual in the embodied practice of begging, reinforcing the mundane hardship which drives individuals to such a practice as an alternative to or in addition to low-wage income generation programmes they may be involved in (*U* 134). Yet it is noteworthy that begging as a practice constructs and consolidates the "leper identity". The usage of the term "prayer" in Anand's passage points us to the act of begging beyond ascetic practice to the inscription of the disease in colonial missionary discourses. Anand's references to "raw wounds" and the "crumpled" hand offer a visual a portrait of the person affected by leprosy whilst also pointing to how it may have created a category of the socially excluded that is distinct from other forms of untouchability in Indian society which Anand engages with in *Untouchable* (134). While Anand engages in the construction of a number of caste-identities, that the "leper" is not only constructed and rendered as "untouchable" but also shunned by other untouchables in the novel is an understudied aspect of Anand's colonial modernism. The reference to the black leper (*U* 125) is strategically placed between the episode detailing the Colonel's attempts to evangelise Bakha (*U* 111-125) and the coming of the Mahatma (*U* 127). Bakha returns the colonial gaze onto the figure of the black leper: the sight of the leper's "raw wounds", "tattered garments", and "crumpled hand" lifted in prayer repulses him (*U* 125), oddly in the very next instance as he perceives a "look of hate" in the memsahib, which reminds Bakha of the visage of the touched Brahmin man (*U* 124).

Though Bakha conflates the memsahib with the high caste, pointing to the double oppression of the untouchable at the hands of the imperial and upper-caste administration, Bakha still experiences "a queer sadistic delight" at the group of beggars comprising the leper (who moan for alms but do not receive any) even as a few passages earlier, Bakha himself hungers for bread, experiencing "rats…running about in his belly searching for food" (*U* 65)

and cowers in shame for having accepted the food meted out to him in abuse (*U* 64, 65).[75] The term "sadistic delight" oddly first surfaces in relation to Bakha's humiliation following the incident of the slapping (*U* 40): the crowd pressing around him stood around him without a show of "pity or remorse", "unmoved", taking a sort of "sadistic delight" in watching Bakha cower under the abuses of the polluted spokesman (*U* 40). Bakha experiences a range of complex emotions and psychological states over the course of a single day. When validated by an upper-caste body, Bakha experiences the "smile of a slave overjoyed at the condescension of his master, more akin to pride than to happiness" (*U* 9). Elsewhere, Anand draws our attention to the trait of servility in Bakha which is lifted by the "passive contentment" of the "bottom dog" suddenly receiving help (*U* 9). The state of abjection remains the most compelling reading of Bakha's psyche. Rod Edmond identifies the "body of the leper" as the most disturbing variant of the category of the "abject" in the real threat it carries in challenging the boundaries between life and death (133). It also presents itself as a continuous source of threat as it never disappears from sight in *Untouchable*: in being abjected to the wayside of a town, the leprous subject remains tethered to the fringes, festering in wounds. The leprous body hovers in the periphery of the text, codified in its reduction to a single instance in the novel, challenging Bakha's sense of selfhood, remaining as it were a conscious threat to his "clean and proper self" (McAfee 46).

The shared experience of untouchability and begging as embodied practice somehow does not spare Bakha in his contempt for the "leprous subject": Bakha remains unmoved in turn following the incident of the slapping, his sense of abjection at the deformed and disabled leprosy-affected individual rendered in the most absolute terms. I am interested in exploring this further by culling my textual observations for why this possibly may be the case. The first and most pressing reading of the case is in the acknowledgement of the

[75]Representations of sadistic delight are also a feature of Joyce's *Dubliners*; see, for instance, "Two Gallants".

"leprous body" as an abject object for Bakha: the sight of the leaking, permeable, and vulnerable "leprous body" of the leprosy-affected individual in the railway station (pointing us further to the construction of the Indian city as "morally contaminated") poses a threat to the "purity" as well as the integrity and wholeness of Bakha's body, which is reinforced at several instances in the text: Bakha is portrayed as having developed into a "big strong man", broad-shouldered, heavy-hipped, supple-armed, near to the Indian ideal of the wrestler (*U* 111), with "glowing health" (*U* 10) and a "fine physique" which gave him a "homogeneity" and a "wonderful wholeness to his body" (*U* 12) and elsewhere, as "young and healthy" with "close-knit sinews" whose sense of disgust is first directed at his old abusive father, whom he conflates with a "putrefying corpse" for making a claim on his food without having worked for it or having only done what he identifies as "easy work" (*U* 11, 74). The abject is generally associated with the mother figure and the formation of the child's identity, and so it is of interest to note Bakha's abjection toward the mother and the "leper" subject alike draws from their perceived distance from his "world" of English clothes and civility. Throughout the novel, as readers, we witness Bakha primarily as a "subject in process": that is to say, in a state of abjection as an always tenuous "I" (McAfee 45). Bakha as "I" frames and regulates himself continuously through new borders. He sees himself as different, creating boundaries between "self" and "other" drawn out continually over the course of the novel. Bakha's emotional distance from his own late mother is telling here: she is the first to be abjected, as Bakha renounces identification with his mother, drawing a line between himself and her as someone who does not belong to his world of "English clothes" and "Red Lamp cigarettes" (*U* 6).

It is clear that Bakha associates the "toil of the body" and "violent exertion of his limbs" with health, wellness, and manliness (*U* 10, 12). There is also the added dimension to consider here of the virile male body of Bakha as self-contained and pure, even when the

work that Bakha engages in is considered unclean. That Bakha distinguishes himself from the other untouchables primarily in relation to his identity as a "dexterous workman" is built up by the colonialist third-person narrator, who portrays the "pent-up resources lying deep, deep in his body" as he rushes to work with "considerable skill and alacrity" on the latrines (*U* 8). In offering a portrait of Bakha as being "above" the "uncouth and unclean" ordinary scavenger, Bakha's revulsion at the sight of the black leper might thus predominantly be informed by the apprehension of the deformed and crumpled "leprous" limb, which traverses the boundaries of the body, and which is dangerous and defiling for it renders the subject unfit for work (that is, the capitalist designs of the colony, operated by a nexus of ableist imperialist and Brahminical powers) and dissolves the subject's identity (*U* 8). It is also possible that the "leprous body" has had sexual and political phobias projected on to it, which Bakha is abjecting in this context.

As a disease regarded as a "plague" in premodern times and consistently portrayed as "repulsive", Anand seems to be referencing the feared disease and its potential to turn the body into something "alienating" (*U* 131). That is to say, Bakha's distance from the "leprous body" stems from his identification with it primarily as "non-us", and thus "alien": as Sontag has shown, a person designated as "non-us" is potentially considered a "source of pollution" (134). That the lower-caste body is constructed as "untouchable" in the Hindu caste system points to how the integrity of the self and social order is threatened and maintained (McAfee 49). The poverty and lack of agency attributed to the "leprous body" consolidates the leprosy-affected individual's positions in the margins of society, and allows Bakha to imagine as offending the "healthy" parts of the body politic. The positioning of the "black leper" in the Grand Trunk Road is also significant for the ways in which it points us to the metaphor of leprosy as a disease of civilization, associated with urbanization and migration and unsanitary, overcrowded conditions (Worboys 214). Bakha's "tough skin" protects him from

the awful sensations evoked by the sight of the "leprous body" and its dermatological ailments (*U* 12). Bakha "sudden revulsion of feeling" at beholding the "black leper" and looking away from him (*U* 125) demonstrates his revulsion at death infecting the leprous body, propelling Bakha to experience the fragility of his own life, and his confrontation with the "leprous body" as an abject reminder that it is "I" who is expelled (McAfee 47): it reminds Bakha of the threat to his "clean" self. Therefore, Bakha's looking away from the leprous subject embodies the violence with which "one jettisons phenomena that threatens and creates the self's borders" (McAfee 46). What Bakha is experiencing is the expulsion of the self: "I abject myself within the same motion through which "I" claim to establish myself" (Kristeva 3).

In Anand, the "body" as "organism" relates to the "nation" as "polis", enabling readers to imagine the leprous body as a disruptive force in the body politic. As a eugenic ideal, the non-untouchable non-leprous body assimilates the totalitarian rules of the imperial and Brahmin statecraft by toeing the protocols of non-pollution: "[Bakha] was surrounded by a barrier, not a physical barrier, because one push from his hefty shoulders would have been enough to unbalance the skeleton-like bodies of the Hindu merchants, but a moral one. He knew contact with him, if he pushed through, would defile a great many more of [...] men" (*U* 39). The passage makes clear that casteism functions as "disease [leprosy] of the mind", which debilitates Bakha (Sidiki 415). The experience of untouchability, as Anand demonstrates, is experienced at the most fundamental level of the body: Bakha is ridiculed for the "weight of his body" (*U* 34) and draws attention to how "no school…would admit [Bakha] because the parents of the other children would not allow their sons to be contaminated by the touch of the low-caste man's sons" (*U* 39). Bakha's demeanour is often "concentrated in humility" (*U* 49) or his face lifted to announce "*Posh, posh*, sweeper coming" (*U* 56). The totalitarian regime overseeing the body politic establishes firm lines of

control: “He could not overstep the barriers which the conventions of his superiors had built up to protect their weakness against him. He could not invade the magic circle which protects a priest from attack by anybody, especially by a low-caste man” (*U* 56). The “magic circle” here invokes the discipline of the “caste ideal” through which outcastes are produced (*U* 57). To cross these boundaries, for Bakha, would mean wearing “a pair of boots and puttees” as well as the uniforms “discarded” or “pawned” by the Tommies as a way of removing himself from the exigencies of his “peculiarly Indian circumstances” (*U* 3) and assimilating the ideals of empire. Looking and talking like a sahib offers a way for Bakha to distance himself from his sweeper-identity, and thus, lifting himself from his own body (*U* 3). The queer, well cut forms of the English (*U* 3) offer a sharp contrast to the “tattered” clothes of the leprous body (*U* 125). What is at work here is the construction of the Indian society as a “well-disciplined” body ruled by an authoritarian head (Sontag 92).

In the conception of the body as “republic”, the leprous subject constitutes the pariah element. There is also an explicit connection between leprosy and clothing: in 1921, Edward Muir propagated the view that since indigenes were biologically unadapted to wearing clothes and lacked resources for modern sanitation, this made them particularly vulnerable to irritations of the skin (Worboys 214). The “tattered” garments of the “leper” further reinforces the image of the “leper” as having delicate skin, having reached an advanced form of the disease (*U* 134). It also evokes the Levitical directive of the “leper” instructed to identify themselves with “torn” clothing:

> And the leper in whom the plague *is*, his clothes shall be rent, and his head bare, and he shall put a covering upon his upper lip, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean. All the days wherein the plague *shall be* in him he shall be defiled; he *is* unclean: he shall dwell alone; without the camp *shall* his habitation *be*. (Leviticus 13: 45-46)[76]

[76]Full reference in Works Cited listed under “King James Bible Online”.

The deformed limbs of the "black leper" thus carries with it the stigmatizing touch of the downtrodden as opposed to the tactile experience of "touch" that Bakha craves to experience with the Tommies' apparel, associated with aspiration and enjoyment of the refined (*U* 3). These English clothes also serve to rescue Bakha from the predicament of the "base taint of Indianness" from which he tries to escape (*U* 4), his "exotic dress" (though loose and ill-fitting) removing him temporarily from his "odorous world" (*U* 8). The "black leper" as seen in *Untouchable* (*U* 125) might serve as a liminal figure signalling colonial modernity and an enduring symbol of the imperial and missionary construction of the disease as a threat to empire, though "rarely fatal and difficult to transmit", as Sontag has observed (124). I posit this against the broader symbolism of the "spider's web" woven in the viceroy's residence which comes to symbolise the coming of the Mahatma and the formation of the independent state with the onset of the swadeshi and civil disobedience movements: "Only recently he had heard that a spider had woven a web in the house of the Lat Sahib (Viceroy) at Dilli (Delhi), making a portrait of the sage, and writing his name under it in English. That was said to be a warning to the sahibs to depart from Hindustan, since God Almighty Himself had sent a message to a little insect that Gandhi was to be the Maharajaha of the whole of Hindustan" (*U* 128). In this passage, Anand draws on the spectacle of the "spider web" inscribed in Abrahamic faith, and combines it with the missionary zeal underpinning the "performance" of miracles to proselytise the common man. In playing with the "performance" of miracles in missionary symbolism, Anand demonstrates how the "supernatural" event signifies the coming of the Mahatma, signalled by the "portrait of the sage" woven by a spider, and the inscription of Gandhi's name in the English language is both a stunning show of mastery, given the import of the "spider's web", as well as a critique of empire: in writing *Untouchable* in English before the formation of the independent state, Anand seems to be

signalling the birth of the Anglophone Indian writer as a threat to the legitimacy of the English empire.

Public Health, Theosophical Contexts, and the Construction of the Leprous Subject

The untouchable body in Anand is equated with "vermin" (*U* 38), embodying within the folds of the body the ability to pollute past purification (U 49) and defile by contact (*U* 53). As we shall see in a later analysis of the passage in *Ulysses*, the words "vermin" and "creeping things" are used to precede a reflection on elephantiasis (*U* 421). A reference to "vermin-like life" interestingly also occurs in "A Little Cloud" in *Dubliners*, pointing to fatal conditions to which the underaged were exposed: "A horde of grimy children populated the street. They stood or ran in the roadway, or crawled up the steps before the gaping doors, or squatted like mice upon the thresholds. Little Chandler gave them no thought. He picked his way deftly through all that minute vermin-like life and under the shadow of the gaunt spectral mansions in which the old nobility of Dublin had roistered" (*D* 69). The reference to grime, mice, and vermins contribute to a depiction of poor public health and sanitary conditions in Ireland at the turn-of-the-century. In Part III Chapter 3 of *Finnegans Wake* occurs the lines, "underages very treacly and verminous have to be separated" (*FW* 544.25) in a close parallel to the passage from "A Little Cloud" (with the additional clause of quarantining or separating the verminous) whereas Part III Chapter I references "parasites" "peeling off" life (*FW* 418. 1-2). The play on "vermin-life" in relation to the human condition continues: elsewhere, Joyce merges the Hindu concept of reincarnation with the Irish surname "Finnegan" and "fin" (signalling the "end"). The resulting portmanteau, that is "fincarnate", is made to occur in conjunction with "atman" (*FW* 596.24), and appears to suggest that the reincarnation of the "great man" in verminous form, that is, as a "big bug" (*FW* 596.27). The reference to the "big

bug" may be Kafkaesque here, but it resonates with the Wakean conception of the central character of Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker as "Eireweeker" or "Earwicker" in referring to the earwig (*FW* 593.2). While the untouchable body here is constructed as verminous, specific parts of *Finnegans Wake* engage with the subject of the "untouchable" body, particularly as understood in the context of caste and colonial modernity, in closer detail. In a direct confrontation with Leviticus, the *Wake* counter-responds:

> Unclean you art not. Outcaste thou are not. Leperstower, the karman's loki, has not blanched at our pollution and your intercourse at ninety legsplits does not defile. Untouchable is not the scarecrown is on you. You are pure. You are pure. You are in your puerity. (*FW* 237. 21-25)

Like Anand's *Untouchable*, the *Wake* appears to be advancing a critique of the Hindu caste system as well as Levitical precepts, questioning the philosophical foundations of purity enshrined in its religious codes. The *Wake* advances the upliftment of the untouchable from a state of docility to agency. What is notable is the reiterations of the "purity" of the untouchable, and the constructedness of notions of pollution and the defiling touch of the outcaste. The passage, in keeping with Joyce's later works, carries with it the suggestion of satire associated with the mock-heroic, epic novel, particularly in the directive that the leper's "legsplits" do not defile. This ironic tone is not uncommon in the *Wake*. The presence of the pronoun "us" and the appearance of Biblical figures such as "Eve and Adam", "isaac", and "She" (suggesting Shem, the son of Noah) are often invoked, or tend to parody, the narrative "authoritative" voice of the scriptures, where divinity usually assumes the first-person plural "We" or "Us" (*FW* 3.1, 3.11, 3.13). Another instance is "In the name of Anem" (*FW* 15.29) which lends the text an air of an Islamic invocation being made. In free indirect speech, the

narrator evokes the style of the scriptures: words such as "saith", for instance, helps situate *FW* 13.20-15.28 in the context of the commentator-as-narrator recording and timing "events grand and national" (*FW* 13.29-32). We quickly encounter the narrators of Mathew, Mark, Luke, and John here in the compounded figure of the historian Mammon Lujius, which sets a useful scaffolding against which to better contextualise Joyce's references to the leprous subject in his work as possibly originating from an interest in the medieval, explored in *Finnegans Wake* (*FW* 14.16-21). Interestingly, the figure of the narrator in *Finnegans Wake* at times assumes an ancient weight, lending the text the appeal of ancient historiography as a form of narrative—phrases such as "donkey's ears" or "quadrilled across the centuries" (*FW* 15.10) contribute to the sense that the narrator(s) have traversed much time; additionally, "eyes of darkness" taking in "dimmering dunes" recalls the image of the blind but all-knowing seer Tiresias (*FW* 14.28-29).

What is especially significant is the introduction of the phrase "Leperstower" (*FW* 237. 22) in a passage otherwise dealing with the outcaste, against what appears to be broadly invoking the moral aspect of the Asian motif of karma (signalled in "karman"). The phrase "Lepertower" is unusual, as synonyms for the "leper" colony usually take on the forms of a "leprosarium", a "colony", "house", "hospital", "lodge", or "asylum", lazarette, or "lazar houses". The "Lepertower" invokes the Parsee "tower of silence" alluded to in *Ulysses*, which is significant because the latter alludes to carcasses and a burial site, which could also be found in India in Parsi communities (*U* 94). The suggestion of containment of the dead and the decayed implied in this reference is advances its relevance to the "leper's colony" here: the Parsee tower of silence, associated with excarnation, exposes the carcass to the elements to avoid the "contamination" and "pollution" of the soil. The overwhelming image suggested here is the body's forcible removal to an external site as refuse for carrion in fulfilment of traditional and ecclesiastical codes. It is also worth noting that the "leper" was

required to "sleep in the open air" after being pronounced clean in the Jewish tradition (a parallel to exposing the corpse to the elements in the Zoroastrian tradition). The leper and penal colonies have traditionally been represented as sites of "forcible exile", socially excluded from the "living", and thus the segregated existence of the "leper" as removed from the ideal order of society, and confronted with reminders of the shadowy counterpart of life, or death (as suggested by the proximity of the cemetery for lepers in the colony) is recalled in association with the image of the "tower" evoked in the passage (Edmond 180). The cellular seriality of the enclosed space of the leper is also suggested here. This passage also allows us to imagine the "leprous body" as a conduit through which cultural norms are sanctioned. In imagining this, the inscription of "leprosy", associated with nineteenth-century imperialism, into geographical space is made clear: elsewhere, leprosy is inscribed in Dublin city as "leperstown", referring to *Baile na Lobhar* ("town of the lepers") or Leopardstown (*FW* 462.24). A second minor allusion embodied in the reference to the "Lepertower" is the "Tower of Babel", signalling the chaos of language and interpretation, which underpins the misinterpretations of leprosy as a direct result of the confusion of Latin translations of Greek and Arabic literature on leprosy. The Babel motif embodied in "hierarchitectitiptitoploftical" (*FW* 5.1) is integral to the narrative of *Finnegans Wak*e (*FW* 5.3)

Part II Chapter 2 of *Finnegans Wake* references "Outcastes in India" (*FW* 307.25), curiously in "The Study Period— Triv and Quad" episode. The particular form of the section in which this reference occurs alludes to a style of "college theme titles and examination questions" (Campbell and Robinson 190-191) with the figure of Job, long associated questionably with leprosy, whose presence in the *Wake* is connected with the *Wakean* question "What is to be found in a Dustheap?" (*FW* 307.23). In the episode, the reference occurs toward the end of the study period. Joyce's distaste of the ostracising of the leprous body, rendered untouchable, is reiterated in this passage, addressing repetitively (through the

mode of narrative accrual across the work) the sanctioned prejudice of the Hindu caste system. The *Wake*, in other words, resurrects the "leper" from their death by misinterpretation(s), and extends the liberatory potential it offers to all oppressed peoples. This function of the *Wake*'s liberatory powers is indicated in Part I Chapter 1, where the antecedent "he" (*FW* 24.3) in the opening paragraph appears to refer to one "Unfru-Chikda-Uru-Wukru" (*FW* 24.7), "mighty liberator" (*FW* 24.8), and an "ancestor most worshipful" (*FW* 24.8). The narrative voice laments his passing and wishes for their resurrection: "And would again could whispering grassies wake him and may again when the fiery bird dismembers" (*FW* 24.10-11). Elsewhere (*FW* 25. 33), an Irish king fighting for his people's cause is mourned, saluted, buried with blessings for the "afterlife" (*FW* 26.6-8), and resurrected. This emphasis on reincarnation and liberatory potential is embodied in the allusion to "karman" in *Finnegans Wake* (237.22), which may potentially evoke the path or means of salvation for the leprous untouchable subject, associated with patron saints in the case of the "leper", and offer the diseased and suffering body comfort through the assurance that it is "all-a-dreams" (*FW*597.20), or that the world is "Svapnasvap" (*FW* 597.4), a dream, from which they will awaken to a change in their condition, to the potential or promise of liberation, or a possible disembarrassment from the matter which composes the body: "[...]it is just about to, it is just about to rolywholyover" (*FW* 597.3). While the "scraggy isthmus of Europe minor" (*FW* 3.5-6) is referred to as the geographical setting in the text more broadly, and "Howth Castle and Environs" (*FW* 3.3) being referred to in particular, at the same time, the text is also shown to transcend bio-geographical boundaries of space: the *Wake*'s intimate interaction with the suffering (untouchable) body inscribed in Hindu religious code and its liberatory potential allows it to enact the role of a cultural and political negotiator in bridging of Indo-European worlds, culminating in the references to "Till herenext. Adya" (*FW* 598.16) and "In that Earopean end meets Ind" (*FW* 598.15-16).

The *Wake*'s role in drawing attention to philosophical interventions and discourses on the soul and the body in general, but also the corporeal body is embodied in I.i, in the cryptic exchange between Mutt and Jute in a confused, blabbering tongue. The earliest indication of the construction of the body is evoked in the reference by Juva to a "chap" who stands bulkily "theosophagusted" (*FW* 610.2) over the "whorse" [whole, whore, horse] proceedings.[77] The portmanteau word "theosophagusted" comically builds upon "theosophy", "esophagus", and "disgusted" , but its centrality in a reference to theosophy and the body is not lost. When taken together with the earlier reference to "Svapnasvap" (*FW* 597.4), and Yawn's transformation into God in *Finnegans Wake* III.3, what emerges is a "theosophical universe" in the *Wake* which turns its attention toward the body, especially the "polluted" body as in the case of one rendered untouchable.[78] Theosophy championed attention to the "abjected" body (particularly the female and animal "suffering" body), which is potentially being referenced here. Len Platt and other scholars have indicated Joyce's "mocking" allusions to theosophy as a "cranky absurdity" practiced by a "trendy elite" in *Ulysses* with a worse treatment in *Finnegans Wake* (Platt 282).

While a variety of theosophical contexts are alluded to in the *Wake*, which have been well glossed by scholars and which do not receive an extended treatment here, I briefly turn my attention to the phrase "theosophagusted" as a connection that bridges 'theosophy', the 'polluted or untouchable body', and the "abject" against its Aryanist inclinations. James Cousins, active in the Theosophist movement in India, who Joyce met and stayed with in September 1904, makes an occasional appearance in Joyce's letters (*SL* 62, 148) alongside other Theosophists such as Thomas Goodwin Koehler (*SL* 72). I examine this against the theosophical preoccupation with the supersensible, appropriated by Blavatsky to the context of colonial India, and the paradoxical treatment of the Caste Hindu in the works and other

[77]I argue here that this could potentially be a reference to Helena Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled* (1877), and its interaction with the lower-caste "bad virgin" spirit at the level of the supersensible (Blavatsky 446-447).
[78]Implied here in the figure of the whore.

writings of the leading theosophists of the day. It is contradictory that the apparent socialist aims of theosophists such as Annie Besant should also betray a eulogizing of the Hindu caste system. What we witness more broadly in the very peculiar text *Isis Unveiled* (1877) is the introduction of the doctrine of theosophy, which, in the words of H. P. Blavatsky, is a combination of "science with religion, the existence of God and immortality of man's spirit" demonstrated "like a problem of Euclid" (Blavatsky vi). The reference to Euclid brings us back to the geometry lesson in *Finnegans Wake.* However, as Len Platt points out, it increasingly shows itself to be a production of "race religion" (Platt 105), which is significant to a discussion of untouchability. Further, the standard reference to Orientalists such as Louis Jacolliot and Friedrich Max Müller in her work reveal Blavatsky's unquestioning championing of these figures as the authority on the Indian subject. Müller in particular vastly popularised "a racist Aryan version of the Orientalist Hindu golden age" (Uma 55). This and several other instances point to the *Wake*'s ironic and comic exploitation of Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled* as a sort of source text that ingeniously appropriates and assimilates cultural differences in its presentations of the "most bizarre ideas as facts" as well as its adoption of the traditions of scientific rationalism against scientific rationalism (Platt 100, 102). While Len Platt has masterfully shown theosophy's Aryanist inclinations (Platt 103-106), Platt also observes that Blavatsky's theosophical material and references might serve as opening up further *ironic* enactments or readings of the structural significance of *Isis Unveiled* upon the text of the *Wake.*

Recent scholarship has pointed to a "Brahmin reverence" underpinning Annie Besant's vision and work of Hindu Revivalism, and the implications of the role of the Theosophical Society in the Tamil Region of the Madras Presidency as a "bastian of Brahminic Hinduism" (Singh 2). Besant was also rigorously involved in the movement of religious education for caste Hindus; the depressed classes do not appear to be a part of her

educational scheme (Singh 2, 8). In 1909, Besant turned to the issue of the depressed classes as impacting the law of causality for the caste Hindu at both the individual and national level, which invited caste Hindus to take on the role of saviour of the outcastes (Singh 9).[79] In adopting this political line, both Blavatsky and Besant appear to critique the caste-Hindus while reinforcing Aryan supremacy and extolling the Hindu social order. The "pariah" appears in their work as an afterthought. Against this context, Joyce's ambiguous reference to "theosophagusted" (*FW* 610.2) performs two (paradoxical) roles, the one alluding to theosophy's mainstream reception, which would in this instance serve to prove as an allusion embodying a recognition of the "unstable grounds" on which sin, salvation, and suffering are defined (Viswanathan 441); on the other hand, in its lesser known dimension as endorsing caste Hinduism, particularly in reference to the aforementioned "whorse" proceedings, one is able to draw out references to theosophy and its consideration of the untouchable body as abject, inciting anxiety about moral pollution.[80]

The Leprous Body in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*

While Edward Brandabur's *A Scrupulous Meanness* (1971) has probed the psychological malaise and pathological uses of vicarious experience in Joyce's early works (Brandabur 7), and Kathleen Ferris's *James Joyce and the Burden of Disease* (1995) has attempted to advance a rather controversial (if less compelling) case for James Joyce as a "syphilitic" (Kenner 1996), J.B. Lyons' earlier works *James Joyce and Medicine* (1973) and *Thrust Syphilis down to Hell and other Rejoyceana* (1988) have engaged convincingly in full-length studies of the representation of illness in Joyce's fiction (both advance a "clinical examination" of the author's life and illness) in an attempt to remedy the lack of critical

[79]A phenomenon she referred to as national karma (Singh 9)
[80]See Viswanathan 2011.

commentary on medical allusions in Joyce Studies of the preceding century. Lyons' work covers a range of illnesses (major and minor) and representations of medical jargon and anatomy in Joyce, including his daughter's schizophrenia and his own death from perforated ulcers. Vike Martina Plock's *Joyce, Medicine, and Modernity* (2012) is latest in line in uncovering a range of turn-of-the-century medical debates in relation to Joyce Studies, advancing the argument that medical practice related artistic creativity to pathological configurations (45). In *Joyce, Medicine, and Modernity*, Plock demonstrates how Joyce is fascinated by the concept of the "private sin" as well as an individual's private sexual transgression, which is particularly useful in my study (45). Through an examination of purity pamphlets and other cultural and medical documents, Plock uncovers examinations of subjects as various as Joyce and modern medicine (5-24); alcoholism (25-43); masturbation as modern disease (44-67); obstetrics and reproduction aesthetics (44-68); neuroscience and ergography (88-110); physical culture (111-129); and gynecology and domestic medicine (130-153).

While these significant medical humanities interventions in Joyce Studies demonstrate Joyce's engagement with health and disease as discursive constructs, an engagement with colonial modernity and literary leprosy appears to be missing in these accounts. In an earlier article titled "Medicine" (2009), Vike Martina Plock suggests future directions for Joyce Studies in relation to the Medical Humanities. Plock observes that Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* invites rigorous scholarly attention to medical allusions beyond schizophrenia and hysteria (255). While Plock suggests future direction in the areas of neurology, linguistic disorders, aphasia, and ophthalmology (2009), I argue that what is consistently omitted in classical and contemporary scholarship on Joyce is an extended treatment of the early modern period and leprosy and/or the leprous subject, which would do well to feature alongside a scholarly study of ailments in Joyce's fiction and personal life. I

agree with Plock's postulation in "Medicine" (2009) that *Finnegans Wake* demonstrates an awareness of its medical contexts, and as an extension of the argument, I contend that Joyce's works (especially *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake)* appreciate the socio-historical contexts in which leprosy is inscribed, and for this reason, these allusions are worth investigating in greater detail. In order to accomplish the task of examining allusions to leprosy in James Joyce, I have looked for Joyce's presentation of clinical symptoms, his reference to colonial or medical terminology in relation to leprosy, the physical and psychological manifestations of leprosy in characters populating Joyce's world against the broader context of nineteenth-century imperialism and its colonial hangover in the twentieth century, and what has appeared to be cryptic references and narratives in which puns, fusion words, and allegorical references relating to the disease embodied in Joyce's later work, such as *Finnegans Wake*. Leprosy is a disease which has confounded and resisted the empire's project of dividing the world into diseases of the upper body (West) and diseases of the lower body (East) in its rejection of being classified into any single zone "either of the body or the world" (Edmond 36). The task of looking toward literary representations of leprosy in *Finnegan Wake*, a confounding text marking the "bankruptcy of meaning", invites a metatheoretical framework in which to consider the question of interpretive edifices and misinterpretation (Epstein 2). In other words, in invoking the origin myth of the "Tower of Babel", one begins to see how a consideration of leprosy has been a question of historical, scholarly, medical, and theological construction at the hands of priests, translators, specialists, and scholars across centuries, and its uncanny parallel in the construction of *Finnegans Wake* as a confounding text that has puzzled interpreters and led to numerous interpretations.

The search for meaning is thus a motivation that has long determined readers' attitudes toward the text, and *Finnegans Wake* frustrates this pursuit of meaning. The broader point that I make here is that there is a perceivable business of hermeneutics in the

construction of both the "disease" *and* the "text" as well as the "disease *in* the text". Drawing on this parallel, I argue that what we encounter as "leprosy" across various texts is often an elaborate construction of varying interpretations and misinterpretations, as this chapter will demonstrate. In the course of looking for representations of the disease in *Finnegans Wake* in particular, I have taken care to record catalytic exchanges, idiosyncrasies of style, interruptions in dialogue, as well as voice (who is narrating, to whom; disentangling the speaker from the context is part of the challenge of reading the *Wake*, alongside assessing the involvement of the speaker in the episode) and progression (the movement of narrative from one idea/theme/person to the other) against which references to "leprosy" can be better contextualised. This is undertaken with the intent of examining the text closely for recurring names, places, ideas, motifs and images that may emerge in relation to the representation of leprosy in the *Wake*. Neither *Ulysses* nor *Finnegans Wake* engage with medical themes in the mode of medical realism in the way that Mulk Raj Anand has interacted with the theme in *Untouchable* (thus rendering his prose closely in keeping with the conventions of medicine's clinical cases), which further adds to the complexity and obscurity of references to the representation of the disease in Joyce. There is also negligible use of the convention of narrated speech in the *Wake* and very often not enough clues to ascertain the speaker or one spoken to. The reader or explicator is also overwhelmed by the sense that the *Wake* is replete with speakers offering various levels of commentary; most of the time, certain sentences evoke the impression of being sometimes self-reflexive commentary (*FW* 12.36; *FW* 13.1-3).

The "private" or "original" sin attributed to the construction of the "leper" identity in the scriptures, which broadly is modeled on the "fall of man" motif, is deployed by Joyce in later works such as *Ulysses* or *Finnegans Wake* in the depiction of the fallen hero. In *Finnegans Wake* in particular, I find the construction of the fall of a "solid man" named Finnegan (*FW* 3.19) whose downfall has been recorded through "christian minstrelsy" and

who subsumes other figures such as Adam, or Tim Finnegan, or Humpty Dumpty, offering an uncanny parallel to the "fallen" figure of the leper which both *Ulysses* and the *Wake* constructs; Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker is also accused of sexual perversion, and persecuted in the *Wakean* text much like Leopold Bloom in *Ulysses* (*FW* 5.12). As leprosy has been the subject of much speculation across time, on a metatextual level, the characters in *Finnegans Wake* engage in speculations on a number of issues, most compelling being the nature of Mister Finn's tragedy and the possible reasons for his fall (*FW* 5.26-28); this kind of moralistic scrutiny finds a parallel in the scrutiny of a leprosy diagnosis under the humoral medical tradition, which invited "suspicion" on the "morality" of the sufferer (Houston 35). Moreover, the nature of the fall seems to evoke a sexual deviance, which links me back to the connections between leprosy and sexual promiscuity in Joyce's texts. The representation of the disease in Joyce, as seen in the aforementioned observations and arguments, is not couched in straight-forward narrative terms, but manifest in different forms, signalling "leprosy" in varying socio-historical contexts, predominantly in the Irish context. Thus references to Hansen's disease are observable in the first instance primarily in relation to the all-encompassing term *lepra*, comprising dermatological ailments more generally, particularly in those allusions in Joyce to the scriptures (that is, what has traditionally been *perceived* as leprosy); next, to non-contagious forms of leprosy; and a disentangling of the conflation of leprosy and elephantiasis (lymphatic filariasis) in a passage in the *Wake*.

Religion is an overarching framework in the construction of the leprous subject. Joyce invokes Biblical allusions in his complex constructions of the leper, particularly in the allusion to Levitical precepts and the story of Namaan. I have also encountered the leprous subject in the context of an exposition of transhumanism, minoritarian contexts involving sexuality and persecution, and in the context of religious protocols and practices. In the Irish context more broadly, the stigma associated with leprosy is used as a metaphor to describe

"lesions" made on society at large by the penitent or fallen woman in the context of the Magdalen homes: the fallen woman is considered a "disgrace to her sex" and a "blot on society", one that must be avoided as "the leper of old, because she is unclean" (Smith 35). Leprosy seeps into the discussion of the "fallen woman" in demonstrating how the institutional system was conceived the segregation of two classes of women in particular: "first offenders" who are open to spiritual reclamation and "hopeless cases" perceived as sources of moral contagion (Smith 48, 53). The figure of the "fallen woman" then, like the leper, is embodied in cultural representations of containment which seek to contain "perceived social and moral deviancy" and "sexual immorality" by "locking" them away (Smith xiv). Before moving to an explication of these passages from the *Wake*, I must also signal that Joyce's primary concern in *Finnegans Wake* is in the emphasis of archival institutions in Dublin relating particularly to the treatment and containment of contagious diseases in the first instance, against which medical allusions to "leprosy" are developed more fully.

In order to better contextualise contagious disease and its import in a later consideration of "leprosy" in Ireland, we might turn to an illustration published in December 1908 in *The Lepracaun Cartoon Monthly* by Thomas Fitzpatrick, of an outraged "Miss Dublin" serving a "notice" to the Public Health Department against the backdrop of the rise and risks of contagious diseases in the city, some of which is mentioned in the cartoon as "CONSUMPTION", "DIPHTHERIA", "TYPHOID FEVER", and "SCARLATINA".[81] Joyce was well-aware of this publication and had copies of the Leprachaun in hand amongst the satirical papers he read (*SL* 63, 89, 127). The illustration was intended for the consumption of middle-class readers who could assume action and protest against the Dublin Corporation in bringing about urgent sanitary reform and action, particularly against the backdrop of Dublin

[81]In 1905, Thomas Fitzpatrick launched his own magazine, in which he edited and drew most of the cartoons and illustrations (Brady 2).

presenting the highest death rates in Europe. Disease, defective drains, open sewers, crime, slaughter houses, and contaminated milk are presented as problems facing Dublin slum dwellers. While the word "leprosy" is missing in the illustration, its long association with "pestilence" is useful in recalling the history of connections between leprosy and contagion. The word "pestilence" is inscribed in Thomas Fitzpatrick's illustration of "Dear Dirty Dublin", and is variously evoked in *Ulysses* in *U* 38, *U* 390, and *U* 407 in contexts as varying as the plague and the great famine. In *Finnegans Wake* the "plague" and the "page" are conflated in a pun suggesting the role of the written word in preserving the lives/stories of those which disease has ravaged: "Countlessness of livestories have netherfallen by this plague, flick as flowflakes, litters from aloft, like a waast wizard all of whirlworlds. Now are all tombed to the mound" (*FW* 17.27-29). François-Olivier Touati (2000) has observed the conventional listing of leprosy alongside pestilential fever and smallpox in Book I of the *Canon* (Touati 194). As medical writings progressed, Touati shows how leprosy came to be increasingly associated with corrupted and pestilential air (Touati 197).

Leprosy remains for the layman a highly developed "metaphor" for contagion, and for Touati, the subject of much traditional misinterpretation (Touati 180). It is here that I signal that what I have observed with relation to my study of representations of allusions to "leprosy" in Joyce's works, particularly in *Finnegans Wake*, is how the "leper" subject is commonly inserted in references to contagious disease, venereal disease, and questions of sanitation, containment, and public health in Joyce. These will be expanded in the coming sections of this chapter. James Joyce's *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* engage in questions of public health and sanitation more broadly, showing in great detail defective sanitary arrangements, the collapse of sanitary legislations, the inhumanity of the caste system, and sanitary conditions in Dublin. Part I Chapter 8 in *Finnegans Wake* provides textual evidence pointing to a narrator with imperialist sympathies, a certain "Ledwidge Salvatorious" (*FW*

538.3), who references the presence of drainage basins, dirt, "slime", "rickets and riots", all in relation to slums (*FW* 209.21, 209. 26, 209.32-33) as part of broader "Englisch sweat" (*FW* 539. 36), that is, the product of English rule. From "past policy" and "best master's lessons" (*FW* 539. 8-9), the narrator describes the advancement of "imperial standards" by "weaponright" (*FW* 539. 19-20), detailing the "perplagued" city that emerged under imperial "tenure" and "toils of domestication" (*FW* 539. 33-34). Joyce references the two-toothed question of "famine" and "epidemics" in Ireland in relation to the "serpent" of English rule (*FW* 539.36). In an exposition of futuristic urban conditions in Dublin, the narrator foresees the disappearance of thuggeries and "lepers lack" as signs of a nation's progress (*FW* 31-32).



Figure 3: "Dear Dirty Dublin, Wanted a Public Health Department", The Lepracaun Cartoon Monthly, December 1908"[82]

[82]See Brady 2015.

The leprous subject makes an appearance in Joyce's *Wake* in a few instances in most cases in adjectival form. The earliest reference to the leprous subject in *Ulysses* occurs in the third chapter titled "Proteus": Stephen dwells on Ariel's song about the drowned Alonso "Full fathom five thy father lies" (*U* 41) from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, which he quickly associates with finding and recovering an unnamed and unmarked body which drowned at sea (*U* 41).[83] During this process, he ruminates on "Seadeath" as the mildest of deaths (*U* 42). The drowned body, now recovered as a "Bag of corpsegas" (*U* 41), leads him to reflect on metempsychosis, the interconnectedness of life and death, and the protean form of all matter: "God becomes man becomes fish becomes barnacle goose featherbed mountain. Dead breaths I living breathe, tread dead dust, devour a urinous offal from all dead. Hauled stark over the gunwale he breathes upward the stench of his green grave, his leprous nosehole snoring to the sun. A seachange this, brown eyes saltblue" (*U* 41-42). The passage points to how the living "feeds" on the dead, and the interdependence of both states. The word "leprous" surfaces here in relation to the corpse[84] hauled from the ocean, and resting on the gunwale. "Leprous" is used in adjectival form to offer readers a grotesque visual portrait of the man hauled from the sea, whose body has suffered a sea-change into something strange, alien, and unrecognisable. Pigmented skin and apparent nasal damage are among the common deformities associated with leprosy, the former of which Stephen may be dwelling on in this passage. I argue that it serves to function as an allusion to what Demaitre identifies as a grave form of leprosy, which advanced more swiftly, and which manifested as a collapse of the nostrils (Demaitre 104-105).

The facial deformity marked by the destruction of the nose in Hansen's disease has reinforced the notion of the disease as a form of "divine retribution", besides reinforcing the popular image of the leper as hideous and mishappen (Paton 28). It further recalls the motif

[83]In Stephen's words, "Old Father Ocean" (*U* 44).
[84]The suggestion of the word "snoring" in the passage may suggest that the body is not yet completely without life; it may also be referencing the body's passage through a state before being at rest eternally.

of the "leper's mucus" through which the figure of the "leper" is lifted to a higher rank and status. In the "Life of Féchín of Fore", a leper "full of disease" from crown to sole entreats Féchín to assist him with food, drink, and a "well-born woman" to sleep with: interestingly, the "leper" desires that the queen suck his nose. The leper's mucus is then placed on a linen cloth, and a golden chain was made of that matter with which Fechin bought land for the church (Stokes 342-345). In this particular instance, the image of the "leper" is shown to relate to sexual transgression, decay, and moral degeneration. The "leper" is sexualised in a way that it is not in *Untouchable* but is compellingly associated with private sin, debauchery, and desire in *Ulysses*. Passages such as these also reinforce the image of the "leper" as animalistic and grotesque rather than passive, showing the "leper" actively articulating sexual desire. The reference to the "leprous nose" in *Ulysses* is also significant because the bacilli is found in the secretions of the leper, especially the "mucus of the nose" alongside "saliva" and the "leprous nodules of the skin" (Kermorgant, Smith and France 39).

The "nose" is central to the depiction of the leprous figure, and as this passage reveals, comes to function as a symbol of the "leper" marked by visual deformity. In a study issued by the French Minister of Colonies in 1906, the nose is reportedly the most vital source of infection, which it seeks to "destroy", particularly because the mucus from the nose plays the same role as the "sputum" in pulmonary tuberculosis (Kermorgant, Smith and France 40). The specific reference to the "leprous" body in *Ulysses* is better understood in the context of the wasting body: words such as "bag", "corpsegas", "dead dust", "urinous offal", and "stench" precede the positioning of the word "leprous", to suggest the dead body as a leaking, wasting, infectious body. In Part I Chapter 6 of *Finnegans Wake*, the word "leprous" is tellingly associated with the word "rot" (*FW* 145.1-2). The term "leprous" could also be understood as having been evoked in response to the transformations inherent in the Christian symbolism of *U* 41-42, where the wasting body is transformed/converted into the sublime by

the "healing virtues" of the water body (*U* 549). The water from which the corpse is retrieved could well function as an allusion to a form of cleansing and purification, as indicated by the reference to namaan and the Old Testament in *Finnegans Wake* (103.08-11). Additionally, water in this instance might also be associated with the purification and conversion of the "leper" community, which assumes the leprous as sinning and degenerate, and in need of cleansing. In an intertextual allusion to an earlier text, the corpse in his watery grave alludes to Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891), which Joyce began reading in 1906 (*SL* 95), where leprosy is invoked in the modern metropolis in connection with disease, degeneration, and decay: "Through some strange quickening of inner life the leprosies of sin were slowly eating the thing away. The rotting of a corpse in a watery grave was not so fearful" (Frankel 222).

