

EXILED: JAMES JOYCE AND IRELAND

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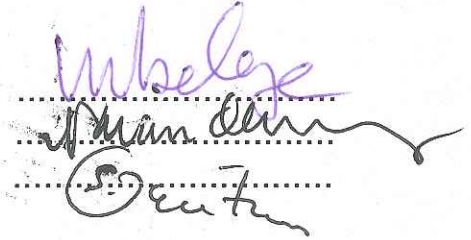
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ABSTRACT

James Joyce (1882-1941) lived in a time when people suffered from double oppression of both the Church and the British government in Ireland. This oppression that had been dominating the Irish and Joyce himself, as a young man and an author was realised and criticised. The self-realisation of Joyce as having a superior mind to others around him is reflected via Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and Gabriel Conroy in “the Dead”. The artist’s sense of restriction at home gives its way to the desire to escape his country, nation and culture. Solely with this escape will he be able to free himself of obstacles and start producing his works. However as he was an exile in his homeland, when he became a physical exile, he encountered more obstacles namely with publishing and censorship issues. Authors have different reactions to their experiences of exile, which can be seen in their works: Joyce never left Dublin in his writing whereas Hemingway interprets foreign cultures in his writings. With authors like Joyce or Nâzım Hikmet, it can be observed that even though removed from home, they still wrote about their homes. Besides, the way they interpreted home evolved to a different tone in exile, thanks to the experience they acquired in foreign cultures. Exiles tend to come to see their own culture from a different perspective, either in solitary contemplation or in the company of their contemporaries.

Keywords: language, Catholic, nationalism, Dublin, alienation.

ÖZET

SÜRGÜN: JAMES JOYCE VE İRLANDA

James Joyce (1882-1941), halkın kilise ve İngiliz hükümetinin çift taraflı baskısı altında olduğu bir İrlanda'da yaşadı. Hem İrlanda halkının hem de Joyce'un hayatına hükmeden bu baskı, yazarı daha genç yaşlarda etkilemeye ve bu durumu ona sorgulatmaya başladı. Joyce'un etrafındaki diğer insanlara kıyasla üstün zekâya sahip olduğunu fark edışı, *Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi*'nde Stephen Dedalus ve "Ölü"de Gabriel Conroy karakterleri ile yansıtılır. Yazarın kendisini vatanında kısıtlanmış hissedışı, ülkesinden, ulusundan ve kültüründen kaçış arzusu uyandırır. Ülkesinde karşısına çıkan türlü engellerden kurtuluşu ve eserlerini üretmeye başlaması ancak bu kaçış ile mümkün olacaktır. Nitekim yazarın ülkesinde iken ona yabancılaşması ve oluşan iç sürgünü, yaşadığı gerçek sürgünde de baskı ve sansür gibi bazı sorunlarla devam edecektir. Eserlerine de yansıdığı gibi, yazarların sürgün yaşantıları birbirinden farklılık gösterir. Örneğin, Joyce aslında Dublin'den hiç ayrılmaz, aksine Hemingway yazılarında yabancı kültürleri dile getirmeye özen gösterir. Joyce ve Nâzım Hikmet gibi yazarların ise gurbette ısrarla vatanlarını anlattıkları gözlenir. Ayrıca farklı kültürlerdeki yaşantıları sayesinde sürgünden vatanı anlatışları farklı bir boyuta ulaşır. Sürgünde yazanlar, yalnız oldukları anlarda da, çağdaşlarıyla vakit geçirdiklerinde de kendi kültürlerine farklı bir pencereden bakma eğiliminde olurlar.

Anahtar sözcükler: dil, Katolik, milliyetçilik, Dublin, yabancılaşma.

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INTRODUCTION

Exile has been a commonly encountered theme in the Western canon for millennia. It is either presented to the reader as the forceful banishment of an individual or people from their native land, as in the literal sense, or a voluntary exile, which is a chosen situation, resulting in the banishment of oneself from one's own society. The former being akin to the mass migrations of modern European history and the latter being closer to the migrations of writers, artists and bohemians to major conurbations such as London and Paris. Adam and Eve's banishment from the Garden of Eden in the Bible, the journeys of Odysseus and Aeneas in the Mediterranean where they are faced with many obstacles before reaching home are considered to be some of the very first examples of the former. Whereas the latter can be exemplified by the works of James Joyce and his great inspirer Shakespeare's works such as *Hamlet*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *Macbeth* among many others.

In the article "Voices from Exile: A Literature for Europe?", John Neubauer draws attention to the common presence of exile in the Western canon and gives some of the earliest cases as examples: "Forced displacement is conspicuously present in the founding literary and religious texts of 'Western civilization', for example in Adam's and Eve's eviction from Paradise as well as the Babylonian and Egyptian captivities of the Bible, or in the exilic adventures of Odysseus struggling to get home to Ithaca" (Neubauer 135). In reading this, it is very clear that since the earliest literature was written, the concepts of exile and displacement have been central to the Western psyche. Its expression moves us because it is a universal; all of us have a home and we are faced with a society which we may embrace or reject. This thesis will focus on those who were rejected or removed from their societies.