In the eleventh-century, Ireland was titled "insula sanctorum" by the chronicler Maelbrigte, demonstrating Ireland's status as an island of saints (Paton 202-203). The figure of the saint has thus been central in the constructions of the "leper identity" in the Irish context. In "Cyclops", the word "leper" or the leprous subject does not appear directly, but is alluded to in the figure of "S. Brigid" (*U* 278) in the broader context of Saint Patrick's conversion and against the coming of "saints and martyrs, virgins and confessors" (*U* 278). In *Ulysses*, Saint Brigid, like other saints mentioned in the passage, is associated with "blessed" symbols of their efficacies (for instance, "palm", "harps", and "swords" *U* 278), with which saints perform wonders such as "raising the dead to life", "multiplying fish", and "healing the halt and the blind" (*U* 278). As Irish hagiographical conventions would have it, there appears to be a direct connection between the "level of holiness" and the "ability to work miracles" (Paton 210). In this particular instance, "S. Brigid", represented as an "abbess" holding a lamp or a candle, is evoked in the context of Saint Patrick's sermon as well as in relation to

one of her "blessed" symbols, her father Dubtach's treasured sword.[85] Saint Brigid reportedly sold the sword to a leper, for which her merit was deemed greater than mankind. Saint Brigid is thus increasingly associated with performing "healing cures" with relation to the "leper", who is referenced in Irish words such as *clam* and *lobur* (Paton 214). The leprosy-affected individual is invoked in the context of Christian disease symbolism here as offering salvation to the care-giver or donor.

In "Oxen of the Sun", the term "leper" is evoked in the context of the 'leprosarium', an image which exerts a powerful hold over the modern perception of the disease as overwhelmingly medieval: "Not to speak of hostels, leperyards, sweating chambers, plaguegraves, their greatest doctors, the O'Shiels, the O'Hickeys, the O'Lees, have sedulously set down the divers methods by which the sick and the relapsed found again health whether the malady had been the trembling withering or loose boyconnell flux" (*U* 314-315). What is also evident from a close reading of this passage is what Vike Martina Plock (2009) has identified as the turn-of-the-century idolisation of medical practitioners (253). Phrases from the above-mentioned passages from *Ulysses* (such as "greatest doctors", "sedulously", and "found again health") suggest the advanced position medicine had attained from the margins by the end of the nineteenth-century, as "public health" became the catchword for the introduction of substantial social and institutional changes. The reference to "hostels", "leperyards", "sweating chambers", and "plaguegraves", however, point to alarming questions of public health and hygiene in the Irish metropolis. In the now discredited view propagated by medical geography, colonial anxiety toward leprosy in the tropical countries stemmed from the threat it posed to the Europeans who are not acclimatised to the tropics (Kermorgant, Smith and France 39).[86] Insofar as European sanitary reform

[85]Source: Aida Yared, *JoyceImages*. See Yared, "Saint Brigid" in Works Cited.
[86]Kermorgant, A., W. Ramsay Smith, France, Ministère des colonies are listed as contributors in a study titled, "Instructions concerning the measures to be taken against endemic, epidemic and communicable diseases ; malaria, yellow fever, leprosy, beri beri, tuberculosis and alcoholism, typhoid fever, cholera, plague, smallpox" (1906), uploaded on the CURIOSity Collections, Harvard Library. See Works Cited.

practices are concerned, the question of "leprosy" in the Indian colonies in the early part of the twentieth century was a question of the eradication of a great "evil" and a "scourge" threatening the governance of the tropics. The Indian "leper" is often portrayed as engaging in the embodied practice of begging for a living, exciting pity, and frequenting the marketplace from which the metropolis sanctions their forceful removal and segregation into lazaretters or leprosy hospitals. In a series of free associations, the term "leper" is evoked in *Ulysses* in the context of leper colonies as an isolated colony for the containment and quarantining of lepers, and evoked in relation to "plaguegraves", bringing us closer to the valuation of leprosy as a "premodern" ailment and to "death" infecting the diseased body. The passage also points us to the segregated practice of burying disease-sufferers (whether the "plague" or "leprosy", as indicated in this passage) in a separate cemetery. The segregated "leper" behind the walls of the leperyard, relegated to the margins of Christian society, is the predominant image here, evoking also the image of the medieval lazar-house, which acted as a hospital and shelter for leprosy-affected individuals.

A reference to elephantiasis appears in a medical testimony given by Dr Malachi Mulligan, a certain "sex specialist" (*U* 402), in the hyperbolic episode comprising "Circe" in *Ulysses*: "Dr Bloom is bisexually abnormal. He has recently escaped from Dr Eustace's private asylum for demented gentlemen. Born out of bedlock hereditary epilepsy is present, the consequence of unbridled lust. Traces of elephantiasis have been discovered among his ascendants. There are marked symptoms of chronic exhibitionism. Ambidexterity is also latent" (*U* 402). In the passage, Bloom is diagnosed with a number of hereditary ailments, with a mention of "traces" of "elephantiasis" discovered in his lineage. In the same episode, he is also designated as descending from a line of eunuchs, another "premodern" phenomenon. That Bloom's lineage contains traces of elephantiasis is significant because it brings to the fore the conflation of leprosy with elephantiasis emerging from the combination

of "Arabian and Greek literature" on leprosy (Liveing 2), particularly with reference to the role of Latin translators in contributing to further confusion and lack of clarity in rendering accurate translations of the nomenclatures "leprosy" and "elephantiasis": "the Latin translators of the Arabian writers chose to render "Dal-Fil," or elephant leg, by the word elephantiasis, a disease which was evidently our Barbadoes leg, and was probably unknown to the Greeks. Hence we have "elephantiasis" applied to two distinct diseases, which we are obliged to distinguish from each other by the names Elephantiasis Graecorum and Elephantiasis Arabum. Again, the same translators employed the term Lepra, not in the sense in which it was used by the early Greeks (i.e. psoriasis), but to designate true leprosy" (Liveing 2).[87] Jewish translators, according to Robert Livieng, have also played a role in rendering the generic term "Zaraath" by the specific name "leprosy", which has contributed to the received ideas about leprosy as being emblematic of divine retribution (Livieng 5).

While no further symptoms are presented that could serve readers to distinguish between the two as it manifests in *Ulysses* (that is, that would help readers ascertain whether Bloom/Joyce conflated elephantiasis with leprosy to indicate the latter, as the overwhelming evidence in Joyce's later work presents the image of the leper in varying contexts; or if the employment of the term is in fact an exercise of accurate distinction between these terms and refers to lymphatic filariasis), what is relevant is the simultaneous suggestions of sexual perversion, bodily disfigurement, and social exclusion associated in this context with Bloom and evoked in the various free associations advanced in the passage. The "leper", like the Jew, has traditionally been associated with the figure of the outcaste, who fell out of the norms of society. Bloom's Jewish identity has rarely been read in tandem with and against the trope of the colonial leper in *Ulysses*. If one takes the conflation of elephantiasis with true

[87]Dating back to the pre-eleventh century. Liveing further clarifies the confusion in a summary: "To state the matter in a concise form, we have 1st. Elephantiasis Grgecorum, equivalent to lepra Arabum, or true leprosy; 2nd. Elephantiasis Arabum, or the Barbadoes leg, unknown to the early Greets; 3rd. Lepra Greecorum, answering to our psoriasis" (Liveing 4).

leprosy for granted in glossing the hyperbolic passage, the Jew and the "leper" appear to find, in this instance, a corporeal embodiment in Bloom. Leprosy, it has been argued, has persisted in varying frequencies in Jews across the world (Edmond 114-115). The association between Jews and the lepers can be traced back to the third century BCE, when Jews were expelled from Europe for being "impure and leprous" (Barber 13). Jews have constituted the "traditional victims" of medieval prejudice whereas the "leper" in comparison is a relatively newer victim: Jews constitute the anti-Christian, heretical element whilst the leper is consigned to the "unclean" through Levitical precepts of defilement (Barber 12-13). The atavistic character of leprosy raised the leper's rank to the heretic. Both the Jew and the leper formed their own, distinctive minoritarian communities (Barber 13-14). W.S.Hunt's scholarship points us to how the untouchable shared a similar social status as the "leper" in the colonial Indian context; in the Irish context, the "leper" increasingly came to be associated with heretics, epileptics, homosexuals, Jews, and other "outcastes" as well (Paton 21). While the phantasmagorical, hyperbolic, and theatrical nature of the episode is emphasised in "Circe", which rules out any possibility of truth or verisimilitude in the episode, it is still interesting to observe that the mention of elephantiasis in Bloom's lineage is positioned oddly after Bloom's espousal of "mixed races and mixed marriage" (*U* 400) and Alexander J Dowie's accusations of his "infantile debauchery" (*U* 401). This allows readers a glimpse of the critical representation of literary leprosy as it intersects with race and ethnicity in *Ulysses*. Elsewhere in "Circe" (*U* 429), the word "Elephantuliasis" appears in Bloom's speech, functioning as a pun on the classical Greek writer of sex manuals Elephantis as well as elephantiasis (which appears in an earlier passage):

> Ocularly women's bivalve case is worse. Always open sesame. The cloven sex. Why they fear vermin, creeping things. Yet Eve and the serpent contradicts. Not a historical fact. Obvious analogy to my idea. Serpents too are gluttons for woman's milk. Wind

their way through miles of omnivorous forest to sucksucculent her breast dry. Like those bubblyjocular Roman matrons one reads of in Elephantuliasis. (*U* 421)

According to the gloss on this passage by Slote, Mamigonian and Turner, Joyce "originally wrote 'Elephantulus' (Rosenbach f. 42), but changed it to 'Elephantuliasis' on a note to the printer [...] (JJA, vol. 26, p. 210)" (Slote, Mamigonian, Turner 977). The immediate problem presented to the explicator here is whether the text appears to reference elephantiasis graecorum (leprosy) or elephantiasis arabum (lymphatic fiariasis). When the word "Elephantuliasis" is read in tandem with the suggestion of Genesis 3:14 relating to the serpent's punishment, there is a more compelling case to accept the reference to elephantiasis graecorum (true leprosy), particularly when understood against the broader implication of the pun suggesting sexual promiscuity or deviance, which was usually attributed to the leper (compounded further by textual evidence from *U* 401 suggesting Bloom's debauchery), moral degeneration, and divine punishment. Taken to mean elephantiasis graecorum, this passage from *Ulysses* further reinforces the construction of the "leper" as "unnaturally and uncontrollably lecherous" in its allusion to the classical writer of sex manuals (Paton 17 and Brody 12). References to the "leper" or "leprosy" continue in the odd instance in *Finnegans Wake* ("leperties" *FW* 577.34, and "leperd brethren" in the context of Saint Patrick in *FW* 483.21). The reference to "leperd brethren" in particular evokes Rawcliffe quoting BL. MS Cotton Vepasian E.V. fo. 39r, which notes how "leperd brethren" were banned from St Mary Magdalen's Hospital in Reading, to prevent them from coming into contact with "buxom washerwomen" furthering the connection between leprosy and sexual deviance suggested in *Ulysses* (Rawcliffe 280 and Paton 17).

In a latter part of "Circe", the word "leper" surfaces in relation to Stephen's late mother: "(Stephen's mother, emaciated, rises stark through the floor, in leper grey with a wreath of faded orangeblossoms and a torn bridal veil, her face worn and noseless, green with

gravemould. Her hair is scant and lank. She fixes her bluecircled hollow eyesockets on Stephen and opens her toothless mouth uttering a silent word. A choir of virgins and confessors sing voicelessly)" (*U* 473). There emerges a pattern in the occurrence of the word "leper" and its variants: as in aforementioned passages, in this passage too, the word is evoked in adjectival form to describe the colour associated with the apparition of Stephen's mother as "leper grey" (*U* 473). The word "leper" is also associated with "emaciated", "torn" or tattered apparel as observable in Anand's *Untouchable*, "noseless", and "gravemould" recalling the image of the drowned corpse with the leprous/collapsed nostrils in "Proteus".

In *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce's medical allusions to "leprosy" and/or leprous subjects are in the main instance allusions to Biblical references. Where they are not, these allusions serve as offering potent leads on archival and institutional sites relating to leprosy and/or its containment in Dublin. References to "leprosy" embodying Biblical allusions do not *always* refer to Hansen's disease, but may cover a range of ailments relating to the skin commonly perceived as leprosy at the time. These allusions also cover a range of references to patron saints, symbols, pilgrim sites, and religious codes governing pollution, untouchability, and carrion. One of the earliest references to leprosy occurring in the *Wake* is located in Part I Chapter 2, preceding the "wild" haunts of Treacle Tom (*FW* 29). The passage follows the movements of Treacle Tom across Dublin topography, covering variously "The Liberties" (*FW* 40.4), "Dullkey" or Dalkey (*FW* 40.29), "Downlairy" or Dun Laoghaire (*FW* 40.30), "Bleakrooky" or Blackrock (*FW* 40.30), Grand Canal Street (*FW* 40.35), Mary/Capel Street (*FW* 40.35), Peter Street (*FW* 40.36), and Townsend Street, formerly Lazar's Hill/ Leper's Hill (*FW* 41.2): "...to get out of Sir Patrick Dun's, through Sir Humphrey Jervis's and into the Saint Kevin's bed in the Adelaide's hosspittles (from these incurable welleslays among those uncarable wellasdays through Sant Iago by his cocklehat, good Lazar, deliver us!)" (*FW* 41.1-2). While this passage is composed as a largely incoherent fragment with

seemingly scattered references to Dublin topography, in what follows, I aim to show how these allusions signal important developers and developments in the city of Dublin (as indicated by the reference to Jervis), specifically in relation to medical history and infectious disease. The earliest institution to be referenced in the *Wake* passage is "Sir Patrick Dun's", a reference to a hospital and school for physicians on Grand Canal Street in Dublin, Ireland. This is the reference to the first of two hospitals that centred on the development of a "School of Physic" in Dublin, with the exception that Sir Patrick Dun's offered the teaching of midwifery and training of army nurses. The next reference is to "Adelaide's hosspittles" (*FW* 40.36), the second in line of references to archival institutions. In this specific context, this could function as a reference to the Adelaide Institution and Protestant Hospital, set up as a voluntary hospital in the nineteenth century with the aim of providing for "respectable, but reduced, Protestants when visited with sickness or accident, a more select asylum than the Public Charitable Infirmaries" (O' Ferrall 2).[88] What is observable in the history of the establishment of the hospital is the construction of disease as "providential dispensation" and a "consequence of a state of sin" (O'Ferrall 4).[89] Another notable feature of the hospital, of relevance to a better understanding of its reference in the *Wake*, is its advancement of medical research, some of which built on the idea that "living germs" caused infectious diseases (O'Ferrall 7). The Casebooks of Dr Wallace Beatty (AHC/4/1; AHC/4/2; AHC/4/3; AHC/4/4; AHC/4/5; AHC/4/6; AHC/4/7), a compilation of cases by Dr Beatty, catalogued by Harriet Wheelock and published by the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland in 2018, relate to diseases of the skin, bearing the dates 1908-1914. During the period 1908-1914, Dr Beatty actively collected data relating to skin disease with relation to "Appearance", "Location",

[88]"The Adelaide Hospital opened in 1839 in a house on Bride Street in Dublin, as a hospital for Protestant patients. The hospital on Bride Street closed in 1848, reopening ten years later on Peter Street. [...] The hospital was granted a Royal Charter in 1920, one of the last to be granted in Ireland. The Adelaide Hospital closed in 1998, when it was incorporated as part of the new Tallaght Hospital" (2). As the cataloguer is listed as "Creator" in the metadata section, see Wheelock in Works Cited.
Source : https://rcpi-heritage.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_bccbbb93-bc2f-4e61-91d5-35e8b61f0182/.
[89]O'Ferrall quoting Dr James F. Duncan.

"Inspection", "Duration", "Treatment and Remarks" in the Adelaide Hospital (9-12).[90] The presence of these casebooks establish connections between the Adelaide Hospital, dermatological ailments, and the potential allusion to leprosy indicated by the *Wake* passage. The reference to the Adelaide Hospital is followed by an allusion to Garrett Wellesley ("welleslays" and "wellesdays") who founded the Hospital for Incurables on Lazar's Hill, Dublin.

The insertion of "the Saint Kevin's bed" in a context otherwise referencing the Adelaide Hospital, the Asylum for incurables, and a possible connection to Westmoreland Lock Hospital which I will presently return to, is curious here because it indicates the presence of yet another hospital, St Kevin's Hospital, previously a workhouse turned municipal hospital post-1921, as well as the figure of the Saint Kevin whose "sleeping place" in Glendalough (*FW* 59.18) might be alluded to here.[91] In Joyce, the figure of Kevin is complicated by the incorporation of "flawed" traits even signalling his "fall" from grace: "Kev" falls from innocence as a result of a "geometry lesson" from his brother Dolph where they consider Euclid's first proposition (*FW* 293.1).[92] The pure "Kristlike Kvinne" (*FW* 267.27) is desecrated by the school lesson involving vaginal puns: the reference to ALP's vagina is embodied in the reference to "muddy old triagonal delta…first of all usquiluteral threeingles" (*FW* 297.24-27).[93] The incestuous suggestion of probing the mother's genitals in Part II Chapter 2 of the *Wake* as a geography lesson is continued in the caricature of Saint Kevin in Part IV Chapter 1 of *Finnegans Wake*. On the surface, St Kevin is constructed as a "strong and perfect christian" (*FW* 605.36), "[p]rocreated on the ultimate ysland of Yreland" (*FW* 605.4) in *Finnegans Wake*. His christeners appear to be "holy whiteclad angels" (*FW* 605.6) as he comes to occupy the "praviloge of a priest" (*FW* 605.7). The *Wake* expounds

[90]See Wheelock 2018.
[91]"Glintalook".
[92] The figure appears to be a geometry lesson, or a figure of the mother's genitals.
[93]Left margin.

Kevin's espousal of the "one true cross" (*FW* 605. 8-9). From the West, Kevin seems to have arrived in "our own" region of "Glendalough" by "archangelical guidance" (*FW* 605.11). In the middle of the waters of "river Yssia and Essia" is a "lone navigable lake" (*FW* 605.13), towards the centre (605.15) of which Saint Kevin rafts to gain the "supreme epicentric lake Ysle" (*FW* 605.17). Kevin came to the "circumfluent watercourses of Yshgafiena and Yshgafiuna," by which time he has been "extremely anointed" (*FW* 605.22), and after which he is called "holy Kevin" (*FW* 605.22) and subsequently in superlatives of holiness to a tone of absurdity (*FW* 605.25, 605.27, 605.34, 605.36, 606.2-3). The suggestion of Saint Kevin's seduction is veiled in a reference to "Nelly Nettle" (*FW* 604.36), that is, it points to the pursuit of Saint Kevin by Kathleen: "Ascend out of your bed, cavern of a trunk, and shrine! Kathlins is kitchin" (*FW* 601.31-32). The reference to the bed in *FW* 41.1-2 evokes patient beds in the hospital at the same time in which it references Saint Kevin's bed and the preservation of his virtue, the narrative of which is underpinned by misogyny. The allusion serves as a reminder to the reader that what is being referenced in the context of the hospital "bed" may be more insidious than what appears at the surface, with Saint Kevin's bed in Glendalough alluding to its shape as a "delta" in cross-referencing the geometry lesson of the mother's genitalia: "Kevin's primary settlement (as indicated by the cluster of ruins) was in fact upon a triangular delta" (Bjork 94). While the legend of Saint Kevin shows him to have overcome this, in the *Wake*, the source of seduction appears to be incestuous: "blessed Kevin" is described in relation his "holy sister water", who is "perpetually" chaste, but Kevin is described as "Hydrophilos" (*FW* 606.5), like Bloom, the "waterlover" (*U* 549); a curious imagery suggestive of Issy as the centre of masculine desire (*FW* 606.1, 606.5-6) for her sibling twins is presented here.

Through Joyce's juxtaposition of disparate ideas, the innocuous "sketch" of Saint Kevin appears to suggest an underlying temptation, a love for worldly and materialistic

pleasures (*FW* 602.11): phrases such as "celibate matrimony" (*FW* 605.9) gain meaning against other instances of narrative accrual such as when "venerable Kevin" proceeds towards the lake at "sextnoon" collecting water (*FW* 605.29-30); or when "most blessed Kevin" is enthroned in concentric circles by water (FW 606.2-3) as she "fills to his midheight his tubbathaltar" (*FW* 606.2) engulfs his "cherubical loins" (*FW* 606.6). Words such as "celibate" and "cherubical" depict his traditional reception as saint ("ecclesiastical celibacy" is also the subject of conversation in "Ithaca" *U* 544) whereas "matrimony" and "loins" point to a "rare" view (*FW* 606.14) of the saint as man, or an instance of "clerical prurience" (of which there are many examples in *Dubliners*) in succumbing to temptation, particularly at the hands of a "mature seductress" (Bjork 92). In his letters, Joyce often attributes his lover Nora with purity ("your quiet saintlike eyes" *SL* 182) before desecrating her ("my whore, my mistress…my little fucking whore" *SL* 181,185). Kevin contemplates baptism and what appears to be the notion of "regeneration of all man…by water" (*FW* 606.11-12). I note here how water bodies in the *Wake* is evoked in varying contexts as "semen" to denote the springing of life; in denoting baptism or conversion or purification, as in the purification of the leper in the waters of Jordan; or intoxication as rejuvenation as in the Anglo-Irish "usquebaugh" (*FW* 91.28). I also observe the challenges the *Wake* poses to dichotomous categories indicated earlier (celibacy/matrimony) in presenting before readers the construction of the ambiguous sanctity of priestly figures as well as the compelling motif in the Saint Kevin sketch of water as regeneration, out of which life "springs", as well as allusions of the phrase "river of lives" (*FW* 600.8) with "loinsprung" in the same episode (*FW* 600.18). Against this particular context emerges the construction of the "bed" of Saint Kevin as potentially signalling the "birth of the Word" (Bjork 95). Its insertion in a medical context addressing infectious disease may be a potential allusion or resignification of histories of disease under erasure which the *Wake* purports to reinstate through language.

Water in *Finnegans Wake*, however, is not always presented in the context of regeneration or purification as in this context. Elsewhere, there is mention of an "accorsaired race" or accursed race as the "infester" of water bodies (*FW* 600. 11). The merging of the themes of race, infestation, and water in this passage evokes the image of British ships and the onset of venereal disease (which has always been attributed to the foreign body), which allows me to move swiftly to the mention of Lazar's Hill or Leper's Hill in *FW* 41.1-2, from which I draw out a connection to Westmoreland Lock Hospital, originally located on Donnybrook, and later moved to Townsend Street, which the passage from the *Wake* does not explicitly mention but alludes to (it is referenced in *FW* 211.33).

The embedded allusion to the lock hospital furthers Joyce's reflection on venereal disease in association with the sexual transgression and "private sin" relating to the figure of the leprosy-affected individual. The lock hospital was established with the intent of treating women with sexually transmitted diseases, mostly prostitutes, in direct consequence of the emergence of British garrisons in Dublin in the nineteenth century.[94] *Ulysses* references state-inspected and medically controlled brothels in "Ithaca" (*U* 562). Against this context, it becomes imperative to note that the term "leprous" in connection with "venereal disease" is encountered in Oliver St. John Gogarty's claim that the British Army constituted "a body of men who [...] are already more than half leprous with venereal excess" (Arrington 20-21). In "Penelope", Molly evokes a similar image when she makes a strikingly similar reference: "half of those sailors are rotten again with disease" (*U* 639) while drawing attention to prostitution in colonial Dublin. Francois-Olivier Touati observes, in a consideration of the humoral denominator of the causes of leprosy (amongst other pre-existing theoretical structures or explanations of the causes of leprosy across varying credibility), the role of immoderate sexual behaviour in creating a "dangerous superfluity" by "venereal

[94]Source: "Westmoreland Lock Hospital", from the Royal College of Surgeons Repository. The last minute-book relating to the Westmoreland Lock Hospital created by the Board of governors dates back to 1909.

accumulation", emphasising the indissociable relation between "leprosy" and "venereal disease" (Touati 191). The "leper" identity has conventionally been constructed around the question of difference, particularly sexual deviance and contamination through cohabitation. Leprosy was constructed as a threat useful for "moralizing", "discouraging lewd behaviour", and regulating sexual practices (Touati 200-201). Like the Jew, the heretic, and the outcaste, the "leper" identity was constructed on the foundations of unbridled sin and sexual perversion. This has caused the "leper" to be relegated to the "pariah" or fringe element of society, primarily for its embodiment of "uncontrolled sexuality" (Touati 201). This becomes the basis for furthering an interpretive link between the leper and the prostitute. As the data from the Irish Archives Resources demonstrate, the lock hospital is associated with the Contagious Diseases Act of 1864, which permitted the compulsory medical inspection and detainment of prostitutes for venereal disease in military camps in England and Ireland, a treatment not extended to men in the British military. It is reported that any woman found to have "syphilis or gonorrhoea" would be detained in a lock hospital.[95]

In a fascinating study of the politics of sexual health in Irish colonial modernity, Lloyd Meadhbh Houston argues that the "materialist account of sex work in Ireland is underscored and explicitly linked to the debilitating socio-economic impact of British militarism", pointing to the "pathological co-dependence" of British garrisons and commercial sex in Ireland (Houston 121-122). The leprosy-venereal disease excess culminates as degenerationist anxieties in the modern metropolis. The space of the lock hospital, previously used to contain the "leprosy", subsequently came to be used for the treatment of syphilis as "leprosy" declined. The references to Lazar's Hill and the injunction to the patron saint Lazarus ("deliver us") consolidates the enactment of pilgrimage implicit in the passage in asking for the intercession of the patron saint of lepers to deliver the sufferers

[95] Irish Archives Resource, "The Present Duty of Irishwomen", pp. 5.

from their fates. The words "Sant Iago" and "cocklehat" evoke the image of pilgrims gathering to the final destination in the Dublin topography emphasised in this passage, that is, Townsend Street. The Knight's Hospitaller are also referenced in Part II Chapter 3 of *Finnegans Wake:* "...sorra much, was left by lazy lousers of maltknights" (*FW* 381. 32-33).[96] Here "lazy lousers" evoke Lazarus in relation to the weight of legacy left behind by the medieval religious order overseeing the treatment of lepers and those with skin diseases with relation to its import in Irish history. The reference to the "incurables" recurs in the gossip of the two washerwomen in Part I Chapter 8 of *Finnegans Wake* where the subject broadly appears to be Dublin's topography (*FW* 197.25), in keeping with the earlier passage (*FW* 41.1-2), where a potential reference to the Royal Hospital in Donnybrook, Dublin emerges. Between these two passages, while Joyce seems to be alluding to the role of charitable organizations in alleviating the sufferings of the downtrodden, more compelling is the reading of these passages as supporting the inscription of the city broadly as social body.

The word "spittle" (spidéil) in the *Wake* passage additionally references "hospital", whether broadly, or specifically in relation to the containment of infectious disease in this instance. That "spittle" could potentially involve Irish hospitals overseeing the containment of leprosy in Ireland is a postulation I make here, which directed me to cull further textual evidence from a close reading of the text. What is veiled in the reference to the word "incurable" in the *Wake* is a potential reference to perceptions of leprosy as "contagious" and "incurable": consider the conception of the disease as "incurable and violent" for medieval physicians Lanfracus or Henry of Mondeville (Touati 185). A further compelling reading here is its reference to the establishment of the first Asylum founded in 1744 in the British islands which offered to a class of patients declared "Incurable" (described as a "life-long disease") which would have exposed them in the streets but for the Asylum; the concept of

[96]A reference to the Knights of Malta.

bringing aid to the "incurables" is credited to the "Charitable Musical Society" (11).[97] The establishment of the Asylum marks Dublin as the first city of the "Empire" to inaugurate such an institution.

The Greek word "Alphos" (*FW* 64.23) alludes to a "dull white leprosy" in *Finnegans Wake* relating to a non-contagious form of leprosy, which is positioned next to the neighbouring word "Burkos" signifying mud in the Greek. The word 'lepra' usually referred to a group of scaly conditions, which may or may not have included elephantiasis (Demaitre 241). As observed from the interactions and positioning of the word "leprosy" or "leper" or "elephantiasis"(graecorum) in *Ulysses*, the disease is often invoked in its ancient associations with dirt and pollution. In the second instance, let us recall the passage, "Nomad may roam with Nabuch but let naaman laugh at Jordan! For we, we have taken our sheet upon her stones where we have hanged our hearts in her trees; and we list, as she bibs us, by the waters of babalong" (*FW* 103.8-103.11). The word "naaman" in this passage is a reference to the Biblical tale of a soldier afflicted with (what was postulated to be) leprosy.[98] According to 2 Kings 5:

> Now Naaman, captain of the host of the king of Syria, was a great man with his master, and honourable, because by him the LORD had given deliverance unto Syria: he was also a mighty man in valour, *but he was* a leper.

Naaman is cured of leprosy after washing in the Jordan river on the instructions of Prophet Elisha. The river Jordan, as referenced in the passage in the *Wake*, becomes the means for Naaman's salvation through his obedience to the Lord's commandments. Naaman's leprosy is taken from him and afflicted on Gehazi, Prophet Elisha's servant, who wrongfully demands returns in kind on behalf of the prophet, and lies to Prophet Elisha about his whereabouts

[97]See Irish Jesuit Province. "The Dublin Hospital for Incurables". *The Irish Monthly*, vol. 11, no. 115, 1883, pp. 10-14.
[98] Robert Liveing (1873) offers Leucoderma as the specific disease mentioned here, and which is attributed to leprosy.

when he returns with the stolen goods. He is then afflicted with leprosy, referenced as a pigmentation of the skin, with a specific reference to the colour "white": "The leprosy therefore of Naaman shall cleave unto thee, and unto thy seed for ever. And he went out from his presence a leper *as white* as snow" (2 Kings 5:25-5:27).[99] There is a curious parallel in this instance to the fifteenth century representation of Saint Brigid healing "lepers". The "leper" is shown to heal completely once they deferred to the authority of the prophet (in the Biblical instance) or the saint (in the Irish instance). In the case of Saint Brigid, the "leper" is healed upon submitting to the authority of Saint Brigid with humility, obedience, and respect, and filled with "sparks of fire" breaking through the skin from crown to sole, attributed to haughtiness and disobedience (Stokes 196).[100]

In both instances, Prophet Elisha and Saint Brigid possess the powers to reinstate leprosy on the disobedient. At the level of the metaphysical plane, the fate of the "leper" signifies both a providential dispensation and trial, the end result of which is either an affliction or a blessing in the worldly life, or a path to salvation for the saint/healer/donor/care-giver. Job appears in the *Wake* with a moral message *(FW* 307. 18).[101] His body, as the Biblical allusion goes, is struck by "sore boils" from the "sole of his foot unto his crown" (Job 2:7).[102] Job's illness has since been associated questionably with leprosy (Appleboom and Klastersky 38), which serves as an instance of the fragility of human life and the divine powers of God who "So gave so take" (*FW* 68.23).The normative reading of the disease reads leprosy as predestined, and as affliction alleviated by faith.

The reference to the leper becoming as "white as snow" is carried into the next passage to reference what may have been perceived as "leprosy" in the *Wake*: "Mirrylamb, she was shuffering all the diseasinesses of the unherd of" (*FW* 223.1-2). The reference to

[99]See entry under "King James Bible Online" in Works Cited.
[100]See Stokes 1890.
[101]Left margin.
[102]See entry under "King James Bible Online" in Works Cited.

Miriam is couched in the reference to a pun on the words "Mary's lamb" and "unheard of". The "diseasiness" is a reference to the affliction of leprosy in Numbers 12:10: "And the cloud departed from off the Tabernacle, and behold, Miriam became leprous, white as snow: and Aaron looked upon Miriam, and behold, she was leprous."[103] Rod Edmond observes and references the Biblical allusion of the "leper" turning "as white as snow", an allusion that appears to have normalised the connection between what has been perceived to be leprosy with whiteness of the skin (135). Edmond references these connections between leprosy and the colour white in the journal entries of Johann Reinhold Forster, a German scientist who observed an "extensive whiteness" of the skin as a symptom (amongst others) in the first stage of leprosy, a distinction which he later refines. Touati (2000) references a "fear of living" or "fear of *colouring*" in relation to the "leper subject", documented in the first as well as the third and fifth centuries (Touati 188).[104] From this one can infer that "putrefaction" and "colouring" commonly associated with leprosy point to symptoms of leprosy, and not necessarily causes.

In 1873, Robert Liveing pointed out that what was purported to be "the leprosy of Naaman and Gehazi, mentioned in 2 Kings 5, was, as has been often suggested, an hereditary form of Leucoderma, now very common in the East, especially in India, and known as white leprosy" (Liveing 6). The adjective "leucodermic" is encountered in the "Ithaca" episode of *Ulysses*, in consideration of Bloom's "concealed" identity as Christ in Stephen's eyes: "The traditional figure of hypostasis, depicted by Johannes Damascenus, Lentus Romanus and Epiphanius Monachus as leucodermic, sesquipedalian with winedark hair" (*U* 565) is attributed "visually" to Bloom. While the word "leucodermic" here is referenced in the passage to reinforce the image of Christ as pale-complexioned, that medically it has also been long mistaken for leprosy, coincidentally associated *also* with the figure of Christ, is not lost

[103]See entry under "King James Bible Online" in Works Cited.
[104]Emphasis mine.

on the attentive reader. In constructing Bloom in Christ's likeness, the human and the divine coalesce.

Joyce's references to varying shades of colour is observed in his letters, reflecting his pursuit of nuanced distinctions and his attention to detail: he writes to Stanislaus Joyce in 1907, "The postcards are all coloured green, dark sea, sage, emerald, cabbage &c" (*SL* 146). This is a significant feature of his employment of realist representation, which aids me in the interpretive act of considering the word "leprous" in a later part of *Ulysses*. In "Wandering Rocks", the word "leprous" is encountered by the reader in the adjectival form primarily in its potency to describe colour against the broader context of Stephen at the jeweller's: "Stephen Dedalus watched through the webbed window the lapidary's fingers prove a timedulled chain. Dust webbed the window and the showtrays. Dust darkened the toiling fingers with their vulture nails. Dust slept on dull coils of bronze and silver, lozenges of cinnabar, on rubies, leprous and winedark stones. Born all in the dark wormy earth, cold specks of fire, evil lights shining in the darkness. Where fallen archangels flung the stars of their brows. Muddy swinesnouts, hands, root and root, gripe and wrest them" (*U* 198). As in "Proteus", the word "leprous" is positioned between words that signify the earth and the sea, but so also against the broader description of the the "fallen" and the "Orient": words such as "vulture nails", "darky wormy earth", "evil lights", "fallen archangels", "swinesnouts" lead up to "seafed silent rut" (*U* 198) and "old images from the burial earth" (*U* 199) in the middle of which is positioned the word "leprous" (*U* 198). The words "leprous" and "windedark" signify the colour of stones in this instance, particularly in relation to the "dark" and the "dirty" (as inferred from the next sentence, "Born all in the dark wormy earth"). Joyce references a jewel cross in Benjamin Disraeli's *Lothair* (1870) as being bought at a precious rate, which he can come to accept (*SL* 59). The jewel (more specifically, the ivory necklace that Joyce procured for Nora) in Joyce's own personal life holds significant import as representing both a token of

his art and love (*SL* 167-168). What is worth observing in Joyce's letter addressed to Nora is the vivid description of the jewel and the silk/borders/case in which it is cushioned, rich in references to colour more predominantly: thus, there is the "orange-coloured silk", the "golden" name plate, little cubes of "yellowish ivory" and the "gold fetter". The jewels mentioned in "Wandering Rocks", particularly in its allusion to "leprous" and "winedark", function as allusions to an earlier encounter of Leucoderma and Christ alongside serving as signifiers of otherworldliness, excess, and the arrest of time, revealing with each word Joyce's exquisite attention to detail.

Conclusion

Rod Edmond (2006) provides the most compelling reading of leprosy in the tropics and the modern metropolis, however, his analyses are limited to the representation of "leprosy" in the fin-de-siècle. It is worth observing here that even a cursory glance at English reviews — such as the review of Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890) in the Daily Chronicle (July 1890) — reveals a deployment of metaphors of contamination to describe decadent or "immoral" literature. These metaphors extend to the invocation of leprosy (Frankel 6). In moving away from the fin-de-siècle, I examine the enduring legacies of literary leprosy in twentieth century modernist prose. Throughout Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable*, readers witness the continual establishment of difference based on health and disease, immunity and susceptibility, untouchability and Brahmanism, and the leper and the non-leper carrying its potentials as "markers of superiority" for the characters populating the text (Edmond 112). An extended study of the colonial leper appears to be missing from scholarship on *Untouchable* as well as readings of James Joyce's *Ulysses* and the *Wake*. The *Wake*'s engagement with the colonial leper, especially in relation to caste networks in the twentieth century, has not yet fully been teased out. In drawing attention to the imperial and

caste-based roots of disease control, the chapter moves away from contemporary studies of Joyce and Anand as being rooted in modernist cartographies. In drawing from the methods within the medical humanities, the present chapter advances radically new readings of the colonial leper across socio-political and nationalist perspectives in twentieth century Irish and Indian contexts. The chapter's engagement with marginalised sexualities and bodies of the colonial leper anticipates the critical interest that Chapter Two maintains in the representation of prostitutes, venereal infection, and the narration of contagion. The focus on the experience of "leprosy" and untouchability in a surveilled Indian colony and ex-colonial metropolis is instrumental in foregrounding the final chapter on Wajida Tabassum, whose fiction intriguingly represents an Indian colony surveilled by the state. This chapter centres the experience of illness and caste-based segregated spaces, anticipating the final chapter which centres sex-based spatial segregation.

Chapter Two

Architectures of Containment:

Carceral Imaginary in James Joyce and Rashid Jahan

> …fiction gives eyes to the horrified narrator. Eyes to see and to weep.
>
> — Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*

The present chapter examines carceral cultures in the colonial contexts of Ireland and India in the twentieth century, focusing on architectures of containment and abject bodies in the works of James Joyce and Rashid Jahan.[105] Rashid Jahan was a twentieth-century Indian doctor, writer, political activist, and member of the communist party, who produced a slim but significant modernist output. In this chapter, I look beyond public infrastructures and strategies of punishment and control as overt "urban spectacle" and "ceremonial manifestations of power" toward the representation of private containment infrastructures and transitional homeplaces in modernist prose from twentieth-century Ireland and India (Alexander 28). Rakshanda Jalil's book-length study *A Rebel and Her Cause* examines the life and works of Rashid Jahan, while briefly signalling her exposure to James Joyce alongside other European novelists. Rashid Jahan's fiction brings together several strands of literary influences — from "nationalist" Indian writers to "English literary exports", Jahan's influences extend to modernists such as James Joyce and Virginia Woolf (Gopal 42-43). There is compelling reason to speculate that her encounter with Joyce's modernism is second-hand, arriving either through the transnational circuit of the All-India Progressive Writers' Association, or through her own exposure and extensive reading of European

[105]The terms "architectures of containment" and "abject" are drawn out more fully over the course of the chapter.

avant-garde forms. Mulk Raj Anand's memoir *Conversations in Bloomsbury* (1981) documents conversations between European and Indian modernists centring James Joyce in the Bloomsbury group. The intensity of transnational activity within the Progressive Writers' Association suggests that Joyce was a household name. Jahan's translation of Joyce's works, and the fact that both writers share a history of professional interest in medicine which translates directly into their fiction, is a further link that connects these seemingly disparate modernists from across continents.

In an attempt to tease out some more connections, the chapter examines the broader domain of architecture, more particularly, the construction and functions of the domestic interiors of the house, the room, the tenements, the courtyard, and the zenana in Rashid Jahan, in the first instance; and the role and functions of those uncanny sites of the homely and the unhomely – the boarding house, the laundries, and other transitional spaces in James Joyce in challenging what has constituted ideas of the "normative" in the Irish and Indian family cell, in the second – in other words, those liminal spaces that present the idea of fluid borders and bodies in the modernist text, but also spaces that contain or constrict these bodies. While the present chapter gestures toward some key moments in which the "architectural idea" forms a productive frame in which to allow the Irish and Indian texts to speak to each other, offering some theoretical insight into historic contexts and the adaptation of genres across transnational contexts, the study is *not* an exhaustive treatment of the various discursive themes that emerge in the process, as my intention is for these patterns to be introductory forays into gaining a better understanding of both writers in their domestic conceptions of the "carceral" in the short story format.[106] Julieann Veronica Ulin has argued how "open structures" in Irish fiction in the turn of the century (such as the boarding house) point to architectural ideas that foreground the power and refusal of a nation to be contained

[106]See section titled "Constructing the Carceral City in Joyce and Jahan", where I expand the term "carceral".

(388), proving as a powerful anti-colonial gesture for writers such as James Joyce in challenging romanticised and nationalist notions of the "pure home" on the one hand, and the far right and Zionist designs of the home on the other hand.[107]

Where on the level of language, Joyce set out to demonstrate "the contamination of the master by the language he claims to subjugate, on which he has declared war" (Derrida 156), Edward Said (1983) has argued that Joyce's work is a "recapitulation of those political and racial separations, exclusions, prohibitions instituted ethnocentrically by the ascendant European culture throughout the nineteenth century" (Said 48).[108] The idea of open structures such as the boarding house as a "fluid" and thus, dangerous, space in twentieth century Ireland is curiously reflective of Rashid Jahan's own time when houses for boarding (especially for women) were fraught with perils and opportunities for dangerous liaisons. Such open structures signal, on the one hand, the implosion of the big houses and the landed estates and the disillusionment; the squalour, and the degrading conditions of life in the colony; and the fluidity of borders necessitated by emerging domestic and anti-colonial conditions in the twentieth century. Marian Eide has argued in *Ethical Joyce:*

> [f]luidity is also Joyce's sign for the ethical negotiation of difference between nations in a colonial situation, between siblings in a family, and between genders in a marriage. The necessary adoption of fluid perception trains Joyce's readers in an alternative, ethical mode of understanding opposition. (Eide 91)

It is crucial to note that fluidity and vaporousness are primary qualities in "modernist painting, architecture and design, music and literature" (Berman 144).[109] The idea that the "home" was to be "amid the ebb and flow of motion, in the midst of the fugitive and the

---

[107]"at Agendath Netaim in faraway Asia Minor": "The image of the lake of Kinnereth with blurred cattle in silver haze is projected on the wall" (*U* 378), documented in Gibbons 2015; for further useful read on the subject, see Davison 2001.
[108]See Said 1983.
[109]Marshall Berman's study of modernism is developed in *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (1988).

infinite" (and in the "metropolitan crowd") is rooted in the modernist thought of Baudelaire (Berman 145), which translates into parts of *A Portrait*. As a young boy, Stephen internalises "Clongowes" as his "dwellingplace", though the concept of "home" remains an imaginary for Stephen (*P* 17).[110] Clongowes as a "dwellingplace" is recalled by "cold shivering sheets" (*P* 19), where Stephen makes sense of domestic politics; on the train or in Clongowes, Stephen can be caught conjuring an elsewhere: "[t]here were lanterns in the hall of his father's house and ropes of green branches…round the chandeliers" (*P* 22).[111] Charles Duff has argued in *James Joyce and the Plain Reader* (1932), "Joyce follows the line. But one must never forget that he loves to wander, physically and spiritually" (Duff 67).[112] This kind of fluidity indicates the tenuousness of boundaries in modernist thinking, which has come to be co-extensive with ideas of contamination of spaces and bodies in the colonial imagination.