In this thesis, I am going to explore in what ways does Joyce's physical and internal exile affect his self-image, contribute to his artistic creation and our perception of him and how this is reflected in his works. I would like to examine how the exiled identity of the author develops and finds its way into fiction through his works. I will be examining Joyce's exile with both precedent and antecedent literary exiles.

In the first part I am going to discuss how people become alienated to their native culture and become social pariahs within the culture in which they were born. This is going to be based on the late nineteenth century Ireland and will connect to Joyce's alienation from his society, which was caused by the lifestyle in which he found himself from childhood to adulthood. I am going to examine the concept of exiled identity in Joyce's *Dubliners*, in comparison with the Irish society at the time. Joyce's experience will be compared to other intellectuals' lives with similar experiences and their reflection in their works. Limitations causing them to become exiles and the expression of the exiled identity of Joyce via Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and Gabriel Conroy in "The Dead" will be discussed. This is going to lead into their recognition of their intellects as superior to others around them. This part will be concluded with the intellectuals' "desire" for self-exile.

The following part will be dealing with the production of literature and the effects of exile in writing. I will examine exiled writers' productivity and the obstacles that are encountered in relation to their exile. I will demonstrate the similar obstacles' presence at home and abroad, causing both an internally and a physically exiled identity. I will show how foreign cultures are interpreted in the works of exilic writers in contrast to one another, as in their perception of foreign people. Further I will examine the effects on the writers' perceptions of home as they look from outside as exiles.

The next section is a focus on the epiphanic realisation of the writer, which will show how the writer comes to a greater understanding of his own culture when he is away and how this affects his writing about his own country. Whether understanding one's own culture causes them to change their perspectives or not will be the next comparison to be made among exiles. At this point, the exilic writer's tendency to internalise the foreign culture and integrate it into his works will be the focus. Then the question will be how these exiles find other exiles. And this will be answering how they overcome isolation in a foreign land, in a world of forced exile and internal exile.

PART I
EXILED IDENTITY

John Neubauer claims that writers such as Joyce and Beckett were not true exiles. While this is true of Joyce in a very narrow sense, it is certainly true of Beckett. By looking at them we can gain a sense of what this difference amounts to: “Joyce, Beckett, Juan Benet, Arno Schmidt and others, who were in my book not literally exiles but rather émigrés and expatriates. True, they became alienated from their culture, but they were not forced to leave it” (Neubauer 144). Beckett was not forced out of Ireland by circumstance in the way Joyce was. He took a decision to live in France because it was more appealing to him and he was rather more an expatriate than an émigré. An émigré is someone who has chosen to exile themselves whereas an expatriate is simply someone living in another country for work or lifestyle, for example. Joyce is, then, an émigré and an exile. He has exiled himself internally and thus cannot be thought of as an expatriate. However, he is not a true exile in the sense that no great danger awaits him at home; certainly not to the extent that Nâzım Hikmet has danger awaiting him. We can therefore say that Joyce’s exile necessarily requires a degree of self-awareness, a knowledge that he has condemned himself to exile due to his inability to integrate with Irish society.

Beyond the issue of émigré and expatriate there is the issue of the difference between an internal and external exile. Exile is not however a singular experience; Hamid Naficy, in his introduction titled “Framing Exile: From Homeland to Homepage”, explains that there is not a single type of exile but instead two distinct types of exiles: internal and external. The former is related to the feeling of spiritual alienation of the self from one’s home, environment, or homeland; whereas, the latter means a forced exile, derived from extrinsic factors:

[I]t is possible to be exiled in place, that is, to be at home and to long for other places and other times ... It is possible to be in internal exile and yet be at home. It is possible to be forced into external exile and be unable to, or wish not to, return home. ... It is possible to go into exile voluntarily and then return, yet still not fully arrive. It is possible to be able to return and choose not to do so. (Naficy 3)

The first type of exile Naficy suggests is the one that Joyce experienced. Primarily, the disillusionment of Joyce with Ireland caused him to seek a new life in Europe. He felt displaced at home and he did not belong to his time either. His thinking is far beyond the contemporary perception of his time. Later, he became an external exile by leaving his country physically and voluntarily and he did not wish to return permanently ever. After leaving Ireland for Europe, Joyce only visited it once since he did “choose not to” return. There was no element of choice however in his deeper internal exile; it was a reflection of a man born to a society that would reject him even as he rejected it.