The boarding house in *Dubliners* is suggestive of the mixing of borders and boundaries between received ideas about "house" and "transitional accommodation", between "class" and "profession", and between the spectrum of genders. Dublin, as a late colonial city, functions as a metonym of the boarding house (Ulin 401): "[the boarding] house had a floating population made up of tourists from Liverpool and the Isle of Man and, occasionally, artistes from the music whole. Its resident population was made up of clerks from the city" (*D* 59). In an allusion to the fluid and ambiguous borders of the state, the Citizen in the "Cyclops" episode exclaims, "[w]e want no more strangers in our house" (*U* 265) in envisioning a regimented state free from insanitary contamination, but also in projecting the ideal of a "home protected from outside influence" (Ulin 389). The Citizen also imagines the nation to be a product of a ruinous marriage between an adultress and her paramour, for which reason he propagates the expulsion of "strangers" (*U* 266). Such debates

[110]Baudelaire's thinking about modernity may be gleaned from "The Painter of Modern Life" (1860s) and his prose poems.
[111]"There were two sides in it: Dante was on one side and his father and Mr Casey are on the other side but his mother and uncle Charles are on no side. Everyday there was something in the paper about it" (*P* 18).
[112]See Duff 1932.

around Irish nationalism moves Julieann Veronica Ulin to introduce the concept of the "unlasting home", a theme which consolidates progressively in Joyce's oeuvre, and which anticipates the concept in the late colonial writings of Rashid Jahan as coloured, racialised bodies search for a home from the constant bombardment of violence, legitimised by the state, which meets their fate (Ulin 385). To the Citizen, fluid and ambiguous borders of transitional homeplaces forms a threat to national identity, and could potentially be seen as a blockage to the self-fulfilment of the idealised Irish family cell. To illustrate this point, it is useful to think about how Julia Kristeva works through Célestin Bouglé's conception of "fluid, ambiguous forces" as being both dangerous and beneficial, and is a productive model to keep in mind, I argue in a later section of this chapter, when thinking about the "dichotomy" of the pure and the impure informing spatial locations and Fludernik's containment theory (Kristeva 81-82).

Through an examination of colonial and institutional domestic spaces designed to incarcerate and contain the working class female body, I examine literary representations of rehabilitative institutions and the ways in which they further trap and stifle women, and how female characters often attempt (and fail) to assume agential capabilities within these enclosed spaces, shedding light on the myriad ways in which women negotiate the demands of modernity and domesticity across comparative colonial contexts. I also establish my interest in further examining spatial interiority in *Stephen Hero*, *A Portrait,* and *Ulysses* to demonstrate how colonial domestic spaces are "designed and controlled by the patriarchy", and how architecture across these texts mirror the "interiority of the minds and thoughts of women, children, servants, those dwellers within the house who may appear to be at home in this space" for interiority and domesticity has traditionally been associated with the development of the novel as form (Mezei and Briganti 839-840). In examining Joyce's text as a private or domestic genre, and shifting the readers' gaze into the domestic sphere, readers

are offered a portrait of a dark underbelly of domestic abuse and entrapment within the repressive ideology of the family: "[t]he hearth at night was the sacred witness of [...] revenges, pondered, muttered, growled and execrated" (*SH* 96); or abusive disciplining as in the "Circe" episode in *Ulysses* "better [...] take the strap to you at the bedpost" (*U* 361), or *Dubliners*: "Don't beat me, pa! And I'll…I'll say a Hail Mary fo you…[...] if you don't beat me…" (*D* 96). In such an instance, minoritised characters such as women and children in Joyce's texts are depicted as fulfilling assigned gender roles, and are rendered as being unable to "expiate the offence of [their] blood" (*SH* 96), with prominent male characters such as Stephen often overshadowing female characters such as his late sickly sister, "little more than a child" (*SH* 143), whose name [Isabel] in family and history is "added [only as] an afterthought" (*SH* 147): "[t]he wasted body that lay before him had existed by sufferance" held apart from the "plays of life" (*SH* 147). In a scene in which the Dedalus family move houses, with their furniture carried on a float, Mr and Mrs Dedalus' as well as Maurice are focalized from Stephen's perspective as being full of spirits, while Isabel's characterization is reduced to a lifeless depiction of her being "removed a day earlier" (*SH* 142), as though she were merely part of the furniture on a float, characteristic of her marginal role in *Stephen Hero.*

This chapter teases out textual moments that render the epistemology of the home (in the sense in which most of the female characters across Joyce find a being in the world through domestic rituals) and hierarchies and borders in the construction of the domestic (the semi-private and the liminal). This chapter also interrogates how Joyce and Jahan theorise the control of the domestic sphere by self-serving machinations of the state in colonial Ireland and India. As Andrew Gibson has observed, both "Joyce and his art are not only self-evidently Irish and Catholic, but also "insurrectionary"" (1).[113] Carceral writing is no

[113]In *Joyce's Revenge,* Andrew Gibson makes a case for the ways in which Joyce's *A Portrait* "documents a small, *domestic* [emphasis mine] instance of [hostile reactions] to England within Irish political and cultural nationalism from the late nineteenth century to the Free State and beyond" (4).

stranger to Joyce's fiction as *Ulysses* itself is an attempted explosion on the "well-guarded, well-built, classical prison of English literature", marked by a profound "antagonism towards the colonizer" (Gibson 2-3) and sustained metaphors of enclosure and entrapment in writing the twentieth century "semicolonial" modernist city (Attridge and Howes 3). In engaging with questions of nationalism and imperialism in the construction of the carceral state, Joyce's response demonstrates "a complex and ambivalent set of attitudes, not reducible to a simple anticolonialism" (Attridge and Howes 3). I show the operations of this set of ambivalent attitudes, particularly with relation to Joyce's Orientalist strategies, in the next chapter.

Architectures of Containment

The term "architecture" in this chapter is deployed within the wider discourse of carceral topography – one, in the sense in which Antoinette Burton invoked the term in *Dwelling in the Archive* (2003), who primarily argues that domestic interiors "archive" private histories. Here the term "archive" presupposes the ways in which houses and novels archive memories and histories. In "Nestor", Stephen references historical actors as being "lodged in the room of [...] infinite possibilities" (*U* 21), thereby weaving history and memory with the house.[114] There exist traces of the inhabitant and their histories enmeshed with the interiors of the house, where the city appears "now as a landscape, now a room" (Benjamin 10). Reading the house as an archive in the way I suggest would involve looking beyond the domestic interior as a curated literary space of women "creating and sustaining a home environment" in the normative sense (hooks 42). In other words, we might move away from a reading of Victorian and Edwardian legacies of domestic ideology indoctrinated in girls in the colonial domestic worlds of Joyce and Jahan to the value and representations of

[114]Figures such as Pyrrhus and Caesar.

the "homeplace" in modernist imagination for a people colonised by white supremacist societies. I contend that this involves imagining and reading the house both for fictional representations of private realities as well as state infiltrations into the "private" such that exertions of abuse and control are effected through non-ceremonial means; that is, away from the open urban space of the city to the closed off space of the laundries in the Irish landscape. Indeed as Joyce's fictional portrait shows, the colonial city was complicitous in crimes, its streets offering "revolting spectacles", "mutilated soldiers and sailors", exposed "scorbutic cardrivers", "suspended carcases of dead animals", "crimes of infanticide, and "diseases in general" (*U* 341-342). Through his diagnosis of a colonial city in a state of paralysis, Joyce demonstrates how the present is always-already shrouded in the "piteous vestures of the past" (*U* 344).

There is an emphasis on the architectural idea: "the idea that architecture could be used to shape not only built space but also the behaviours of the occupants of that space; and the idea, more broadly, that architecture was a defining category of analysis for personal, social, political, and national formations" (Leckie 5). In an interrogation into transnational depictions of containment, what is productive is an examination of scenes of interiority in the novel, where the construction of the house and the city increasingly functions both as prison and site of refuge, underpinned by a dialectic of sanctuary and confinement.[115] Scholarly interventions in Irish Studies by critics such as Ellen Scheible, on the other hand, have allowed for the examination of the house, the nation as metaphor, and the female body as a version of otherness at length. Lucy McDiarmid's study on domestic sites in women's accounts of 1916 demonstrates how the Irish home in the twentieth century tells the story of the "civic life of an emergent nation state" (McDiarmid 143). Turning toward the house and its interiors in this way sheds light on the formation of "restricted roles" for Irish women

[115]See Neal 2007.

modelled on the "self-sacrificing figure of the Virgin Mother" as opposed to the communal and public figure of the Magdalene (Eide 59).[116] The interior decoration, furniture, style and layout of houses in fiction compose a semiotic system that signals "status, class, and public display" and creates meanings that "observers, visitors, and the public may interpret and read" (Mezei and Briganti 840). Reading the domestic interior in this way would entail examining layout and facades as signs. Hall doors, backrooms, and furniture in *Stephen Hero,* for instance, function as signifiers of family altercations, the decline of private property, a significant lack of funds, poor housing and the lingering of ill health and apathy (*SH* 134, 143). In *A Portrait,* Stephen learns of his father's decline in fortunes through changes *in* and *to* the house: "In a vague way he understood that his father was in trouble [....]. For some time he had felt the slight change in his house; and those changes in what he had deemed unchangeable were so many slight shocks to his boyish conception of the world" (*P* 72). In such instances as this, domestic interior seems to regulate the early twentieth-century Irish family structure, such that changes in the Dedalus household render epistemic shocks to Stephen's personhood. As Stephen recalls, "the thought of the bare cheerless house in which they were now to live made his heart heavy; and again an intuition, a foreknowledge of the future came to him. He understood also why the servants had often whispered together in the hall…" (*P* 74). Here, in Stephen's home, the house co-determines interactions and experiences of its inhabitants such that changes in fortune and the house substantially reshapes the world about him into a "vision of squalor and insincerity" (*P* 75). The coming and end of seasons of pleasure and fortune in *A Portrait* is intrinsically linked to changes to the domestic interior: "[t]hen the season of pleasure came to an end. The pot of pink enamel paint gave out and the wainscot of his bedroom remained with its unfinished and ill-plastered

[116]See Eide 2011.

coat" (*P* 111). In examining Joyce's texts through the prism of the domestic, what emerges before the reader is a portrait of Joyce as a physiognomist of the colonial modern interior.

In *Stephen Hero,* the representation of the colonial modern interior encapsulates "petrified time" (Roche 83) where both the past and the present are condensed in domestic space: "[t]he old horsehair sofa was there, the picture of the Sacred Heart was there, she was there" (*SH* 138). The picture of the Sacred Heart embodies the pull of powerful institutions like religion which control and streamline public opinion, while ancestral portraits in *Stephen Hero* (*SH* 142) signal the family as backward-looking dreamers for whom the "dearest of all things" in Ireland is the "memory of the past" (*MBK* 24). In *A Portrait,* Mr Dedalus gestures to a portrait of his grandfather on the wall, remarking: "He was a good Irishman when there was no money in the job. He was condemned to death as a whiteboy. But he had a saying about our clerical friends, that he would never let one of them put his two feet under his mahogany" (*P* 42). The domestic interior of the Dedalus household becomes the conflicted site of family and national memory where the struggles of modernity are played out. The reference to Irish dispossession in the Christmas dinner scene in *A Portrait* stages the entry of populist attitudes against broader mainstream political discourses of modernity whereas the reference to furniture ("mahogany") here facilitates not only a masculine assertion of control over domestic space but also stages a more hardline rejection of the Catholic Church and its acolytes (Valente 210). For young Stephen similarly, the parlour table holds particular import as he pours over an old translation of *The Count of Monte Cristo*: "[a]t night he built up on the parlour table an image of the wonderful island cave [....] there would come to his mind the bright picture of Marseilles" (*P* 70). Here in this passage, Joyce demonstrates the house serving Stephen in the eventual formation of a literary sensibility.[117] In the turn of the century depictions of the Irish house, one can find traditional modes of social interaction embodied in

[117] This is an aspect that Rashid Jahan would draw upon in the framing of the colonial domestic storyworld in a later section of this chapter.

the interior, as in the case of the Dedalus household and their ancestral portraits. In Stanislaus Joyce's account of the Joyces' own domestic interior, he offers a curious memory of the photographs of his father's former sweethearts on the piano: the photographs soon disappear, burnt by their mother at the bidding of Mrs Conway in case the event is retrieved or retained as memory (*MBK* 39).

The second sense in which I employ the term "architecture" is with relation to what James Smith has identified as "architectures of containment", which I examine with relation to Monika Fludernik's carceral metaphor and Paul Ricoeur's call for the opening up of archives through a retrieval of the "traces which the dominant ideological forces attempted to suppress", thereby drawing attention, and giving voice, to those who were or have been abused and intentionally excluded from participation in civic life, and subject to labour and degradation behind the walls of the laundry as a carceral institution (Ricoeur 16). It is here that we get a sense of the domestic interior as a site of oppression, that space where "Irish women's bodies are contained and entrapped by traditional Irish masculine culture and by the sexual repression of the Church" (Scheible 13). Between the first and the second senses in which I invoke the term "architectures of containment", that is, the liminal space between the architecture as "archive" and the opening up of such archives, I argue that there exists sites of abjection, in the sense in which Kristeva imagines these spaces, between the "containing" and the "opening" up and that this is useful as a theoretical tool in analysing spinster characters, children, women and disabled folx, nannies, Ayahs, and housemaids, who are subject to incarceration and "receive in return [....] disregard and disrespect" (Eide 60). In Rashid Jahan's texts (such as "Behind the Veil", for instance), the oft-neglected figure of the Ayah makes an appearance in general conversation, as with the Magdalene laundry in "Circe" in *Ulysses*.

The "semicolonial" worlds of Joyce and Jahan abound with both home and private carceral homes, threats of contagion and contamination, and disciplinary bodies that police and attempt to contain perceived moral contagion. The theoretical tools drawn from Burton, Giedion, Kristeva, Fludernik, Gilbert and Gubar, and Ricoeur energise my study of domestic and carceral spaces in colonial modernist texts from Ireland and India as I examine how domestic interiors and carceral spaces in cultural representations in Joyce and Jahan serve as archives of private, unexamined, or neglected histories. Finally, in thinking about carceral spaces that build on both old and new prison models (dungeon vs penitentiary), and their literary representations in colonial modernist texts in the Irish and Indian contexts, I think through Sigfried Giedion's conception of a "liberated dwelling" in arguing for modernist architectural reform, and making productive links between architecture and politics in the context of urban growth: Giedion calls for domestic and/or interior spaces that do not "confine us like a corset but that rather strives for more intensive contact with ground, sky, and the outside world than ever possible to date" (Giedion 48). This kind of dwelling is imaginative, with liberatory potentials.

Constructing the Carceral City in Joyce and Jahan

The term "carceral" when extended to the city encompasses extensive forces of surveillance and punishment, often including spaces ranging from police to correctional departments and courts. As Cronin and Till have pointed out, Ireland's carceral geographies (take, for instance, the Direct Provision Scheme) speaks to "a darker history of the containment of bodies in Ireland", encompassing residential centres or holding camps, which further embodies the nation's "memory of incarceration" (4). The haunting memory of Ireland's incarceration is embodied in Joyce's oeuvre in references to the lives of the women in laundries, asylums, and brothels, but also in the texts' invocation to justice: in "Oxen of the

Sun", the narrator portends that there are "sins or (let us call them as the world calls them) evil memories which are hidden away by man in the darkest places of the heart but they abide there and wait. [....] Yet a chance word will call them forth suddenly and they will rise up to confront him in the most various circumstances, a vision or a dream…" (*U* 344).[118] According to a study published in *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* (2021), Catholic morality was enshrined into the law in the 1920s, censoring "anything perceived to negatively influence sexual conduct" (Berry and Frazer 869).

Through an examination of reports, case studies, legislation, and close reading of texts that depict carceral domestic spaces, I demonstrate how literary texts contribute towards tracing the genealogy, and construction of, the carceral memory through a study of the city's containment mechanisms, and the class of body that it seeks to contain. The study of literary theorists such as Fludernik, whose extensive work on the linguistics of crime and prison metaphors (2023) come in the service of propounding a theory of reading prisons as a "homological analogue of the world at large", allows one to think about both real and metaphoric forms of entrapment and imprisonment in colonial modernist texts (40). For such a reading to be productively applied, one could begin to think of architectural emulations of carceral or containment theory and infrastructure and its representations in the colonial domestic worlds of James Joyce and Rashid Jahan. In the colonial city (productively read as the Foucauldian penitentiary), the brothel, the house, and the church (religious infrastructure) coalesce into carceral settings across both modernist texts, giving way to complex representations of liminality and corporality within carceral spatial locations in *Stephen Hero, Dubliners, A Portrait,* and *Ulysses*. Charitable institutions founded in the 1700s to house and rehabilitate "fallen" women became veritable *prisons* for "sex workers and unmarried pregnant daughters of Catholic families" (Berry and Frazer 869):

[118]A "chance word" indicated here could be a call to justice, as Ireland would witness campaigns for justice for the victims of sexual and priestly class abuse.

> Whereas in the nineteenth century these institutions were primarily philanthropic and rehabilitative, after 1922 they increasingly became recarceral and punitive. Their accommodation of an increasingly diverse population of women signifies this change in orientation. The evidence underscores the fact that church and state colluded in facilitating the confinement of these women. The state always presumed the availability and appropriateness of the Magdalen as a place of confinement. [....] As a result, generations of Irish women were abandoned to asylums that operated under a penitential regime of prayer, silence, and self-effacement; that exploited the inmates as unpaid workers in commercial laundries; and that as recently as the 1990s still supported lifelong detention. (Smith 81-82)

The above-mentioned study begins to detail some, if not all, of the systematic methods and modes of discipline and punishment extended to "problem girls" in carceral state settings such as the laundries in the Irish landscape (Berry and Frazer 2021). The coordinates of carceral topography in the colonial city are determined largely by the interdependent and liminal constituents of doors and walls, with confinement and containment being practised not merely as a restriction upon the body and mobility (one may recall a scene in *A Portrait* where Mr Casey makes speeches from a wagonette, and is sent to prison) but also encroaches into the private sphere.[119] The architectural idea underpinning the construction of transitional homespaces (such as the boarding house) and domestic carceral settings (such as the Magdalene laundries) oftentimes betrays the operations of state mechanisms through which the state body exerts "social control" and "social improvement" (Leckie 5): the body as site of "correctional disciplining" and "physical restraint" is strategically planned as "benevolent treatment" designed for rehabilitation (Fludernik 64).[120] As Ellen Scheible has observed, sites

[119] *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (pp.42). In *My Brothers Keeper*, Mr Casey (John Kelly in reality) is shown to have been in and out of prison several times for making speeches in support of the Land League agitation. As a consequence of imprisonment, he fell into decline (*MBK 12*).
[120] See Fludernik 1999 in Works Cited.

such as the Magdalene Asylums functioned as "spaces of oppression" which attempt to contain the female body as a source of otherness (12-13). What is at work here is the depiction and deployment of domestic interiors to control and contain the threats posed by the female body.

In several of Monika Fludernik's publications (2003, 2004, 2005), Fludernik has emphasised the depiction of imprisonment in literature through the use of metaphors.[121] In "Prison Metaphors: Conveying the Experience of Confinement" (2023), Fludernik demonstrates how literature produces the carceral imaginary. Fludernik (2023) demonstrates the construction and cultural use of metaphors, and asserts how institutions and environments invoke the possibility of real or metaphoric imprisonment (47). Fludernik explores what carceral metaphors tell us about society, and how these can be shown to have an impact on people's conception of penal confinement (49). What kind of metaphors are attributed to prisons, but also could potentially be applied to non-prison situations in literary analysis? By demonstrating the ideological, cultural, and moral assumptions underpinning the use of carceral metaphors in literature, Fludernik offers a profoundly fascinating framework which allows me to nuance aspects of Joyce's and Jahan's fiction relating to physical carceral settings as well as non-prison settings in the colonial city where carceral metaphors could productively be applied. Monika Fludernik's ideas about carceral topography (1999) have tangible implications in conceptualising what confinement means theoretically and experientially. Fludernik's "Prison as X" template (2023) is a useful theoretical model for thinking about the latent presence of such metaphors in the colonial domestic worlds of James Joyce and Rashid Jahan — particularly in thinking about the recurrence of "Prison is Brothel" and "Home is prison" metaphor across both texts in conveying the experience of confinement and containment. In this section, I argue that these prison metaphors or

[121]Representative, not exhaustive, sample of Fludernik's ideas on carceral metaphors. See Works Cited for an extended list of these references.

ascriptors are crucial to conveying the experience of confinement and prison-as-institution across the texts of Joyce and Jahan. By extension, space/place and house may invoke the "possibility of real or metaphoric imprisonment, most prominently in purdah environments" ("Home is Prison" trope), which becomes crucial to a study of borders and boundaries in sharif households in Rashid Jahan, especially in what it means to examine real/metaphoric/epistemological prisons that are circumscribed by the borders of the home or courtyard (Fludernik 47). Here it is worth noting that my reading of what Fludernik identifies as "purdah environments" (2023) is tempered through a reading of Antoinette Burton, who in *Dwelling in the Archive* (2003) offers a distinction between the zenana as colonial domestic spatial location (which has often been pathologised as a dark and unhygienic environment, and attributed confining qualities) and purdah as social practice (Burton 11). Without this distinction, Fludernik's usage of "purdah environments" might give way to a common conceptual slippage between colonial/domestic spatial location and social practice, which Burton argues has its roots in interwar imperial and colonial reform discourse. Still, the proliferation of prison metaphors in Fludernik's list (2023) serves as a useful reminder of the quality of restraint and restrictions exercised by various "social, political, and ideological frameworks" in addition to the ways in which one might begin to think about and begin to offer critiques of penal systems in one's own day (49).[122]

In the discourse of carceral topography, the prison subject typically experiences abjection: the prison subject experiences themselves as occupying a liminal position, between lifeless matter and living humanity, thus coming to occupy a position of the threshold (Fludernik 69).[123] The prison subject is often also associated with the abject in terms of belonging to the category of that which has been ejected or cast out – the construction of the carceral state is, then, founded upon the operation of abject-ing in an attempt to bring about

[122]See Fludernik 2023.
[123]See Fludernik 1999.

"social stability" (Arya 4).[124] As Martha Grace Duncan has argued, "literature's portrayal of crime and criminals [...] lends support to the idea that we imagine lawbreakers as the filthiest of filth, as decaying matter, or the paradigmatic type of filth, excrement" which needs to be ejected (Duncan 136). Rina Arya has shown how, when the boundaries between the self and animal origins are threatened, the tenuousness of the boundary that divides the "I" from that which evokes disgust is let up, leading to the determination of the abject (Margaroni 197).

Scholarship on the parallels between the penitentiary model and the city has extended to the study of the urban novel form and the genealogy of the city (Alexander 28). If we extend carceral topography to an imagination of the body, then one can argue that in plotting the coordinates of the carceral city, what has come to constitute crime in the colonial city (prostitution by "fallen women", or erring from heteronormative family conventions) has also been associated with contagious disease, infecting and destroying the fabric of the family, particularly the sacred (female) body. Irish nationalists propagated the view that Irish women were primarily "guardians of the untainted essence of Irish identity" who had to maintain sexual purity by conceiving, bearing, and breeding Irish children – this would effectively lay the basis for the ideals upheld by the heteronormative Irish family (Harris 68). In order to preserve heteronormative family values and effectively enforce regimented lines to prevent the contamination of the family cell, state mechanisms were established to contain the bodies of "fallen women" and constrict their movements, leading to the construction of non-ceremonial state mechanisms such as the laundries that infiltrate into the private sphere. In "The Making of Ireland's Carceral State", an interview with Sarah Ann Buckley by Daniel Finn, published in *Jacobin* (2021), we find:

[124]As Rina Arya points out in her study on abjection and representation, the etymology of the term "abjection" lies in the Latin word *abicere*, which means to "cast away or to rebuff" (3).

> [t]here are stories of women who were sent as children to the industrial schools, and then went to the Magdalene laundries or other institutions until they were twenty-one. Another interconnected story is the history of Ireland's forced adoptions, which is threaded through a lot of these institutions. The mother and baby institutions were a product of independent Ireland. The first opened in 1921, although the idea to have an institution only for pregnant, unmarried women was twenty years older.

The "fallen women" depicted in Joyce's fiction are the "pregnant, unmarried women" documented in this *Jacobin* report, and industrial schools, Magdalene laundries, and mother and baby homes which constitute the state's carceral networks.[125] These carceral spaces for "whores" and "untouchables" are created by "vengeful patriarchy" as they deny women even the "meagre space" they had occupied in a "male-ordained world" (Bharucha 97). Several ideological factors, like the circumscription of "reproduction and child-bearing", have led to the incarceration of women within the home in the turn of the century through the growing emphasis on women's duties within the home sphere. Those among the lower classes incarcerated in institutions such as the laundries are themselves presented as taboo, a source of pollution, that is, those who must be secluded "from the rest of the world so that the dreaded [...] danger shall neither reach them nor spread from them" (Duncan 143).

The domestic carceral location of the Magdalene laundries in the Irish instance is founded upon the idea of a "spatial separation"; that is, the idea that certain spheres should not be in contact, namely the normative Irish family and the "wicked or lost women" (Duncan 143). In the "Circe" episode of *Ulysses*, set in the entrance of nighttown (*U* 350), in which Irish history returns in "exaggerated and fantasised forms", the Magdalen asylum as spatial location is not depicted directly but rather invoked in a confrontation between Bloom

[125]Joyce wrote to his brother Stanislaus in 1906, providing information on the background of "Clay" in *Dubliners*.

and Mrs Breen (Bristow 98). Bloom is guilty of having been caught in nighttown, otherwise known as the "haunts of sin" (*U* 362), and forges the fiction that he runs the rescue for fallen women as secretary: "Not so loud my name[...]. Short cut home here. Interesting quarter. Rescue of fallen women. Magdalen asylum. I am the secretary ….." (*U* 362). While Bloom is evidently in the vicinity of the red light district in this episode, Joyce draws the readers' attention to Bloom's awareness of carceral institutions such as the Magdalen asylum in Dublin topography, a carceral home for former prostitutes in the area – namely, 63-71 Lower Gloucester Street, 68-80 Lower Tyrone Street, close to Bella Cohen on 82 Lower Tyrone Street. This passage is one instance of the ways in which Joyce both evokes and complicates the figure of Mary Magdalene in its function as a binary opposition, as both saint *and* sinning or fallen woman, a cultural term broadly encompassing sex-workers, single mothers, or sexually active, unmarried mothers (Eide 58). In Stanislaus Joyce's *My Brothers' Keeper* (1958), he notes how Joyce conflates the Church with the whores: "Jim used to say that the Church was cruel like all old whores" (*MBK* 11). In "Circe", a gender-fluid prostitute "chastises" (Eichholz 41) Bloom as "Dungdevourer!" (*U* 433). These women, whose social roles are "opaque and unpredictable", become the carceral subjects I engage with in this chapter, in creatively and critically imagining the carceral colonial city in James Joyce and Rashid Jahan (Eide 59). Rashid Jahan would shift the gaze into the domestic sphere in modern colonial India in a radical gesture, exposing "the rot within", and for this to materialise, she would need to stage the focalization of female characters of sharif families within women's quarters, which are off limits for men, and which would bring the "promiscuous gaze" of the streets into the "intimate world of Muslim women" (*A* xvii). Joyce's oeuvre reveals the fictional presence of state sanctioned carceral institutions, beginning with *Stephen Hero*: "... the sole means of salvation which the Church vouchsafes to her guilty children" (*SH* 47). The phrase "guilty children" here evokes those "sexually

anomalous characters", who "must be contained [by the Church and the State], simply to reduce the possibility of socio-cultural dissents" (Mansouri 109) or quell "fears from social purists" (Preston 248).[126]

Reading "Clay" through the frames offered by Fludernik's prison metaphors (2023) allows one to appreciate the representation of central characters such as Maria in Joyce's carceral colonial city, as it moves away from the prototypical representations of prisoner as man in literary texts and prison literature. "Clay" opens in Protestant-run Dublin by Lamplight laundry. It is evident to readers that Maria is the central character, and the only one besides other peripheral female characters, Lizzie Fleming and Ginger Mooney, to be named among the vastly anonymous "women" working in the laundry. The section in the laundry is brief and relegated to the opening of the story. While Maria is not reduced to a statistic in this story of Ireland's troubling and difficult public history and appears to be humanised to good effect, the functions of objectivity in Joyce's focalisation techniques present Maria occasionally as a sentimental object of pity for the other characters:

> ...Mrs Donnelly said Maria would enter a convent before the year was out because she had got the prayer-book. Maria had never seen Joe so nice to her as he was that night, so full of pleasant talk and reminiscences. She said they were all very good to her.
>
> (*D* 103)

Maria reflects the invisible labour of the superfluous woman in the ex-colonial metropolis, encompassing spinsters who join the unmarried woman in the category of the fallen woman, and who are perceived as liminal in their role as outsiders. In return for their labour, these women receive "disregard and disrespect" (Eide 60): "...the women [in the Dublin by Lamplight laundry] began to come in by twos and threes, wiping their *steaming hands* in their

[126]See Mansouri 2014.

petticoats and pulling down the sleeves of their blouses over their *red steaming arms*" (*D* 98).[127] Words such as "steaming hands" and "red steaming arms" indicate the gruelling nature of the work of women in the Dublin by Lamplight laundry. The description of the women labouring in the laundries shows how readily they identify as carceral subjects: "[r]esidents in many of these laundries were dressed in *plain uniforms and assigned new names…*" (Eide 65).[128] Further, as Finnegan notes, "[t]o discourage vanity and improper thoughts, uniforms were drab and shapeless, and in most Refuges women had their hair cropped, in hideous contrast to the fashion of their times. Such disfigurement—part punishment and part penance— was particularly approved for that class of women, who, it was constantly alleged, had initially 'fallen' through pride in appearance and 'love of dress'" (Finnegan 26). Maria's transition from taking pride in her appearance as a young girl to her dressing as an inmate is evident in "Clay": "[s]he went into her little bedroom [....] took off her working skirt and her house-boots [...]. She changed her blouses too and, as she stood before the mirror, she thought of how she used to dress [...] when she was a young girl; and she looked with quaint affection at the *diminutive body* which she had *often adorned.* In spite of the years she found it *a nice tidy little body*" (*D* 99).[129] In the narrative, Maria seems to succumb to a sense of resignation in the conscription of the services of her "nice tidy little body" to the state as penance for the superfluousness of her existence (*D* 99).

While Fludernik observes how women tend to experience "harrowing" psychological effects of imprisonment in carceral environments (Fludernik 58), the psychological effects of Maria navigating containment infrastructure seem to manifest in physical terms: her head and body are described as "tiny" (*D* 99, 100), she enacts "demure nods and hems" (*D* 100), and is often "confused" or disoriented in public settings (*D* 101). There is very little textual

[127]Emphasis mine.
[128]Emphasis mine.
[129]Emphasis mine.

engagement with the psychological effects of her employment in the laundry, or any interrogation into her own feelings as an inmate/employee of the institution, except her portrayal, on occasional instances, of her inability to partake more fully in public and civic life. What manifests ultimately is a lack of emotional depth and denial in Maria (*D* 99). The lack of any interiorised clues otherwise about Maria's emotional well-being could well translate into the subsumption of her life under physical force and labour of the laundries as well as the "stunting of character and inner life" derived from the "dead weight" of an outworn culture that shuns and dislocates the subaltern subject (Gibbons 141). The suggestion of the kitchen being "spick and span" (*D* 97), or the Halloween barmbracks as cut and ready to serve add to a sense of a "happy prison" (*D* 97): that Maria is reported to have become "accustomed to the life of the laundry" (*D* 98) consolidates her identity as a "divided and dislocated subject whose parts are not continuous or coherent with each other" (Gibbons 140). Inner life in itself, for Maria, can be productively read as a "crypt entombing its contents" as if in a "separate space from the self" (Gibbons 149). Even then, such representations of psychological states only serve as reminders of a pervading carceral reality. That Maria is rarely made to say what she feels in the text is a symptom of the Church's deep "distrust of psychology" (Gibbons 139).

The liminal constituents of carceral topography – namely, walls, doors, and windows – can be seen to form a physical enclosure around Maria, as in, "[t]here was one thing she didn't like and that was the [...] walls; but the matron was a nice person to deal with" (*D* 98). Here Monika Fludernik (1999) shows how the prisoner's desire for escape from the confining imagery of walls/doors/bars/windows is balanced by the possibility of the need for succour, real or imagined, being met in some way or form:

> Saints' legends repeatedly show martyrs consoled in their prison and fed by spiritual food, solaced by angels and vouchsafed a vision of God in His glory. Thus, in the legend of St Margaret, Margaret is thrown into a dark prison, put in irons and starved until the Emperor's return. Not only does she receive spiritual food from angels descending into the dungeon and by divine grace has her body healed from the wounds that have been inflicted on her; she is also enabled to defeat the devil who appears to her in two incarnations. Likewise, in the legend of St Katharine, the saint is succoured in prison by means of heavenly food dispensed by angels. (Fludernik 51)[130]

The walls of the laundry may define containment infrastructure, but that a civic sense of life prevails over the laundry has made Maria accommodating of its severe hardships. In her study on carceral topography, Fludernik has shown how the very physical and tangible elements of prison bars and walls contribute to a sense of claustrophobia in the inmates, but which is transcended by the prisoner when they project the ways in which it becomes penetrable or permeable. Fludernik shows how a "consolatory ingress" of material/spiritual help or provisions allows the prisoner to retain hope. Maria is "consoled" and soothed in her prison with "leave to go out" as soon as the women's tea is over (*D* 97) on Halloween, with slices of barmbracks ready to be handed out at tea (*D* 97), with nice words and pleasant compliments of being a "veritable peace-maker" (*D* 97) keeping her comfortable and assured in serving more time within the containment infrastructure. Readers soon identify that Maria is satiated with the conditions of the laundry because the equivalent of "spiritual food" (Fludernik 51) is presented by means of having some provisions to eat or some amount of money in her pocket (*D* 99).[131] Despite the glow of warm tones hanging over "Clay", the

[130]See Fludernik 1999.
[131]See Fludernik 1999.

fortune-telling game arranged by the girls next door (in a later section of the story) serves as a portentous reminder of Maria's conscription in the Dublin by Lamplight laundry and the life of labour and penance to which she will inevitably return. Maria's employment in the laundry signals the reader to her ambivalent and elusive history and how she has strayed from what is constituted as the traditional heteronormative Irish family cell, consolidating her presence further as a liminal figure. While the connection is not a direct equivalent here, still, the labours of Maria as nursemaid-turned-inmate in "Clay" in the context of colonial Ireland in early twentieth century anticipates the representation of the "native nursemaids" (or Ayahs) in Rashid Jahan,[132] discussed at length in a latter part of this chapter, who laboured for the families of the English and who were turned out or encountered "abandonment" from their host English homes to seek refuge in lodging houses, temporary accommodation, or ultimately, the Ayah's Home (Dutta 94).[133] Maria is depicted as child-like in "Clay" with her "very, very small person", her "long nose" and "long chin" (*D* 97), who "laughed and laughed" (*D* 102) and "blushed very much" over children's games (*D* 103). This attribute is shared with the figure of the Ayah, who is stereotyped in contemporary literature to be "child-like" in singing hymns, lullabies, and nursery rhymes for their charges while undertaking other duties of the empire (Stadtler and Visram n.p.).[134] Such a description perhaps indicates the myriad ways in which Ayahs, as coloured and colonised subordinates, are infantilised in the British colonial imaginary. Both Joyce and Jahan broadly classify the laundry inmate and the Ayah as classes of "fallen" women.

---

[132]See "Ayahs in British India" by Swapna Banerjee in Works Cited.

[133]"Established first in 1891 at 6 Jewry Street, Aldgate, East London, the Home was taken over by the London City Mission, who moved it to 26 Edward Road, Mare Street, in Hackney, East London in 1900. In 1921, the Home was relocated to bigger premises at 4 King Edward Road". This information is sourced from ourmigrationstory.org.uk under the header: Industrial and Imperial Migration 1750-1900 (Stadtler and Visram n.p., see also Sabherwal 2022). As no page number or date has been provided on the online source *Our Migration Story*, I have used the term "n.p." to signify "no page number". In the case of the reference to Sabherwal, no page number is accessible for the BBC story published online on 16 June 2022.

[134]This attribute of the Ayahs is sourced from ourmigrationstory.org.uk under the header: Industrial and Imperial Migration 1750-1900 (Stadtler and Visram n.p.).

Priests and police: Joyce's Carceral Colonial City[135]

Stephen Hero provides us with early instances of James Joyce's construction of the carceral colonial city — "the government of an empire is strongest at its borders" (*SH* 130), where the relationship between spaces and practices of imprisonment and a punitive state is made explicit: "[a] woman's body is a corporal asset of the State: [...] she must sell it either as a harlot or as a working celibate or as a mistress" (*SH* 180). *Stephen Hero* offers useful insights into Joyce's early attempts at constructing Dublin as a carceral colonial city, a world in which the city-as-prison does not unfold through graphic depictions of sovereign state power ceremoniously asserting control over tortured and dismembered bodies, but one where Joyce offers subtle descriptions of the quotidian colonial city as "commercial prison" (*SH* 23), suggesting certain parallels between the routinised and banal social lives of citizens of a colonial city and inmates in prison (furthering the city-as-prison metaphor): "This morning walk was pleasant for him and there was no face that passed him on its way to its commercial prison but he strove to pierce to the motive centre of its ugliness. It was always with a feeling of displeasure that he entered the Green and saw on the far side the gloomy building of the college" (*SH* 23). The punitive city in Joyce is manifested through textual markers which allude to codes of punishment or confinement in one form or other, thus Stephen finds college life too "oppressive" (*SH 30*), with the papal secretary and the Index acting as the surveillance body policing the literary canon, and the pervading force of "strict religious influences" of the Church prior to the formation of the Irish Free State takes on penal imagery — the "shackles of the Church" (*SH* 48) are inextricable from the "tyranny" of the home (*SH* 110). In *A Portrait,* Stephen thinks about the white cloak of a marshal on the battlefield of

[135]The phrase "Priests and police" appears in Joyce's notes for *Stephen Hero* printed by Mr Gorman (*SH* 54).

Prague: "ghosts of murderers, the figures of marshals who had received their deathwound on battlefields far over the sea" (*P* 21).

A vengeful prison-keeper God, who haunts Stephen's consciousness from a young age ("Pull out his eyes, / apologise" *P* 8), multiplies Stephen's "guilt and punishment" in adolescence for crimes committed against the flesh (*P* 117).[136] Joyce depicts the prison as hell metaphor at work during the Ignatian retreat scene, when he is asked to imagine the coming of his end, as when his flesh is thrust into "the grave, to rot, to feed the mass of its creeping worms and to be devoured by scuttling plumpbellied rats" (*P* 112). Stanislaus Joyce recounts in *My Brother's Keeper* (1958) how the image of God as passed down by Dante was presented as "some kind of drunken ogre with less mercy than the small mercy of men", even as one of the Jesuit teachers at Belvedere College instructed that "there was a child of seven years of age in hell" (*MBK* 11). *A Portrait* offers a deliberation on earthly prison and hell as prison in the scene marking Stephen's attendance in the retreat, which I argue could be productively read using one of Fludernik's prison metaphors, prison-as-hell:

> Hell is a strait and dark and foulsmelling *prison,* an abode of demons and lost souls, filled with fire and smoke. [....] In earthly prisons the poor captive has at least some liberty of movement, were it only within the four walls of his cell or in the gloomy yard of his prison. (*P* 135)

If in *Stephen Hero* we first encounter windows in colonial Dublin adorned with "police journals", then this passage, one can argue, furthers our understanding of a residue of carceral images coming together to form the carceral imaginary in Joyce (*SH* 129). Such an imaginary is construed in relation to imaginative and metaphorical prisons (hell as prison) as in this instance. In the passage above what is noteworthy is its reliance on Monika Fludernik's old

[136]Stephen's visit to the brothels is the crimes against the flesh envisaged here, and for which Stephen fears "eternal damnation" in hell (*P* 117).

model of prisons (2023), namely, hell as prison, or the dungeon scenario (42). Stephen is exposed to a description of an extra-worldy prison i.e. hell as that which is constituted by walls, which are described as narrow in more instances than one ("strait", as the above passage shows). These walls are said to be "four thousand miles thick" (*P* 136); whose architect is God ("designed by God"); characterised by "exterior darkness"; giving forth "no light"; and where bodies are heaped one upon the other as though in a penal colony (*P 136*). Joyce's description of the prison's architectural design betrays structural features reminiscent of the old prison scenario from Fludernik's list (2023), namely, darkness, corporal constraints (cages, walls, mediaeval fretters, and sacks to bind prisoners), the overcrowding of both prisoners and convicts, filth, and the lack of survival of detainees, sentence as punishment and fervent calls for repentance (Fludernik 44). This description of hell as prison is marked by the prison as dungeon model [which precedes the introduction of "correctional treatment" in the penitentiary model (Fludernik 46)] which Fludernik delineates in her study of prison metaphors: "this strait and dark prison is increased by its awful stench" because it houses "all the filth of the world, all the offal and scum" (*P* 136). In such a prison system, the very air is unbreathable from being a "long enclosed" space (*P* 136).

Unlike the much more modern and non-ceremonious carceral system (such as the asylums and the laundries) that Joyce would go on to describe at some length in "Clay" and reference in "Circe" in *Ulysses*, *A Portrait* engages in quite some length with disciplinary forces that circulate metanarratives of more barbaric, public and ceremonious, and less sophisticated means of discipline and punishment as in the retreat scene (*P* 135-139) so as to move young, impressionable minds to force against sin (considered here the equivalent to crime, which calls for penal action upon transgression) and to reinforce the violence embodied in stories of capital punishment so sinners, evoked here as "criminals", are deterred: "[i]n olden times, it was custom to punish the parricide [....] by casting him into the

depths of the sea in a sack in which were placed a cock, a monkey, and a serpent" (*P* 139). There is a sustained focus on the confining imagery of doors, walls, and stench: the carceral city is marked by the liminal constituents of doors and walls as previously argued, but so also barricades, check points, ramps and bollards (Alexander 29). In *Stephen Hero*, for instance, the English military is embodied in the text through the presence of militia camps (*SH* 52) as it engages in the use of "modern weapons" and English Law is administered through "English bullets" (*SH* 53). According to Joyce, even the style of "ecclesiastical barracks" in *Stephen Hero* betrays the influence of "martial" architectural principles of the Irish Church (*SH* 61).