A. Limitations and Oppression

In this section the background of the culture in Ireland and Irish history will be examined as well as the oppressive forces of the Church and the State. Thereafter, I will examine how the Irish people were left static, paralysed and powerless within their society. Further, the effect of these forces on the intellectual climate of the nation will be examined. Finally, I will look at how the characters Gabriel Conroy and Stephen Dedalus were affected by the intellectual and cultural environment into which Joyce placed them. In this way, light will be shed upon precisely how Joyce himself came to be a pariah within his society. Further, this will begin to display how his exile is reflected in his literary works.

i. Irish History and Oppression

James Joyce was a man born into a country that was divided by petty rivalries between various causes. Within Ireland there was the division of loyalty to the nationalist movement or to the Catholic Church, as the two did not often meet eye to eye. Some followed Charles Stewart Parnell's reformist ideas, in favour of Home rule movement that was a major force in Irish politics in the late nineteenth century to the end of World War II and sought a free independent Irish government. Even though Parnell appealed to a large proportion of the population, he was deserted by many Catholics as a consequence of his adulterous relationship with Katharine O'Shea. Therefore, a great number of his supporters left Parnell, having been instigated mainly by the Catholic priests. Another rivalry existed between the Irish people and the government in London. The Irish had long been exploited by the English aristocracy. As waves of revolutions swept throughout Europe following the French revolution the Irish were heading towards the end of their patience. The dogmas of the Catholic Church and nationalism influenced the people a great deal, yet they were so accustomed to being ruled by church and state that they often blindly followed what they were told. Surrounded by the ardent followers of the nationalist or the Catholic ideals, Joyce felt voiceless, paralysed and isolated. He was an outsider in his own country.

No less important was Ireland's economic stagnation. Although the British economy thrived from the Empire and free trade, the Irish were largely living in an almost feudalistic society. Most Irish lives were nasty, brutish and short. This reached its height during the Irish potato famine of the 1840s but the Catholic people's proclivity towards having large families with many children lead to many generations of displaced Irish forced to migrate to America and England amongst other destinations. The ordinary Irish people were left impoverished as

landlords exacted high rents from them regardless of how good the harvests were. Although the land acts had dealt with some of the worst abuses of predatory English landlords, it was this society that Charles Stewart Parnell (1846 – 1891) and later John Redmond (1856 – 1918) and finally the 1916 revolutionaries were trying to replace.

In his article “Eliot, Joyce and Exile”, John G. Cawelti discusses the outcomes of the clash of modern scientific naturalism and religion in Europe and America in the twentieth century. He proposes three reactions: some kept being religious, some melted religion and science in the same pot, but others became “spiritual exile”s, which “became a permanent condition that left them stranded far from the ideological homeland of their early years” (Cawelti 39). As a consequence of the clash of religious and scientific values, some people became removed from their society. They were no longer a part of the culture and people they once used to be. In time, their spiritual exile led to their physical exile, as in the examples of Joyce and Beckett. Authors such as these could neither find an audience who could understand their work or a publisher who would print it; these obstacles in addition to the highly polarized society would be the force to leave many authors finding themselves exiles.

ii. Paralysis and Exile in Ireland

Marjorie Howes, in her essay “Joyce, Colonialism and Nationalism”, demonstrates her observations about the British imperialism in Ireland, colonialism and nationalism as global issues. She claims that Joyce “thought of Ireland as a colonized territory, and the Irish as a colonized people, as Stephen’s conversation with the Dean of Studies indicates” (Howes 260). At this point, Howes refers to the dialogue in *A Portrait* about language between Stephen and the Dean, who is English. Stephen’s thoughts given towards the end reflect the mind of a coloniser, especially with the carefully chosen words such as “master”:

—The language in which we are speaking is his before it is mine. How different are the words *home, Christ, ale, master*, on his lips and on mine! I cannot speak or write these words without unrest of spirit. His language is, so familiar and so foreign, will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay. My soul frets in the shadow of his language. (Joyce, *A Portrait* 205)

Stephen's mind speaks as a colonised one and perceives English as the coloniser's language and "an acquired speech" by his people. The same words can be associated with different meanings. "Home" means Ireland—colonised and oppressed—for Stephen while it means England—coloniser, master, ruler, owner and superior—for the Dean. Similarly, "master" is associated with the third person singular pronoun for the former, whereas the latter associates it with himself. While "master" could simply mean teacher to the Dean, it is evident that Stephen sees it as a word to be used as a mark of deference by inferiors to their superiors and therefore one that belongs to the English. Stephen does not speak a language of his own but "an acquired" one, which has become his language. He feels alienated from both languages and he feels like a "foreign[er]" to his mother tongue. This alienation and the sense of "foreign[ness]" makes him an exile at "home".

However, it is ironic that Stephen discovers towards the end of *A Portrait* that the word "tundish" he uses and the Dean does not know is actually an English word. He bemoans in his diary and questions his "master's" ownership of the language: "What did he come here for to teach us his own language or to learn it from us?" (274). The fact that he knows this word better than the "actual owner" of the language creates a paradox. He is showing that the language belongs to the Irish as well as the English. Since his mother tongue is English and he owns it as

much as the English, he does not need to seek another language to “[re]acquire”, which would be Irish, the language that his “ancestors threw off” (220). Stephen is therefore trapped between the overbearing and anti-intellectual Church or a State that oppresses his people and looks down on them as workers of the field.

As Howes points out, Joyce considered the relationship between England and Ireland as that of the coloniser and the colonised. However, Joyce also believed that it is no use trying to revive a language that is spoken by few people, for the sake of a past that cannot be recreated or restored. Since most of the Irish intellectuals and politicians of his time were struggling for this purpose and winning the majority of people over with the power of nationalist ideals, Joyce felt deranged and displaced. The idea of restoring the language seemed to an extent a fanciful one as throughout the nineteenth century the speakers of Irish had diminished rapidly and Irish people seeking to emigrate to Britain or America came to value learning the common language over the parochial. Joyce’s disdain for the small-minded conservative members of society may have informed his rejection of intellectuals attempting to elevate the Irish language.

Joyce wrote about a country doubly oppressed by, on the one hand, British colonialism; on the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church. The exploitation of the former, which had lasted for centuries, was a political, material and imperial one. The latter, no less in its devastation, was a spiritual control. Every facet of the culture from language to ownership rights was influenced. The resurgence of the Irish language itself was a response of a people under the control of a distant capital that cared little about the concerns of the people. No less damaging was the control of the church which imposed its morality on the nation controlling schools and even invading politics through the Mass. Having been born in a time of political turmoil, Joyce grew up seeing all the oppression his people suffered. What grieved him most was his “paralysis”-

stricken people's inability to counteract this oppression and perhaps even their inability to recognise their own paralysis.

The people were unresponsive to these oppressions restricting them in many ways; nevertheless, they would easily get offended or become aggressive by criticism levelled against their identity. This aggression resulted in their rejection of the great writers from their society. In a way, Joyce, Beckett and Synge were continuing the "tradition" of internally exiled Irish intellectuals. Jonathan Swift, one of the most prominent writers of the Augustan Age, escaped Ireland to go to England, which he hated no less. Similar to Joyce, he predominantly wrote about Ireland and criticised the conflicts between the two nations. However, he was not so daring as Joyce, perhaps because he lived two centuries earlier, and used a pseudonym to publish his masterpiece, *Gulliver's Travels*.

Joyce portrays a city where most of the characters seem to be displaced, static or "paralysed", in a way, in *Dubliners*. There is always a melancholic air to the stories and most characters seem to be trapped in the routine of their everyday lives and become unquestioning individuals, yielding to whatever life offers them. The reader may interpret that each of the Dubliner characters are in a way "exiled" from themselves or their lives, usually without realising it. What Joyce may be said to have done is to open the eyes of people living in Dublin and show them that they need to have self-awareness and change themselves and their lives. Of course this message would not be widely understood or accepted until decades later. Joyce's message did eventually reach Irish people.

Eveline, in *Dubliners*, fits into the frame of "internal exile" given by Naficy. She is at home, weighing whether or not she should elope with Frank. On the one hand, she is longing to go to "Buenos Ayres" and get away from her life; she is tired of taking care of the house,

mothering her siblings, and as Vincent J. Cheng suggests in his *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, putting up with “a drunkard of a father who brutalizes her (there is perhaps even a threat of sexual violence)” (Cheng 101). Although I do not read it as her being sexually abused by her father in the story, it is obvious that Eveline has been subjected to domestic violence. She wants to “escape” her monotonous life and thinks that “Frank would save her” (41). On the other hand, she is dubious about Frank’s sincerity as it can be understood from her train of thought: “He would give her life, perhaps love, too” (41). Her doubts and fears about the future to start a new life with Frank, in whom she does not totally trust, overwhelm her desire to escape from the monotony and she begins to think about the “good” aspects of her current life. She thinks that she is unhappy, “but now that she was about to leave [her hard life] she did not find it a wholly undesirable life” (39). Consequently, Eveline dares not to go into exile to Buenos Aires with her sailor lover and chooses to remain an internal exile in her father’s house. In many ways this reflects Eveline’s status as a second class citizen: not only is Eveline Irish she is also a woman. She is clearly an internal exile as she has lost faith in her brutalized life. Her only hope for escape is Frank. This shows that as a woman, Eveline’s choices are based on the whim of what men can provide her with. She lacks the independence and freedom to truly escape from exile. In the end hers is a choice between the metaphysical and the tangible; internal exile or a real life of exile in Argentina.

All *Dubliners* stories have characters that are somewhat unhappy, and desiring a change in their monotonous, stagnant lives but are not making a move; as a result, they are suffering a kind of paralysis; an internal exile. The narrator of “An Encounter” and his friend Mahony are young exiles, who want to “escape” the routine of the school. Religion is a large part of the education system and avoiding it is essentially impossible. Moreover, a big division is created

between the Catholics and Protestants, which can be seen from a group of boys' throwing stones at the narrator and his friend, thinking they are Protestants (21). The irony here is obvious in that these Catholic boys are attempting to bully others as arbitrarily as the aristocracy oppressed the Catholics. The predominantly religious education system probably offers these young men more dogma to be learnt by heart and chastisement with the pandybat, like in *A Portrait*, rather than education of any use. Given of course the story is set long before the Second Vatican Council, so the mass would have taken place in Latin. The boys' Latin instruction in school would be largely ineffective and the language of the mass would have been incomprehensible to them. As I mentioned earlier, with regard to *A Portrait*, language is a major factor in the politics of identity. These boys, sitting through masses in Latin, would be completely unable to understand the prayers and therefore can be said to have no real part in the belief system. This "escape", for the boys in "An Encounter", is sometimes found in "[t]he adventures related in the literature of the Wild West" (18). Even though they do not appeal to the narrator's taste, these adventures are still desirable because "they opened doors of escape" (19). The young narrator of the story verbalises his desire to get away from his current cyclical life, which offers him nothing new or exciting. Therefore, he wishes to "escape" this routine by skipping school even though it is a short "break" from his daily life.