An instance of Joyce's presentation of an unnamed asylum is to be found in a passage in *Stephen Hero:* "Yes, a life of dull routine – the calculation of coppers, the weekly debauch and the weekly gaiety – a life lived in cunning and fear between the shadows of the parish chapel and the asylum!" (*SH* 45). While Joyce does not provide the reader with any explicit reference to a psychiatric institution or other infrastructures of containment in this passage from *Stephen Hero*, the mention of an asylum in passing conversation between Stephen and Madden indicates the ominous presence of such institutions in Dublin carceral topography (and, by extension, in the colonial psyche), which has received relatively less attention in Joyce scholarship. Aidan Collins attempts to bridge gaps by explicating three textual moments from *Stephen Hero*, *A Portrait*, and *Ulysses,* exposing some of the connections between religious guilt and prominent and lesser known asylums in Joyce's carceral state, namely the Richmond asylum at Grangegorman and St. Vincent's hospital in Fairview.[137] Collins's study demonstrates how Joyce's representation of religious guilt and outbursts

[137]The three major textual moments explicated in Collins' study are as follows: "That fellow I was with in the Ship last night, said Buck Mulligan, says you have GPI. He's up in Dottyville with Conolly Norman. General paralysis of the insane" (*U* 5); "He heard a mad nun screeching in the nuns' madhouse beyond the wall - Jesus! O Jesus! Jesus!" (*P* 179); and the suicide of a psychiatric patient in *Stephen Hero*: " ...and Stephen heard many criticisms of the nurses. It'd be better for 'em mind the patients than traipsing about with every Tom, Dick and Harry of a doctor. It's them has the style." (*SH* 219-220). A study of Lucia Joyce's incarceration and solitary confinement in sanatoriums (1932, 1951) on account of her schizophrenia, does not fall within the ambit of my chapter or my thesis, though it is productive to follow Bryan and Mary Talbot graphic novel representation of Lucia, and Carol Loeb Shloss's recuperative biography on Lucia.

(recall the scene where a nun's madhouse shares a boundary wall with houses in *A Portrait* 179) indicates "pathological disturbances from ecstasy to paranoia, hallucinosis to physical pain" (27). The space between the walls of the houses and the asylum in *A Portrait* constitutes a "fragile border", one which Joyce uses to stage the disruption of the ideal of domesticity embodied in the conservative efforts of the priests and the newly domesticated mothers to enforce the notion of a "purified [Irish] home" in *A Portrait*. This same boundary wall introduces the reader to utterance and the hysterical female body over the other line, where identities (subject/object) "do not exist or only barely so – double, fuzzy, heterogeneous, animal, metamorphosed, altered, abject" (Kristeva 207), a prime instance of Rina Arya's contention (2014) that the abject "hovers at the boundaries" (Arya 27). The implication is that boundaries are the most vulnerable points in the system – therefore, what is peripheral is dangerous because of its position on the outskirts. In the following section, I attempt to show some ways in which female characters in Rashid Jahan write under the condition of "being possessed by abjection", demonstrating the "horror of being" experienced largely within carceral settings as I juxtapose this with the construction of prison-as-brothel in the "Circe" episode in *Ulysses* (Kristeva 208). In both Joyce and Jahan, a theory of abjection may account for attitudes of stigma and social rejection stemming from violations of codes of chastity, where the condition of chastity functions as a metaphor for a "sense of psychological fettering" in the construction of home-as-prison (Alexander 31). The effect of abjection is the expulsion of certain social groups, which was witnessed in the case of the leprous subject in the previous chapter. In both Joyce and Jahan, I argue, a subaltern subject emerges from such an expulsion.

The Carceral City in Rashid Jahan: Gender, Domestic Space, and Containment

> Woman: You mean I should keep the hearth going?
>
> — Rakshanda Jalil, *A Rebel and Her Cause*

> An Indian household can no more be governed peacefully, without dignity and prestige, than an Indian Empire.
>
> — F.A. Steel and G. Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Cook and Housekeeper*

The boundaries of literary texts and cities are constantly redrawn in modernist prose, making the permeability of the borders of text, city, and nation central to questions of transnationalism and modernism. Daniel Bristow observes in "Cartographing Dublin" that James Joyce's *Ulysses* is an encyclopaedic text of Dublin as of any city (Bristow 93). As modernists, the city becomes central to both James Joyce and Rashid Jahan. While Joyce's writings centre Dublin and several other cities outside the paradigms of the Irish nation, the construction of Jahan's storyworld reflects her lived experiences as a doctor, writer, and communist in South Asian cities such as Aligarh, Lucknow, and Delhi. In the case of Indian modernism, the city becomes central to a conceptualisation of the transnational circulation of modernists and their works. Avant-garde Urdu journals, for instance, are often associated with Indian cities (for example, *Khatun* with Aligarh), pointing to the centrality of location and literary production. Colonial cities in Jahan's modernist prose relate to religious identity, reform, and debate. For Rashid Jahan's father, Shaikh Abdullah, the city would become a driving force in opening up women's education to public sphere debates (Jalil 11). Jahan's access to European literature as a child and her awareness of socio-political discourses are

facilitated by the potential for movement and migration between provincial and cosmopolitan cities. Jahan's biographer, Rakshanda Jalil, notes how those who were well-read and well-travelled and from cosmopolitan cities left an indelible impression on Rashid Jahan (16). Each city she stayed in or moved to (Aligarh, Lucknow, Delhi) opened new intellectual vistas for Jahan to study, read, write, move, meet other radical writers, and discuss socio-political issues (Jalil 21). Its institutions, particularly medical edifices, become central to literary representation in Jahan; colonialism, imperialism, industrialization, capitalism, and other socio-economic developments centring the city become crucial to Jahan's modernism (Jalil 30).

The writing of the city and the home become intertwined in Jahan. Jahan's understanding of the colonial city stems from a feminist commitment to representing women navigating tradition and modernity in the twentieth century. Traditionally subjected to gender-based spatially segregated spaces such as the zenana, Jahan imagines women from across social and economic classes as they navigate, participate in, or are excluded from, public spaces or labour markets in colonial Indian cities. As a communist, doctor, and writer for whom the city is central to the articulation of women's rights and a radical modernist aesthetic, Jahan's modernist city is populated with colonial edifices such as hospitals, dispensaries, schools, and colleges which serve as the backdrop for Jahan's critique of women's social and domestic roles. In modernist prose pieces such as "That One", Jahan represents and critiques the place of "fallen women" in the colonial modernist city, the constructedness of such identities, and the exclusion of such classes of women from participation in social and civic life in the public sphere in the twentieth century. The portrayal of the "whore" in colonial modernity in "That One" serves as a productive parallel to the representation of "fallen women" in Joyce's carceral colonial city. Jahan represents the modernist city in its surveilling operations against classes of fallen women. In stories such as

"A Tour of Delhi", Jahan captures the experiences of Malika Begum, who is overwhelmed by a train journey from one city (Faridabad) to another (Delhi). "A Tour of Delhi" allows Jahan to widen the narrative scope of female characters who have traditionally been bound to the zenana. Her disorienting train journey and overwhelming experience of the city allows Malika Begum a space to claim narrative agency within the zenana. "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan" sheds light on the colonial Indian city, particularly the contested site of the zenana, as a space where the struggles of tradition and modernity and tensions between indigenous and imperial midwifery practices are played out. Jahan's historicised representation of the state of midwifery and home labour in the colonial city is a productive parallel to the staging of Mina Purefoy's labour in the hospital. In stories such as "Mute", Jahan demonstrates how sharafat or civilised conventions are built into the fabric of the colonial city and society, allowing characters to measure and punish deviant behaviour. The backdrop of the colonial city in "Man and Woman" allows Jahan to critique gender roles and expectations and explore the carceral dimensions of domestic interiors and the confining effects of societal conventions. Jahan's stories demonstrate the difference in the language spoken by the sharif and lower classes in the colonial city (*ARHC* 190).[138]

If Joyce attended to a portrait of Dublin as a city embodying a "memory of incarceration" (Cronin and Till 4) in the colonial era in Ireland through his fictional representations of the various architectures of containment (well into the formation of the Irish Free state) and incarcerated working class i.e. "problem women" embodied in the colonial psyche, then in Rashid Jahan, this portrait is attended to with minute representations of "opaque and unpredictable" women, often in near-carceral settings in colonial India (Eide 58). In this section, I take an interest in the construction and public exploitation of the working-class woman and her sexuality since Jahan's representations of women cut across

[138]See "End Note" by Rakshanda Jalil at the end of Rashid Jahan's short story "Chhidda's Mother" (190).

class and social mobility. I demonstrate how Rashid Jahan's portrayal of carceral colonial culture is not merely limited to literal representations of prisons, real or imagined — there is, rather, a concentrated attention to confined space and the "internalisation of the carceral regime" (Bandhyopadhyay 26), even as such an internalisation extends to the ascription of (venereal) contagion to women, particularly women "deemed foreign", demonstrating not only the politics of space in the Indian context (Gopal 42) but also the politics of race and gender in British India (Levine 580). In a parallel to the Irish context, the rhetoric of British legislation, intricately intertwined with religious conceptions of salvation and redemption, has traditionally assigned the removal of women with venereal disease to containment infrastructures such as "refuges and asylums" (Levine 586) in addition to "lock hospitals" for the treatment and detention of army prostitutes (Arnold 85).[139] Such health legislations were designed to protect soldiers. The figure of the prostitute in Indian colonial modernist accounts is, as the epigraph to this section suggests, never clearly or closely defined. The prostitute has increasingly been identified with the threat of contagion, not only physiological but also moral, thereby calling for their separation from respectable or sharif classes of women. Such a line of thinking encouraged the enforcement of regimental boundaries in order to contain the threat of insanitation, the carriers of which are brown-skinned native bodies, and thus effectively giving context to Monika Fludernik's ideas of prison metaphors and their representations in literary texts (2023). Before the section turns to Jahan's portrait of a colonial and carceral city, it will dwell on the carceral memory of Joyce's Dublin so that the intertextual echoes between these texts are brought into sharper focus. The pathologised figure of the prostitute becomes the central parallel across both contexts.

[139]According to David Arnold, "[l]ock hospitals for the detention and treatment of prostitutes infected with venereal disease had been in use by the army since the beginning of the nineteenth century, but their morality and their practical value in controlling venereal disease were always matters of controversy, with opinion veering first one way, then the other" (85).

Following Phillipa Levine's study (1994) of colonial reports pathologizing and containing the non-white female body in colonial India, it is possible to trace similar parallels in some of Joyce's earliest descriptions of the "squalid quarter of the brothels" (*P* 115) and female prostitutes in the Irish context, especially as it foregrounds the orientalised colonial gaze on the fallen woman and her body, which Levine's study brought to the fore: "[a] figure that had seemed to him by day demure and innocent came towards him by night through the winding darkness of sleep, her face transfigured by a lecherous cunning, her eyes bright with brutish joy" (*P* 112), tainted by descriptions of the female prostitute as embodying a memory of "dark orgiastic riot" (*P* 112) even as the figure surfaces textually, time and again, as "dark presence" (*P* 113), one that "eludes" as it incites" (*P* 113), and whose "dark pressure" (*P* 115) Stephen cannot help but succumb to. The red light district is described in *A Portrait* as being "dark" and "slimy", and if young Stephen becomes hunter, a "baffled prowling beast" (*P* 113), then as an adolescent, in the company of Lynch, the same animal imagery would be used in alluding to their pursuit of a "sizable hospital nurse" as themselves "lean greyhounds" after a "heifer" (*P* 283), throwing into question Stephen's description of the prostitute as "lecherous" (*P* 112) in the final instance. Like the world of "Araby" in *Dubliners*, the red light district in *A Portrait* is described in otherworldly terms, as though a portal had been opened to a part of the world that was not, and could not be, Europe: "[b]efore the doors and in the lighted halls groups were gathered arrayed as for some rite. He was in another world: he had awakened from a slumber of centuries" (*P* 114). References to Stephen awakening from a "slumber of centuries" could potentially signal the Abrahamic reference to the "Sleepers'" who were resurrected in in 408-450 CE, which the Western tradition identifies as the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, whilst allusions to the figure of the prostitute as "lecherous", comparable to a "huge doll" sitting apart with "legs apart" (*P* 114) signify the presence of potentially non-white women prostitutes, often objectified, itemised, and catalogued, like

prisoners in a cell: “number ten” (*P* 116). The reader infers these womens’ non-white class of bodies from clues about Stephen’s whereabouts — near “the quarter of the jews” (*P* 113) — and from the descriptions that Stephen assigns them: the girls are dressed in “long vivid gowns” (*P* 113), are “leisurely and perfumed” (*P* 114), and possess “soft perfumed flesh”, further extending the exotic trope in the scene (*P* 115). The red light district in *A Portrait* is also depicted as constituting a separate plane, the existence of which the colonial metropolis denies, even as these carceral locations remain an integral part of colonial topography: this is effected through repeat descriptions of Dublin’s red light district being “another world” and operating on a different plane; in such ways does the text participates in enforcing a separation between the metropole on the one hand, and the darker carceral elements of Dublin relegated to the margins, on the other, as though one were not part of, or comes into existence through, the other (*P* 114). In doing so, it extends the readers’ imagination into the “East” and demonstrates the myriad ways in which Joyce, in the words of R. Brandon Kershner, documents and participates in Irish Orientalism (260). The operations of Joyce’s Orientalist strategies are explored more fully in the next chapter.

In “Oxen of the Sun”, Stephen’s fraught relationship with the Church and the state is represented in the form of a mother that has cast a son out of her bosom: “[t]hen spake young Stephen orgulous of mother Church that would cast him out of her bosom, of law of canons, of Lilith, patron of abortions of bigness wrought by wind of seeds [...] or by potency of vampires mouth to mouth” (*U* 319). The grotesqueness of imagery only adds further to the memory of incarceration embodied in Joyce’s texts: in this passage, we find allusions to a mother that abandons, to the Church mother as whore, and to abortions, pointing further and further to the theme of the Church and the state’s betrayal of unprotected youth in search of refuge, and reciprocally, of Stephen’s abandonment of the Church. Descriptions of the pathologised figure of the Indian women prostitute is treated in some length, among portraits

of other colonial bodies in the Indian city, in the fiction collected in the explicitly anti-colonial *Angaaray*, particularly in the series of short stories penned by Rashid Jahan.

Through her education in a school established by her father as a young girl, and later through her second-hand contact with members of the All-India Progressive Writers' Association and subsequent training as the "new woman" lady doctor in India, Jahan shifted the novelistic gaze, in a radical gesture symptomatic of the modernist form, from the materialistic opulence of the Indian realist novel toward what Priyamvada Gopal would call the "domestic, feminine and quotidian" atmosphere of the zenana in a new and emerging politicised form of domestic modernist novel (Gopal 39). Jahan would introduce new motifs in *Angaaray*, which would carry import for fiction that foregrounds the ways in which colonial bodies have been pathologised by an imperial white state: the motifs of "fire" (*aag*) and "burning" (*jalan*) running through Indian colonial modernism are often employed as metonyms for syphilis ("Introduction" xviii).[140] Through a scrupulous treatment of female agency, Jahan is able to bring the woman writing body from under erasure to embracing more fully the formation of women's subjectivity in the novel form (Gopal 40). Joyce draws readers' attention to the "louse marks"staining domestic objects in the fast-declining Dedalus household in an attempt to gesture toward the interiors of twentieth-century Irish home, and in doing so, gives voice to those invisibilised "wasted bodies" populating the turn of century homes in the colonial city, characters such as Isabel in *Stephen Hero*, for instance, whom the colonial city has not spared (*P* 198). From the early pages of *A Portrait*, Stephen is sensitive to the figure of Isabel, outcast from life's feasts: [h]is sister [was] a stranger to him on account of the way in which she had been brought up" (*P* 110). His sister Isabel and his mother seem to accept "everything that was proposed" to them (*P* 111), and whose lives were but a "trembling walk before God" (*P* 111), exhibiting no real agency. In a parallel to the Irish

[140]"Introduction" (*A* xviii). See entry beginning "Introduction" in Works Cited.

context, Jahan would shift her attention to brown female bodies in domestic households as she offers a refracted a portrait of colonial India — a fictional portrait which was among the first of its kind to catalogue what is "hitherto unnameable" in sharif (upper-class) Muslim households: ranging from, but not limited to, "reproductive systems, fetuses, breast-feeding, sexual practices, sexual abuse, and contraception" (Gopal 40). While Joyce deployed longer and complex narrative sequences to draw out these concerns in *Ulysses*, Jahan deployed these broad-ranging concerns and themes in the short story, usually by condensing time. In place of the omission of the hypothetical plot seen in *Dubliners*, Jahan's short stories tend to employ ellipsis as a narrative device, especially where subaltern subjectivity is concerned. The prostitute in "That One" and the woman giving birth in "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan" are examples of subjectivities that are not developed, not in an attempt to condense narrative time, but to invite readers to participate in the act of reading.

In a story titled "Woh" ["That One"], Jahan offers a portrait of an unnamed and unnameable woman, a working-class subject in colonial India who cannot institutionally travel between the private and public spheres, unlike the figure of the travelling woman doctor which Jahan introduced into modernist fiction. These two female figures dominate Jahan's portrait of the colonial world, exposing readers to the "politics of knowledge and representation, of speaking for the 'other' or even about the 'other'" (Gopal 43). In "That One" a disfigured woman suffering from venereal disease frequents the premises of a girls' school. She becomes the object of ridicule and repulsion, and the focus of Jahan's colonial portraiture of those diseased bodies that can never traverse between the public and private spheres from stigma and social taboo. Jahan draws our attention to the rise of the notion of the "sanitised self" which acquired primacy in the ideological imaginings of the Indian middle class in the colonial era (Guha 49). For this reason, definitionally consistent markers of the abject underpin the constructions of, and reactions toward, this unnamed woman. That

she does not possess a name, or that it is difficult to "read" her, are evident in the narrator's description:

> I was repulsed by the sight of her but I managed to look at her and smile. She smiled too; or at least, she attempted to.[141] Her nose had completely disappeared; in its place were two large, red gaping holes. An eye was missing, and with the other, she could barely see without craning her neck. (*ARHC* 117)

The disfigured woman is ascribed very few speaking roles throughout the story — for the most part, she is constructed for the reader by other participants in the narrative, namely, the pharmacist, the sweeper, and the protagonist Safiya, a school teacher. Safiya learns about "that one" suffering from venereal disease from the compounder in the hospital, "that one" is described as a "wicked woman", a "prostitute" through hearsay, and in a different instance, her "common" status is alluded to by the sweeper who labels her a "common whore" (*ARHC* 117, 120). The same words used by Joyce in his letter to Stanislaus in 1906, describing fallen women as "wicked", is repeated in Jahan's story: on her daily visits to the school premises, the sweeper woman hurls the following abuse: "...now that her flesh is rotting and falling away she has come to sit here like a begum…" (*ARHC* 120). Here in Jahan, "that one" is constructed purely in terms of the male repulsion for the undesirable, diseased, and institutionalised female as the *abject* other. Consider the revelation of Gerty as lame, when she ceases to be an object of desire for Bloom, and is diminished in agency (Eichholz 47) in Bloom's imagination: "Tight boots? No. She's lame! O!" (*U* 301). Even Safiya, the female narrator, experiences a "sickening revulsion" towards "that one" upon encountering a twig of motiya that the unnamed woman has picked up and thus touched, embodying further social attitudes towards victims of sexual exploitation. Wherever the untouchable woman seated herself, the space would remain unoccupied: "[b]ut no one would sit on the chair she had sat

[141] Here it is possible to observe how this is difficult for the narrator to fathom.

on. There was something so repulsive about her appearance" (*ARHC* 118). "That one" is described in a way that points to signs of bodily mutilation and disfigurement:"[y]ou know, Safiya, I can't even eat after seeing her. The sight of her revolting face makes me want to throw up" (*ARHC* 119). The revolting face of the disfigured woman is characterised by "[s]limy mucous" constantly dripping from "the gaping red holes" that were her nostrils (*ARHC* 119). In an early part of the story, encouraged by the attention extended to the disfigured woman by the narrator, "that one" is shown to "encroach" on the daily into "respectable" spatial locations such as the school premises. The shunned woman does not seem to be aware that she is unwelcome, as one can observe in the instance where, on her way out, she bends and blows her nose and swipes the snot on the walls, defying the practices and protocols of respectable behaviour in this new emergent sphere of the middle-class working professional.

As in Joyce, here the abject can be productively thought of as a "springboard" to think about the ways in which the Word discloses the subject: at the end of the story, the disfigured woman, without name or lineage, remarks, "now you know everything", veiling and unveiling, at the same time, the woman's desire to experience knowledge and reciprocity even as she evades intimate reading (Kristeva 22). The substance that the disfigured woman swipes on the wall, "not solid, not quite liquid", consolidates her position on the margins even further, as she is transformed into an alien for the characters in the story as for the readers (Margaroni 199). Her presence is shown to contaminate the clean boundaries of middle class society. "That one" is repeatedly shown to transgress social codes and conducts: the disfigured woman earns, rather ironically, the wrath of the working-class sweeper, who transforms into a "street urchin" in pouring out a volley of abuses: "[b]itch…whore…coming here and sitting on a chair. Till yesterday, she was sitting like a common whore in the chowk, and now that her flesh is rotting and falling away she has come to sit here like a begum…

(*ARHC* 120). In being a threat to civilization, characters in the story, including those whose social location cuts across lines of class and caste, are shown to police their interactions with "that one's" fluid, leaking body.

The fact that the sweeper makes a distinction between *whore* and *begum* gestures toward colonial modernism's complicity with the fetishising of structured hierarchies. In another instance, the sweeper exacerbates what is already a derisive repudiation of the lowly prostitute: "[y]ou[142] are the one who has given her these airs. She is a pebble from the drain; you have picked her up and brought her inside. Look how she has dirtied up the wall. I have been working here for twenty years [....]. In all these years, I have never heard of whores coming to the college. I will not stay here anymore. Call someone else…" (*ARHC* 120). In placing the focus of her story on the ostracised figure of the female prostitute, Jahan unveils the hypocrisies of colonial modernity as being complicitous with class antagonisms, along with demonstrating the subaltern's fundamental desire to "remain inscrutable to reading" (Gopal 47). The sweeper's vitriolic speech exposes some of the antiquated social hierarchies of the Indian society and the "daily microaggressions" subaltern bodies experience (Sahana 337) through an imposition of several layers of segregation: an intellectual separation of spheres between the "common" whore and the "respectable" school teacher; a class-based distinction between the whore, the teacher, and the cleaner; the physical manifestation of a curtain or purdah used in the service of imposing distance between the shunned woman and the other characters in the story (*ARHC* 119-120).

Jahan's fiction is significant for the ways in which it captures women negotiating domestic space, with a marked reluctance to essentialise women's experiences in portrayals of the zenana in a parallel to Joyce's resistance to essentialist approaches in the representation of Irish identities in evolving a form suited to representing an Ireland still in the making.

[142]This is addressed to Safiya, the narrator of the story.

Furthering the parallel of Joyce's rejection of nationalist rhetoric and the romanticising impulse of the Irish Revival, Jahan's prose challenges and overturns both the orientalist perspectives of the West, but also the Indian nationalist rhetoric which extended the idea that the contested site of the home, and by extension the zenana, was a sacred and separate sphere from the world, in its attempts to reclaim the sphere of the home from the imperialists. Antoinette Burton's extensive work on representations of the "contested" space of the zenana in the British colonial imaginary (1996, 2000, 2003) demonstrates how it has often been pathologised as unhygienic and dark in addition to its portrayal as carceral space. These depictions served the imperialistic medical project well, even as it aided the conscription of British medical professionals who could extend their national and imperialistic projects to provide medical care to the women "imprisoned" in the zenana (Guha 51).

Though a history of Urdu modernist fiction, particularly in the short story format, documents the influx of Western influences, particularly the appropriation of Joyce's modernism, my reading of Joyce's "Oxen" with and against Jahan's "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan" testifies to the kind of comparative work yet to be advanced in bridging these modernist moments. Both these narratives depict the human body, particularly the female body, as the centre of discourses on medicine and modernity, and yet has received scarce critical attention though Jahan carried much of Joyce's world into her own in her representation of colonial modernity. One of the earliest passages in "Oxen of the Sun" to gesture toward the theme of childbirth signals the weight of obstetrics in the episode, and its delicate entanglements with discourses of gender and morality: "every man that is born of woman for as he came naked forth from his mother's womb so naked shall he wend at the last for to go as he came" (*U* 316). In "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan", Jahan stages the narrative of the localised delivery of a baby in an Indian Muslim household:

> [t]he house was filled with a gaggle of older women, sisters-in-law from both sides of the family as well as their children. There was such a din that you couldn't hear a thing. The house looked like it was getting ready for a bridal party. The women were arguing among themselves whether or not a lady doctor should be sent to come and pull out the protagonist's sister's placenta. (*ARHC* 125)

In a direct contrast to the presence of "half-born foetuses, swabs, and the smell of disinfectants" looming large in Joyce's composition of "Oxen of the Sun", Jahan's composition of the scene of the birth of a newborn in an overcrowded zenana presents the highly contested sites of the female body, colonial medical discourse, and the Orientalist construction of the zenana and the native dais (Power 82). The zenana, in its role and functions as colonial domestic location, marks the enclosure of women, which presupposes the need and demand for a lady doctor, in addition to the labours of native dais (the role and status of whom were being marginalised) and midwives,[143]gesturing also toward the consolidation of the zenana mission in colonial India. Jahan's story is a representation of a clash of discourses relating to native and scientific forms of care and medical treatment. In the story, women debate accessing a female British medical worker as a native midwife attends to the woman in labour (*ARHC* 125). The family midwife dissuades the women from fetching the Mem who could do nothing but insert "all kinds of instruments and objects" (*ARHC* 127). The midwife makes a claim for the enduring legacy of native birthing systems which predate the arrival and intervention of British lady doctors and succeeds in getting the women to comply with her authority in the zenana. Jahan's portrayal of native systems of birthing and labour is ambivalent, and the omniscient narrator who otherwise assumes the role of offering a critical commentary, usually advocating discourses of modernity in stories such as "Mute" is absent in this scene. The midwife Masitan assumes the responsibility of

[143]Often relegated to secondary status, or as in the case of the dais, demonised for their "lack of formal training and the unhygienic conditions of childbirth" (Malhotra 229).

commenting on the women surrounding Kubra, the woman in labour. The heterodiegetic narrator in "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan" assumes a different function and role distinct from the conventional omniscient narrator. Here the narrator adopts the tone of a critical commentator whose duty is to narrate but also to critique from and within discourses of modernity. This distinct narratorial function can only be understood in the context of the tone and functions adopted by the editors of instructional Urdu manuals, which was explored in the introductory chapter. Jahan's portrayal of the birthing scene as a myriad other attendants discuss the newborn and practices of colonial administration of medicine echoes "Oxen of the Sun" in *Ulysses*, where Joyce drew upon a number of embryologists' works in advancing a discussion of the development of foetal organs, or infant strangulation by navelcord (*U* 336) even as other characters, "witty scholars" (*U* 318) such as Stephen, Lynch, Lenehan, Madden, Mulligan, Dixon, Crotthers, Costello, and Bannon (joined by Leopold Bloom) engage in in philosophical rumination in "a riot of bawdy, blasphemy, ostentatious learning" adjacent to the maternity ward in Holles Street Hospital, violating the sanctity of the ward in their apparent noisiness (Gordon 237).[144]

In a parallel to the "Oxen of the Sun" episode, where the "nursingwoman" lies in the "childbed" at the centre of the narrative (*U* 316), consider the various people attending to the woman in labour, who remains mute, as in the case of "that one", labouring to give birth amidst the noise and the riot in "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan": "Aisha Begum pressed down hard on the pregnant lady's belly for she was known in the whole clan to be the best at holding the abdomen just so to let the afterbirth slither out" (*ARHC* 127) as the midwife then proceeded to hold the cord in her right hand that was "loaded with grimy silver rings and bangles, and with the other hand she was mopping up the mess" (*ARHC* 127). The scene demonstrates the centrality of the zenana in native birthing customs attended to by the

[144]See Gordon 1991.

midwife; no male medical practitioners or British medical women are in attendance. During this episode, all the women present in the room "took turns to examine it and offer their views and comments" (*ARHC* 129) in an uncanny parallel to the "witty scholars" in the "Oxen of the Sun" episode discuss babe, parent, and Maker (*U* 319). Here the employment of sewing threads and rusted knives shed some light on the less than advanced birthing tools that are used in the home delivery scene: "[t]hen, picking up a sewing thread that had been lying beside the bed, she tied up the umbilical cord. Once again, looking around, she picked up a rusted knife from the floor and cleaned it. The haemorrhage showed no signs of letting up" (*ARHC*129). This portrayal sheds light on unhygienic practices and inaccessibility of advanced medical care for Indian women in the zenana, which invited British women doctor's gaze on native Indian women's bodies "trapped" in the zenana. That the end of the story shifts the focus from the new mother to Asif Jahan in her search for a light-complexioned daughter-in-law demonstrates how the new mother's voice is further mediated and removed from the narrative much as Mina Purefoy's own voice is drowned by the riotous debate of the male scholars pontificating about discourses of childbirth. Jahan shifts the focus from idealised notions of the home and the family to the hypocrisies of colonial domesticities, exposed in a single deft portrayal of the scene of labour in a zenana.

Mrs. Purefoy's birthing scene is addressed on occasion in "Oxen of the Sun", where the reader first encounters the cry of the midwife in the phrase "Hoopsa boyaboy hoopsa!" (*U* 314), indicating the sex of the newborn. Other references are limited to the readers' knowledge of the pregnant woman's "cry on high", which Leopold Bloom hears on the "upfloor" in an early part of the episode, wondering in startlement "what cry that it was whether of child or woman" (*U* 318); and next in a latter part of the episode, "poor body, two days past her term, the midwives sore put to it and can't deliver, she queasy…and her breath [...] heavy" (*U* 325). It is evident that in "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan", women are

relegated to the weakest points of the system. Jahan's critique emphasises the impossibility of "a birth without pangs" and "a body without blemish" in this colonial Indian narrative of birthing and labour, which "Oxen of the Sun", on the other hand, affirms (*U* 321). The orientalised construction of the zenana, as Burton's study demonstrates (1996), was necessary to add legitimacy to care-work from British medical professionals, as the zenana offered the Western world the most obvious "extranational" site for medical work, in addition to being the source of the production and circulation of essentialist images of Indian women, necessary for the construction of feminist ideologies in Victorian and Edwardian Britain (Burton 374). British medical care-workers and English medicine are often looked down upon in Rashid Jahan's fictional portrait of Indian Muslim households in colonial India, whose characters allude to the medical professionals from England as "kafirs" (*ARHC* 257).[145]

Against this backdrop, rather than affirming or perpetuating orientalised depictions of women's quarters as static or oppressive sites, Jahan offers a complex portrait of women negotiating expectations of tradition even as they "carve out [their own] space" in late colonial conditions to assert and fulfil their private desires (Sahana 338). Such a complex portrait is achieved in such a way that both intrusive imperialist discourse on the formations of the home in the colonies and the emphasis of the sanctity of the private sphere espoused by the Indian nationalist discourse are complicated and overturned to provide a more complex portrait which locates a critique of the Indian Muslim household from within, as in the way in which Asif Jahan is exposed for her complexion bias, which is located within the production of colonial discourse: "Asif Jahan turned towards the baby and, [looking at her face], remarked, "[s]he is of dark complexion" (*ARHC* 129). Literature and advertisements have been symptomatic of colourism in a colonial context, which Jahan contextualises and

[145]"Kafirs" translates to "hypocrites".

critiques here for her readers. To add to the discourse on colourism, the distinction between who counts as "respectable" and "common" spills into the narrative of "Mute": the "pock-marked", "squint-eyed" daughter (*ARHC* 149), like "that one", is not an object of desire within colonial discourses of beauty and desirability; in "Chhidda's Mother", undesirable facial features, like the recurring image of the pock-marked and squint-eyed daughter who cannot find a man, extends to depictions of "yellow teeth" and an "ugly face" (*ARHC* 183). As Priyamvada Gopal has argued, gender is inflected by other coordinates here, "most saliently class and community" as when the veil is observed before the disfigured, gender-fluid "that one" to signal class difference and to assert sharif conventions of respectability; the veil here is both a marker and assertion of purity (46). Jahan exposes the tendency to equate the undesirable female subject with lowly creatures, who are then shunned to the fringes of narrative. In "Chhidda's Mother", the cattle trope emerges to signal the sexually dysfunctional female in relation to her reproductive use value: [i]f a wife does not bear children, it's like keeping her and feeding her for no good reason. A wife is good only as she bears sons just as a buffalo is good if she bears calves" (*ARHC* 183). Jahan's representation of colonial women and subaltern subjectivity is multifaceted and tends to intersect with the formation of the abject subject.

Carceral Imaginary in Rashid Jahan

In the following analysis of Jahan's stories, read through the study of Joyce's depictions of colonial, coloured, and superfluous bodies contained by state mechanisms, I show how such a reading (i.e. examining the representation of Jahan's domestic space as not only regulating interiors, but also possessions of/blockages to agential capabilities) informs my approach to spatial locations that emerge through the course of Jahan's fiction. If in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*, the house emerges as a site where the struggles of the modern

are played out, then in Jahan's fiction, the house emerges as a site for women to contest both colonial domination and patriarchal design. The house is constructed thematically as a prison from which there is no escape, near-carceral in design. Through the stories, the space of the courtyard, which is configured as a multifunctional space, allows for more movement than the gender inflected and ambivalent space of the zenana, characterised by walls, doors, and boundaries, significantly a space of enclosure for its various restrictions of movement, along with "the isolation of purdah women", "the sparseness of furnishings", the "closeness of the quarters", and the "intimacy of an all-female space" (Burton 147).[146] These are gender inflected due to the "performance of gendered identity" in such spaces (Sahana 338). In a short story titled "Mute", the spatial coordinates of the courtyard and the zenana are drawn out against the men's quarters form the outer part of the house designed to host the crowd assembling each evening, while the zenana forms the edifice for women's seclusion. Jahan advances a seething critique of the "rot" within sharif families: raising questions of (im)purity in lineage, colonial values of "respectability" regurgitated by a growing middle class which drew on Western ideas of reformed domesticity, and the social vulnerability of Indian Muslim women. Jahan's functions are two-fold as she advances a critique of the British imperial project on the one hand, and a social commentary on the travails as well as the hypocrisies of upper and middle class Indian Muslim society.

"A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan" and "Mute" offer conflicting and competing, and hence, refracted, portraits of life in the zenana, and the zenana as an overdetermined and "contested" space. In "Mute", the zenana is designated as a "threshold" which cannot be crossed, hence, depicting some of its functions as carceral enclosure, where even a lad nine years old was not allowed to enter the space of the zenana, pointing to clear points of egress and ingress (*ARHC* 147). In "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan", the words "rounded up"

[146]See Burton 2000.

and “penned” evoke carceral imagery in describing the experience of unmarried girls who are relegated to a separate courtyard. Here in this passage, the zenana emerges from an internal critique advanced by Rashid Jahan as a form of “architectural enclosure [enforced by] a misogynist patriarchy” (Bharucha 98). Where mobility is sanctioned for women in the zenana, it is often women from sharif households who were allowed movement from one sharif house to the other (*ARHC* 149). “Mute” captures the clash of tradition and modernity as some of the senior characters in the story reinforce the gendered distinction between spaces: even the doorway, as liminal threshold, is often brought under the curtain so that the genders, borders, boundaries do not mix, spill over, or interact. The rigid adherence to the spatial segregation of the sexes poses as a new challenge to discourses of modernity, where men and women are required to cross spatial thresholds in order to meet and arrange a marital alliance: “*Ai,* did they make them sit face to face? Is there no end to shamelessness? Making a girl sit in a room and getting the boy to peer at her through the doorway!” (*ARHC* 152). Such a loosening of rigid spatial segregation is staunchly resisted by the older generation in the story, demonstrating how inconceivable it was to the Indian Muslim from a sharif household to conceptualise the lack of a screen or veil mediating interactions between the sexes. In sharp contrast to the borders of the zenana, the doorway here acts as a threshold which accommodates more movement and passage in accessing the spectacle of the potential bride. The earlier passage on “showing women” to potential grooms is met with the following response: “[...] Begum, which world do you live in? Show me a home where girls are not being shown?” (*ARHC* 152). While the passages do not deal with the establishment of a boarding house as Jahan’s own parents oversaw for the education of women, still, it is productive to recall here the mixing of genders, borders, and boundaries brought about by the construction of the transitional home (such as the boarding house) in *Dubliners*, and the puritanical discourses ensuing from such fluid space.

Ayahs and Lodging Homes

The discussion of the society of spinsters, widows, and childless women populating Joyce's "Clay" in an earlier section of this chapter foregrounds the world of nannies, nursemaids, Ayahs, and spinsters in Rashid Jahan's early colonial modern fiction. Joyce and Jahan both depict the projections of the fear of female sexuality and the rigorous colonial tests of sexual and moral purity enshrined in both traditional Christian and Muslim family values. The racialised figures of the Ayahs who "moved back and forth across the empire" (Bressey 188) is portrayed in Jahan's fiction in the narrative mode of ellipsis, a mode that is also predominant in Joyce's "Clay", which seems only fitting given how Ayahs are abandoned and relegated to seek sanctuary in the Ayah's Home when families ceased to engage with them (Bressey 188), thus effectively placing limits on readers' knowledge of what happens to them when they are no longer in service to imperial families, and forced to seek shelter in temporary accommodation: "[a]nd when their money ran out, these women were thrown out of these lodging houses too. Many were even forced to beg for their journey back home to India".[147] The Ayah's Home began as a sort of a private homeplace, a place that served as "lodging house for travelling ayahs".[148]

Ayahs often possessed intensive roles as care-givers for English families and were increasingly neglected and overlooked, with very little being known about them besides their objectification as a particular race or colour in newspaper advertisements, or sometimes as bodies carrying venereal disease in fictional portraits such as Jahan's "Behind the Veil" (*ARHC* 242). Where the spinster and the barren wife become subjects of Rashid Jahan's seething portrait of a colonial India, she goes into some length to portray the marginal figures of Muslim women confined to their homes, and the employment of Ayahs. In a short story

[147]See Sabherwal 2022.
[148]See Sabherwal 2022.

titled "Behind the Veil", Jahan explains, "[a]yahs were kept for each one of them… pock-marked, one-eyed, fat, thin, whoever was found was kept. My husband's command is that since, by the grace of God, we have enough money, why should I have to take the trouble of feeding my babies. Whereas the truth is, it's all about his pleasure; if the child stays with me, it will ruin his pleasure in sex. Day or night…nothing matters to him… he wants his wife all the time! And not just his wife…he is not exactly shy of straying (*ARHC* 202).[149] Here Jahan's deployment of ellipsis as a narrative method leaves room to question the exploitation of the ayahs in the hands of men like Muhammadi Begum's husband. Elsewhere Jahan describes the former Ayah of Muhammadi Begum's late baby: "[h]e had this ayah, who appeared to be healthy enough and quite fat too, but was suffering from venereal disease" (*ARHC* 202). Like the "fallen women" (spinsters, prostitutes, unmarried women with children) documented in Joyce's "Clay" and "Circe" being pronounced insignificant in that their whole existence provokes "disregard in public settings" as their value becomes a product of social judgement, the Ayahs (nannies and nursemaids) depicted in Rashid Jahan's fiction were experienced travelling caregivers in colonial India, who were often abandoned to fend for themselves in a foreign country (Attridge 125).[150] As in the passage above from "Behind the Veil", depictions of Ayahs are made dismissively, without much thought or real concern about their welfare: "whoever was found was kept", Muhammadi Begum remarks, but the narrative is characterised by gaps, drawing attention to its elusiveness.

The precincts of the zenana and the inner courtyard, represented in such stories as "A Tour of Delhi", become the site of women claiming literary agency through various modes and styles of story-telling. The complex experiences of Indian Muslim women in the zenana are marshalled into protean literary form, such that no two stories by Jahan are alike. Jahan's short story titled "Man and Woman" takes the form of an exchange, resembling the question

[149]This speech is by Muhammadi Begum, who is in conversation with Afthabi Begum, about a sex-demanding and negligent husband, Ayahs and diseases, and being an Indian Muslim.
[150]See Attridge 1993.

and answer format of the "Ithaca" episode of *Ulysses*, whilst also retaining the use of folk songs. In this style, there is an adoption of the sustained juxtaposition of Bloom's and Stephen's perspectives in "Ithaca", recentred from the perspective of the man and the woman in Jahan's "Man and Woman". The form is fascinating, one which Joyce himself adopted in favour of focusing on "cold, hard facts" (Lawrence 559). The interrogative format is echoed in the exchange between an unnamed man and the woman in "Man and Woman", who function as allegories for ordinary men and women in the Indian Muslim household. In Jahan's rendition, the man and the woman appear to be in conversation about marriage and running the house, with the woman negotiating the terms of her freedom and agency. For every attempt on the part of the man to make an essentialist or sentimental claim, the woman makes counter-points with facts and requests. In spite of a long exchange, the man cannot accept that his wife "should go about working for others" instead of "looking after the house [...] her children" (*ARHC* 164).[151] Jahan exposes a life of forced imprisonment implied in the man's phrase, "looking after the house", by which he signals his expectation that the woman stay home, turning the beads of the rosary, and attending to duties towards the children (*ARHC* 164). As with "Ithaca", the interrogative format enables Jahan to more fully explore and lay down the double-standards of Indian colonial modernism and its relationship to gender and domesticity. Jahan exposes the ways in which men exercise ideological control over the house and the female body, both of which are conceptually conflated by the man in the story. The middle class Indian home is seen as being coextensive with, or an extension of, the nationalist construct of the woman as encompassing her ideal "corporeal and spiritual" selves (Gordon 282).[152] From the story, readers may observe how it is considered appropriate and unquestioned that the women reside in their home in pre-designated roles as "homebodies" — such an ideology was often "laden with deep, pious precepts" explored in

[151]This is a reference to her taking up a line of employment.
[152]See Gordon 1996.

an earlier part of this chapter (Gordon 285).