[W]hen the restraining influence of the school was at a distance I began to hunger again for wild sensations, for the escape which those chronicles of disorder alone seemed to offer me. The mimic warfare of the evening became at last as wearisome to me as the routine of school in the morning because I wanted real adventures to happen to myself. But real adventures, I reflected, do not happen to people who remain at home: they must be sought abroad. (19-20)

These lines encapsulating the mind of the young narrator, demonstrate that even the children in Dublin seem to be somehow affected by the paralytic atmosphere of the city. They are expected to do as they are told, not given much voice, and exposed to older people's dictates or conversations—even if they do not approve—whether it is a relative or a stranger. The boys have no voice in the society. They are brought up from the earliest age to be exiled from their nation and from their church. They are forced to be a part of a community in which they have no active role. In *A Portrait*, for example, young Stephen is exposed to nationalist and religious ideologies either by his family, or by the education system. These ideologies surround him as long as he stays in Ireland with their existence in every aspect of life. While many of these same problems would have faced Joyce in other countries, there were at that time enlightened nations that allowed a greater range of freedom in terms of expression and lifestyle.

His criticism of the people living in Dublin is, in a way, a reflection of Joyce's internal exile. Joyce was disturbed by the paralysis of the residents of the city, their unchanging lives, their inability to make any positive changes in their lives and their refusal to cast off the shackles of dogmatic nationalism and religion. He observed Dubliners' lifestyles both as an insider and an outsider to the society and created Joycean Irish stereotypes in his works.

Father Flynn in "The Sisters" is one of the stereotypes of the Irish priest. Conversations among the characters following his death and the narrator's mind hint at some obscurity about the priest before his death. One of his sisters, Eliza, says: "He was too scrupulous always ... The duties of the priesthood was too much for him. And then his life was, you might say, crossed. ... It was the chalice he broke... That was the beginning of it. Of course, they say it was all right, that it contained nothing, I mean. But still... They say it was the boy's fault. But poor James was so nervous, God be merciful to him!" (16-7). Father Flynn's breaking the chalice brings his

mental instability, according to his sister. Since he was “too scrupulous”, he could not overcome the guilt of this accident. One can draw various meanings from Eliza’s words, two of which are explained by Thomas Dilworth in his article, “Not ‘Too Much Noise’: Joyce’s ‘The Sisters’ in Irish Catholic Perspective”. Dilworth suggests that his life being “crossed” and his resulting disappointment are “not limited to a single accident that probably happened relatively late in life. Another, extremely likely reason for a priest’s being disappointed and his life being crossed is celibacy” (Dilworth 101). It may be said that the word “crossed” is a pun referring to Christianity and according to Dilworth’s reading, the priest lived not a very happy life. Perhaps it was Christianity to which he dedicated himself “scrupulous”ly that made him “disappointed” in time.

What is said after Father Flynn’s death shows that he was not a happy man and became mentally unstable as understood from his sister Eliza’s words: “sitting up by himself in the dark in his confession-box, wide-awake and laughing-like softly to himself [...] when they saw that, that made them think that there was something gone wrong with him....” (Joyce 17). The priest’s confused mind seems to be the result of his accidentally breaking the chalice. But the climax of the story when the reader finds out about the broken chalice could be a symbol of a decline in his beliefs or vows. He may have felt that he no longer belonged to where he lived or what he had believed until that moment. He is internally exiled from the familiar surroundings of his everyday life. He may no longer be a believer of the Catholic Church and this could be referring to a larger target. The author might be going as far as to say this is an example of only one of all the other Dubliner Catholic priests.

Jimmy Doyle, in “After the Race”, is a stereotype of an Irishman down on his luck, who is doomed to lose all his money in gambling. Even though he is presumably one of the richest man in Ireland in his time, he is still much poorer compared to most of his foreign friends who he

gambles with. At the end of the game, he loses and becomes even poorer. In a greater sense, it may be said that the victory of the English comes with the downfall of the Irish. Since he is a stereotype for an Irishman who drinks and gambles, Jimmy's loss can be predicted by the reader from the beginning of the story. It can actually be felt by the gloomy air of the setting when the cars are coming down the street: "[S]ightseers had gathered in clumps to watch the cars careering homeward, and through this channel of poverty and inaction the Continent sped its wealth and industry. Now and again the clumps of people raised the cheer of the gratefully oppressed" (44). Joyce describes the Irish people watching the race cars as a "channel of poverty and inaction". These words are strong in terms of stressing the paralysed state of the people; they are not only poor but also static. Moreover, they are "the gratefully oppressed", which refers to both the imperialist English and the religious oppression of the Catholic Church as I mentioned previously. It is this "inaction" and "oppression" that casts Jimmy Doyle and the Irish people in general as internal exiles.