Psychological space is deployed to transcend the material and ideological constraints posed by spatial locations such as the inner courtyard and the zenana. Each female character in Rashid Jahan's oeuvre regulates the worlds conjured in, and facilitated by, domestic interiors in a way as to allow women to carve out their own space, reflective of their negotiations with tradition and modernity. The protagonist, Malika Begum — the only woman in the vicinity to have sat on a train for a day — draws women from the neighbourhood "to hear the story of her travel", as she weaves fantastical detail into her narrative, introducing questions of narrative reliability (*ARHC* 121). In such an instance, the woman's exaggerated narrative reflects her agitated internal state, as when she states, "[o]ut of sheer nervousness, I was mumbling to myself: jal tu, jalal tu, aai bala ko taal tu" (*ARHC* 122). These lines signal the narrator's mental anguish as she sits on her luggage in the middle of the station searching for her husband, whom she seems to have momentarily lost sight of, readers are drawn to her captivating powers of story-telling: "May Allah stop me if I am lying, but I have told this story thousands of times" (*ARHC* 140). Malika Begum's narrative borrows formally from some elements of magical realism, for Jahan's intended effect is to allow her female protagonists drawn together in enclosures to lay claim to literary space: "[a]fter all, one didn't hear such delightful talk in Faridabad. Women came from afar to hear Malika's tale" (*ARHC* 120). The distance traversed by women in the narrative to listen to Malika Begum's story is a strikingly novel representation of women in modernist form, since they do not travel in pursuit of scholarly or religious knowledge, as part of a pilgrimage, or in order to consume any kind of instructional or "useful" literature, but congregate to partake in the community offered by an emergent literary space otherwise unavailable in the religiously conservative household. Additionally, the sense of community being forged in the zenana is over the enduring power of narrative; the community is cathartic for Malika Begum

as she makes sense of her own experience through narrative. Malika Begum's description of the Delhi train station rouses narrative curiosity in her listeners, even as it unveils her exaggerated efforts to hold sway over the listeners' imagination:

> [w]hat can I tell you about the station at Delhi, sister, there are probably not even forts that are as big. As far as I could see in either direction, all I could see was the train station, the tracks, the engine and the train cars. But I was most afraid of those black men [who live] in the engine. (*ARHC* 122)

The narrator alludes to what is familiar and fantastical to her readers in order to prepare them to experience the expansiveness of the world she has seen, and which she attempts to bring to life through her narration. She goes on to unravel the sounds, sights, and sensations of the station and her interactions with the world as mediated through her purdah while she awaits her husband's return. Malika Begum's representation of urban colonial space demonstrates its gendered faultlines: she sees before her vendors, coolies, drivers, travellers, and the occasional lecherous "Indian brother" (*ARHC* 122). The primary threat posed before her in her new environment is the lecherous gaze of men, which adds to the shock factor of her narrative (*ARHC* 122). Jahan's "A Tour of Delhi" represents the issues arising from women's visibility in the metropolis (Delhi) and the threats posed before the female body, leading the protagonist of the story to relinquish access to material space (the city) in favour of control or claim over imagined space, conjured in the "homeplace" of the zenana. Through the course of the story, the zenana emerges as a "dynamic" space where competing archives and memories of colonial Indian women are constructed and articulated (Burton 146).[153] The autodiegetic narrator Malika Begum provides her listeners with a seamless narrative experience, quipping to one of her listeners, "[l]isten if you want to, and don't interrupt" though interruptions are characteristic of the narrative itself in that Malika Begum's journey to Delhi is interrupted by

[153]See Burton 2000.

her overwhelming experiences of being left to herself in the train station (*ARHC* 122). Rashid Jahan gestures toward stories like "Eveline" in *Dubliners* when her own protagonist, Malika Begum, leaves for Faridabad before she has even had a chance to see the sights of Delhi with her husband, where her narrative abruptly and ironically ends. Jahan draws readers' attention to the powers of the androcentric world in furthering the supremacy of the male logos over domestic space and female discourse, through her stories she asserts how women writing house and fiction portray the moral forces underpinning subaltern subjecthood "as it strives to create spaces for itself" (Bharucha 93).

In stories such as "Iftari", Jahan expands further on the question of women and space, turning toward urban and colonial housing to show the straitness of space and the myriad challenges this poses to women's privacy and agency: "most of the houses were old, decrepit and bore ample testimony to the hard times that had befallen the neighbourhood. The road was a wide one, its pavements encroached upon by a motley group of dyers, washermen, weavers, and ironsmiths who used it as a part of their extended courtyard. In fact, during the summer months, there would be so many beds spread out on the road that an ekka would find it difficult to pass by" (*ARHC* 168).[154] Joyce's portrayal of colonial Dublin's streets as being overcrowded, dirty, and replete with crime, carcass, and insanitary influence is echoed in Rashid Jahan's "Iftari", where each working class and caste member need to physically make encroachments into the open pavement in order to claim and access clean space, indicating the overcrowdedness of the suburbs and the lack of space and privacy between houses. Other novels centering the experience of Indian colonial modernity, such as the haunting representation of the outcaste's colony in Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable*, have also explored crises in colonial housing, usually in conjunction with concerns of public health and illness. The lack of privacy as a distinction of colonial housing is crucial to an understanding of

[154]See the entry for "Ekka" (a carriage) in the "Glossary".

women's search for, and claim to, alternative spaces conducive to the development of female subjectivity. The representation of colonial space in this way — insanitary and crowded — leads to female characters looking for expansive, unrestricted space in the realm of the imagination. The psychological deployment of space in the short story and the novel in the context of colonial modernity in India is the realm in which female modernists such as Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum operate. The idea of hell as a strait "dark and foulsmelling prison" (*P* 135) seen in *A Portrait* emerges as a parallel in Rashid Jahan, particularly in such stories as "Iftari". The conventional view of hell in the Irish Catholic and Indian Muslim imagination is challenged, though in both *A Portrait* and "Iftari", there is an emphasis on the straitness and constrictions of space in hell, which is then extended to the concept of punishment in a carceral context to show the endurance of puritanical ideals into the twentieth century. In Jahan's "Iftari", Nasima, a mother representative of the characters in her oeuvre standing for modernity, encourages her child Aslam to reevaluate his understanding of the metaphor of hell as an eternal prison for sinners, which Aslam has inherited as religious legacy from his grandmother, representative of the didactic nature of Urdu fiction. When asked about hell, Nasima explains, "[Hell is]...where that blind beggar is standing. There… where the weavers live. There…where the ironsmiths and the dyers live" (*ARHC* 173). The conventional frames of carceral punishment for sinners as burning in a fire of hell is reframed for Aslam: "The fire of hell, my son, is the fire of hunger" (*ARHC* 173).

Conclusion

Scholarship on Urdu modernist prose since the 1930s has addressed the influence of European modernism while gesturing toward the adoption of Joyce's modernism by Anglophone Indian modernists, particularly those belonging to the *Angaaray* collective. Despite the globality of Joyce's reception, these connections have not received sustained critical attention in the context of the Urdu modernist short story and the novel. In the

occasion that Joyce is gestured toward in scholarship on Urdu modernism, he is ambivalently "grouped" with European modernists (often members of the Bloomsbury group) and acknowledged as the originary source of influence for Anglophone Indian and Urdu modernists. Scholarship on Anglophone Indian and Urdu modernist prose has seldom addressed the critical distinction between, and rarely offered a commentary on, the Irish and European contexts of Joyce's modernism on the one hand and the European contexts of the Bloomsbury Group on the other. In signalling the Larbaud-Boyd controversy surrounding the "national" categorisation of Joyce's modernism, I provide more context to the generalised tendency in extant scholarship to group Joyce alongside other European modernists in an attempt to lessen the perceived arbitrariness of such a categorisation.

In the chapter I move away from male modernists such as Saadat Manto and Sajjad Zaheer in order to examine the enduring legacy of Joyce's modernism on female Urdu modernists such as Rashid Jahan, whose contact with James Joyce is second-hand; that is, encountered through a transnational circuit such as the All-India Progressive Writers' Association. While extant scholarship has shown how the intensity of transnational activity in the middle of the twentieth century increased the frequency of contact between Indian and European modernists, the connections between James Joyce and Rashid Jahan have remained critically untapped despite the potentiality contained in Rashid Jahan's translation of Joyce. In the section titled ""Outside the Archive": Gaps in the Scholarship", I stated that traces of archival information and documentation relating to the translation or transmission of Joyce across various media have been lost to the ravages of time (Jalil 84). Jahan wrote modernist or progressive plays for the radio or for theatrical performances under the banner of the Indian Peoples' Theatre Association (Jalil xviii, xix). Jalil also observes the influence of "European writers" on her reading and thought, though these authors are not listed when Jalil refers to Jahan's activities from her youth and the early nineteen-thirties (Jalil xviii). Sajjad

Zaheer's observations on the pervasive influence of Joyce's works on members of the PWA illuminate the gaps left by Rakshanda Jalil in her account of the PWA and transnational movement of European, Irish, and Indian writers during the early part of the twentieth century (6).[155] An interview with Rakshanda Jalil in the future would clarify significant questions concerning the significance of Joyce's modernism and ideas on Jahan and the legacy of his texts on her short stories and plays for stage and radio. It would explain what an "adaptation" of Joyce's works for the stage or other textual manifestations of his "influence" might have looked like in the context of her own modernist production; the language these ideas may have been transmitted in, and the possibility of these even being staged. In taking up the challenge of advancing comparative work on Joyce and Jahan, I show how Urdu modernist prose invites further exploration in light of newer interpretive studies with Joyce's modernism in particular and the Irish context more broadly. While this chapter contributes to the analysis of carceral memory in Joyce and Jahan, the coming chapter aims to sensitise readers to the endangered nature of the archives explored in the thesis, signalling history still waiting to be written. It moves away from figures such as Mulk Raj Anand and Rashid Jahan, who are associated with the *PWA*, and moves toward Wajida Tabassum as an obscured Indian modernist whose connections with Joyce are spectral in encounter.

[155]See Zaheer 2006.

Chapter Three

Strange Customs:
The Construction of the Courtesan in *Ulysses* and *Sin*

But women dreamed of trespassing all the time.

— Fatima Mernissi, *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood*

In a fascinating article on Joyce and creative disaffiliation, Malcolm Sen (2008) demonstrated various aspects of Joycean Orientalism and Joyce's Orientalist strategies alongside a measured reading of its merits and failings. I enter this debate from a comparative perspective as I examine the constructions and representations of the figure of the courtesan and Eastern domestic locations such as the harem in representative Irish and Indian modernist texts. The predominant focus is on James Joyce's and Wajida Tabassum's representations of colonial domestic space, and the feminine and ethnic other linked to the construction of these locations in the twentieth century. In order to undertake a study of this kind, I explore the representations of female professional performers and courtesans in James Joyce's *Ulysses* and Wajida Tabassum's *Sin* against the wider context of orientalism and despotism.

Translated into English by Reema Abbasi in 2011, *Sin* is divided into four parts around the themes of "Lust", "Pride", "Greed", and "Envy". "Fallen Venus", placed earlier in the collection under the category of stories relating to "Lust", introduces the figure of Gauhar Jaan, a "nautch girl" in Agra who performed in stately homes. As a public performer, Gauhar Jaan is objectified by her patron, her admirers, and the male spectators in the story before capturing the attention of a spectator named Sabir. The story follows the crossing of spatial thresholds as the nautch girl transitions from the nautch abode to the sharif household as

Sabir's spouse and is now identified as Dulhan Begum. The short story demonstrates the colonial conflation of the nautch girl and the courtesan with the figure of the prostitute. While it recognises a distinction between the brothel and the sharif household, it troubles colonial dichotomies of the "chaste" woman of the noble or sharif household and the "shameless whore" (*S* 9-10) or "tainted woman" of the brothel (*S* 11).

"Up, further up!" is similarly set in a regal home in conservative Hyderabad as it follows the monotonous married life of Pasha Dulhan, a young bride lying awake on an "icy, bare" marital bed, deployed here as psychological space to stage interior monologue and the modernist preoccupation with sexuality and the body more broadly (*S* 19, 21). The Nawab Sahab, her absentee and oft-intoxicated husband, enters the narrative and reclaims his place on the marital bed only when Pasha Dulhan takes first to her masseur, a young boy "barely fourteen years of age", and subsequently other lovers (*S* 22). The story bears a striking resemblance to Ismat Chughtai's "Lihaaf" in gesturing toward the theme of preying on adolescent "lovers" in particular and the bold exploration of female sexuality more broadly. Its resemblance to the "Penelope" section of James Joyce's *Ulysses* is particularly striking. "The Flesh Market" introduces readers to Nawab Habib Yar Jung's despotic rule over Hyderabad, with a focus on women in the princely state being "rounded up like livestock", incarcerated, and sexually exploited in the harem (*S* 29). The central character is the Nawab Habib Yar Jung, caricatured in this story as an "ogre" (*S* 34). A young married couple, Tahir and Mehtab, plot against his "strange" custom of sealing young women's fates by ushering in young women into regal homes and "clearing old wives" from the haveli (*S* 34). Tabassum's representation of the colonial city captures a Hyderabad where dissent was quelled by the state and where religion and the state are complicit in producing and sustaining oppressive colonial discourses of morality. "The Flesh Market" is curious in its representation of the space of the harem, and for this reason, is included in this chapter for further examination.

"The Cost of Survival" stages the interactions between two prostitutes who imagine and weave a world where prostitutes have a home of their own (*S* 50).[156] "Separation" closely resembles "Up, further up!" in introducing the figure of the Nawab as conniving: "Nawab's carried their hearts in their palms, their palms in their pockets and their ploys close to their chests" (*S* 57). These ploys are usually sexual and predatory designs on the young women of the colonial city. "The Alms of Death" extends the profaning caricature of the Nawab's "ceaseless sexual exploits", encountered consistently in the collection (*S* 90). It closely resembles "The Flesh Market" in drawing attention to the Nawab's rule over Hyderabad Deccan and his tightening control over the female demographic. In the story, a young girl, Ujala, is bought forcefully from a poor family. Throughout the narrative, the text draws attention to how Ujala "gives" herself to Nawab Zain Yar Jung while remaining mute. As in "Up, further up!" and "Fallen Venus", Ujala's voice, when she speaks, castrates the Nawab and in doing so emerges, like Pasha Dulhan before her, conqueror than conquered.

Sin abounds in symbolism — from garments to food metaphors, to Islamic injunctions and sensuous imagery, Tabassum's work remains a key document of colonial modernism in the twentieth-century. Tabassum earns the title of the avant-garde artist through a sustained focus on producing fiction against the grain. On a creative and critical level, Tabassum demonstrates for the reader what happens, imaginatively, when female protagonists enjoy free reign to indulge in, and act on, their primal or base emotions. On the thematic level, Tabassum's work remains "non-conformist, semi-erotic work" (Abbasi xii).

Joyce and Tabassum pose different questions and offer radical reactions to sexuality from within their respective avant-garde positions in the twentieth-century: each writes about sexuality and the city as nodes of erotic desire so as to distinguish their work as singularly modern. The determining force of sexuality had also driven Tabassum to stage most of her

[156]A subtle invocation of Woolf. It is difficult to speculate if Tabassum had read Woolf in her lifetime.

creative work against the domestic colonial space of the harem in imperial Hyderabad, a fact that sets her apart from her Indian modernist contemporaries. Tabassum's fictional portrayal of a colonial Indian city is contextually set against the feudal values, opulence, and religious double standards of the erstwhile princely state during the British Raj. I attempt a creative and critical reconstruction of Wajida Tabassum as a lost modernist through an analysis of possible networks of affinities with her Irish predecessor. It must be acknowledged that in terms of archives, it has not been possible to trace direct allusions to Tabassum having engaged tangibly with Joyce, in the manner in which it has been possible to trace engagement and movement in Chapter One between Joyce and Anand and Chapter Two between Joyce and Jahan. While I attribute this phenomenon primarily to the obscurity and marginality of Wajida Tabassum's modernist thought, the inaccessibility of her archives has consolidated this position and predicament. I argue that it is possible to see parallels emerge on the basis of transnational activity in the context of South Asian modernism: firstly, in the comparison of each of their modernist approaches, through which I juxtapose their constructions of harem women; second, in an analysis of twentieth-century literary magazines and print media; third, the ways in which these media contribute to the serialisation of Joyce's and Tabassum's prose and contribute to the formation of their modernist discourses; and finally, the phased introduction of Joyce's work in the Urdu cosmopolis through potential transmedial adaptation and translation.[157] Such a critical and creative reconstruction, I argue, could help us evaluate the contributions of Indian modernists such as Tabassum in a newer light, while bringing us closer to the aim of challenging hagiographic accounts of Joyce or undoing elitist accounts of modernist studies. In order to better appreciate the contributions of minoritised writers such as Tabassum against hypercanonical figures such as Joyce, it is necessary to contextualise Tabassum's work against broader literary conditions straddling Irish, Indian, and European

[157]Rashid Jahan in the early twentieth century, and Shahid Dehlvi in the nineteen-eighties.

modernist contexts.[158] This is best seen in Indian reaction-formations to the European Bloomsbury group.

Charting Parallels

In light of their positions across transnational modernist networks, James Joyce may not be marginal from literary groups in Europe, but Wajida Tabassum is positioned as an outsider to sophisticated and insular groups on the scale of Europe, such as the Bloomsbury group. Each remains at peripheral positions from literary movements in their countries of origin.[159] The glaring reality of the "Joyce industry" in comparison to the dearth of research on Wajida Tabassum further motivates this study.[160] While they write from varying social positions, some parallels between James Joyce and Wajida Tabassum are particularly uncanny and merit closer attention. Joyce's and Tabassum's modernist productions are informed by representational strategies which look to anatomise, critique, and purge Dublin and Hyderabad as both old and historic colonial cities in the twentieth century. These modernists additionally depict the material circumstances of individuals navigating the city as social body: as a white male writer, "Joyce knew the limbs and bowels of a city" (*James Joyce* 100) for he had "experimented" with several cities (*MBK* xviii), which may have lent his early fiction its "tense sensibility" and "raw realism", and was not so constrained (*MBK* 7). In the specific instance of Wajida Tabassum operating as an Indian Muslim female writer writing under impoverished circumstances, Tabassum was unable to know the city as Joyce did.[161] Each of their philosophical approaches to fiction appear to be informed by underlying

[158]In this chapter, the term "hypercanonical" evokes Kiron Ward's observations on texts that enjoy a "canonical cachet" in the literary landscape (328).
[159]Joyce is often invoked spectrally in the Bloomsbury group which Wajida Tabassum herself is removed from.
[160]Referring to the existence and proliferation of scholarship on James Joyce, which has contributed to critics such as Luca Crispi and others terming it the "Joyce Industry" (Crispi ix).
[161]James Joyce's brother Stanislaus Joyce details how the young Joyce rode his tricycle from the outskirts of Dublin to Bray while his parents "sought him among kinsfolk and acquaintances" (*MBK* 7).

theological concerns: Tabassum's modernist fiction documents colonial modernity's "conflicted and ambiguous" relationship with divine powers (*S* 119), where God "seemed old and unable to cope with this world" (*S* 116); a similar sentiment arises in Joyce: the source of "bigoted Catholicism" and the enduring imagery of children trailing "murky clouds of original sin" is attributed to the figure of Mrs Riordan in the Joycean oeuvre, which manifests itself in the impressionistic opening lines of *A Portrait* (*MBK* 7, 9). Attitudes to God and religion manifest in Joyce in fragmentary and banal moments that have come to characterise the "modern": that God is experienced as a "shout in the street" seems to be a stark contrast to Mrs. Riordan's construction of God as a kind of "drunken ogre" with "less mercy than the mercy of men" (*MBK* 11). Tabassum's positionality as hailing from a Syed Muslim community makes her individualism and reluctance to bear the representational burden of Indian Muslims in her own formal experimentation with fiction comparable to Joyce's renegade Catholicism and aversion to essentialist representations of Irish national and religious identities. The decline of Wajida Tabassum's material and financial circumstances is a close parallel to the event of Joyce's own family's descent into destitution: "[t]he desire to go to markets, explore bookshops and buy literature caved before our meagre means" (*S* 111).When property and income dwindled after their move to Hyderabad and Tabassum's access to school textbooks as well as literary works was greatly curtailed, Tabassum still made efforts to secure access to literary works being produced by her contemporaries.[162]

While an "aloof disdain" characterises Joyce's relationship to his "national" contemporaries who propagated a Gaelic or Anglo-Irish literary revival, Reema Abbasi has observed Tabassum's position in remaining peripheral to mainstream Indian modernist movements and contemporaries, especially the Progressive Writers' Association, though her

[162]In "Meri Kahaani" ("My Story"), Tabassum documents the loss of income and property: "Slowly, we ran out of our ornaments; a few thousand rupees from the land took care of the home and our needs. This was lost to the government when land reforms came into effect" (*S* 117). Tabassum's reflective piece also documents the lack of food and decent clothing (S 117).

distancing from the cause came at great personal and artistic costs in terms of reach and resources (*OCPW* xxvii). Where Joyce's radical principle of artistic autonomy propounds a cultivated isolation and distance from the "rabblement" (*OCPW* 50), Abbasi's notes testify that other female modernist writers such as Ismat Chughtai were often invoked even by Tabassum's relatives and distant kin to bring or slow down Tabassum's (personal and literary) progress, and to demonstrate her lack of relevance to, and popularity with, mainstream writing (xiii). In "The Day of the Rabblement", Joyce critiques the Irish literary revival, which "proclaimed war against commercialism and vulgarity" as the nation's self-appointed "champions of progress", but remains distant from such native movements for its surrender to the "popular will" (*OCPW* 50). The lack of research and critical sources in the English language on Wajida Tabassum, and her own marginal position as a non-elite female Indian modernist writer (compared to other female Indian modernists such as Rashid Jahan and Ismat Chugtai) offers an avenue to read Joyce "against the grain" or in the mode of "creative disaffiliation" such that an unsettling of Joyce's hypercanonicity renders distinct the "aesthetic qualities of minoritised literatures" (Ward 343).

In "Meri Kahaani" ("My Story"), Tabassum anticipates, "these stories are my survivors" (*S* 109); elsewhere, "I knew that in the enduring nature of my stories lay my own fragile life and even wishful immortality" (*S* 109). Stephen's own, if self-deprecating (*U* 33), reflection on his writerly legacy in the "Proteus" chapter of *Ulysses* comes to mind: "Remember your epiphanies written on green oval leaves, deeply deep, copies to be sent if you died to all the great libraries of the world, including Alexandria? Someone was to read them there after a few thousand years, a mahamanvantara" (*U* 34). Joyce's epiphanies served him as source material for later work, and have been subject to close scholarly scrutiny in genetic and other fields of research, thereby ensuring his critical legacy in a way that cannot be said for Tabassum. While both Joyce and Tabassum depict colonial subjects, most of

Joyce's characters (such as Stephen or Gerty) are still young, white, and Irish, occupying a liminal position within the British Empire in a way that Tabassum's characters do not. Luke Gibbons has commented on the curious predicament of the Irish with respect to their whiteness and colonisation: "[w]hen it came to Ireland, the wheel ground to a halt for here was a colony whose subject population was both "native" and "white" at the same time. This was one corner of the Empire, apparently, that could not be taken in at a glance" (Gibbons 95).[163] Tabassum's reflection on the afterlives of her fiction gestures toward her status as a marginalised author whose archives have considerably disappeared, which I posit against the "industrious" Joyce industry of professional readers, specialists, and scholars offering new and interpretive approaches to Joyce Studies (Crispi ix). Here what I am suggesting is not that Joyce be used as a "yardstick for [the] non-European achievement" of Tabassum, but rather to interrogate the phenomenon of Joyce's "hypercanonicity" and to ensure a comparative reading produces "mutually transformative dialogue", even when such a dialogue would mean acknowledging the disparity of research and funding that goes into each of these modernist writers' respective archives: the conversations that emerge may well serve in the end as a foundation to emphasis the "whiteness" and the "cultural capital" of *Ulysses*, which has ensured the continuity of research and work on Joyce, and which I measure against Tabassum's positionality as coloured and Indian Muslim, whose archives have stagnated despite advancing a modernist aesthetic that reverberates with aspects of Joyce's own in the Indian continent even as it demonstrates its own distinct aesthetic qualities as "minoritised literature" (Ward 337) .

[163]See Gibbons 1991 in Works Cited.

“Weaving Dreams on Paper”: Female Sexuality and Reader-response

The irony of foregrounding the reading habits of a young female Dubliner in a literary work only to be deemed unsuitable for female readership is encountered in the publication history of the thirteenth chapter of *Ulysses* in the United States (Fogarty 58). With such a parallel in mind, the critical reviews and censorship of Wajida Tabassum’s stories center around the themes of sexuality and female readership, which ironically sets her up for the predicament of censorship and inadmissibility of female reading due in large part because her female protagonists embody a “sexual knowingness” previously encountered in the construction of Gerty MacDowell (Fogarty 58). The conception of the thirteenth chapter of *Ulysses*, its serialisation in *The Little Review*, and its subsequent trial in 1919-1920 in response to the textual moment of Bloom’s masturbation (*U* 303) offers a stunning and hitherto unexamined parallel to Tabassum’s serialization of modernist prose, her representation of sexual perversity (in the representation of the Nawabs), sexual agency (in the women confined to the home), and subsequent literary attacks from critics and specialist readers in response to the publication of obscenity. It is curious that the display of a female character’s reading and sexual agency should revolt the societies in which each of the two modernists operated. The cultural impact, reception, and trial of the thirteenth chapter of *Ulysses* found an unprecedented focus on the “policing of what women read and the corrupting influence of unsuitable material on a female audience”, which also framed the debates around the publication of obscene literary material by Wajida Tabassum in the leading magazines of her day (Fogarty 58). According to the critical reviews of her time, Tabassum’s stories, serialised in popular twentieth-century literary magazines such as *Biswin Sadi* and *Shama*, possessed the dissident energies to shock sharif culture and societal expectations. These critical reviews represent the consolidation of reader-response on

emerging work, comprising contributions by specialist readers, literary critics, and the general reading public in a latter part of the twentieth-century: “Wajida Begum has left Ismat behind. Can these stories be read by noble girls?”; elsewhere, “Her work will shock married women” (*S* 122) due in part because for Tabassum, the proper stuff of fiction involved casting “naked truths in stories” (*S* 123). That these parallels are observed in a comparative context, representatively within the first and second half of the twentieth century, indicates the persistence of the inadmissibility of women’s reading transculturally.

In terms of its radical unconventionality and disdain for decorum in literature, I argue that Tabassum’s intervention in Urdu prose is comparable to Joyce’s implosion of form and the opening of the novel in English to “radically new possibilities” (Hand 9). Tabassum’s prose produces visceral effects on the reader as each of the stories are “determined to shock” and “create an explosion” on both the form and content of twentieth-century Urdu prose (Abbasi xii, xiv). In a radical reinvention of form and content, Tabassum’s construction of characters appear to stem from the observation that South Asian women have traditionally been cast as “instrumental objects” rather than “active subjects of liberation and improvement” (Beverley 205). While Leopold Bloom imagines harem women as a homogenous category and passive entity in *Ulysses*, Tabassum’s harem women are individualised in each prose piece and rendered as bold, defiant, and complex characters. Where the “woman author” and her “fictional personae” are orchestrated by a male author in “Nausicaa”, often foregrounding female differences in “sexist, racist and ableist” terms, Tabassum demonstrates how the male voice has inflected traditional narrative representations of “fallen” women, rendering them mute and homogenous entities in similarly oppressive ways (Fogarty 67-68). The representation of, on the one hand, unhappy homes, poverty, lack of opportunity and violence resulting from alcoholism from dominant male characters (*U* 290), and the “proactive, sexually aware adult” participating in colonial modernity on the

other remain critical intertextual echoes in each context (Fogarty 67). That Gerty MacDowell embodies an Irish whiteness, corresponding to a certain "vantage point" in the world markedly different from the harem women in Tabassum's fiction emphasises the complex historical and racial moments embodied in both texts (Fogarty 66). In the translator's note to *Sin*, Reema Abbasi employs the metaphor of the "messy table" of hedonism and indulgence to introduce the female protagonists populating Tabassum's storyworld, who remain "hungry and dissatisfied" in conservative, demanding households — a symptom of Tabassum's women breaking down social confines through an affirmation of the right to possess the "base elements" of human nature and inhabiting the worlds opened up by sins, namely "lust, envy, greed, wrath" (Abbasi xi). It is useful to juxtapose Abbasi's use of household metaphors and emphasis on literary architecture, implied in her reference to the "messy table" in this instance, against the masculinist ideals embodied in the reference to the "mahagony" in the Christmas dinner scene in *A Portrait* (*P* 42).

Abbasi's use of the metaphor demonstrates how women imagine and reclaim dwellings for themselves in overthrowing the domestic shackles inscribed by the patriarchy. Such a claim to space also allows them to reject their fears of a "banishment" from Paradise which is instilled in orthodox Indian Muslim households (Abbasi xii). Though they find themselves inscribed in circumstances which reproduce orientalisted depictions of women as "prisoners" in the harem, these characters refuse to become passive victims of the fate meted out to them. They appear to embody a "knowing sexuality" which finds its precedent in the Irish context in the construction of Gerty MacDowell in Joyce's *Ulysses* (Fogarty 65). Tabassum's female protagonists break away from traditional and limiting representation as "passive victims", and instead engage with Muslim women as desiring subjects, and even "living, multifaceted beings who cannot be reduced to their religious or gendered identity" (Hamid 146). Tabassum's harem women rise to sexual agency in tellingly individualistic

ways against a crushingly patriarchal twentieth-century context where the home and the state are conflated. In Tabassum's fiction, the Nawab of Hyderabad stands in for the state; his actions simultaneously demonstrate his complicity in imperial administration, regulation of the discourse of morality, and control over the domestic sphere.

Modernist Readership and Print Cultures

In the thirteenth chapter of *Ulysses*, Joyce parodied popular magazines of a preceding era for its sensational value and for its inculcation of unrealistic romantic expectations in young women. Gerty's reading encompasses the popular novels and magazines even as it gestured backward in time to the nineteenth-century, more specifically toward an implied readership comprising Catholic girls. Novels such as Maria Cummins's *The Lamplighter* (1854), which is deployed as a framing device in "Nausicaa" and which Joyce parodied in the episode, endorsed a female readership toward whom moral lessons were targeted. The introductory chapter of the thesis provided an overview and background of how twentieth-century Urdu women's journals primarily targeted women with moral instruction, which is to be recalled in a consideration of Joyce's parody of sensational and didactic women's literature. To recapitulate, in the context of the Urdu magazines, editors and contributors remained united in the cause of constructing in women a "competent domesticity" over cultivating "individual autonomy" (Minault 9). These journals created a need for a female readership rooted in ideals of modesty and propriety while circulating fiction which painted a portrait of the ideal woman at the start of the twentieth-century as dutiful and subservient. Several aspects of the "Nausicaa" episode can be productively examined in relation to moments in Urdu literary modernist production, specifically those that relate to women's idolisation of their love interests in sentimental and cinematic jargon,

in the first instance; and the representation of women's obsession with consumer products, in the second. The previous chapter examined how the spinster character emerged more fully as the figure of the outcaste in a world saturated with consumer products and romance novels. The glorification of unrealistic beauty standards upheld in consumer culture and print media sidelined the pockmarked and dark-complexioned women who Rashid Jahan centred in her fiction. Tabassum's fiction tends to present women in more defiant and agential roles in their resistance to monolithic representation of womanhood in the Indian subcontinent. While women are represented largely as commodities on the marriage market across the discrete modernisms of Joyce and Tabassum, scholars such as Vicki Mahaffey have shown how female characters like Gerty have been constructed as "damaged" goods due to her "lameness" and "age" (Mahaffey 481).[164] Gerty's world-view is shaped by advertisements for consumer products and fashion in weekly illustrated magazines which reinforce disabling barriers. In other words, these advertisements, manuals, and magazines failed to represent or recognise persons with disabilities in their agential capacities or as having control over their own lives, thus further exacerbating the sense of loneliness and isolation experienced by characters such as Gerty.

The representation of female Muslim protagonists in *Sin* as active agents of desire and intimacy across intersections of disability, ethnicity, and gender are to be productively juxtaposed against the patronising representation of Gerty as disabled desiring subject encoded in Bloom's remarks: "little limping devil" (*U* 303). While Gerty remains clouded by her narcissistic vision, hollow echoes of popular magazines dictating her choices and her sense of self, some of Tabassum's female characters are shown to be indoctrinated by colonial sexual mores and stereotypical Eastern gender demeanours, while others are more discerning and agential: "A deep love of so many years was so fragile when hostage to three

[164]See Mahaffey 2022 in Works Cited.

little words ["talaq", or divorce], she thought on her way out of their quarter…" (S 52). In a direct response to the confining ideals of domesticity propagated by instructional manuals and commodity advertisements, Tabassum's prose offers discerning women a space to dream and negotiate claims to agency. The desire to carve out a space of female agency and belonging is seen in stories such as "The Cost of Survival", which brings the figure of the prostitute in conversation with ideals of social aspiration and mobility: "[b]ut a prostitute's old age is the toughest. I have seen them perish on footpaths. I must have a house where I plant flowers and the breeze wafts through my hair" (S 50). The fictional representation of the prostitute's desire for a "home of her own" is radically new in twentieth-century India for its depiction of the double victimisation of the prostitute at the hands of both "the white man" and popular Indian morality (Rai 163, 165).

In his memoir, Abdul Jamil Urfi reflects on the magazine *Biswin Sadi,* which chronicles the tastes of the twentieth century, particularly the second-half in which Wajida Tabassum was beginning to operate more fully. Tabassum's "Meri Kahaani" ("My Story") documents the magazines she had access to in the house, one of which would potentially carry her own work:

> Shamaa, Jamalistaan, Ariyavarat, Kaamyaab and more — could be found in our house. I leafed through them, clutching on to every word. The groceries came wrapped in pages torn out of magazines and I read every line on them. They were more exciting than journals. I took them into obscure corners to scan through the incomplete stories. It felt like all the knowledge in the world was mine. (*S* 111)

The word "incomplete" here signals the serialisation of short stories and the novel in these magazines; it also refers to open-ended narratives in the line of emerging modernist work. Serialisation in Urdu print culture was often "open" in the sense that works-in-progress were

subject to dynamic changes and carried more potential for work of an experimental nature. It was also dynamic in the sense that the reading cosmopolis facilitated interaction between authors and readers in the form of letters, thereby directly shaping the prose under serialisation (Dubrow 83). Stories, pictures, feature items, and novelty news might serve as sources of Tabassum's "excitement" in consulting these standardised literary magazines of the time. These literary magazines had a significant impact on the emerging novel form, paving the way for growing visibility of Indian women writers, and demonstrating to the twentieth-century reading public that in publishing the works of iconoclastic writing such as Wajida Tabassum, a level of standardisation was being applied to selection processes within these literary journals that would ensure that the reading public was being offered writing that would cater to certain new expectations and criteria from magazines that had traditionally been sold in the literary market. These magazines, therefore, forged literary aspirations at the same time in which they contributed to a new modernist market demand for a brand of bold, cosmopolitan writing. This aspect of standardisation made *Biswin Sadi* and *Shama* comparable but not similar to *The Little Review* in creating a market for modernist writing where the implied reader was also potentially a modernist aesthete.[165]

Tabassum's work was serialised in both highbrow and middlebrow twentieth-century journals, the latter of which catered to more popular tastes. *Biswin Sadi,* which Afroz Taj has identified as a highbrow journal, published Tabassum's open-ended narratives around themes of sexuality, opening Tabassum's work to censorship for obscenity while simultaneously offering its readers a chance to strongly consider the merits of the Urdu language against the pressures of an English readership (Taj 182). To Tabassum, literary magazines offered her the first, and most sustaining, engagement with the world and the word — it even opened her

[165]Stephen Alter's foreword in 2017 positions *Biswin Sadi* as "an account of growing up in a liberal, middle-class Muslim household" detailing the "role that Urdu played in post-independence Delhi" where Mirza Ghalib's literary legacy still resonates: "an earthier more prosaic Urdu flourished in the pages of popular magazines like *Biswin Sadi,* published by Khuster Girami" (Alter 12).

own strain of modernist thought to speculation and reasoning. A personal "first" instance of Tabassum's critical stance is documented in "Meri Kahaani" ("My Story"), where her outspokenness is associated directly with her consumption of novels and literary magazines, positing female readerly subjectivity as "threatening" as female sexuality (*S* 114).[166] Tabassum's work has had to be translated and introduced into English (notwithstanding compromises given the "switch" from Deccani Urdu to English) by Reema Abbasi in order to be able to offer a renewed possibility of a modern day readership for her prose. Abbasi has signalled the uniqueness of Tabassum's representation of the old Deccan world order and its idiosyncrasies. That these representations are not encountered in canonical modernism is telling of her marginalised status as woman and writer, but also particularly the minoritised position to which Urdu had been relegated.

The impulses of the twentieth century contributed to complex literary experimentations in the Indian context, particularly in the Urdu language in the context of the second half of the twentieth century. Magazines such as *Biswin Sadi* in the Indian context sold well possibly in large part because it presented its readers with a curious mix: its contents included (sexual) health advertisements, pulp fiction, light humour, and household and cooking advice, usually directed to a female readership alongside stories, political banter, cartoons and humour.[167] Where Joyce parodied constructions of "winsome Irish girlhood" across print and popular media in "Nausicaa", hegemonic constructions of womanhood in the Indian context have been disseminated not only through literature and poetry but also through visual media (primarily the film industry), which played a central role in perpetuating the sexist construction of female protagonists as dutiful wife or ravishing consort (*U* 286). That visual media had a direct bearing on print cultures is evident in the case of the Urdu literary

[166]A theme that Tabassum explored in her own work. Tabassum's grandmother, who raised her in her parents' absence, chastises Tabassum for her outspokenness: 'Let her read more of those novels! I better not see you with any of those magazines from today,' she screamed. Tabassum also records her confusion: "Chastened and dazed, my fault was beyond the sweep of my imagination" (*S* 114).
[167]See figure 4.

magazine titled *Shama*, which is often colloquially known as a "filmy magazine" for its contents were predominantly centred around the film industry and photographs of the leading players in the industry as opposed to, say *Biswin Sadi,* which primarily revolved around literature. These visual and print media had also substantially contributed to the burgeoning discourse of desirability and sexuality, often positing "idealised fairness" as the more desirable specimen of Indian girlhood and womanhood in direct relation to the commodified ideals of the imperial economy (Hussain 927).

The cover pages of *Biswin Sadi* and *Shama* often carried the image of a young woman in satin or silk clothing of bold or colourful patterns. On occasion, the image represented women with the "dupatta" draped over the head; the application of cosmetic products is also evident. This image gestured toward the cosmopolitan ideals of the magazine and its endorsement of the Muslim woman in the public sphere. The cover pages of *Biswin Sadi* and *Shama* are now held in the Endangered Archives Programme in the British library, as a cursory glance at the cover pages of back issues reveals increased visibility to the woman of letters in the twentieth century. A closer analysis of the model's appliance of cosmetic products in the cover page signals the magazine/journal's subscription to, and reinforcement of, idealised beauty standards for its targeted Urdu readership. Similarly, the magazine also sheds light on commodity advertising and the role of scientific and medical objects turned into commodities, in the specific case of the advertisement of "Radium Tonic Pills" which generally featured on the back cover of *Biswin Sadi*. That these "natural" sex power tablets found a home on the cover of leading twentieth-century magazines such as *Biswin Sadi*, which also published bold writing, is telling of the magazine's appeal and its public endorsement of the aphrodisiac for a generation of modern readers. Readers of *Ulysses* may recall here Stephen Dedalus' proclamation, "This is the age of patent medicine" (*U* 482), or Molly Bloom's references to patent remedies (*U* 618). The corresponding back cover

displayed the graphics of a "strong muscular man" wearing nothing more than a piece of undergarment and flexing his muscles. The construction of such a strong graphic, and its attention to sartorial detail — the light-skinned, fully-clothed, "beautiful woman" on the front cover juxtaposed against the (aggressively) masculine modern man signalling virile strength — offers an interesting story of a post-independent nation that was beginning to show incremental advancement in society, culture, and medicine, but also one that was beginning to exude confidence and self-possession at the level of the nation and the home. The narrative of inflated chests and flexed biceps underpin the visuals of the cover of *Biswin Sadi* (figure 4). At a subliminal level, commodity advertising in *Biswin Sadi* preyed on a sense of a prevailing emasculation (a result of colonialism) as it perpetrated the distinction between the virile and the emasculated man in modern society. While Hamdard remained "secular" in its activities to benefit the nation, the cover pictures seem to offer the promise of strength and pride, particularly against the context of the violence following the Partition of the nation.

The Partition of British India brought many Urdu readers to India, which greatly enhanced the readership of these magazines. At some level, these magazines represented middle-class aspirations and the power of the modern individual to attain, for instance, sexual confidence and virility merely through their purchasing power. These advertisements also suggest the promise of self-improvement, previously encountered in *Ulysses* in Bloom's idealizing fantasy and obsession with Sandow's *Strength and How to Obtain It*. As Plock (2012) has shown, Bloom's reflections on Eugen Sandow demonstrates how the empire of physical culture promoted "psychological determination" as a requirement for "physical empowerment", strongly affecting his perceptions of virility and masculinity (115). The cover of *Biswin Sadi* could be signalling that the glorious representation of flexed muscles retrieved virility for modernity, functioning as a useful selling point for the magazine. The body

represented on the cover of the magazine functioned as a compelling reminder of the virile male as the embodiment of national and social progress.



Figure 4: Tonic for Manliness in the back cover of *Biswin Sadi* (Urfi 119)



Figure 5: "Ithaca", *JoyceImages* curated by Aida Yared

Ithaca Pages: 36[168]

Periodicals such as *Biswin Sadi* and *Shama* would have served as a means of socialising individuals of all ages, particularly those that were coming of age in the twentieth century.[169] That Wajida Tabassum was published in twentieth-century literary magazines such as *Biswin Sadi* and *Shama* indicates the status of Urdu as a "cosmopolitan language" which Tabassum instrumentalised in the depiction of the vernacular world of Hyderabad Deccan (Sherman 154). Her modernist prose borrowed from supposedly "low art" such as pulp fiction and romance, which were popular themes attracting a substantial readership of the

[168]No year of publication available on the website.
[169]In a personal interview with Dr Shamim Ahmed of St Stephen's College, University of Delhi, Dr Ahmed pointed out that in addition to these magazines being available at the doorstep of those with purchasing power for a (nominal) subscription fee, these magazines were additionally acquired for circulation in libraries, which helped them percolate through class divides instead of limiting itself to middle-class population that was beginning to consolidate a substantial buying power and mobility.

periodicals being circulated in Delhi. The dominant consumers of such periodicals were not restricted to Muslims, but to those that had access to the language. Here is the value of the Urdu cosmopolis to modernist writing. Tabassum wrote in Deccani Urdu, a literary and spoken language in Hyderabad, distinctly different from (the highly Persianised) Hindustani Urdu (Beverley 1047). Tabassum's focus on the idiosyncrasies of an old colonial world order, her depiction of the dynamic frontiers of Hyderabad and the orientalist construction of rogue subjects, her invitation to her readers to "finish making" the text through interpretive choices, her scandalous depictions of Muslim women's sexual agency, her introduction of minoritised colonial subjects as agents and actors in fiction, and her project of training her readers to stall from deferring to authority point to the possibility of recognising her construction of a cosmopolitan readership as intended reader(s), with the possibility of challenging the passive reader of the nineteenth century (Mahaffey 8).[170] Tabassum could well have been on the project of questioning readerly passivity and fashioning an ideal readership that was not resistant to novelty and experimentation. *Biswin Sadi* and *Shama* launched her into the world of letters, and offered her an ideal readership that extended to the Urdu-speaking populace. If one turns to the 1941 census, one learns that Urdu was the most "widely published language in Hyderabad": approximately 27% of Hyderabad's total population regarded themselves conversant in Urdu (Sherman 151). Therefore, in choosing to carry the modernist prose of Wajida Tabassum, these magazines and periodicals would have contributed to introducing readers to a stream of iconoclastic thinking in the twentieth century.

[170]See Mahaffey 2007 in Works Cited.

Masculine Modernisms and Imaginative Reconstructions

As Eide 2009 has shown, the gap between Joyce's "cerebral men" and his "erotic women" becomes the basis of the comparison with Tabassum's cerebral and erotic women (79). I propose that in reading Tabassum against Joyce, an "unsettling" of Joyce's "originary" influence on the Indian modernists is witnessed more fully alongside a simultaneous unsettling of elitist accounts of modernism that have denied modernist women such as Tabassum entry into the canon. In arguing that unlike other Indian modernists such as Mulk Raj Anand and Rashid Jahan, Wajida Tabassum may have been far more removed from the orbit of Joyce's influence and yet demonstrates uncanny resemblances and affiliations with Joyce's modernist intellectual work, I show that the fundamental differences in their stances are most observable on the question of the representation of gender and sexuality against a modernist comparative framework.

Several textual moments from *Ulysses* have demonstrated male anxiety around female presence, most noticeably Bloom looking for an ego replacement in Stephen in the absence of Rudy, or the overwhelming stylistic influence of a predominantly male canon in "Oxen of the Sun" (Gibbs 65). I measure Joyce's misogyny and gendered hatred toward "intellectual women" (mirrored in Stephen in *A Portrait* and *Ulysses* as well as Gabriel Conroy in *Dubliners*) or women capable of literary production (such as Gertrude Stein) against Tabassum's deep, and more profound awareness of the gendered nature of literary productions in her reflective piece titled "Meri Kahaani" ("My Story"), even as both writers address gender relations with respect to modernism in a comparative context. Responding to Gertrude Stein, James Joyce is reported to have complained to Mary Colum, "I hate intellectual women" (*James Joyce* 529). Joyce's consideration of intellectual women has received very little scholarly attention, despite the staging of the tension between Molly Ivors

and Gabriel Conroy in *Dubliners,* whom Conroy stereotypes rather contemptuously as a "New Woman" and for her quizzing and frank manner (*D* 185). Laura Gibbs' recent advancements in Joyce Studies (2023) uncovers new textual methodologies for reading the underlying female authority of the Joycean text, particularly *Finnegans Wake*. Marian Eide (2009), however, has maintained: "[i]f Joyce hates his own intellectual female characters, he also allows them a place to reveal that hatred for what it is: a fear of gendered usurpation" (78). I trace this fear of gendered usurpation back to his 1912 lecture "Realism and Idealism in English Literature", where he advances the view that "men of great genius" are not attracted by "cultivated and refined women" but rather by "simple women" with "sensual" minds which he prefers to those "endowed with all the drawing-room graces and a light and broad education" (*OCPW* 177).

Where Joyce's female characters ultimately fail to penetrate male discourse, Tabassum's women reclaim the word and the world in overcoming the gendered forebears of Indian modernist literary discourse (Gibbs 21). In an imaginative reconstruction of Tabassum's response to Joyce's hatred of intellectual women, I conjure here Tabassum's critique of a popular contemporary male novelist, Krishn Chander, who was published in *Shama:* Tabassum critiques Krishn Chander's gendered production of literary work, which received a substantial following during her lifetime. Tabassum takes issue with male novelists such as Chander who fail to register the disparity between male and female writerly privilege, and whose gender "allows him to explore the globe, giving a vision to his work" and "[as male and female writers] we exist in two different genres. It is reasonable to access spheres known to us" (*S* 127). From this, one infers that Tabassum was well aware of the gendered authorities in the Indian modernist literary landscape, but remained at a critical distance from mainstream approval due to a desire to be free from "endorsement" by

well-known figures.[171] Tabassum's reactions to other male modernist writers are notably less intense: in "My Story", she documents in particular her desire to peruse a classmate's copy of modernist works such as Munshi Premchand's *Godaan*, first published in 1936, and which may have appealed to Tabassum for its socio-economic themes at a time when Tabassum's family was quickly descending into poverty (*S* 118).

Perspectives on Sexuality and Orientalism in Irish and Indian Modernist Productions

Aida Yared (2001) observed that among the (primary and secondary) sources available to James Joyce in the construction of the Prophet Mohammed in *Finnegans Wake* was a copy of the Qur'an (primary source) which Yared argues that Joyce had not read in its entirety.[172] Rather he had examined parts of the introductory and commentaries, an approach that Yared has shown to be "representative of the Western perspective on Mohammed and the Koran well within the twentieth century, as part of the larger movement broadly termed "orientalism" in particular outside of theological and academic circles" (Yared 2001).[173] It is worth noting that the question of Orientalism either in the context of Ireland or India cannot be singularly or facilely explained (Shloss 270).[174] Where Tabassum consolidates dissident energies brewing within regal homes functioning as the seat of empire in conservative Hyderabad, Joyce draws from the "conservative outpost" of Ireland on the European periphery in his constructions of the Orient. For the most part, India still represented to the Irish "a distant, exotic land", and in some accounts of Irish Orientalism, the Orient is also seen as "a ticket to adventure and romance" (Lennon 176). In one of Joyce's lectures, he

[171]"Why do we need a renowned name to endorse our work [...]?" (*S* 130).
[172]James Joyce owned a translation of the Quran by J. C.Mardrus, and had only read the introduction (Yared 2001). Yared's essay, published online on *Genetic Joyce Studies* (Spring 2001 issue), has no page number, therefore, I have cited the essay with the year of publication.
[173]By "Orientalism", I invoke the Saidian notion of the West's complicity in "stripping humanity to ruthless cultural and racial essences" (Said 34). See Said 1995.
[174] See Schloss "Joyce in the Context of Irish Orientalism" (1998).

employs the phrase "Orient" as being the "true home of mysticism", with the mystic books of the West merely shining with a "reflected light" (*OCPW* 180). "An Encounter" in *Dubliners* details the doors of "escape" (*D* 17) that stories set in disorderly, faraway lands offered its protagonist reader from the "restraining influence" of colonial institutions. Joyce and Tabassum deploy similar strategies in their constructions of the Orient even as each remains underpinned by a critique of empire. Both Joyce's and Tabassum's texts show a degree of self-reflexivity in their constructions of the Orient and each employs imagery and vocabulary from within Orientalist discourse to different ends. Bloom's reference to the "far east", recalled by a set of free associations stemming from the invocation of "Ceylon brands", leads him to wonder: "Lovely spot it must be: the garden of the world, big lazy leaves to float about on, cactuses, flowery meads, snaky lianas they call them. Wonder is it like that" (*U* 58). The text does two things here: it conjures the free-floating associations stemming from an invocation of the Orient whilst also questioning the materiality of such an imagined space.

That Joyce has looked stylistically to Gustave Flaubert in pursuing "le mot just" ("the right word") is fact, but it is curious to observe how Flaubert was an Oriental enthusiast himself, whose fiction often carried the "free-floating mythology of the Orient" (Said 53).[175] It is possible that Joyce was aware of the exoticism and prevailing prejudices Flaubert associated with the East. One may recall here Stanislaus's encounter with Joyce after 1920, when Stanislaus began to antagonise fascist authorities, only to be interrupted by Joyce who quipped, "Don't talk to me about politics. I'm only interested in style" (*MBK* xix). This interaction for me is necessary in drawing out the intersections of Joyce's modernist productions (in the earlier years classified as "apolitical", but with time, representative of the "divided consciousness of the colonial subject", Nolan 130) with politicised realms such as the Orient, for the Orient is constructed such as to enable the West to articulate the East. That

[175]See Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1995) in Works Cited.

is, for Joyce, the challenge of representing the Orient stylistically cannot come without a first-hand engagement with the constructedness and politicised nature of that which he is constructing. Therefore, when Bloom wonders whether the east "is [...] like that", we are signalled to his awareness of forms of othering and orientalising being played out in Ireland by colonial forces (*U* 58). The Celtic Revival also wove Oriental themes and leitmotifs to Celtic themes, but which Joyce remained sceptical and distant from (Lennon xxi). Instead, Joyce mingled aspects of Indian philosophy with the contemporary Irish moment without succumbing to the pressures of perpetuating hyper nationalist images. In order to illustrate this further, it is productive to turn to a textual moment from *Ulysses.* Museums appear in *Ulysses* occasionally, as in "Lotus Eaters" with relation to the Buddha, as well as in "Penelope" where Molly conflates the image of an Indian god with Bloom in particular, recasting Indian gods in the banality of the contemporary Irish moment, conflating man and god and uniting wives (across transnational contexts) everywhere in commonplace domestic trials, with the Orient functioning as an allegory of Irish issues:

> look at the way hes sleeping at the foot of the bed how can he without a hard bolster its well he doesnt kick or he might knock out all my teeth breathing with his hand on his nose like that Indian god he took me to show one wet Sunday in the museum in Kildare street all yellow in a pinafore lying on his side on his hand with his ten toes sticking out that he said was a bigger religion than the jews and Our Lords both put together all over Asia imitating him as he's always imitating everybody I suppose he used to sleep at the foot of the bed too with his big square feet up in his wifes mouth [...] I hope they'll have something better for us in the other world tying ourselves up God help us thats all right for tonight now. (*U* 634)

Molly's domestic tribulations give way to a curious and imaginative conflation of Leopold Bloom with an "Indian god" with "ten toes" that Molly recalls having seen at the National

Museum on Kildare street. Molly imagines the Indian god giving his wife trouble by sleeping at the foot of the bed as Bloom does. This conflation of the cosmic with the quotidian and the transnational frame through which such a comparison is made culminates in a marginal Celtic-Vedic reflection before Molly conjures the image of the "other world", where mundane domestic injustices are settled and accounted for, and the possibility of rightful recompense presents itself in the vast "unknown" and "unknowable" territory which is presented as being "out there" with the Orient.

Both Joyce and Tabassum, I argue, reproduce conflicting strategies of representation in their imaginative writing since they can do no more than employ the terms of Orientalism in order to critique imperial powers. What is at stake here is, as Joseph Lennon identified, how the "power to represent a colonized people is related to the power of self-representation, both of which run the danger of merely reproducing the power structure within which they operate" (Lennon xxix) and the "divided consciousness of the colonial subject" (Nolan 130). Joyce resorts directly to the word "Oriental" in differing contexts (at times canonical or rhetorical, at other times, colonial edifices, garments, and undesignated geographical and imaginative entities). The reference to the word "orient" or "oriental", for example, occurs in Joyce in a few contexts. The word "orient" occurs in "Circe", when the "Orient" is conjured as a vast expanse as in Eden (characterised in this episode as encompassing mountains, lakes, shores, and aroma), or the delight at beholding novelty or a sense of the sublime ("burning"): "(Gazelles are leaping, feeding on the mountains. Near are lakes. Round their shores file shadows black of cedargroves. Aroma rises, a strong hairgrowth of resin. It burns, the orient, a sky of sapphire, cleft by the bronze flight of eagles" (*U* 389). The reference to "cedargroves" contributes to a sense of Edenic glory in painting a picture of the "Orient" as being "out there", though it remains undercut by the reality of the colonisation of forested environments. The gazelle functions as a signifier of the Orient elsewhere in "Circe", in

Bloom's interaction with Zoe (*U* 389). In this way, the text participates in the confirmation of the Orient as phantasmagorical in the reader's eye. The image of the Orient as "celestial" is encountered additionally in "Lotus-Eaters", with a reference to the "heathen Chinese" and "Budda their god" against the broader context of the Christian saviour complex associated with the civilizing ideology of European imperialism (*U* 65). In "Lotus-Eaters" what is witnessed more broadly is the missionary zeal of the Irish. In "Wandering Rocks", the Orient is constructed as "immortal" (*U* 199). In "Calypso" and "Lotus-Eaters", "Orientals" simultaneously reference ethnic groups and language (as in Turks, Cinghalese): Bloom recalls their language as being "dark" (*U* 47); and their activities sedentary and lethargic (*U* 58), which reinforces the Saidian observation, "An Oriental lives in the Orient, he lives a life of Oriental ease, in a state of… Oriental fatalism" (Said 102).[176]

The "Orient" then is constructed as infinite space, associated predominantly with a state of inactivity in "Lotus-Eaters". These vast territories of unconquered space teem with the possibility of "strange customs" (*U* 65), which recurs in Tabassum with reference to the uncharted territory of Hyderabad as both frontier and despotic state. A different permutation of the phrase "strange customs" occurs in "The Sisters" in *Dubliners*, when the narrator attempts to recall a dream, "I remembered that I had noticed long velvet curtains and a swinging lamp of antique fashion. I felt that I had been very far away, in some land where the customs were strange - in Persia, I thought…" (*D* 11). In the mind of the young narrator, Persia is an uncharted "far away" land associated with antique ornamental objects such as a "swinging lamp of antique fashion" and "velvet curtains" (*D* 11). The persistent image of the Oriental in Joyce is thus tied closely to the ornamental object, whose primary function is to luxuriate and enchant the Western reader. In "Araby", the narrator speaks of an "Eastern enchantment" (*D* 30) evoked by the syllables of the word "Araby" (*D* 30). In the seventeenth

[176]See Said 1995.

chapter titled "Ithaca", the word "Oriental" occurs primarily with reference to objects and edifices. In the first instance, a reference to "transverse obsolete medieval and oriental weapons dinner gong, alabaster lamp, bowl pendant," (*U* 585) in "Ithaca" point to Joyce's engagement with oriental objects for their ornamental and decorative value, as seen also in the second instance in "Circe": "Slowly, note by note, oriental music is played. He gazes in the tawny crystal of her eyes, ringed with kohol. His smile softens.)" (*U* 389). Here the word "oriental music" attains ornamental value, and functions as a signifier in the same way that the "smithwork" in "Calypso" functions as a sliding signifier of the vast expanse and conquests of empire: the East is conjured as the West would have it, within the range of of suppositions, associations, and fictions free-floating in the imagined geography assigned its reach. In other words, it is Europe that articulates the Orient (Said 57).[177]

Oriental edifice in the "Lotus-Eaters" comprises "the frowning face of Bethel" (*U* 58) and the Parsee tower of silence in "Hades": "Eaten by birds. Earth, fire, water" (*U* 94), referring to Zoroastrian burial customs. In "Ithaca", the presence of colonial edifices such as the Turkish and Warm Baths are signalled as oriental (*U* 552). The reference to Zoroastrianism in the context of Ireland could be read as signalling readers to an Indo-European "forgotten past", thus bridging both cultures. In "Lestrygonians", Molly's "elephantgrey dress" with the "braided frogs" point to a form of fastener and decorative feature on a garment that is "oriental" in design (*U* 127), since it is designed to stand out. In "Cyclops", the reference to a wall hanging of "papal Zouave" (*U* 263) also acquires ornamental value for its depiction of a uniform comprising an "Oriental" dress with "a fez, braided blue jackets with waistcoats, and voluminous red trousers" (Yared, *JoyceImages*).[178] The word "Oriental" in "A Little Cloud" in *Dubliners* is associated with women "of passion, of voluptuous longing" (*D* 80). *Finnegans Wake* constructs the Orient as "boundlessly

[177]See Said 1995.
[178]See entry titled "Cyclops" under Yared in Works Cited.

blissfilled" as an "allallahbath" or site of "houris", referencing both "Horus", the Egyptian god of the sky, as well as "houris", "maiden women" in Classical Arabic usage (*FW* 417.27). In the case of the latter, Joyce's usage of the term here indicates an allegorical vision of the East replete with stock imagery of other-worldly sexual companions.

That Wajida Tabassum has produced her body of work in the context of an old Hyderabad Deccan with little access to the outside world, under impoverished circumstances, and that her "language constitutes metaphors, analogies, dialogue, imagery" and turns of phrases bearing no semblance to Indian modernists such as Sadat Manto and Ismat Chughtai should offer her modern day readers a glance at her singular position as a modernist producing her work under isolating conditions ("Reema Abbasi" 2022).[179] However, this has also meant that Tabassum was reliant on her imaginative prowess as a source of literary construction, and at times, one that projected the motif of the destabilised frontier of Hyderabad. As a motif that could fall prey to the Orientalist assumption of the inability of indigenous people to self-govern without descending further into chaos and barbarism, I demonstrate how Tabassum navigates the use of the motif in her oblique dismantling and critique of the complicity and despotism of state structures operating with colonial administration (the Nawab's regime), such that the motif of the destabilised frontier might be read as Jahan's depiction of imperial misrepresentation. To compare this with Joyce's modernism for perspective, I briefly examine the enduring power of Orientalist cultural legacy embodied in the "Cyclops" episode of *Ulysses*, where we encounter a reference to the empires of Ireland and India as white and non-white colonies united by English rule:

> Thereon embossed in excellent smithwork was seen the image of a queen of regal port, scion of the house of Brunswick, Victoria her name, Her Most Excellent Majesty, by grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of

[179]Reema Abbasi, interview (2022): https://www.platform-mag.com/literature/reema-abbasi.html. See Works Cited.

> the British dominions beyond the sea, queen, defender of the faith, Empress of India, even she, who bore rule, a victress over many peoples, the wellbeloved, for they knew and loved her from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, the pale, the dark, the ruddy and the ethiop. (*U* 246)

The persistence of artistic and cultural legacies ("smithwork") point to Great Britain as a sovereign, self-contained, unified empire bound by order and tradition. The passage abounds in signifiers of royalty, demonstrating the Queen's power against a broader theatre of power managed (as in this specific instance) by artisans. In a direct contrast to this image, Tabassum's construction of the state of Hyderabad as destabilised frontier, descending into chaos and despotism, may appear to open itself to a form of cultural stereotyping which was prevalent in nineteenth-century academic and imaginative constructions of the "mysterious" Orient (Said 26), particularly in the way that "Oriental despotism" is spoken and understood (Said 32).[180] Tabassum's representation of slavery underpins a critique of Oriental despotism, which is shown as being both domestic and imperial in scope (Cohen 195).

Throughout Tabassum's work, there is an emphasis on the lascivious character of the Nawab: his breath is often "bitter with alcohol" and body sweetened by the "scent of jasmine" (*S* 17); his stately room covered in "odours of seduction" (*S* 17); he is frequently characterised by a "ravenous lust" (*S* 18). In "The Alms of Death", women in the story corroborate the sexual exploitation of the Nawab: "[....] many ladies narrated torrid tales from his heydays — ceaseless sexual exploits, damsels and orgies" (*S* 90). Though Tabassum's fiction runs the danger of setting up native Hyderabadis as conniving, Tabassum counters any charge of Orientalist representations of the framing of fanaticism, deceptiveness, and cruelty as inherent qualities of the subject race of native Hyderabadis by presenting a radical anti-capitalist, feminist, and anti-imperialist critique of aristocratic Hyderabadi society

[180]See Said 1995.

(Bhukya 120). In "Sirens", Bloom's recalling of the anecdote of the Shah of Persia wiping his nose on a curtain in Buckingham Palace, and then attributing this to be the custom of his country ("Custom his country perhaps", *U* 307) reveals a lesser examined, profaning caricature which circulated in the nineteenth century, operating on the basis of racist Orientalist strategies, and the colonial construction of depravity as inherent qualities of a subject, people or race, whether on the basis of religion or creed.

An ambiguity concerning Wajida Tabassum (which is difficult to clarify owing to the paucity of her archives lies) in her deployment of "literary descriptions" of descriptions in the construction of locations such as the nautch abode. Tabassum's representation of the nautch abode appears to be similar to Joyce's reference to the "Orient" as embodying a set of descriptions rather than actual topos. However, where Tabassum's description of the nautch abode could be rooted in a form of colonial and/or Orientalist iconography: "...a madame, a tutor, musicians, seated on ivory sheets, against plush, velvet bolsters", one could argue that here Tabassum potentially builds on the exotic and Orientalist spectacle of the "dancing girl" which has conventionally captured the imagination of the Western sojourner only to shatter any illusions of the nautch girl's muteness or exoticism by the end of the story (*S* 8). The intersection of women performers and courtesans fascinatingly extends to the "Circe" episode in *Ulysses*: "where lots cocottes beautiful dressed much about princesses like are dancing cancan" (*U* 465). Cancan dancing is associated with high-kicks that reveal the petticoat and the leg ("cancan"), and the cancan performers Joyce has in mind here have also been represented as middle-ranking courtesans.[181]Joyce's text reveals the collapsing of the semiprofessional entertainer identity with the category of the courtesan, where performing women are reduced to their sexual appeal alone as in representations of performing women in Tabassum. These performing women were also reported to have many conquests.

[181] See "Circe" under Yared in Works Cited.

In *Annotations to Ulysses,* the entry for lines 43-45 in the "Proteus" chapter references visions of Eden in seventeenth-century texts, the King James manuscript, and the Catholic Encyclopedia to suggest the "unchanging" quality of the Orient as the dominant image in Joyce's representation of the East.[182] Wajida Tabassum borrows inceptional energy from Urdu literary descriptions/idioms, either from hearsay or now lost material, which are supported at times with references to Arabic or Persian sources: "Arabic literature had sensuous imagery for women of beauty — 'a cloth draped on a naked body should cover her bosom and hips, every other pore must throb for the cloth'" (*S* 95). The idealised image of an eroticised "untouched" female is presented to the spectator/reader. Where does this description or idiom migrate from? At a first reading of these lines, what is evident is the eroticised representation of a woman whose body is exposed as it is concealed. Tabassum's imagery here is closer to a harem odalisque than a Greek statuary. The sources still remain widely unclear and obscure though its images signify the transitoriness and eroticism associated with Orientalist depictions of harem inmates, and we are uncertain as to whether these lines exist in the Arabic lexicon, are references to idioms or scriptures, or if these are apocryphal in nature. A potential additional source for Tabassum's references to, or constructions of, visions of Eden/paradise and houris might also stem from Ghalib's ghazals. Tabassum's allusion to Ghalib's ghazal "Taskeen ko hum na roye jo" is first documented in her reflective piece titled "My Story" (S 118), offering a stronger possibility that Tabassum's constructions of Eastern domestic spaces, and her use of poetic language, relates to or is influenced by her reading of

---

[182] *Annotations to Ulysses*, ed. Sam Slote, Marc A. Mamigonian, and John Turner, entries:
"From a childhood vision of Eden in Thomas Traherne's (English poet and theologian, 1637–74) Centuries of Meditations (unpublished until 1908): 'The Corn was Orient and Immortal Wheat, which never should be reaped, nor was ever sown. I thought it had stood from everlasting to everlasting' (152). Corn is used in the sense of wheat, its most common sense in British English (*OED*); see also note at 12.116. The image of a wheaten belly occurs in Song of Songs 7:2 (King James): 'Thy navel is like a round bowl never wanting cups. Thy belly is like a heap of wheat, set about with lilies"
3.44: Womb of sin That is, Eve's womb, because sin originated through her (Genesis 3:1–6)"
3.45: made not begotten Whereas humans are made by God, Jesus Christ was 'begotten' from the Father's own nature and substance. This phrase reverses the formulation of the Nicene Creed which states that Jesus was 'Begotten not made' (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. Nicene Creed)."

figures such as Ghalib. Joyce relies on dominant circulated images of the orient/oriental to convey the experience of the East as well as to represent the East as topos as Wajida Tabassum looks to more local sources (Urdu, classical Persian poetry) for her representation of domestic colonial spaces. Given Tabassum's anti-imperialist and feminist critique of Hyderabadi society, her deployment of such idioms may reflect the highly metaphorical quality of Ghalib's poetry rather than the circulation of colonial or Orientalist tropes. Joyce's and Tabassum's reliance on potential philosophical sources for the construction of the East offers for me a foundation upon which to begin to read connections between the two disparate modernists. Where Joyce's personal library records numerous items as possible sources for the composition of his chapters, in "Meri Kahaani" ("My Story"), one learns of how Tabassum's personal access to libraries is greatly constrained due to the "shrunken stock of books" that she had at her disposal in Hyderabad (*S* 118).

The Nautch Girl in Colonial Writing and Women Performers in *Sin* and *Ulysses*

In the twentieth-century fiction of Wajida Tabassum, liminal figures encompass, but are not limited to, nautch girls, performing women, courtesans and dancers, prostitutes, eunuchs, and the "discarded" women of the Nawab's harems each of whom have been subject to exoticising and dehumanizing characterization in Orientalist imagination.[183] The dissonance between the exotic "text" that the Orientalist study and reality have often led to Orientalists marking their contempt or disinterest in the object of their study, a phenomenon most seen in the Englishman's engagement with the nautch girl, which traditionally began with endorsement of the exotic and erotic courtesan, but which later quickly descended into contempt and disgust. In Tabassum's *Sin,* one encounters the figure of the "nautch girl"

[183] See "Glossary".

(Indian dancing girl, courtesan, or hereditary female performer) in the character of Gauhar Jaan, which stages the anxieties of the imperial imagination as well as the misrepresentative stereotypes surrounding the nautch dancer as a public woman. The nautch has often raised questions of propriety since they possessed a higher degree of freedom than married women, had access to space and movement, and led a nondomestic and nonmarital lifestyle which offered their performing bodies for the consumption of the male gaze (Jagpal 257). The nautch girl has been the subject of descriptions in English colonialist representations, nineteenth-century treatises, missionary and reformist accounts, colonial iconography, and travel writings. The interest in the figure of the nautch has extended to their representation in reformist and missionary literature as subjects of rescue work and narrative (Wallace 187).

In assigning narrative space and agency to the marginalised figure of the nautch girl in "Fallen Venus", Tabassum explores the implications of reducing her professional identity to sex-work while at the same time drawing attention to the endurance of Orientalist discourse in modernist Indian fiction. A close reading of Tabassum's text reveals the highly eroticised colonial identity of the "nautch girl". Gauhar Jaan is often a "vision of exquisiteness and conceit" performing before a "fawning audience" (*S* 8). As English settlers grew in India in the eighteenth century, so did the means of organizing English amusements. Dancing was one of the chief amusements alongside riding, hunting, and shooting and engaging troops of dancing girls (Spear 34). Tabassum's descriptions of Gauhar Jaan's "coy ways" (*S* 9) might appear to reproduce descriptions of "nautch girls" and their movements circulated in nineteenth-century treatises as coquettish or enticing (Walker 559). There is a gap, I argue, between such a description (advanced by a male infatuated lover, Sabir, in the first instance) and the reality of Gauhar Jaan's performance. The "nautch" in particular has taken the form of a spectacle: "To see a nautch was something like attending the ballet in Europe, with the difference that the troop always came to a private house; in the transition period it was the

substitute for the theatre" (Spear 35). In colonial sources, what is known as "dancing girls" or temple prostitutes or devadasis are dedicated to a temple and its deity, who forsake human marriage (Beverley 204). The nautch has often raised questions of propriety: "It is their languishing glances, wanton smiles, and attitudes not consistent with decency, which are so much admired,' (Spear 35). By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the nautch soon became a subject of derision and contempt on the English side. In "Fallen Venus", Tabassum imagines how a "nautch girl" crosses the threshold into an "unyielding ritualist" home as an unlikely bride, only to be subject to further stigma, isolation, and rules of untouchability (*S* 11). What is noteworthy is how Tabassum's imaginative portrayal of a nautch bride confronting the false respectability of the noble household becomes an unconventional subject of twentieth-century fiction. It is possible to raise productive questions about constructed identities as the nautch girl in Tabassum's fiction and the challenges her fiction presents to the enduring legacies of colonial and Orientalist tropes.

That the courtesan in Tabassum's "Fallen Venus" is invited to perform at weddings as "centrepiece" is indicative not only of artistry in one sense but also the performance of class and sophistication in "wealthy" or "stately" homes that has traditionally been associated with the nautch girl: Gauhar Jaan, performing the mujra at a wedding, functions in the first instance primarily as a "testimony to grandeur" (*S* 7).[184] Though the nautch girl is invited into the stately home as a decorative piece and a symbol of wealth as in this instance, public figures such as the nautch were not expected to cross the acceptable thresholds of the sharif household as it would constitute the defilement of the respectable home. These notions were reinforced by nineteenth-century Victorian perceptions of performing women, tawaifs, and devadasis as diseased, immoral, or fallen women, who were stigmatised by the British imperial regime in India on the basis of racial, sexist, and Orientalist laws and literary

[184]See "Glossary".

productions. Tabassum's "Fallen Venus" is thus radically new in not only staging the predicament of the nautch, but also in pushing the limits of Urdu prose and the sharif conventions of reading which would be resistant to imagining the nautch woman cross the norms of acceptable social behaviour and the thresholds of the sharif household as a new bride. Gauhar Jaan, representative of the nautch girl, is commonly perceived as a prostitute by characters in the story. The inner thoughts of several characters, primarily her lover Sabir and his mother Amma Bi, reveal these attitudes as intrinsic colonial thinking: "[f]or days on end, a battle raged in his mind. 'How can I lose my heart to a nautch girl who serves hearts and bodies. How?'" (*S* 7). Tabassum troubles this distinction between nautch and prostitute and pushes back against Orientalist stereotypes while presenting readers with a radical feminist critique of patriarchal Hyderabadi society. Tabassum emphasises Amma Bi's religiosity to demonstrate the problems that Gauhar Jaan was likely to experience as a bride in the sharif home. Amma Bi "prays five times a day, observed fasts, and went into seclusion during Ramzan" (*S* 11), emphasising the conventions of the sharif household. Amma Bi objects to her son's conjugal union with "a tainted woman from a brothel" (*S* 11) — "[t]hey destroy homes, how can she nurture one?" (*S* 11); elsewhere, she argues, "Son, feet that know the thrills of a mujra cannot be still within the four walls of a home. How can a woman who has seen countless men, be satisfied by just one?" (*S* 12). Where she is invited into wealthy homes to entertain and seduce, within the sharif household of Amma Bi, Gauhar Jaan primarily poses the problem of contamination.

"Fallen Venus" documents the misogyny infesting the colonial city of Hyderabad — men who stalk and scrutinise Gauhar Jaan and who frequent brothels are among the first to shame her, "You are as used as the flaccid remains of a flower" (*S* 13), they retort, a phenomenon which meets its precedent in Stephen in *A Portrait*, "His lips would not bend to kiss her" (*P* 114). The courtesan is often overwhelmingly pursued by the "infamy" of

preconception as well as misfortune which "stalks" her much like the men surrounding her and refusing to "leave" her (*S* 13, 16). In Tabassum, "fallen women" go by many names, and various metaphors of clothing are often deployed as descriptors of perceived purity: thus, the harlot is also the "tainted woman", "sullied woman", and the "cheap slut" (*S* 11-12). The recurring trope of the "fallen" woman in Joyce and Tabassum signifies to readers and consumers of modernist fiction how prostitution and untouchability in these respective modernist texts is represented both as "product" and "problem" of the empire. Though the nautch girl crosses the threshold from public or performing woman to a bride in a "respectable" household (signalled by the transition from her former name Gauhar Jaan to her newly adopted bridal name Dulhan Begum), her clothing, which she has retained, still signifies the life of the public woman: her work in the public domain ensures that her reputation precedes her. As a result, each of the nautch girl Gauhar Jaan's moves is surveyed, scanned, and scrutinised lecherously wherever she is physically present. She is recognisable in the city by personalised markers such as her decorated clothing: "[h]e recognized Dulhan Begum from a mujra gathering and scanned her like a searchlight, then whistled. Begum raised her head and he flirted with a snigger. 'Darling, what brought you to this roof? Your wet hair? I have ample muscle and money. Why not my house?'" (*S* 13). Tabassum documents the objectification of the nautch and the growing exploitation of the nautch identity by other characters in the story, such as Dulhan Begum's sister-in-law Zehra. Dulhan Begum's clothes are borrowed by her sister-in-law Zehra so that she is mistaken for Gauhar Jaan, the "prostitute", when she carries out a clandestine affair (*S* 14-15). The nautch girl's response signals the double-standards of moralistic discourse: "Dear child, if you use my clothing, it is my clothing that will get sullied as it has in the past. But, all the holy water will fail to wash away the stains on the fabric of your life" (*S* 16). Where Amma Bi's suspicion and slander of Gauhar Jaan stemmed from her association with the space of the mujra,

Tabassum demonstrates how Dulhan Begum retains her virtue and "purity" while Zehra, her sister-in-law from within the sharif household, betrays the conventions and values that her mother holds dear.

Tabassum's story documents how Gauhar Jaan crosses the threshold of the brothel where she was a "precious commodity" to the respectable home, where she is ostracised as an untouchable body in a heteronormative twentieth-century household (*S* 15). Her very presence is feared to defile and disrupt the sanctity of the home. Amma Bi's description of Dulhan Begum as superfluous body occurs in various textual instances, demonstrating the conflation of "performing women" with "prostitute" and "contagion": "I always say, a whore, like chickenpox, cannot stay inside the house," (*S* 11, *S* 12, *S* 16). The nautch girl stirs unbridled fears of female sexuality, causing her to be conflated with contagious disease while signalling the failures and double standards of heteronormative sharif households. The implication is that unbridled female sexuality carries with it the threat of contagion and that the sharif household is not equipped by design to house or contain public women. While Amma Bi evokes the exotic element associated with the courtesan (the "thrills" of the mujra), the allusion to contagion points us to the stigma associated with the figure of the courtesan in colonial India. Such an association of the "nautch girl" with contagious disease has its roots in British colonialism and Hindu social reform theories of the twentieth century. Through the medium of print (pamphlets and newspapers), nautch girls were increasingly associated with bringing about bodily weakness and disease in the twentieth century. The fear of female sexuality and the breaking down of spiritual succour and bodily immunity can be discerned in Amma Bi's palpable apprehensions about the presence of Gauhar Jaan in the house. Court rhetoric in the Indian context of the twentieth century has traditionally conflated the image of a prostitute with moral and physical contamination (Rai 164). Amma Bi's conflation of the

prostitute with disease is thus rooted in colonialist discourse, which found its way into the law and literature paradigm in the second half of the twentieth century.

Contrary to normative gender norms in twentieth-century Hyderabad, Tabassum's construction of the nautch girl attempts to reconfigure questions of respectability in modern times. Tabassum stages the courtesan as "centrepiece" of the house not only in the storyworld, but also on a symbolic level to lend readers access to the courtesan's own voice — one among many symbolic voices that British imperialist discourse sought to erase, and limit almost entirely to their merit in sexual transactions. The courtesan is a construction of the male gaze, as Molly or Gerty remain constructions of pornographic fantasy. Molly Bloom's construction in traditional scholarship on Joyce as "wanton" and "immoral" has derived from her social attitude to men (Brown 3).[185] She is largely assumed to be "completely promiscuous", "sexually rapacious", and "sexually indifferent" in her choice of partners (Killeen 300). However, it is worth interrogating if her construction as "immoral" derives from her identity as a public performer — more specifically, a professional singer — as is the case with Tabassum's women. While it is true that Molly is simultaneously constructed as a public performer who has also been framed as having multiple "conquests" with other men, there is no intrinsic or suggestive colonial link between Molly's musicianship and her traditional construction as "immoral", though Molly and Boylan arrange a concert tour which facilitates their extramarital affair. While textual moments do not overtly appear to be suggestive of a societal conflation of her professional singing career with her sexual promiscuity (as in the case of the nautch girls in the Indian context, for instance) — Molly's concerns are primarily with the range of her repertory and competition from nationalist elements, demonstrating her ambitious preoccupation with her vocation as singer and aspiring prima donna (*U* 628) — it is worth noting the parodying voice of the narrator in "Cyclops",

[185]See Brown 1985.

who references Molly as the "chaste spouse of Leopold" and her "bountiful bosoms", and the timing of such a narratorial interjection i.e. a few lines after Bloom is asked about Molly's singing and Boylan's organisation of the tour (*U* 262).

In the opening passages of *Sin*, readers are introduced to the nautch girl mostly as a textual construction of the dominant power group— men—gazing at her at a mujra gathering. The nautch girl is constructed and represented by the male spectator Sabir, who is infatuated with her at the brothel: "Gauhar Jaan, a vision of exquisiteness and conceit, knew the art of seduction. She teasingly slipped out of his gaze and walked over to the jeweller waiting with all his gems on exhibit" (*S* 8). Her "coy ways" fascinate him though as readers we do not gain access to Gauhaar Jaan's movements, only descriptions of her movements as focalised from the perspective of the man; in this case, Sabir (*S* 9). The function of such a constant iteration of the nautch girl as mistress or seductress is to draw attention to the dominant imagery in Orientalist treatises: words such as "exquisiteness" and "seduction" confirm the attributes of performing women as the very embodiment of carnal desire within colonial systems of knowledge production whilst depriving them of their artistic or cerebral preoccupations (*S* 8). Gauhar Jaan's refracted portrayal by the men around her, as when they allude to prostitutes having the "same eye for everyone", or by Amma Bi's fear of female sexuality is challenged by Gauhar Jaan's feminist voice (*S* 9). Unlike the model of the Oriental woman who never spoke of herself or represented her own "emotions, presence, or history", Tabassum is sensitive to avoid the portrayal of Gauhar Jaan/Dulhan Begum as mute or voiceless (Said 6).[186]

The entrenched social misogyny in the phrase from "Nausicaa" in *Ulysses* "Why have women such eyes of witchery?" is a close parallel to Tabassum's critique of dichotomous representations of women as either witch/whore or pious/virgin, used as tools to

[186]See Said 1995.

police and control women's sexuality and prescribe sexual and gender norms in the twentieth century (*U* 286). The whore/virgin dichotomy is carried further in "Penelope": "I suppose she was pious because no man would look at her twice", where women are categorised either as religious, private, and pure in stark opposition to immoral, public, and loose on the other (*U* 608). In a curious parallel, Tabassum demonstrates the persistence of such dichotomous thinking in twentieth-century Hyderabad. To illustrate, consider the textual episode detailing Sabir's infatuation with the nautch girl and her elevation from her social station in the brothel as a deceiving, shameless, money-hungry prostitute (*S* 9-10) and carrier of disease to the rank of a "chaste woman" in the respectable, heteronormative home, achieved through the righteous intervention of the love of a "pure" man as Sabir (*S* 11-12, 16). Sabir's allusion to Gauhar Jaan's virtue betrays the dichotomous colonial logic of purity: "As bashful as women in noble homes…she has all the ornaments of a chaste woman," (*S* 9). The "brothel" and the "(respectable) home" are further posited as dichotomous spatial locations by most characters in Tabassum's fictional world and are associated with differing value systems which Tabassum seeks to overturn. The association of performing women with movement in the public sphere, as opposed to the confinement of women in domestic colonial spaces (such as the zenana or the harem), is also cause for suspicion for women in the text. That they undertake travel for a living, and do not confine themselves to heteronormative gender roles implicit in the "sacred" boundaries of the respectable home becomes the basis of the courtesan's comparison or association with fast-spreading contagion. The presence of the nautch girl in "boundless" spaces such as the bazaar (unsanitised space as opposed to the confines of the respectable home) poses the threat of contamination by the "unregulated female body", extending to a symbol of an exotic and deviant India (Jagpal 256).

As Malcolm Sen has shown, Orientalism depends on the intertwined web of references gaining authenticity through repetition of symbols and motifs (Sen 59). The

courtesan is conjured in sexual fantasies in *Ulysses*: "What possibility suggested itself? The possibility of exercising virile power of fascination in the not immediate future after an expensive repast in a private apartment in the company of an elegant courtesan, of corporal beauty," (*U* 594). In the particular context of "Ithaca", Orientalist language and misogynist ideals intersect to depict the courtesan's body as an exoticised, unrealised imaginative territory ("fascination"), which calls out for the self-possession of the "virile" male reader, who is invited to a heightened state of arousal. There is an emphasis on the carnal beauty of the courtesan (her body and desirability) at the same time in which readers are presented with the misogynistic ideal that male sexual power, encompassing vigour, extends to the male power of imagination. Virility in the specific context of "Ithaca" could also be associated with the performativity of self-control, emanating from proximity to a courtesan within an enclosed space (a brothel or, as in this instance, a private apartment). The word "virile" here is redolent of the conventions of romance novels and sentimental fiction previously encountered in "Nausicaa", where Gerty details Bloom's most "virile" moments:

> Passionate nature though he was Gerty could see that he had enormous control over himself. One moment he had been there, fascinated by a loveliness that made him gaze, and the next moment it was the quiet gravefaced man, selfcontrol expressed in every line of his distinguishedlooking face. (*U* 296)

In this scene from "Nausicaa", Joyce deploys narrative accrual, where Bloom's self-control is alluded to more than once to reinforce the perceived force and vigour of Bloom's masculinity in Gerty's imagination. This kind of self-control is asserted in spite of his perceived nature as "passionate" and the illusory and irresistible "loveliness" of Gerty. As in "Ithaca", where the courtesan's presence tantalises Bloom, here Bloom is supposedly in rapture of Gerty, his beloved, who remains (as the courtesan) within his reach. Gerty's tone here is idealistic in its adoration of the man who combats his baser instincts ("enormous control") to compose

himself in the face of a passionate encounter with his beloved. In "Circe", the immortal beauty of the Nymph presents itself in dark contrast to the "corporal beauty" of the courtesan in "Ithaca" or the illusory fascination with Gerty in "Nausicaa", with Bloom in undue praise of the Nymph's "classic curves" (*U* 445).

Fictional representations in the twentieth century such as *Kalapani* reproduce Orientalised depictions of Hyderabad in the mid twentieth century, which presents the colonial city as "... an orientalized world of dilettante poets, drunken itinerants, and sympathetic courtesans, inhabiting the fabulous estates, enchanting brothels, and dark alleys of the labyrinthine city" (Beverley 147). The reproduction of Orientalised Hyderabad is arguably witnessed to a degree in *Sin.* In *Sin,* Tabassum's use of Urdu is in keeping with the representation of the "flowery" vernacular of courtesans and prostitutes who are central figures in her fiction; more significantly, her use of Dakhini Urdu primarily serves as the representation of the "decaying world" of the feudal elite whom she represents and critiques in her modernist prose. Colonial writings have often cast Hyderabad as a menacing reminder of the "ungovernable and unknowable subcontinent" that the British had largely subjected to their reign of "law and order" (Beverley 154). Tabassum's *Sin* foregrounds the destabilising potentials of the "ungovernable state" within the story world. According to Eric Beverley, while [....] extant evidence reveals the "friction between the state apparatuses of Hyderabad and British India" (Beverley 193), writers such as Tabassum probably intended to represent the ambivalence of conceiving of Hyderabad as a frontier zone:

> [...]frontier conditions served as a vital political and social resource for people who ran afoul of the colonial legal regime, such as 'hereditary criminals,' fugitives, sex workers, bootleggers, and carrying traders. Their lives were bound up with contestations between the two governments, and ongoing institutional unevenness. (Beverley 193)

Tabassum's portrayal of sex-workers against the destabilising powers of the frontier state is potent. The setting of the stories against the "frontier" conditions of Hyderabad allows Tabassum imaginative freedom in conceiving of her female protagonists as agential actors in an oppressive colonial regime, reframing questions of criminality usually extended to the sex workers populating her storyworld to demonstrate the criminality of the imperial state. These frontier conditions also allowed Tabassum the ideal conditions to stage the oppressions stemming from patriarchy at the level of the home and the nation, and its complicity in regulating oppressive discourses of morality. Veena Talwar Oldenburg has contended that sex work in South Asia signified a novel form of womanhood offering liberation from the oppressions of community, gender roles, and class (Beverley 203). Oldenburg has argued that, for many women, taking up the occupation of a tawa'if was a path to liberation from oppressive social structures: "It would be no exaggeration to say that their 'life-style' is resistance to rather than a perpetuation of patriarchal values" (261). Tabassum is first of her kind in representing the "forbidden" and stigmatised world of courtesans and sex-workers in Indian modernist fiction. To the argument that the ambiguities in her representation of the destabilised frontier of Hyderabad and her caricature of the despotic state may potentially reinforce imperial or Orientalist visions of native civilisations as primitive, one could argue that Tabassum's characters reveal strong anti-imperialist and feminist sympathies in their reactions against and/or critique of the imperial state and patriarchy.