Just like the other *Dubliners* characters I have mentioned, in "Two Gallants", Lenehan's mind tells the reader about how desperate he feels about life. In a moment of epiphany, he realises that he has quite an unprosperous life making no progress: "This vision made him feel keenly his own poverty of purse and spirit. He was tired of knocking about, of pulling the devil by the tail, of shifts and intrigues. He would be thirty-one in November. Would he never get a good job? Would he never have a home of his own?" (Joyce 62). He is aware that he has achieved no success in life and has no goals to achieve yet, even though his twenties have past, his youth is slipping away. Contrary to many of the other characters in *Dubliners*, Lenehan, at least, starts questioning his position in life. It is a life of deceit and crime. He and his friend Corley are living on the edge, close to destitution; they survive any way they can. Their exile

derives as much from social inequality as from their own disillusionment with the country and the world in which they find themselves. Lenehan's exile is entirely internally derived; he has no means of escape, his life itself has become a form of exile.

In another deeper sense one can examine the symbolism of exile in "Two Gallants". It is impossible not to notice the symbols of Ireland while reading *Dubliners*, especially "Two Gallants". Robert Adams Day, in his article "Joyce's Gnomons, Lenehan, and the Persistence of an Image", suggests that "Corley represents the insolent English conqueror, Lenehan, the Irish who abet the betrayal; the girl from whom Corley wheedles money is ruined Ireland; so is the symbolic harp played in the street" (Day 12). Presumably, Corley's tendency to do secret and illegal "business" by exploiting the weak and vulnerable—in this case, the Irish maid—makes him a scoundrel. In other words, as Day aptly proposes, Ireland as the land is letting herself to be used by the imperial English. Lenehan, representing the Irish, is no less innocent, working as an accomplice to the opportunist. Moreover, he is too cowardly to actively involve in the "business" or make a change in his life. In this sense too is Lenehan an internal exile; he as a symbol of the sheepish Irish people watches with little more than indifference as his country is exploited by the foreign oppressor. As individual characters, both Lenehan and Corley are outcasts, far from being real members of their community. Each seems to be distrustful of the other. They are rejected, hopeless, paralysed and exiled.

The characters that we may call internal exiles are present in all the *Dubliners* stories. They are poor and unhappy with their lives, but this has been how they have lived for so long that most of them do not even know how to make a change. Most of them wish to escape, but they either do not have the means or they are too dependent on the routine of their lives. It is this

paralysis of the people that leads to their internal strife and decline. They are tortured by their inaction and are left internally exiled.

iii. Limitations for Intellectuals

In one of his letters to Alexander Pope, Jonathan Swift wrote that the reason for writing *Gulliver's Travels* was "to vex the world rather than divert it" (Swift 102). Joyce, Wilde and Synge, whether intentionally or not, wrote for much the same reason. They all caused great controversy with their writing. Wilde ended up in prison and then in physical exile, in Reading Gaol and later Paris, due to his homosexual lifestyle that was beyond his society's understanding or acceptance. As intellectuals their avant-garde ideas were always going to raise some hackles. The depth of their exile was determined however by the severity of the conservatism in their society in those times.

The criticism of society is a common ground for all the writers mentioned above. Swift's ideas about satire, written in the preface of *The Battle of the Books*, can be said to reflect the essence of social criticisms or criticism in general: "Satire is a sort of glass wherein beholders do generally discover everybody's face but their own" (*The Battle of the Books*, preface). Swift was born in Ireland and spent a considerable amount of his life in England, thus he got acquainted with both cultures and knew about their politics as a consequence of his interests. He saw, as he expressed in his works, the futile conflicts between the Catholics and Protestants, which cost many lives. He used his pen to satirise both parties and corruption in the institutions. Thus, like Joyce, Swift was caught between two cultures, criticising English exploitation of Ireland.

Joyce must have been aware of what Swift wrote two centuries before him since they both criticised the Irish society in which they lived. The following is a quotation, including a criticism of the filth of Dublin, in one of the letters of Joyce to his publisher. Grant Richards, the

publisher, repeatedly asked Joyce to revise his stories before the publication, Joyce wrote back: “It is not my fault that the odour of ashpits and old weeds and offal hangs round my stories. I seriously believe that you will retard the course of civilisation in Ireland by preventing the Irish people from having one good look at themselves in my nicely polished looking-glass” (qtd. in Ellmann 222). These lines, making a reference to Joyce’s “The Boarding House”, may remind a Swift reader of his satirical poem, “A Description of a City Shower”: “Sweepings from butchers’ stalls, dung, guts, and blood, / Drowned puppies, stinking sprats, all drenched in mud, / Dead cats, and turnip tops, come tumbling down the flood” (61-63). Even though Swift’s poem was written about London, the portrayal of the city would be reminiscent of Dublin, in terms of the filth Joyce was describing. Just like the physical filthiness of the cities, their institutions were corrupt and the majority of people were incapable of reasoning and taking action. Moreover, these people were unable to see themselves in the mirror of criticism, or satire; therefore, failed, or at times, refused to understand the criticism. This was the cause of rejection of Joyce in his society.

The same letter of Joyce to his publisher Grant Richards is also quoted in Garry Leonard’s essay titled “*Dubliners*”. He suggests that George Russell and Joyce were both “keenly aware their country needed to ‘have one good look’ in a looking-glass — however differently it might be polished. The relationship with imperial Britain was slowly devolving, and with it came an increasing urgency for Ireland to understand itself as Irish, whether that meant reviving the Gaelic Language, or Gaelic Sport, or collecting and publishing whatever could be found of Irish mythology” (Leonard 93). Joyce, in a way, “polished” his writing with political references and symbolism referring to politics, but Russell “polished” his with nationalism. Although Joyce’s main concern was not creating an “Irish” Ireland, by letting the

Irish “have one good look” at themselves in a looking-glass, he contributed to it without realising. Joyce’s vision of a morbid, depressing Ireland reflects the view he hoped the Irish would see in the mirror. There is a certain aptness to Joyce’s critical view of Ireland at a time when others were quick to brush aside criticism and attempt to elevate notions of language, religion and the uniqueness of Irish culture.

Leonard’s assumption that Joyce had similar feelings with the revivalist George Russell for Ireland was presumably due to Joyce’s criticism of his nation for letting itself be ruled by the coloniser. His being against the idea of British Imperialism was reflected in his works as well. One example to this would be when young Stephen, in *A Portrait*, is making his little political list of places trying to define his position in the universe (Joyce 12). It is political because Europe comes after Ireland instead of Great Britain, which is not in the list. This is probably what has been cultivated in the boy’s mind as a result of the influence of what he hears from his environment. He is too young to make sense of borders in his mind; therefore, he can only convey whatever information he has heard of. His conception of where and what he is is contained in this list. Stephen’s understanding of the hierarchy of things is naive; he lists geographical entities rather than political ones with the exception of County Kildare. Why then does he exclude the political divisions? It is likely because the boy’s operational understanding of the world is rooted not in ideas of nationhood and identity but rather the more tangible location he is at a given moment. Joyce is artfully showing that the political border lines that people place on maps are arbitrary and man-made –a relic of a history in which the children of his day had taken no part.

Parallel to Leonard’s assumption, Seamus Deane makes a point that is very much alike. Deane, too, in his essay titled “Joyce the Irishman”, sees Joyce as part of the Literary Revival.

Still, he does not hesitate to make a distinction between Joyce and the “official” revivalists. The idea of the Irishman created by those writers seem so much removed from the reality that this idea becomes closer to the stereotype created by English mockery. That is to say the revivalists were systematically elevating the stereotype the English had created for the common Irishman. The Irish were in a sense reclaiming ownership of the Irishman and idealising him. Where the English stereotype had been brash and uncouth, the revivalists created a man with a noble link to the land, the people and the language. It was this Irishman Joyce rejected; Joyce did not see that one could so easily whitewash over the darker parts of Irish society. It is Joyce’s literature with its credible realism that has stood the test of time.

Although Joyce was opposed to the folkish, even folksy, elements of the Irish Revival, he is himself a dominant figure in that movement. Officially, he stands apart, as ever. Yeats, George Moore, Edward Martyn, Lady Gregory, Synge, Padraic Colum and their supporters seemed to him to be dangerously close to committing themselves to a version of the pseudo-Irishness which had once been the preserve of the stage-Irishman of nineteenth-century England and was, by the last decade of the century, becoming the property of the Celtic Irishman of the day. Yet, despite his difference, Joyce had much in common with these writers. (Deane 34-35)

In Joyce’s view, this “pseudo-Irishness” created by the intellectuals is so remote from what the Irish actually are that this creation makes them closer to their recreation by their enemy. It was this Irish man who lacked the realism and flawed beauty Joyce captured in his writing.

In Joyce’s time writers had greater concerns than winning public appreciation. Censorship, exclusion from society, or even riots could be some of the difficulties a writer could

face if they did not satisfactorily capture the zeitgeist of a changing world. The riot which took place in the Abbey Theatre is proof of how easily people could get offended and were not very receptive of criticism even if it was intended ironically. In *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the January 26, 1907 performance of Synge's satire, *The Playboy of the Western World* is explained to have "stirred up so much resentment in the audience over its portrayal of the Irish peasantry that there was a riot" and this riot spread overseas to America "[w]hen the Abbey players toured the United States for the first time in 1911". Similar reactions to Synge's play show that majority of Irish people living in the early twentieth century, whether in Ireland or abroad, had a similar mentality: they did not appreciate social criticism. Even though the riots started a couple of years after Joyce's departure from Ireland, he had known that it was not the place to stage or view plays as it is criticised in his essay called "The Day of the Rabblement". Anne Fogarty, in her article titled "Joyce and Popular Culture", discusses how Joyce viewed popular culture and how he integrated it into his works. She explains Joyce's "chief reason for this denunciation" as "the literary theatre had caved in to populism" and she quotes from Joyce's declaration about the Abbey Theatre: "property of the rabblement of the most belated race in Europe" (Fogarty 3). For a young Joyce, who wrote this essay during his college years, the theatre only served the popular taste of the common people. If he had chosen to stay in Ireland, this would have been one of the places he would have tried to avoid, for it did not offer much to as intellectual a mind as his. When he finally managed to liberate his body and soul from Ireland, he was able to get his play *Exiles* published.