The Representation of the Harem and the Eunuch

Carol Shloss has pointed out the similarities between Leopold Bloom's fantasies with late nineteenth century travel writers and explorers whilst also tracing ancient sources behind his fantasies of the Orient as a place to indulge in sensual delights (107). Shloss also undoes

Bloom's sumptuous fantasies in revealing the underlying social and religious realities in harem contexts. I argue here that examining Tabassum's fiction alongside Joyce's offers new insight on representation of harem practices, deviant sexuality, and empire. The word "harem" appears in relation to Oliver Gogarty's 1906 articles, which calls out the false righteousness of the English common man, army, and nation: "he cannot perceive that at his very feet in India are slave-compounds, where women are incarcerated with more than the horrors of the harem to be debauched at the good pleasure of the Army" (*SL* 108). Gogarty's reference to the harem in this context is characterised by phrases as "incarcerated", "horror", and debauchery which he deploys to demonstrate the greater horrors inflicted by the English Army "half-leprous with venereal excess" (*SL* 108). The imagery of being incarcerated in the harem and exploited by lustful Nawabs is one that Tabassum relies on in her representation of Oriental despotism in *Sin.* The harem as referred to in Gogarty's article, in local terms, is closer to the brothel. This points to how the "harem" as a concept has implied a "bundled set of images" (Booth 17) which remains "ubiquitous and elusive" (Booth 4), encompassing "long-standing stereotypical notions" that has conventionally been associated with "passivity, silence, incarceration, and sensuality" in the Anglophone lexicon, especially in relation to Islamicate societies (Booth 18).[187] In order to make sense of the term as it occurs in Tabassum, I think through the harem not just as gendered space but also as a site embodying complex symbolic potentials for the realisation of Tabassum's modernist project.

A primary reading of *Sin* reveals how Tabassum relies heavily upon the image of the imperial harem in her modernist portraits of colonial India (comprising the wives of the Nawab, eunuchs, and the servant class) and her construction of the harem foregrounds the challenges and transgressions of political authoritarianism. In *Sin,* the word "harem" appears as an arrangement of domestic space in the story "The Flesh Market" (*S* 31), where for the

[187]See Booth 2010 in Works Cited.

first time the term is invoked in relation to the "customs of [the nawab's] palace" (*S* 30), which readers quickly learn as being oppressive and exploitative in nature. The despotic nature of the colonial state is described by Tabassum as follows:

> Most of Hyderabad city belonged to Habib Yar Jung. His ancestors were close to the royalty and his estate was a collection of rewards for royal sycophancy. It was dotted with edifices of his elders — from mansions, deoris and havelis to separate wings for servants. The Nawab's grandfather had been the lifeline of a top trader in the city. The manor was built on the merchant's instructions, stretching from the awami gate all the way to the men's section and the driveway. Pathways laid with cobbled red stone and gem-studded floors. If there was an attempt to pry them out, the suspect would be lashed. All his buildings in the city were rented out to his subjects, who kept their heads bowed. Sometimes, they did glance skywards to question their imprisoned lives. (*S* 31)

Tabassum explores the connections between the city of Hyderabad and native surveillance systems. She constructs the city as a collection of several edifices that are built on royal sycophancy, which ensures that there is monetary or palatial reward in return for information on the Nawab's subjects, whether this is documenting the presence of young women in the city who could join the Nawabs' harem, the city's "fallen women", or information on traitors with intentions to overturn the Nawab's security in the region. Surveillance, as C.A. Bayly has demonstrated, has been a vital dimension of the "science of kingship" (Bayly 10). Tabassum's fiction abounds in references to homes under surveillance for women in particular: "A well-heeled home with three daughters was found and the eldest was chosen to become his bride. A porcelain young woman, as fresh as dew, had him hypnotized at first sight*"* (*S* 53). As the text shows, the women being "chosen" to become the Nawab's bride are, in the first instance, romanticised for their physical attributes. In "The Alms of Death",

the Nawab preys on younger girls for "longer years of youth" (*S* 90). Here what is purportedly the private sphere (the house and the harem in particular) emerges as fraught literary spaces embodying imperial exploitations of the servant class for both physical and sexual labour. Surveillance systems undergird Tabassum's colonial city: the more desirable the young woman, the more intense the city's gaze on her (*S* 32, *S* 137).

While the word "harem" semantically implies "inviolable space", Tabassum paradoxically represents the harem as a site of bodily transgression as part of her feminist critique (Booth 5). Molly Bloom discerningly turns over the transgressions of the female body in her soliloquy, alluding to Boylan's violation of the boundaries of her body: "no manners no refinement nor no nothing in his nature slapping us behind like that on my bottom" (*U* 638). "Penelope" is staged in Molly's bed, foregrounding the deployment of psychological space. Tabassum similarly explores questions of the inviolability of the borders and boundaries of women's spaces and bodies in the harem, which are nevertheless challenged with impunity by men and oppressive imperial powers. The word "harem" intriguingly occurs in *Sin* in relation to the deployment of the phrase "harem's new delights" in "The Flesh Market" to signal the women being picked for inclusion in the space for uncontested male pleasure (*S* 32). As a radical feminist critique of patriarchal Hyderabadi society, Tabassum's prose shows how the promise of conjugal intimacies, quotidian niceties, and sustenance are used to lure the women into the harem. Women are very quickly referred to in terms of their incarcerated and sub-human status: "Ingenuous captives… rounded up like livestock" (*S* 29). The phenomenon of women in domestic settings being reduced to "cattle" tropes, observable also in Rashid Jahan's modernist prose, emerges in Wajida Tabassum's portrait of the paradoxes of colonial life and modernity in India, as when Tabassum details the plight of the "pale and powerless" women in the harem (*S* 29). As a critique of religion and patriarchy, Tabassum's fiction shows how virginal qualities define

entry into the harem: thus, the recurring emphasis on the city's "nubile beauties" (*S* 29). When a divorce is carried out by the Nawab to "usher out" the women in the harem and to make room for the new entrants, these women are catalogued and reduced to mere numbers, as we have previously seen in the case of the women in the laundries in Chapter Two: "Salima Begum, fourteen, Qamar Sultana, sixteen, Raisa Zamani, fifteen, Pyari Bi, thirteen, Mubarak Begum, Zehra Bibi, Fatima Begum, Suraiya, Nishat Ara…Their names kept rolling off Mirza's tongue. The same words were said to each one and divorce deeds were handed out" (*S* 30). In Tabassum's representation of Hyderabad, the Nawab's imperial powers extend from state surveillance over the city to state control over medical practitioners (the hakim) and minoritarian but authoritative figures such as the eunuch.

"Up, further up!" and "The Flesh Market" are among the earliest in the collection to explore the psychological effects of the harem. The former documents the frustration and angst of the bride and the younger women employed in the service of the Nawab in the harem: "Pasha Dulhan was adamant not to let the maids near her. Their sight sent tides of fury through her and she spewed venom" (*S* 21). The polygynous structure of the harem presumes "that she is one of several women who share the master's affection" (Booth 270). This passage from "Up, further up!" demonstrates the absence of "positive associations of camaraderie" in a female community within the harem edifice (Booth 7-8) as well as the Nawab's clear violations of not only the general conventions of marriage and familial relationships centring around love, companionship, and child-bearing, but also the conditional clauses which guard against the abuse of rights, privileges, love and affection in polygamous marriages (Alam 639). In other words, the Nawabs represented in the story fail to maintain equality of rights between the spouses they claim that religion has ordained for them. Pasha Dulhan's own sexual desires are left unmet whilst the Nawab fulfils his through the young maids in the harem: "[y]et a bride soaked in intoxicating fragrance no longer made

Nawab Sahab's heart race. She would often lie awake in an icy, bare bed" (*S* 19). In terms of spatiality, Pasha Dulhan is relegated to the fringes of the harem, and as with Molly in "Penelope", the action is centred around the marital bed. Her quotidian life in the harem revolves around her marital bed in anticipation of the Nawab's visit along and attendant conjugal intimacies: when he ceases to return to their marital bed and "weeks went by unlit by his passions", Pasha Dulhan begins to reflect on the destruction of their home and marriage: she contemplates how she becomes "the graveyard of these revelations" (*S* 19-20). The idea that women had to keep their men sexually satiated and "captivated" underpins the patriarchal construction of the harem (*S* 20). In *Ulysses*, we witness the collapse of the sanctity of the monogamous marital structure, with "Penelope" exemplifying this sense of competition between Molly and Bloom's other lovers, which we have seen Tabassum stage within the spatial coordinates of the harem. The question of men's fidelity is explored to some extent in "Penelope" in *Ulysses*:

> bad enough to get the smell of those painted women off him once or twice I had a suspicion by getting him to come near me when I found the long hair on his coat without that one when I went into the kitchen pretending he was drinking water 1 woman is not enough for them. (*U* 609)

Molly's reflection could be better understood in the twin contexts of adultery and polygyny: in either context, the monogamous marital entity collapses as it perpetuates cultural stereotypes and misogynist ideals that ascribe the failure of marriage to a perceived "lack" in the woman's ability to keep the man sexually satiated. Here, the "tease" of extramarital affairs or polygyny does not enliven the "dynamics of monogamy" either in the case of Molly nor in the case of Pasha Dulhan (Booth 270). Molly's sentiment here closely parallels the sentiments of the Pasha Dulhan's, who are circumscribed by a range of colonial attitudes. These notions range from the idea that women do not have sexual agency or are incapable of

(re)claiming desire and expressing intimacy to succumbing to the idea that men need more sex, and that entering into sexual liaisons with other partners or sanctioning the plurality of wives without following up on the concomitant conditions of the clause was justifiable in a way it was not for women.

The emergence of Pasha Dulhan's agential capabilities coincides with a palpable shift in the narrative indicating the passage of time, i.e. the arrival of children from her marriage with the Nawab, and his ongoing sexual betrayals. One of Pasha Dulhan's immediate reactions is her yearning in the face of the Nawab's betrayals to banish the "flock of nubile maids" in the harem (*S* 20). Next, she attempts to convey her own body's longings to the Nawab in vain (*S* 22). At this juncture, when Pasha Dulhan contemplates the confining effect of social compulsions, she comes to the realisation that "a revolt against tradition was beyond her power" and that ladies such as herself have only made "pretty fodder" for the home (*S* 20-21). In a fatal move in the narrative, Pasha Dulhan picks a "young adolescent boy from the palace staff" for sexual favours (*S* 21). Tabassum demonstrates how Pasha Dulhan's reclamation of her own sexuality is associated with the growing recognition of her sexual prowess: "As a woman crossed thirty, she transformed into another self. And this was a time when Pasha Dulhan was in celestial splendour, as ripe as a rising moon, every pore set to crackle" (*S* 22). Until this point in the narrative, where Pasha Dulhan has shown considerable intellectual agency in turning over matters of sexuality and gender as being underpinned by patriarchal and religious designs, for the first time, there is a reference to Pasha Dulhan in relation to her body: "Her body, moist as a wet monsoon night, was tauter than a maestro's sitar strings" (*S* 22). Compare these lines to the protagonist's affections for Mangan's sister in "Araby": "But my body was like a harp and her words and gestures were like fingers running upon the wires" (*D* 29). In each instance, the "sitar" and the "harp" are conjured to evoke the same sentiment of desire across their respective cultural contexts. These allow me

to argue that there may be more to the Joyce and Tabassum connection than has been previously examined. Given the intensity of transnational activity and the centrality of Joyce to Urdu modernists, these intertextual echoes allow one to speculate whether Tabassum had access to Joyce's oeuvre in Osmania University. Towards the end of the narrative, Pasha Dulhan beams with the "glee of a conqueror" when power relations are overturned and she has regained her own voice in the narrative (*S* 26). The declaration of sexual agency and the banality of the sexual act for the woman is a parallel found in *Ulysses*: "simply ruination for any woman and no satisfaction in it pretending to like it till he comes and then finish it off myself anyway" and "with all the talk of the world about it people make its only the first time after that its just the ordinary do it and think no more about it" (*U* 610). The attempt to demystify sex, and strip the sexual act of moral judgment, are thus thematic concerns observable in each of the two modernist texts.

Where the imperial harem has traditionally been bound with the figure of the eunuch, the eunuch appears less in Tabassum's representation of the imperial harem. Inversely, in *Ulysses*, where cross-dressing and transgender identities characterise certain episodes, the presence of the eunuch is not always bound to fantasies of the imperial harem, but is invoked in intriguing contexts inviting reinterpretations of the imaginaries at work in Joyce's avant-garde work. The space of the harem is subsumed under the general category of the oriental edifice in the textual construction of *Ulysses*, with the text opening itself more to accommodate the figure of the eunuch in the textual unconscious. Bloom conjures the early modern phenomenon of the Castrati in Vatican church music in association with the Catholic Church choir in "Lotus Eaters", the earliest introduction to the figure of the eunuch in *Ulysses:*

> Still, having eunuchs in their choir that was coming it a bit thick. What kind of voice is it? Must be curious to hear after their own strong basses. Connoisseurs. Suppose

> they wouldn't feel anything after. Kind of a placid. No worry. Fall into flesh, don't they? Gluttons, tall, long legs. Who knows? Eunuch. One way out of it. (*U* 67)

Here Bloom is critical about the role and presence of the eunuch in the Catholic Church choir ("that was coming it a bit thick") as well as the subsequent public phenomenon of the castrati singers, who emerged around the sixteenth century when women were banned from the church choir. Bloom reflects on the "kind of voice" that is produced when young boys are castrated before puberty in an attempt to retain the treble into adulthood and secure their careers as revered singers or castrati. In "Lotus Eaters", Bloom seems to be engaging with eunuchs as caricatures at large: "Fall into flesh, don't they? Gluttons, tall, long legs" (*U* 67). While scholarly glosses on "Fall into flesh, don't they?" (*U* 67) generally comment on the characterization of eunuchs as "heavy" bodies whose "...muscles [have] become permeated with fat" (Slote et al. 160), I point out that elsewhere the words "flesh" in *Ulysses* has been associated with "the spirit of the maker" (*U* 320), and that therefore these lines could potentially allude to the scriptural injunction "...the flesh is weak", thereby introducing a less critically commented reading of eunuchs as (silenced) desiring subjects. In an extension of the reflection on the eunuch in a musical context, "Sirens" introduces the eunuch in a series of free associations: "O, the women in the front row! O, I never laughed so many! Well, of course that's what gives him the base barreltone. For instance eunuchs. Wonder who's playing. Nice touch. Must be Cowley. Musical. Knows whatever note you play. Bad breath he has, poor chap. Stopped" (*U* 222). Later in "Cyclops", the castrato figures again with their "piercingly lovely notes" (*U* 253) echoing over the twilight of empire:

> The arrival of the worldrenowned headsman was greeted by a roar of acclamation from the huge concourse, the viceregal ladies waving their handkerchiefs in their excitement while the even more excitable foreign delegates cheered vociferously in a medley of cries, hoch, banzai, eljen, zivio, chinchin, polla kronia, hiphip, vive, Allah,

> amid which the ringing evviva of the delegate of the land of song (a high double F recalling those piercingly lovely notes with which the eunuch Catalani beglamoured our greatgreatgrandmothers) was easily distinguishable. It was exactly seventeen o'clock. (*U* 253)

That Joyce would introduce an early modern phenomena (such as the castrati) into the colonial context of Ireland in 1904 as a sort of shared history ("...the eunuch Catalani beglamoured our greatgreatgrandmothers", *U* 253) demonstrates the prevalence of the eunuch as disabled transgendered social subject as well as Joyce's interest in castration, sexual cultures, and minoritised desiring subjects in comparative (European, non-European) contexts (Slote et al. 160). Take, for instance, the recurrence of the term "eunuch" in "Oxen of the Sun", which suggests that Joyce appears to be building on the "shared history" of castration alluded to earlier in "Cyclops", but this time in the context of an apologue, curiously involving equine castration: "...that was a eunuch had him properly gelded by a college of doctors who were no better off than himself" (*U* 327). The word "gelded" here suggests a castrated male horse or other equine, whereas the preceding passages seem to allude to bullock or cattle (ideally, then, this would have to entail the use of such phrases as "steer" or "wether"). In the second, following on from the phrase "gelded" and the use of the word "eunuch", Joyce could possibly be functioning in a range of free associations, or more deliberately establishing an Irish connection between castration in music and competitive sport: in each context, castration appears to be employed as a tool to ensure responsiveness to effective training and quality of performance. It is interesting also to note that the word "geld" stems from Old Norse meaning "barren". Though there has been a tendency in commentary to suggest that castrated male singers are incapable of desire or insemination, the dream-like setting in "Circe" in *Ulysses* seem to defy these assumptions (*U* 404) and offers Joyce ideal conditions to ventriloquize eunuchs as desiring subjects:

> Moses begat Noah and Noah begat Eunuch and Eunuch begat O'Halloran and O'Halloran begat Guggenheim and Guggenheim begat Agendath and Agendath begat Netaim and Netaim begat Le Hirsch and Le Hirsch begat Jesurum and Jesurum begat MacKay and MacKay begat Ostrolopsky and Ostrolopsky begat Smerdoz and Smerdoz begat Weiss and Weiss begat Schwarz and Schwarz begat Adrianopoli and Adrianopoli begat Aranjuez and Aranjuez begat Lewy Lawson and Lewy Lawson begat Ichabudonosor and Ichabudonosor begat O'Donnell Magnus and O'Donnell Magnus begat Christbaum and Christbaum begat ben Maimun and ben Maimun begat Dusty Rhodes and Dusty Rhodes begat Benamor and Benamor begat Jones-Smith and Jones-Smith begat Savorgnanovich and Savorgnanovich begat Jasperstone and Jasperstone begat Vingtetunieme and Vingtetunieme begat Szombathely and Szombathely begat Virag and Virag begat Bloom et vocabitur nomen eius Emmanuel. (*U* 404)

That eunuchs are incapable of begetting is part of the logic of the waking day, but "Circe" defies narrative realism in suggesting that a eunuch is seemingly part of Bloom's lineage, which supports the characterization of Bloom as cuckolded "womanly man" in "Circe". Technically, if Bloom came down a line of ancestors originating from a eunuch, he would never exist, but paternity for Joyce is "legal fiction", which Stephen Dedalus recalls in *Ulysses* (*U* 844). Alternatively, Joyce could be suggesting the possibility in "Circe" of "crossover" modes of writing that intersect gender and textuality to produce a fascinating set of connections: Bloom's bodily transformations, the problematizing of gender binaries, and Bloom's inability to father sons each point to the development of a "transgendered textuality" in "Circe". Bloom is constructed by Bello as a womanly man who is "impotent", and the

word “eunuch” is uttered in the context to emphasise a form of hypermasculinity that Bloom does *not* embody (*U* 441); Bloom rather is constructed in effeminate terms. This is further supported by the appearance of the word “viragitis” in “Circe” (*U* 420), which Slote, Mamigonian, and Turner gloss as “womanliness” or “impotence”, a coinage deriving from “virago” a “man-like woman” attributed to Bloom (977). In a later encounter with the immortal Nymph, there is an attempt at castrating Bloom when the Nymph strikes at his loins in retaliation for sullying her innocence (*U* 451).

The discourse of purity curiously runs through “Circe” as it does in Tabassum’s “Up, further up!”, offering perhaps one of the strongest intertextual echoes yet. If one were to juxtapose the lines where the Nymph warns Blooms, “You are not fit to touch the garment of a pure woman” (*U* 451), against Tabassum’s “A man is like that rug in the courtyard, many feet walk over it and their marks are overlooked. But a woman is a pristine white sheet. Her purity is marred by a faint stain”, colonial mores of purity render more concrete connections (*S* 24). Bloom and the Nawab in each of these contexts are threatened with castration in response. Elsewhere in “Sirens”, the term “eunuch” originates when Bloom listens to Ben Dollard’s base barreltone (*U* 307). In a later, phantasmagorical passage in “Circe”, a Libyan eunuch is introduced in Virag’s speech:

> He had a father, forty fathers. He never existed. Pig God! He had two left feet. He was Judas Iacchia, a Libyan eunuch, the pope's bastard. (he leans out on tortured forepaws, elbows bent rigid, his eye agonising in his flat skullneck and yelps over the mute world) A son of a whore. Apocalypse. (*U* 424)

The overwhelming image is of a Libyan eunuch, of suspect and possibly blasphemous origin, consigned fatalistically to an “apocalypse” (*U* 424). The eunuch here is of African descent, which is important in a consideration of the eunuch’s construction along racial differences and subsequent characterization as pathogenic and threatening. “Porco Dio” or “Pig God” is a

reference to a euphemistic Triestine oath, one which Joyce himself uses in his letters; alongside "pope's bastard" and "son of a whore", "Pig God" completes the abuses hurled upon the Libyan eunuch (*SL* 99). Though the scene is phantasmagorical, the eunuch is summoned in relation to the Oriental, as the textual unconscious of "Circe" makes questionable claims about the (real or imagined) ancestry of the eunuch. The recurring phrase "he never existed" could point to the systematic erasure of narratives and lives of eunuchs. In these conditions, the eunuch either is confined to non-existence, relegated to the margins, or doomed to an apocalyptic fate, each of which is often the construction and fate of Orientals in popular high imperialist accounts.

Conclusion

Wajida Tabassum's position in the Urdu cosmopolis and the likelihood of her encounter with James Joyce in some spectral capacity is reconstructed in this chapter based on new facts about Tabassum's life emerging from Reema Abbasi's translation of *Sin* and her translators' notes, as well as Nazia Akhtar's commentary on Tabassum in *Bibi's Room* (2022). Tabassum operated in the second half of the twentieth century, choosing to write in Dakhini Urdu, and centering the experiences of Indian Muslim women who themselves refuse to be reduced to their religious or gendered identities, thereby forging avant-garde tools and methods unique to Tabassum alone. The novelty of Tabassum's work not only to twentieth century readers but also to contemporary readers lies in her decadent deployment of Muslim women as avant-garde in their subversion of nationalist constructs relating to women and the home sphere. In this chapter, Tabassum is not only positioned in relation to Joyce, but also in relation to her contemporaries within a broader South Asian context to document the reception of Joyce's legacy in the context of Urdu modernism. Tabassum is also assessed in terms of her relationship to her contemporaries from and within Hyderabad in an attempt to

arrive at a critical estimate of the nature and obscurity of her archives. It is clear from extant archives that Tabassum resented her male modernist contemporaries, such as Krishan Chander, and that she distanced herself considerably from members and resources of the *PWA*.

Throughout the chapter, I contend that there are fascinating parallels between Wajida Tabassum and James Joyce, signalling strong intertextual allusions. Bloom's masochistic energies bring him closer to Tabassum's characterisation of the Nawabs (Valente 35). Tabassum may have been familiar with Joyce's modernism during her lifetime, though the exact degree of exposure to his modernism and networks cannot be ascertained, only speculated, confirming the hypercanonicity of Joyce to a degree. The allusions, however, are minor in comparison to Mulk Raj Anand or Rashid Jahan. Tabassum's modernism challenges the hypercanonicity of Joyce's modernism in the sheer singularity of her avant-garde feminist critique of Hyderabadi society. Though "fallen women" are central to Joyce and Tabassum, Joyce's fallen women tend to be consigned to more fatalistic futures (as in the resigned fate of Maria in "Clay") than Tabassum's agential presentation of female autonomy in the face of fears of female sexuality. Tabassum's marginalised status as a woman, modernist, and writer of colour, her refusal to be endorsed by the PWA or any association of writers in the modernist period, and the uniqueness of her representation of the old Deccan world order and its idiosyncrasies each pose as challenges to canonical modernism and Joyce's modernism. Her radically powerful articulation of South Asian female agency transcends Joyce's masculinist projections and anxieties surrounding female sexuality and literary genius. While Joyce's characterization of women's agency and sexuality has been evaluated, critiqued, and, in recent times, nuanced in Joyce scholarship (Eide 2009, Valente 2021, Gibbs 2023, Ebury 2025, to name a prominent few), Tabassum's portrayal radically draws from female experience, far surpassing any likely zone of influence (particularly European) in her

articulation of female agency, sexual desire, and the body. Tabassum does not imitate Joyce's avant-garde aesthetics as Anand does; in arriving *after Joyce* in terms of periodicity, she embodies the transcendence of Joyce's avant-garde aesthetics alluded to in the title of the dissertation. Her avant-garde techniques in Dakhini Urdu and her distancing from popular male writers of her time, such as Krishan Chander, show her distinct critical perspective and strong female voice in the face of patriarchal oppression. Tabassum's avant-garde fiction dramatises life in a traditionally conservative South Asian society and features protagonists who "claim and indulge in the primal" (Abbasi xii). Tabassum's women are free to feast on their desires and emotions, and are not reproduced in Orientalist stereotypes as the homogenous categorisation of harem women in Joyce's fiction. Tabassum becomes more radical than Joyce and even other Indian modernists in her imagination of female prostitutes, her uniquely avant-garde presentation of nautch women, and her powerful feminist critique of Hyderabadi society embodied in the narrative transformation of the nautch girl from Gauhar Jaan to Dulhan Begum. Though scholars have documented the difficulty of accessing Tabassum's archives, elaborated in the section titled "Modernist Readers and Reading" in the introductory chapter, her time pursuing a Master's degree at Osmania University is of special interest to me as a researcher. The future of scholarship on Wajida Tabassum lies in the search for any archival data, particularly in Osmania University, which would allow me to speculate on the modernist literature that she could potentially have been introduced to during her studies and better reconstruct her encounters with European and potentially Irish modernisms.

Conclusion

New scholarship in Joyce Studies, as signalled by the publication of *Finnegans Wake - Human and Non-Human Histories* edited by Richard Barlow and Paul Fagan (Edinburgh UP, 2024) and *James Joyce, Rural Ireland and Modernity: Beyond the Pale* by Niall Ó Cuileagáin (Edinburgh UP, 2025), combines a critical interest in Joyce's avant-garde work with an adoption of historicist approaches and methodologies. Drawing from an interest in historicised readings of Joyce and the complex conditions of modernist experimentation from the peripheries, the thesis proposes new interpretive frameworks that expand received ideas of the imaginaries at work in Joyce Studies. In broadly situating itself in the interdisciplinary fields of the medical humanities, carceral cultures, and print cultures, my research draws its methods from Joyce Studies, New Modernist Studies, and Irish Studies in interrogating the function and roles of global power networks in modernist studies, the intersections of British imperialism and disease management and control, as well as an overlapping interest in travel writing and orientalism, all the while casting a critical eye on Indian cities as crucibles of modernist production in the colonial period. As a result, the research spans a wide historical range (1900s to 1980s), examining the intersections of colonialism, modernism, medicine, and reformist writing to advance new and hitherto unexplored connections between Joyce and the modernist moment in India.

The impetus behind the research undertaken is the underlying lack of a sustained, systematic, and comparative in-depth study of the modernist moment in India against the centrality of Joyce's modernism to Indian modernists, specifically those from communities historically excluded from intellectual and artistic production who were beginning to negotiate their complex identities through a new and emerging form. As a result of such a historical exclusion, I interrogate not only what an "archive" would mean in each case but

also the questions that have been asked of it. While the *OED* lists how the term "archive" presupposes not only the sense of a "place" where public records are stored, but also "historical record", scholars such as Charu Gupta have argued for widening our understanding of the archive, troubling its predictability and allowing us to grasp it more broadly to envision archival interplay so that "interesting stories are revealed" (Gupta 15). Jon Hegglund has shown how "Ithaca" in *Ulysses* mimics "geographies of the imperial archive" (Hegglund 59). Nazia Akhtar has recently demonstrated how memory functions as testimony in the case of Tabassum's archives, even as Tabassum's own fiction has shown a layered understanding of archives in her portrait of Hyderabad as a surveillance state. Both texts represent the colonial obsession with space (Dublin and Hyderabad) as a "static geographical archive" (Hegglund 65). The underexamined colonial archives of Rashid Jahan and Wajida Tabassum present significant opportunities to introduce dynamic historical data into new analyses, questions, and comparative frameworks for interrogating private memories and histories.

James Joyce's transnationalism is explored in the decolonial contexts of Ireland and South Asia to assess the Indian modernist writers' assemblage of avant-garde methods and tools, as well as the effectiveness of their critique of empire and colonial modernity in the twentieth century in forging new decolonial solidarities. These archives are examined to gain a nuanced understanding of the way each writer represents marginalised subjectivities, sexualities, and bodies. While the research undertaken has drawn from various archival sources, the contemporaneous quality of the works examined (the proliferation of bibliographic material on Joyce, the "active" research being undertaken into Anand and Jahan, and the stagnant state of research on Tabassum, whose literary history is yet to be written) should underscore the historical significance of such a comparative undertaking. The choice to examine Mulk Raj Anand, Rashid Jahan, and Wajida Tabassum in conversation

with Joyce's modernism was a discerning one. By narrowing the range of modernist writers studied in the thesis, it was possible to investigate cross-cultural colonial and imperial concerns with public health and sanitation as well as the representation of marginalised subjectivities and sexualities. Anand, Jahan, and Tabassum questioned the colonial conflation of contagion with deviant bodies and sexualities, uniting them in their critique of the imperial roots of disease control. In this sense, their critical representations of prostitutes, venereal infection, and disease come intriguingly close to Joyce's depictions of Dublin's "venereal problems" (Lyons 32).[188] The intersections of the medical humanities, carceral cultures, and print culture analysis make the study a timely intervention in New Modernist Studies and Joyce Studies, where gaps in comparative work encompassing Indo-Irish encounters in domestic space have been felt more significantly.

The felt gaps become even more pronounced when examined in light of colonialism's intersections with medicine and the home sphere more broadly, which has guided the organising principles of the thesis. The first two chapters demonstrate the impulse to capture the modernist moment in twentieth-century Irish and Indian contexts in relation to a theorising of domestic space and healthcare. For example, although a number of illnesses and spaces in which the sick are inscribed are referenced in Joyce's letters most notably, a mention of bodily ailments, which can be broadly grouped into neuralgia attacks (*SL* 15, 70, 278, 318); rheumatism (*SL* 155, 163); typhoid fever and peritonitis relating to Joyce's brother (*SL* 20); cancer of the liver afflicting Joyce's mother (*SL* 20, 25); venereal excess and syphilis (*SL* 114, 129,157, 177, 272-273, 348); consumption (*SL* 159, 282, 315); menstruation (*SL* 40); eye-attacks (*SL* 48, 274, 290, 292, 294-295, 304-307, 337-338, 392); ailments afflicting his acquaintances (*SL* 390, 404); Joyce's death from perforated stomach ulcer (*SL* 408); ailments afflicting animals, specifically Irish cattle (*SL* 201); other miscellaneous ailments

[188]See Lyons' 1988 in Works Cited.

(*SL* 31, 52, 54, 62, 66, 112, 124, 147, 156, 225, 237, 302-303, 308, 310, 328, 335); and psychological illnesses (*SL* xxv, 189, 239, 248, 282, 377, 380-381, 406) and disorders, even cursory references to leprosy or Hansen's disease are missing in the collected letters. Building on these and other observations as well as a rigorous review of scholarship in the field, the first chapter contributes to bridging a significant gap in the literature not only in Joyce Studies from a medical humanities framework, but also in terms of advancing comparative work decentring the Eurocentric foundations of the avant-garde and centring global modernism within Joyce Studies and the New Modernist Studies.

The second chapter interrogates the modernist moment in relation to fallen women and the figure of the colonial midwife broadly against the backdrop of the Contagious Diseases Act 1868 in India, the Poor Law Acts, and the 1918 Midwives Act in Ireland. Though these chapters do not examine these acts closely in relation to the modernist prose, they still serve as the armature for the study of these texts. While the connections presented in the chapters are radically new, the area examined is fecund, offering grounds for new pathbreaking research, particularly in relation to the local midwife. It has not yet been possible for me to discuss, for example, the representation of midwifery and (rudimentary or complex) birthing tools against the rural imaginaries operating in Joyce and Jahan. While Jahan's fiction gestures toward the native dais's contempt for the white lady doctor, I have not been able to fully tease out this textual moment in relation to the institutional education and training of midwives in colonial India. Such an analysis would have enhanced the contributions of the present research in developing a more nuanced understanding of the operations of imperial medicine and caste networks in the twentieth century.

The final chapter presents historicised readings of Joyce and Tabassum but moves away from methodological frameworks drawn from the medical humanities. The chapter examines the public and discursive construction of performing women in colonial Ireland and

India, drawing on newspaper reports addressed to the Irish readers and relevant colonial sources/legal parameters in the Indian context. Though the chapter reads Joyce's and Tabassum's archives side by side, it has had to narrow its scope and survey of literature: Irish and Indian travel writing centring British readers, for instance, may have expanded the scope of references to the harem or the courtesan.

Recent advancements in Irish Studies, such as *Fitness for Freedom: Disability, Degeneration, and Modern Irish Writing* by Marion Quirici (Syracuse UP, 2026), speak to some of the connections established in Chapter Three between colonialism, disability, and desirability, which point to the future directions of the research presented in the thesis. While the chapter probed into Eugen Sandow's empire of physical culture in relation to *Ulysses* and *Sin*, there is scope to examine the colonial legacies of disability and desirability against the broader currents of misogyny, imperialism, and illness already explored in the chapter. It is also worth noting that the thesis teems with postcolonial possibilities and implications due to its preoccupation with the central questions about the expansion of modernist borders and boundaries. Scholars such as Enda Duffy (1994), Emer Nolan (1995), Vincent Cheng (1995), Attridge and Howes (2000), and others have interrogated Joyce's works as postcolonial texts. In my own research, while Tabassum has been engaged as a modernist, she emerges as a postcolonial writer due to her preoccupations with British imperialism and representation of the colonial state, on which little scholarship exists. Tabassum's work also provides opportunities to closely examine the symbolic deployment of avant-garde themes as a counterpoint to the "feminine or maternal images" of "national territory" (Nolan 167). Future work on Tabassum as a postcolonial writer would be a significant addition to scholarship in Global Modernism and World Literature. It would enable scholars to read her more effectively against the "broad cultural authority" of writers like Joyce, who have also been intriguingly explored as postcolonial (Newman 138).

Finally, the arrangement of the chapters in the thesis reflects a sense of progression in the productivity of the archives (central or peripheral) of the Indian authors examined. The chapters on Mulk Raj Anand, Rashid Jahan, and Wajida Tabassum are arranged according to their appropriation or adoption of, or their creative disaffiliation from, Joyce. Scholars worldwide have compared Joyce and Anand's modernisms, specifically in terms of modernist cartographies, and the impact of Joyce's modernist legacy has been felt simultaneously on writers in the *Angaaray* collective in the South Asian context. Rashid Jahan's encounter with Joyce remains secondhand and has not been studied systematically. The reader encounters Wajida Tabassum at the end of the thesis, which highlights the dismal state of her archives compared to those of Mulk Raj Anand or Rashid Jahan, whose archives are more productive and continue to flourish to this day. While the first two chapters document direct allusions to Joyce and trace material modes of circulation of Joyce's modernism in colonial India, the third reconstructs history to examine the possibility of an obscured Indian modernist's encounter with Joyce. Charting complex circuits of literary transmission (extending to works translated into English) and documenting modernist collisions in this way enables readers to envision Joyce's impact not only one-dimensionally (i.e., influence as "originary") but disruptively and even reciprocally in decolonial contexts. The thesis contends that transnational circuits underpinning Joyce Studies have not only developed, but are actively developing. *After Joyce* anticipates a comparativism to come.

Works Cited

Abbasi, Reema, translator. "Translator's Note." *Sin*, by Wajida Tabbassum, Hachette, 2021, pp. xi-xviii.

Agrawal, Amit, and Lekha Pandit, Monica Dalal, J.P. Shetty. "Neurological manifestations of Hansen's disease and their management." *Clinical Neurology and Neurosurgery*, vol. 107, no. 6, 2005, pp. 445–454. *Science Direct*, https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0303846705000582.

Ahmed, Shamim. Personal communication with scholar. Jan. 2025.

Akhtar, Nazia. *Bibi's Room: Hyderabadi Women and Twentieth-Century Urdu Prose.* Orient BlackSwan, 2022.

Alam, Asiya. "Polygyny, Family and Sharafat: Discourses amongst North Indian Muslims, circa 1870–1918." *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 45, no. 3, 2011, pp. 631–68. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25835694.
Orient BlackSwan, 2022.

Alexander, Neal. "The Carceral City and the City of Refuge: Belfast Fiction and Urban Form." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, vol. 33, no. 2, fall 2007, pp. 28-38. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25515676.

Ali, Ahmed, Mahmud-uz-Zafar, Rashid Jahan and Sajjad Zaheer. *Angaaray*, translated by Snehal Shingavi, Penguin Random House, 2014.

Ali, Ahmed. "The Clouds Aren't Coming." *Angaaray*, translated by Snehal Shingavi, Penguin Random House, 2014, pp. 75-88.

—. "A Night of Winter Rains." *Angaaray*, translated by Snehal Shingavi, Penguin Random House, 2014, pp. 89-104.

Alter, Stephen. "Foreword." *BISWIN SADI: Memoirs: GROWING UP IN DELHI DURING THE 1960s AND 1970s*, by Jamil Urfi, Cinammonteal, 2018, pp. 11-13.

Anand, Mulk Raj. *Conversations in Bloomsbury.* Arnold-Heinemann, 1981.

—. "The Story of My Experiment with A White Lie." *Indian Literature*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1967, pp. 28–43. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23329161.

—. *Untouchable.* Penguin Books, 1940.

Anjaria, Ulka. *Realism in the Twentieth-Century Indian Novel: Colonial Difference and Literary Form.* Cambridge UP, 2012.

Appleboom, Thierry, and Jean Klastersky. "Job of the Bible: Leprosy or Scabies?" *Mount Sinai Journal of Medicine*, vol. 74, no. 1, 2007, pp. 36-39. *EBSCOhost*, https://doi-org.dcu.idm.oclc.org/10.1002/msj.20008.

"Archive, N., Sense 1." *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford UP, March 2025, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/2641506922.

"Archive, N., Sense 2." *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford UP, March 2025, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/5589306722.

Arnold, David. *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-century India.* U of California P, 1993.

Arrington, Lauren. *W.B. Yeats, the Abbey Theatre, Censorship, and the Irish State: Adding the Half-Pence to the Pence.* Oxford UP, 2010.

Arya, Rina. "Introduction." *Abjection and Representation: An Exploration of Abjection in the Visual Arts, Film and Literature.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, pp. 1-16.

—. "Unpacking Abjection." *Abjection and Representation: An Exploration of Abjection in the Visual Arts, Film and Literature.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, pp. 16-40.

Attridge, Derek. "Joyce's Clay and the Problem of the Referent." *Tropismes,* no. 6, 1993, pp. 113-30.

Attridge, Derek, and Marjorie Elizabeth Howes. *Semicolonial Joyce.* Cambridge UP, 2000.

Bachelard, Gaston. *The Poetics of Space.* Beacon Press, 1958.

Baer, Ben. "Shit Writing: Mulk Raj Anand's Untouchable, the Image of Gandhi, and the Progressive Writers' Association." *Modernism/Modernity*, vol. 16, no. 3, 2009, pp. 575-595. *Project MUSE*, https://dx-doi-org.dcu.idm.oclc.org/10.1353/mod.0.0104.

Bandhyopadhyay, Mahuya. "Carceral Entrapments: Views from the Prison/Street Interface in India." *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 38, no. 1, spring 2020, pp. 15–32. doi:10.3167/cja.2020.380103.

Banerjee, Swapna. "Ayah's in British India." *Digital Encyclopedia of European History.* https://ehne.fr/en/encyclopedia/themes/europe-europeans-and-world/gender-and-empire/ayahs-in-british-india. Accessed February 28, 2024.

Barber, Malcolm. "Lepers, Jews and Moslems: The Plot to Overthrow Christendom in 1321." *History*, vol.66, no. 216, 1981, pp.1-17. doi:10.1111/j.1468-229X.1981.tb01356.x.

Barlow, Richard and Paul Fagan, editors. *Finnegans Wake – Human and Nonhuman Histories*. Edinburgh UP, 2024.

Barry, Kevin, editor. "Introduction." *Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing.* Oxford UP, 2000, pp. ix-xxxii.

Baudelaire, Charles. "The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays." Phaidon Press, 1965.

Bayly, C.A. *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India 1780-1880*. Cambridge UP, 1997.

Beckett, Samuel. "Dante…Bruno. Vico..Joyce." *Our Examination Round His Factification For Incamination of Work In Progress.* Faber and Faber, 1929, pp. 1-22.

Beckett, Samuel, Marcel Brion, Frank Budgen, Stuart Gilbert, Eugene Jolas, Victor Llona, Robert McAlmon, Thomas McGreevy, Elliot Paul, John Rodker, Robert Sage,

William Carlos Williams with Letters of Protest by G.V.L. Slingsby and Vladimir Dixon. *Our Examination Round His Factification For Incamination of Work In Progress.* Faber and Faber, 1929.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project*. Translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 1999.

Benzenhofer, Udo. "Joyce and Embryology: Giulio Valenti's "Lezioni Elementari di Embriologia" as a Source for "Oxen of the Sun."" *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 4, 1989, pp. 608-611. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25484990.

Berman, Marshall. *All that is Solid Melts into Air*: *The Experience of Modernity*. Penguin Books, 1988.

Berman, Jessica Schiff. "Comparative Colonialisms: Joyce, Anand, and the Question of Engagement." *Modernism/modernity*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2006, pp. 465-485. *Project MUSE*, https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/mod.2006.0056.

—. *Modernist Fiction, Cosmopolitanism and the Politics of Community*. Cambridge UP, 2001.

Berry, Adeline and Patricia Frazer. "How Sex Workers Understand Their Experiences of Working in the Republic of Ireland." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy,*18, 2021, pp. 869–884.

Beverley, Eric. *Hyderabad, British India, and the World: Muslim Networks and Minor Sovereignty, c. 1850-1950*. Cambridge UP, 2015.

Bharucha, Nilufer. "Inhabiting Enclosures and Creating Spaces: The Worlds of Women in Indian Literature in English." *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature*, vol. 29, no. 1, 1988, pp. 93-107.

Bhattacharya, Sunayani. *The Novel in Nineteenth-century Bengal: Becoming Readers in Colonial India*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2023.

Bhukya, Bhangya. *Subjugated Nomads: The Lambadas under the Rule of the Nizams*. Orient BlackSwan, 2010.

Bjork, Christopher. ""Sinted Sageness": Some Sources for Kevin in "Finnegans Wake."" *European Joyce Studies*, vol. 5, 1995, pp. 85–100. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44871043.

Blavatsky, Helena. *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*. Bernard Quaritch, 1877.

Booth, Marilyn. *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces.* Duke UP, 2010.

Booth, Wayne C. *The Rhetoric of Fiction.* U of Chicago P, 1961.

Brady, Fergus, creator. "Thomas Fitzpatrick Cartoons Dublin Core Metadata." Royal College of Physicians of Ireland, 2015. https://rcpi-heritage.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_e100076b-79cb-4477-b5a0-712e7a3dacf7/.

Brandabur, Edward. *A Scrupulous Meanness: A Study of Joyce's Early Works.* U of Illinois P, 1971.

Bressey, Caroline. "Four Women: Exploring Black Women's Writing in London, 1880–1920." *Critical Perspectives on Colonialism: Writing the Empire from Below*. Edited by Fiona Paisley and Kirsty Reid, Routledge, 2014, pp. 179-198.

Bristow, Daniel. "Cartographing Dublin." *The Palgrave Handbook of Literature and the City*. Edited by J. Tambling, Palgrave Macmillan London, 2016, pp. 93-109.

Britannica Editors. "cancan". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 31 Mar. 2022, https://www.britannica.com/art/cancan. Accessed 8 March 2026.

Brody, Saul Nathaniel. *The Disease of the Soul; Leprosy in Medieval Literature*. Cornell UP, 1974.

Brown, Richard. *James Joyce and Sexuality*. Cambridge UP, 1985.

—. “Time, Space, and the City in Wandering Rocks.” *European Joyce Studies*, vol. 12, 2002, pp. 57–72. JSTOR, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44871115.

Burgess, Anthony. *Re Joyce*. Norton, 1965.

Burton, Antoinette. “Contesting the Zenana: The Mission to Make ‘Lady Doctors for India,’ 1874-1885.” *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 35, no. 3, 1996, pp. 368-397. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/175919.

—. *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India.* Oxford UP, 2003.

—. “The Purdahnashin in Her Setting”: Colonial Modernity and the Zenana in Cornelia Sorabji's Memoirs.” *Feminist Review*, no. 65, 2000, pp. 145-158. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1395854.

Campbell, Joseph, and Henry Morton Robinson. *A Skeleton Key To Finnegans Wake: Unlocking James Joyce’s Masterwork*. New World Library, 1944.

Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories.* Princeton UP, 1993.

Chattopadhyay, Shinjini. “Giacomonic Oxen: “Avant-texte” or Intertext?” *European Joyce Studies*, vol. 28, 2018, pp. 82-94. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44871461.

Chaudhuri, Supriya. “Modernisms in India.” *The Oxford Handbook of Modernisms*. Edited by Peter Brooker, Andrzej Gasiorek, Deborah Longworth, and Andrew Thacker, Oxford UP, 2010, pp. 942–960.

—. “Phantasmagorias of the Interior: Furniture, Modernity, and Early Bengali Fiction.” *Journal of Victorian Culture*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2010, pp. 173–193. https://doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2010.491653.

Cheng, Vincent. *Joyce, Race, and Empire*. Cambridge UP, 1995.

Cohen, Ashley L. “Wage Slavery, Oriental Despotism, and Global Labor Management in Maria Edgeworth’s Popular Tales.” *Eighteenth Century: Theory & Interpretation*, vol. 55, no. 2/3, summer/fall 2014, pp. 193–215. *EBSCOhost*, https://doi.org/10.1353/ecy.2014.0020.

Collins, Aidan. “James Joyce and a North Dublin Asylum.” *Irish Journal of Psychological Medicine* 2002, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 27-28. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0790966700006819.

Covey, Herbert C. “People with leprosy (Hansen’s disease) during the Middle Ages.” *The Social Science Journal*, vol. 38, 2001, pp. 315–321. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0362-3319(01)00116-1.

Cowasjee, Saros. *Author to Critic: The Letters of Mulk Raj Anand.* Calcutta: Writers Workshop, 1973.

Crispi, Luca. *Joyce’s Creative Process and the Construction of Characters: Becoming the Blooms*. Oxford UP, 2015.

Cronin, Nessa, and Karen E. Till. “Embodied Geographies of the Nation.” *The Irish Review*, no. 54, 2018, pp. 1–7. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/48564053.

Cuileagáin, Niall Ó. *James Joyce, Rural Ireland and Modernity: Beyond the Pale*. Edinburgh UP, 2025.

Cummins, Maria. *The Lamplighter.* John P. Jewett & Company, 1854.

Davison, Neil R. “‘Still an Idea behind It’: Trieste, Jewishness, and Zionism in ‘Ulysses.’” *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 38, no. 3/4, 2001, pp. 373–94. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25477814.

Deane, Vincent. “My Boy’s Life: By his Mother.” *Daily Sketch*. Dec. 14, 1922.

Delany, Patrick M. “Church Architecture in Ireland.” *The Furrow*, vol. 10, no. 12, 1959, pp. 779–82. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27657754.

Demaitre, Luke E. “Leper Hospitals in Medieval Ireland: with a Short Account of the Military and Hospitaller Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem.” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, vol. 72, no. 3, fall 1998, pp. 537-538. *Project MUSE*, https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/bhm.1998.0138.

Derrida, Jacques. “Two Words for Joyce.” *Post-structuralist Joyce: Essays from the French.* Edited by Derek Attridge and Daniel Ferrer, Cambridge UP, 1984, pp. 145-160.

Dey, Debolina. “Pathologizing Poverty: The Metaphor of Contagion from the New Poor Law to Public Health.” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History of Ideas,* vol. 9, no. 18, 2020, pp. 2-27. *https://doi.org/10.13135/2280-8574/5222*.

Doyle, Laura, and Laura Winkiel. *Geomodernisms: Race, Modernism, Modernity*. Indiana UP, 2006.

—.“Transnational History at Our Backs: A Long View of Larsen, Woolf, and Queer Racial Subjectivity in Atlantic Modernism.” *Modernism/modernity*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2006, pp. 531-559. https://doi.org/10.1353/mod.2006.0058.

Dubrow, Jennifer. *Cosmopolitan Dreams: The Making of Modern Urdu Literary Culture in Colonial South Asia*. U of Hawai’i P, 2018.

Duff, Charles. *James Joyce and the Plain Reader: An Essay*. Haskell House Publishers, 1932.

Duncan, Martha Grace. *Romantic Outlaws, Beloved Prisons: The Unconscious Meanings of Crime and Punishment*. New York UP, 1996.

Dutta, Arunima. “Responses to traveling Indian ayahs in nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain.” *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 71, 2021, pp. 94-103. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2021.02.001.

Ebury, Katherine. “On misogyny in the critical reception of Molly Bloom.*” James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 62, no. 2-3, 2025, pp. 327-343.

Edmond, Rod. *Leprosy and Empire: A Medical and Cultural History.* Cambridge UP, 2006.

Eichholz, Patrick. "Joyce, Nussbaum, and the Value of Disgust." *Journal of Modern Literature*, volume 46, no. 3, 2023, pp. 38-55. *Project MUSE*, https://dx.doi.org/10.2979/jml.2023.a901930.

Eide, Marian. *Ethical Joyce.* Cambridge UP, 2002.

—. "Gender and Sexuality." *James Joyce in Context*. Edited by John McCourt, Cambridge UP, 2009, pp. 76-87.

—."James Joyce's Magdalenes." *College Literature*, vol. 38, no. 4, 2011, pp. 57–75. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41302888.

Ellmann, Maud. ""Penelope" without the Body." *European Joyce Studies*, vol. 17, 2006, pp. 97-108. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44871275.

Ellmann, Richard. *James Joyce*. Oxford UP, 1983.

—. *Selected Letters of James Joyce*. Faber and Faber, 1975.

Epstein, Edmond. *A Guide Through* Finnegans Wake. UP of Florida, 2009.

Ferris, Kathleen. *James Joyce and the Burden of Disease*. UP of Kentucky, 1995.

Findly, Ellison Banks. *Nur Jahan: Empress of Mughal India*. Oxford UP, 1993.

Finn, Daniel. "The Making of Ireland's Carceral State: Interview with Sarah-Anne Buckley." *Jacobin*, Feb. 8, 2021. https://jacobin.com/2021/08/ireland-20th-century-carceral-state-women-sexual-reproductive-codes-industrial-schools-magdalene-laundries-mother-and-baby-homes-institutionalization.

Finnegan, Frances. *Do Penance or Perish: Magdalen Asylums in Ireland.* Oxford UP, 2004.

Fitzpatrick, Thomas. "Dear, Dirty Dublin, Wanted a Public Health Department." *The Lepracaun Cartoon Monthly,* Dec., 1908.

Fludernik, Monika. *An Introduction to Narratology.* Routledge, 2009.

—. “Carceral Topography: Spatiality, liminality and corporality in the literary prison.” *Textual Practice*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1999, pp. 43–77. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502369908582329.

—. “Metaphoric (Im)Prison(ment) and the Constitution of a Carceral Imaginary.” *Anglia: Journal of English Philology*, vol. 123, no. 1, 2005, pp. 1–25.

—. “Prison Metaphors: Conveying the Experience of Confinement.” *The Linguistics of Crime.* Edited by John Douthwaite and Ulrike Tabbert, Cambridge UP, 2023, pp. 39-56.

—. “Prison Metaphors: The Carceral Imaginary?” *The Grip of the Law: Prisons, Trials and the Space Between*. Edited by Monika Fludernik and G. Olson, Lang, 2004, pp. 145–67.

—. “The Prison as World – The World as Prison: Theoretical and Historical Aspects of Two Recurrent Topoi.” *Symbolism*, 3, 2003, pp. 147–89.

Fogarty, Anne. ““But who was Gerty?”: “Nausicaa,” *The Lamplighter,* and the Styles of Modernism.” *Joycean Possibilities: A Margot Norris Legacy.* Edited by Joseph Valente, Vicki Mahaffey, and Kezia Whiting, Anthem Press, 2022, pp. 57-72.

Forster, E.M. *Abinger Harvest.* Penguin, 1967.

—. “Preface.” *Untouchable*, by Mulk Raj Anand, Penguin Books, 1940, pp. v-viii.

Frank, Arthur W. *The Wounded Storyteller: Body, Illness, and Ethics*. U of Chicago P, 2013.

Frankel, Nicholas, editor. *The Picture of Dorian Gray: An Annotated, Uncensored Edition. Oscar Wilde*. Harvard UP, 2011.

Friedman, Susan. “Definitional Excursions: The Meanings of Modern/Modernity/Modernism.” *Modernism/Modernity*, vol.8, no. 3, 2001, pp. 494-513.

—. “World Modernisms, World Literature, and Comparativity.” *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms.* Edited by Mark Wollaeger, and Matt Eatough, Oxford Academic, 2012, pp. 499-526.

Garpa, Mark, Sean Latham, and Robert Scholes, editors. “Episode XIII. *Little Review* 6.11 April 1920.” *The Little Review “Ulysses.”* Yale UP, 2015, pp. 300-307.

—.“General Introduction.” *The Little Review “Ulysses.”* Yale UP, 2015, pp. xi-xix.

Gibbons, Luke. *James Joyce and the Irish Revolution: The Easter Rising as Modern Event.* U of Chicago P, 2023.

—. *Joyce’s Ghosts: Ireland, Modernism, and Memory*. U of Chicago P, 2015.

—. “Race Against Time: Racial Discourse and Irish History.” *Oxford Literary Review*, vol. 13, no. 1/2, 1991, pp. 95- 117. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43973712.

Gibbs, Laura. *Gendered Phenomenology: Gynaecological Authority in James Joyce’s Finnegans Wake.* 2023. University of Sheffield, PhD dissertation.

Gibson, Andrew. *Joyce’s Revenge : History, Politics, and Aesthetics in “Ulysses.”* Oxford UP, 2002.

Giedion, S., and Reto Geiser. *Befreites Wohnen = Liberated dwelling / Sigfried Giedion.* Translated by Rachel Julia Engler, Lars Müller Publishers, 2019.

Gifford, Don. *Ulysses Annotated.* U of California P, 1974.

Gilbert, Sandra M., and Susan Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination.* Yale UP, 2020.

Gilbert, Stuart, editor. *Letters of James Joyce*. Faber and Faber, 1957.

Gopal, Priyamvada. *Literary Radicalism in India.* Routledge, 2005.

Gordon, Beverly. “Woman’s Domestic Body: The Conceptual Conflation of Women and Interiors in the Industrial Age.” *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 31, no. 4, 1996, pp. 281-301. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1215239.

Gordon, John. “Obeying the Boss in “Oxen of the Sun.”” *ELH*, vol. 58, no. 1, 1991, pp. 233-259. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/2873401.

Guha, Ambalika. “The ‘Masculine’ Female: The Rise of Women Doctors in Colonial India, c. 1870–1940.” *Social Scientist,* vol. 44, no. 5/6, 2016, pp. 49-64. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24890284.

Gupta, Charu. “Writing Sex and Sexuality: Archives of Colonial North India.” *Journal of Women’s History*, vol. 23, no. 4, 2011, pp. 12–35. https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2011.0050.

Hamid, Wafa.“The Forbidden City: An Exploration of Wajida Tabassum’s Magazine Fiction.” *Sultana’s Sisters: Genre, Gender, and Genealogy in South Asian Muslim Women’s Fiction*. Edited by Haris Qadeer and P.K. Yaseer Arafath, Routledge, 2022. pp.133-149.

Hand, Derek. *A History of the Irish Novel.* Cambridge UP, 2011.

Harris, Susan. *Gender and Modern Irish Drama*. Indiana UP, 2002.

Hasan, Sibte. “Introduction to the Urdu Edition.” *The Light: A History of the Movement for Progressive Literature in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent: A Translation of Roshnai*, by Sajjad Zaheer, translated by Amina Azfar, Oxford UP, 2006, pp. xiii-xx.

Hashmi, Bilal, translator. “Translator’s Afterword.” *A Night in London,* by Sajjad Zaheer, Harper Perennial, 2011, n.p.

Hassett, Joseph M. *The Ulysses Trials: Beauty and Truth Meet the Law*. The Lilliput Press, 2016.

Heggland, Jon. “Hard Facts and Fluid Spaces: “Ithaca” and the Imperial Archive.” *Joyce, Imperialism, and Postcolonialism*. Edited by Leonard Orr, Syracuse UP, 2008, pp. 58-74.

Helman, Cecil G. *Culture, Health and Illness.* Hodder Education, 2007.

Henke, Suzette A. “Feminist Perspectives on James Joyce.” *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1980, pp. 14–22. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25512488.

Henry, Zoë L.“Orienting to the Private: The Spatial Dreamworlds of Black Becoming.” *Modernism/modernity* Print Plus, “Orientations,” vol. 7, no. 2, 2021, n.p. https://modernismmodernity.org/forums/posts/henry-orienting-private-spatial-dreamworlds-black-becoming.

Hitchcock, Peter. *The Long Space: Transnationalism and Postcolonial Form*. Stanford UP, 2010.

hooks, bell. “HOMEPLACE: a site of resistance.” *Yearning: race, gender, and cultural politics*, Routledge, 2015, pp. 41-49. https://docdrop.org/download_annotation_doc/hooks_homeplace-site-of-resistance-2p2c4.pdf.

Houston, Alexandra. “‘Seiknes Incurabill’: The Evolution of Literary Representations of Leprosy in Medieval and Early Modern English Narratives.” *Chicago Journal of History*, autumn 2016, pp. 30-41. https://cjh.uchicago.edu/issues/fall16/7.6.pdf.

Houston, Lloyd Meadhbh. *Irish Modernism and the Politics of Sexual Health*. Oxford UP, 2023.

Hulle, Dirk Van. “The Intertextual Condition.” *The New Joyce Studies.* Edited by Catherine Flynn, Cambridge UP, 2022, pp. 123–137.

Hunt, W.S. *India’s Outcastes: A New Era.* Church Missionary Society,1924.

Hussain, Mobeen. “Combining Global Expertise with Local Knowledge in Colonial India: Selling Ideals of Beauty and Health in Commodity Advertising (c. 1900–1949).”

South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies, vol. 44, no. 5, 2021, pp. 926–947. https://doi.org/10.1080/00856401.2021.1968599.

"Introduction." *Angaaray*, translated by Snehal Shingavi, Penguin Random House, 2014, pp. vii-xxiv.

Irish Archives Resource. "The Present Duty of Irishwomen: The Contribution of Irish Women as documented in the Archival Record." Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, The Heritage Council, and the Department of Culture, Arts, and Leisure, 2021, pp. 5. https://iar.ie/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/The-Present-Duty-of-Irishwomen.pdf.

Irish Jesuit Province. "The Dublin Hospital for Incurables." *The Irish Monthly*, vol. 11, no. 115, 1883, pp. 10-14. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20496889.

Jagpal, Charn. ""Going Nautch Girl" in the Fin de Siècle: The White Woman Burdened by Colonial Domesticity." *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, vol. 52, no. 3, 2009, pp. 252-272. *Project MUSE*, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/271155.

Jahan, Rashid. "A Daughter-in-Law for Asif Jahan (Asif Jahan ki Bahu)." *A Rebel and Her Cause: the life and work of Rashid Jahan.* Edited by Rakshanda Jalil, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2014, pp. 124-131.

—. "A Tour of Delhi (Dilli ki Sair)." *A Rebel and Her Cause: the life and work of Rashid Jahan.* Edited by Rakshanda Jalil, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2014, pp. 121-123.

—. "Behind the Veil (a one-act play, Parde ke Peeche)." *A Rebel and Her Cause: the life and work of Rashid Jahan.* Edited by Rakshanda Jalil, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2014, pp. 199-212.

—.“Chhidda’s Mother (Chhidda ki Ma).” *A Rebel and Her Cause: the life and work of Rashid Jahan.* Edited by Rakshanda Jalil, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2014, pp. 182-190.

—.“Iftari.” *A Rebel and Her Cause: the life and work of Rashid Jahan.* Edited by Rakshanda Jalil, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2014, pp. 166-175.

—.“Man and Woman (Mard aur Aurat).” *A Rebel and Her Cause: the life and work of Rashid Jahan.* Edited by Rakshanda Jalil, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2014, pp. 160-165.

—. “Mute (Behzubaan).” *A Rebel and Her Cause: the life and work of Rashid Jahan.* Edited by Rakshanda Jalil, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2014, pp. 145-154.

—. “That One (Woh).” *A Rebel and Her Cause: the life and work of Rashid Jahan.* Edited by Rakshanda Jalil, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2014, pp. 117-120.

Jalil, Rakshanda. “Introduction.” *A Rebel and Her Cause: the life and work of Rashid Jahan.* Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2014, pp. xv-xx.

—. “Rashida: Her Father’s Daughter.” *A Rebel and Her Cause: the life and work of Rashid Jahan.* Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2014, pp. 3-29.

—. “Rashid Jahan ‘Angareywali.’” *A Rebel and Her Cause: the life and work of Rashid Jahan.* Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2014, pp. 30-54.

—., editor and translator. *Whose Urdu Is It Anyway?: Stories by Non-Muslim Urdu Writers.* Simon & Schuster, 2025.

—. “Writer and Dramatist.” *A Rebel and Her Cause: the life and work of Rashid Jahan.* Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2014, pp. 84-116.

Jarząb-Napierała, Joanna. “Retromodernism: New ‘Structure of Feeling’ in Mike McCormack’s Solar Bones.” *New Hibernia Review*, vol. 23, no. 3, 2019, pp. 55–68. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/48670377.

Jones, William Powell. *James Joyce and the Common Reader*. U of Oklahoma P, 1970.

Joyce, James. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.* Jonathan Cape, 1916.

—. *Dubliners*. Penguin Books, 1914.

—. *Finnegans Wake.* Alma Classics*,* 1939.

—. “Realism and Idealism in English Literature (Daniel Defoe – William Blake).” *Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing.* Edited by Kevin Barry, Oxford UP, 2000, pp. 163-182.

—. “The Day of the Rabblement.” *Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing.* Edited by Kevin Barry, Oxford UP, 2000, pp. 50-52.

—. *Ulysses.* Random House, 1986.

Joyce, James, Spencer, T., Slocum, J. J., & Cahoon, H. *Stephen Hero : part of the first draft of* “A Portrait of the artist as a young man.*”* Jonathan Cape, 1944.

Joyce, Stanislaus. *My Brother’s Keeper.* De Capo Press, 2003.

Kakar, Sudhir. *The Kipling File.* Penguin, 2018.

Kenner, Hugh. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, vol. 70, no. 2, 1996, pp. 328–29. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44444654.

Kermode, Frank. “The Common Reader.” *Daedalus*, vol. 112, no. 1, winter 1983, pp. 1-11. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20024830.

Kermorgant, A., W. Ramsay Smith, and France, Ministère des colonies. “Instructions concerning the measures to be taken against endemic, epidemic and communicable diseases; malaria, yellow fever, leprosy, beri beri, tuberculosis and

alcoholism, typhoid fever, cholera, plague, smallpox." Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University, C.E. Bristow, 1906. Accessed 27 February 2025. https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/contagion/catalog/36-990062464340203941?locale=it.

Kershner, Brandon. "Introduction." *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 2/3, 1998, pp. 259–64. JSTOR, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25473904.

Khan, Ahmad Ali. "Introduction." *The Light: A History of the Movement for Progressive Literature in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent: A Translation of Roshnai,* by Sajjad Zaheer, translated by Amina Azfar, Oxford UP, 2006, pp. vii-xii.

Khosla, Aishwarya. "'Urdu is as Indian as anybody or anything can be regarded as Indian': Rakhshanda Jalil." *The Indian Express*, 29 Aug., 2025, n.p. https://indianexpress.com/article/research/whose-urdu-is-it-anyway-indian-language-rakhshanda-jalil-10216113/.

Killeen, Terence. *Ulysses Unbound: A Reader's Companion to James Joyce's Ulysses.* Penguin Books, 2022.

King James Bible Online. Genesis 3:14. https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Genesis-Chapter-3/#14.

—.Job 2:7. https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Job-2-7/.

—.2 Kings 5:25-5:27. https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/2-Kings-5-25_5-27/.

—.Leviticus13:45-46. https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Leviticus-Chapter-13/#45. https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Leviticus-13-46/.

—.Numbers 12:10. https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Numbers-12-10/.

Knight, Christopher J. *Uncommon Readers: Denis Donoghue, Frank Kermode, George Steiner, and the Tradition of the Common Reader.* U of Toronto P, 2003.

Komal, Balraj. “Twentieth Century Urdu Novel.” *Indian Literature*, vol. 46, no. 2 (208), 2002, pp. 157–67. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23345740.

Kristeva, Julia. *The Powers of Horror.* Columbia UP, 1982.

Kumar, Udaya. “Destitute Recollection: Joyce’s Indian Translocations.” *Transnationalism in Irish Literature and Culture*. Edited by Coílín Parsons, Cambridge UP, 2024, pp. 65-81.

Lawrence, Karen R. “Style and Narrative in the ‘Ithaca’ Chapter of Joyce’s Ulysses.” *ELH*, vol. 47, no. 3, 1980, pp. 559–74. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/2872796.

Leckie, Barbara. *Open Houses: Poverty, the Novel, and the Architectural Idea in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. U of Pennsylvania P, 2018.

Lennon, Joseph. *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History*. Syracuse UP, 2004.

Levine, Philippa. “Venereal Disease, Prostitution, and the Politics of Empire: The Case of British India.” *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 4, no. 4, 1994, pp. 579–602. *JSTOR*,http://www.jstor.org/stable/4617154.

Little, James. *Samuel Beckett in Confinement: The Politics of Closed Space.* Bloomsbury, 2020.

Liveing, Robert. “Elephantiasis graecorum : or true leprosy.” Longmans, Green, 1873.

Lloyd, David. *Irish Culture and Colonial Modernity 1800-2000: The Transformation of Oral Space*. Cambridge UP, 2011.

Lyons, J.B. *James Joyce and Medicine*. The Dolmen Press, 1973.

—. *Thrust Syphilis down to Hell and other Rejoyceana: Studies in the border-lands of literature and medicine*. The Glendale Press, 1988.

MacCabe, Colin. *James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word*. Macmillan, 1978.

Mahaffey, Vicki. *Modernist Literature: Challenging Fictions*. Blackwell, 2007.

—. “Nausicaa.” *The Cambridge Centenary Ulysses: The 1922 Text with Essays and Notes*, by James Joyce, edited by Catherine Flynn, Cambridge UP, 2022, pp. 473–519.

Mahmud-uz-Zafar. “In Defence of Angare. Shall We Submit to Gagging?” *The Leader*, 5 April 1933.

Malhotra, Anshu. “Of Dais and Midwives: “Middle-class” Interventions in the Management of Women’s Reproductive Health — A Study from Colonial Punjab.” *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2003, pp. 229-259. https://doi.org/10.1177/097152150301000203.

Mansouri, Shahriyar. *The Modern Irish Bildungsroman: a Narrative of Resistance and Deformation*. 2014. University of Glasgow, PhD dissertation.

Margaroni, Maria. *Understanding Kristeva, Understanding Modernism.* Bloomsbury, 2022.

McAfee, Noelle. *Abjection*. Routledge, 2004.

McDiarmid, Lucy. “Hairpins among the rifles: the domestic site in women’s accounts of 1916.” *The Vibrant House: Irish Writing and Domestic Space.* Edited by Rhona Richman Kenneally and Lucy McDiarmid, Four Courts Press, 2017, pp. 141-163.

McEwen, Ernest L. “The Leprosy of the Bible in Its Medical Aspect.” *The Biblical World*, vol. 38, no. 3, 1911, pp. 194–202. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3141689.

McTaggart, Ursula. “‘Opening the Door’: The Hogarth Press as Virginia Woolf’s Outsiders’ Society.” *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2010, pp. 63–81. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41337032.

“MedHums 101: What is medical humanities?” *The Polyphony*, 2025. https://thepolyphony.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/03/The_Polyphony_brochure_Med_Hums_1___01.pdf.

Metcalf, Barbara. *Perfecting Women: Maulana Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi's Bihishti Zewar.* U of California P, 1992.

Mezei, Kathy, and Chiara Briganti. "Reading the House: A Literary Perspective." *Signs*, vol. 27, no. 3, 2002. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/signs.2002.27.issue-3.

Miller, Joshua L, editor. "Part II - Methodologies." *The Cambridge Companion to the American Modernist Novel*. Cambridge UP, 2015, pp. 87-156. https://doi.org/10.1017/CCO9781316018729.

Minault, Gail. "Urdu Women's Magazines in the Early Twentieth Century." *Manushi*, no. 48, 1988, pp. 2-9. https://manushi.in/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/pdfs_issues/PDF%20files%2048/urdu_women%27s_magazines_in_the_early_twentieth_century.pdf.

Mirza, Khurshid Begum. "My Sister, Rasheed Jahan 1905-1952." *A Woman of Substance: The Memoirs of Begum Khurshid Mirza* (1918-1989). Edited by Lubna Kazim, Zubaan, 2005, pp. 86-105.

Mitter, Partha. *The Triumph of Modernism: India's artists and the avant-garde 1922-1947*. Reaktion Books, 2007.

Mohite, Ragini. *Modern Writers, Transnational Literatures: Rabindranath Tagore and W.B.Yeats*. Clemson UP, 2021.

Moore, Thomas. *Lalla Rookh: An Oriental Romance.* Project Gutenberg, Sept. 2, 2025, gutenberg.org/cache/epub/76794/pg76794.txt.

Mufti, Aamir R. "Global Comparativism." *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2005, pp.472-489. https://doi.org/10.1086/430976.

Mullin, Katherine. *James Joyce, Sexuality, and Social Purity.* Cambridge UP, 2007.

Nair, Janaki. "Uncovering the Zenana: Visions of Indian Womanhood in Englishwomen's Writings, 1813-1940." *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1990, pp. 8-34. *Project MUSE*, https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2010.0263.

Neal, Alexander. "The Carceral City and City of Refuge: Belfast Fiction and Urban Form." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2007, pp. 28-38. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25515676.

Newman, Robert, editor. *Pedagogy, Praxis, Ulysses: Using Joyce's Text to Transform the Classroom*. U of Michigan P, 1996.

Niazi, Sarah Rahman. "Where Adab Meets Film: Mapping Discourses on Akhlaq and Islah in the Urdu Film Journals from India (1930 –1950)." *BioScope*: *South Asian Screen Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2023, pp, 80–98. https://doi.org/10.1177/09749276231172115.

Nolan, Emer. *James Joyce and Nationalism*. Routledge, 1995.

O'Ferrall, Fergus. *The Adelaide Hospital, Dublin, 1839-2008*. Adelaide Hospital Society, 2008.

Okeke-Agulu, Chika. *Postcolonial Modernism: Art and Decolonization in Twentieth-Century Nigeria.* Duke UP, 2015.

Oldenburg, Veena Talwar. "Lifestyle as Resistance: The Case of the Courtesans of Lucknow, India." *Feminist Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2, 1990, pp. 259–87. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/3177850.

Orr, Leonard, editor. *Joyce, Imperialism, and Postcolonialism*. Syracuse UP, 2008.

Orsini, Francesca. *The Hindi Public Sphere: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism*. Oxford UP, 2000.

Parsons, Coílín. "Introduction: A Weak Theory of Transnationalism." *Transnationalism in Irish Literature and Culture*. Cambridge UP, 2024, pp. 1-20.

Paton, Anne Elizabeth. *An examination of the evidence for the existence of leprosy and Hansen's disease in medieval Ireland*. 2015. University of Glasgow, PhD dissertation.

Platt, Len. "Madame Blavatsky and Theosophy in 'Finnegans Wake': An Annotated List." *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 45, no. 2, 2008, pp. 281–300. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/30244358.

Plock, Vike Martina. “Joyce and the (Critical) Medical Humanities.” *The New Joyce Studies*. Edited by Catherine Flynn, Cambridge UP, 2022, pp. 208–221.

—. *Joyce, Medicine, and Modernity*. The Florida James Joyce Series, 2012.

—. “Medicine.” *James Joyce in Context.* Edited by John McCourt, Cambridge UP, 2009, pp. 250–261.

Power, Arthur. *Conversations with James Joyce.* Lilliput Press, 1999.

Preston, Carrie J. “Joyce’s Reading Bodies and the Kinesthetics of the Modernist Novel.” *Twentieth Century Literature*, vol. 55, no. 2, 2009, pp. 232–54. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25733408.

Quirici, Marion. *Fitness for Freedom: Disability, Degeneration, and Modern Irish Writing.* Syracuse UP, 2026.

Rai, Stuti. “Interested Gazes and Invisible Audiences: Judicial Narratives on Sex Work.” *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* vol. 3, no. 2, 2024, pp. 159-176. https://doi.org/10.1177/09715215241235.

Ramakrishnan, E.V., and Udaya Kumar. “Modernism in Indian Literature.” *Routledge Encyclopedia of Modernism*, 2016, n.p. https://www.rem.routledge.com/articles/modernism-in-indian-literature-1. doi:10.4324/9781135000356-REM112-1.

Rawcliffe, Carole. *Leprosy in Medieval England*. Boydell Press, 2009.

“Reema Abbasi.” *Platform*. April 28, 2022. Interview. https://www.platform-mag.com/literature/reema-abbasi.html.

Richardson, Brian. *The Reader in Modernist Fiction.* Edinburgh UP, 2024.

Ricoeur, Paul. “Imagination, Testimony, and Trust: A Dialogue with Paul Ricoeur.” *Questioning Ethics: Debates in Contemporary Philosophy*. Edited by Richard Kearney and Mark Dooley, Routledge, 1999, pp. 12-17.

Roche, Daniel. *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France*, 1600-1800. Translated by Brian Pearce, Cambridge UP, 2000.

Rotberg, A. "Shakespeare's Hoar Leprosy." *International Journal of Leprosy and Other Mycobacterial Diseases*, vol. 54, no. 4, 1986, pp. 648-649.

Rothfield, Lawrence. *Vital Signs:Medical Realism in Nineteenth-Century Fiction*. Princeton UP, 1992.

Sabherwal, Gaggan. "Ayahs' Home: Remembering the forgotten Indian nannies of London." *BBC News*, 16 June 2022. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-61807623.

Sahana, Sheelalipi. "Object as subject: Material agency in Ismat Chughtai's "The Quilt" and "Chhoti Apa."" *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, vol. 58, no. 3, 2022, pp. 336–348. https://doi.org/10.1080/17449855.2021.2014348.

Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism.* Vintage Books, 1994.

—. *Orientalism.* Penguin Books India, 1995.

—. *Reflections on Exile and Other Literary and Cultural Essays.* Granta Books, 2000.

—. *The World, the Text, and the Critic.* Harvard UP, 1983.

Scheible, Ellen. "The Domestic Interior, the Female Body and the Metaphorical Irish Nation in the Works of James Joyce." *Bridgewater Review*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2015, pp. 12-15 https://vc.bridgew.edu/br_rev/vol34/iss1/6/.

Schmidt, Ruth Laila. "The Historical Background." *Dakhini Urdu: History and Structure*. Bahri, 1981, pp. 1-16.

Schrag, Nicole. "Global Modernism's Networks: Mulk Raj Anand, Sajjad Zaheer, and a Case for Negative Ties." *Modern Fiction Studies*, vol. 69, no. 2, 2023, pp. 285-308. *Project MUSE*, https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/mfs.2023.a899928.

Sen, Krishna. “Where Agni Araflammed and Shiva Slew: Joyce’s Interface with India.” *A Companion to James Joyce*. Edited by Richard Brown, Blackwell, 2017, pp. 207-222. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405177535.ch13.

Sen, Malcolm. ““The Retina of the Glance”: Revisiting Joyce’s Orientalism”. *Dublin James Joyce Journal*, vol. 1, 2008, pp. 54-68. *Project MUSE*, https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/djj.2008.0006.

Seshagiri, Urmila. *Race and the Modernist Imagination*. Cornell UP, 2010.

“Shama, New Delhi: Shumaara Number-004.” https://www.rekhta.org/ebooks/shama-new-delhi-shumaara-number-004-mohammad-yunus-dehlavi-magazines.

Shanahan, Fergus and Eamonn M. M Quigley. “Medicine in the Age of “Ulysses”: James Joyce’s portrait of life, medicine, and disease on a Dublin day a century ago.” *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, vol. 49, no. 2, 2006, pp. 276-285. *Project MUSE*, https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/pbm.2006.0032.

Sherman, Taylor C. *Muslim Belonging in Secular India: Negotiating Citizenship in Postcolonial Hyderabad*. Cambridge UP, 2015.

Shloss, Carol. “Behind the Veil: James Joyce and the Colonial Harem.” *European Joyce Studies*, vol. 8, 1998, pp. 103–13. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44871193.

—.. “Joyce in the Context of Irish Orientalism.” *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 2/3, 1998, pp. 264–71. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25473905.

Sidiki, Bassam. ““On These Little Islands, These Things Happen”: Leprosy, Race, and Postcolonial Fictions of Chacachacare.” *Literature and Medicine*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2022, pp. 401-422. *Project MUSE*, https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/lm.2022.0033.

Silbergleid, Robin, and Kristina Quynn. *Reading and Writing Experimental Texts: Critical Innovations.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Singh, C. L. "Annie Besant's Defence of Indian Caste System: A Critique." *History and Sociology of South Asia*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2019, pp. 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1177/2230807518816579.

Slote, Sam, Marc. A. Mamigonian, and John Turner, editors. *Annotations to Ulysses*. Oxford UP, 2022.

Smith, James. *Ireland's Magdalen Laundries and the Nation's Architecture of Containment*. U of Notre Dame P, 2007.

Sontag, Susan. *Illness as Metaphor* and *AIDS and its Metaphors*. Penguin, 1999.

Spear, Thomas George Percival. *The Nabobs: a study of the social life of the English in eighteenth century India*. Curzon Press, 1963.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *Death of a Discipline*. Columbia UP, 2003.

Stadtler, Florian and Rosina Visram. "A home for the ayahs: from India to Britain and back again." *Our Migration Story*: *The Making of Britain*. https://www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/oms/a-home-for-the-ayahs-.

Staples, James. *Peculiar People, Amazing Lives: Leprosy, Social Exclusion and Community Making in South India*. Orient Longman, 2007.

Stokes, Whitley. "Life of Féchín of Fore." *Revue Celtique*, vol. 12, 1891.

—. *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore*. Oxford, 1890.

Tabassum, Wajida. "Chhinaal (Fallen Venus)." *Sin*, translated by Reema Abbasi, Hachette, 2021, pp. 7-16.

—. "Hor Upar! (Up, further up!)." *Sin*, translated by Reema Abbasi, Hachette, 2021, pp. 17-26.

—. “Ladki Bazaar” (The Flesh Market).” *Sin*, translated by Reema Abbasi, Hachette, 2021, pp. 27-38.

—. “Meri Kahaani (My Story).” *Sin*, translated by Reema Abbasi, Hachette, 2021, pp. 107-130.

—. “Rozi ka Sawaal (The Cost of Survival).” *Sin*, translated by Reema Abbasi, Hachette, 2021, pp. 39-50.

—. “Talaq, Talaq, Talaq (Separation).” *Sin*, translated by Reema Abbasi, Hachette, 2021, pp. 51-62.

—. “Zakat (The Alms of Death.” *Sin*, translated by Reema Abbasi, Hachette, 2021, pp. 89-98.

Taj, Afroz. “The Filmī-ʿIlmī Formula: Shama Magazine and the Urdu Cosmopolis.” *Journal of Urdu Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2020, 177-210. https://doi.org/10.1163/26659050-12340016

“THE SULTAN S SULTANS HAEEM.” *The Irish Times (1874-1920)*, 03 Mar., 1876, pp. 4. *ProQuest*, https://www.proquest.com/newspapers/sultan-s-sultans-haeem/docview/508989162/se-2.

Thornton, Donna J. *The Lives of St Carthage of Lismore*. 2002. University College Cork, PhD dissertation.

Touati, François-Olivier. “Contagion and Leprosy: Myths, Ideas, and Evolution in Medieval Minds and Societies.” *Contagion: Perspectives from Pre-Modern Societies*. Edited by Lawrence I. Conrad and Dominik Wujastyk, Routledge, 2000, pp. 179-202.

“TRANSPORTING WOMEN FOR THE HAREM.” *Weekly Irish Times (1876-1920)*, 11 Mar., 1876, pp. 5. *ProQuest*, https://www.proquest.com/newspapers/transporting-women-harem/docview/850947126/se-2.

Ulin, Julieann Veronica. “Fluid Boarders and Naughty Girls: Music, Domesticity, and Nation in Joyce’s Boarding Houses.” *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 1/2, 2012, pp. 385–411. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24598790.

Uma, Chakravarti. “Whatever happened to the Vedic Dasi.” *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*. Edited by Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, Zubaan, 2013, pp. 27-88.

Urfi, Jamil. *BISWIN SADI: Memoirs: GROWING UP IN DELHI DURING THE 1960s AND 1970s*, by Jamil Urfi. Cinammonteal, 2018, pp. 11-13. Cinammonteal, 2018.

Valente, Joseph. “Et Tu, Bloom: Or, #MeToo, Male Masochism, and Sexual Ethics in *Ulysses*.” *Joyce Studies Annual*, 2021, pp. 11–47. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/48654017.

—.“From Whiteboys to White Nationalism: Joyce and Modern Irish Populism.” *A History of Irish Modernism*. Edited by Gregory Castle and Patrick Bixby, Cambridge UP, 2019, pp. 209-226.

—.*The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture,* 1880-1922. U of Illinois P, 2011.

Vadde, Aarthi. “Chimeras of Form: Modernist Internationalism Beyond Europe, 1914–2016.” Columbia UP, 2017.

Vatuk, Sylvia. “A Passion for Reading: The Role of Early Twentieth-Century Urdu Novels in the Construction of an Individual Female Identity in 1930s Hyderabad.” *Speaking of the Self: Gender, Performance, and Autobiography in South Asia*. Edited by Anshu Malhotra and Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, Duke UP, 2015, pp. 33-55. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780822374978-003.

Verma S, Garg RK, Rizvi I, Malhotra HS, Kumar N, Jain A, Suvirya S, Parihar A, Verma R, Sharma PK, Pandey S, Uniyal R, Prakash S. “Central nervous system, spinal root

ganglion and brachial plexus involvement in leprosy: A prospective study." *Journal of Central Nervous System Disease*, 2022, n.p.

Viswanathan, Gauri. "'Have Animals Souls?': Theosophy and the Suffering Body." *PMLA*, vol. 126, no. 2, 2011, pp. 440–47. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41414115.

—. "Ireland, India, and the Poetics of Internationalism." *Journal of World History*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2004, pp. 7–30. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20079259.

Walker, M.E. "The 'Nautch' Reclaimed: Women's Performance Practice in Nineteenth-Century North India." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, vol. 37, no. 4, 2014, pp. 551-567. https://doi.org/10.1080/00856401.2014.938714.

Walkowitz, Rebecca. *Cosmopolitan Style:Modernism Beyond the Nation*. Columbia UP, 2007.

Wallace, Jo-Ann. "Lotus Buds: Amy Wilson Carmichael and the Nautch-Girls of South India." *Victorian Review*, vol. 24, no. 2, 1998, pp. 175–93. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27794905.

Ward, Kiron. "Hypercanonical Joyce: Sam Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners*, Creative Disaffiliation, and the Global Afterlives of *Ulysses*." *Textual Practice*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2021, pp. 326–347. https://doi.org/10.1080/0950236X.2022.2003088.

Wheelock, Harriet, creator. "Adelaide Hospital Casebooks and Medical Board Finances Dublin Core Metadata." Royal College of Physicians of Ireland, 2018. https://rcpi-heritage.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_bccbbb93-bc2f-4e61-91d5-35e8b61f0182/.

Willison, Ian. "Introduction." *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace.* Edited by Ian Willison, Warwick Gould and Warren Chernaik, Macmillan Press, 1996, pp. xii-xviii.

Winkiel, Laura. *Modernism: The Basics*. Routledge, 2017.

Woolf, Virginia. *Selected E*ssays. Oxford UP, 2009.

---. *The Common Reader*. Harcourt, Brace & World, 1925.

Worboys, Michael. "The Colonial World as Mission and Mandate: Leprosy and Empire, 1900-1940." *Osiris*, vol. 15, 2000, pp. 207–18. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/301949.

Yared, Aida, curator. "Circe." https://joyceimages.com/U15.3885-1930.

—, curator. "Cyclops." https://joyceimages.com/U12.1065-5399.

—."Introducing Islam in *Finnegans Wake*: The Story of Mohammed in VI.B.45." *Genetic Joyce Studies,* no. 1, 2001, n.p. https://www.geneticjoycestudies.org/articles/GJS1/Holland99.

—, curator. "Ithaca." *JoyceImages*, pp.36. https://joyceimages.com/episode/17/?page=36.

—, curator. "Saint Brigid." https://joyceimages.com/U12.1709-674.

Zaheer, Sajjad. "Can't Sleep." *Angaaray*, translated by Snehal Shingavi, Penguin Random House, 2014, pp. 1-18.

—. *The Light: A History of the Movement for Progressive Literature in the Indo-Pak Subcontinent,* translated by Amina Azfar, Oxford UP, 2006.

—. "This Uproar, Too." *Angaaray*, translated by Snehal Shingavi, Penguin Random House, 2014, pp. 59-74.

Zaidi, Ali Jawad. *A History of Urdu Literature*. Sahitya Akademi, 1993.

Appendix

Glossary

Biswin Sadi	Magazine, founded by Khustar Girami in 1937
(Hyderabadi) Dakhini or Deccani Urdu	Descendant of the New Indo-Aryan dialects spoken in the Jamuna-Ganges Doab in the 13th -15th centuries[189]
Deccan	Sanskrit *daksina* "South"; the southern peninsula of India, south of the Narmada River
Deobandi	Revivalist movement within Sunni Muslims (nineteenth century)
Ekka	Carriage
Hamdard (Trust/Dawakhana)	A compound word derived from Persian; a transnational medicinal company founded by Hakeem Abdul Majeed in 1906

[189]See Ruth Laila Schmidt's *Dakhini Urdu* (1981) in Works Cited.

Haveli	Arabic *hawali*, large old mansions with an open courtyard
Maulvi	Mawlawi, an Islamic religious title for a scholar
Mujra	Indian dance form which originated in the Mughal era
Nawab	Governor in the Mughal Empire; also, aristocrat
Nautch	Hindustani *naach*, popular court dance
PWA	All-India Progressive Writers' Association
Sharif	Noble, legitimate, or high-born
Shama	Magazine, founded by Yusuf Dehlvi in 1939
Zakat	Obligatory alms giving in Islam
Zenana	in Hindi and Urdu, women's quarters in colonial India (part of the sacrosanct separation of male and female space)