Most of the plays staged in the Abbey Theatre at the time were mainly serving the Irish Literary Revival, which took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Since it was founded, the Abbey Theatre was run by the revivalists, who were also writing scripts for the

Theatre, consisting mainly of plays about the traditional Irish folk tales and Irish themed literature. These focused on an idealised image of a romantic and mythical Ireland created to serve nationalistic interests. Even though Joyce criticised the Abbey Theatre for appealing to popular culture, he ended up writing to Yeats asking for a staging of *Exiles* after having been turned down by a number of other theatres. Richard Ellmann, in his biography *James Joyce*, wrote quoting from Yeats' letter to Joyce that although Yeats liked the play when he read it, he still refused to stage it: "I do not recommend your play to the Irish Theatre because it is a type of work we have never played well. It is too far from the folk drama" (Ellmann 401). Yeats explains that he was not impressed by *Exiles* as much as he did by *A Portrait*; however, the main reason he refused to stage it was that it had no elements of the traditional Irish folk drama. Yeats' refusal to stage the play shows that the atmosphere for intellectuals was just as prone to dogmatism as the nationalistic religious and imperialist elements which vied for the sympathies of the Irish public. The revivalists were trying to create a world that never was; they idealised Irish history and myth and attempted to subvert the reality. Joyce could play no part in such romanticised prevarications.

iv. Societal Limitations as Reflected through Stephen and Gabriel

His confrontation with his society's ideals are best reflected in *A Portrait*, the author's semi-autobiographical work, through the experience of Stephen, echoing the author's own mind especially as "a young man". The novel portrays a vivid outlook of the politics of the time and how the political climate was perceived by people of different political backgrounds. The Christmas dinner scene in the book, where the family start a debate of politics and religion, is a perfect example of this. Mr Dedalus and Mr Casey bemoan the church's intervention in politics and remember their friend's "good answer" to the priest, refusing to pay the ten percent tithe:

“I’ll pay you your dues, father, when you cease turning the house of God into a pollingbooth” (Joyce 29). Mr Casey concurs and says that he does not attend the church “to hear election addresses” (30). This answer given to the priest, according to Don Gifford, is “an obvious reference to the Irish Catholic clergy’s condemnation of Parnell from the pulpit” (Gifford 93), since the date (1889) of Parnell’s rejection from the Irish Parliamentary Party coincides with the young artist’s age in that specific section of the book. While one can read Mr Casey and Mr Dedalus are Parnellites through the lines, the narrator’s aunt Dante is obviously among the ones who declare him “traitor”. According to her, by telling the laity for whom to vote, the clergymen “are doing their duty in warning the people” and “[t]hey must direct their flocks” (Joyce 30). Dante’s strong Catholic viewpoint is a representation of the common anti-Parnellite thought of the time. They believe that a man like Parnell, who has an adulterous relationship, can no longer represent themselves in the parliament since this is not acceptable in Catholicism, despite the fact Parnell himself was not a Catholic. As in the novel Catholics turned their backs on their once-respected leader. What Joyce criticises here is the fact that the clergymen can so easily intervene in politics and find the right in themselves to preach people for whom to vote, as well as people’s hypocrisy against Parnell, “to desert him at the bidding of the English people” (31).

Just before Mrs Dedalus insists for the second time that they terminate this political discussion, Mr Casey makes a controversial suggestion: “Let them leave politics alone ... or the people may leave their church alone” (31). I find this interjection interesting because I believe it reflects the author’s thoughts thoroughly. There seems to be a parallel between Joyce’s disillusionment with regard to the church and its being so prone to political and social interference. This explains why Joyce left his church and country alone and emigrated to the continent.

“The Dead” starts with a depiction of an upper-middle class Christmas dinner at the Morkans’ house and presents an argument between Gabriel Conroy and Miss Ivors. Miss Ivors is portrayed as a typical upper-middle class Irish woman who is religious, traditionalist and nationalist. One can see other such examples in *Dubliners* stories, where most characters are united by their religious and political viewpoints. This middle-aged woman, who is ready to attack opinions or beliefs of which she disapproves in matters of politics, nationalism and religion, is in certain respects just like the other paralysed characters seen in *Dubliners*. Besides she does not have much idea about poetry as Gabriel does, which makes him reconsider his speech at the table. The row breaks out between Miss Ivors and Gabriel Conroy, when Miss Ivors calls him a “West Briton” and makes insinuations about his not speaking Irish and finally admonishes him for going on holiday to the Continent rather than to Aran Islands. Gabriel’s response to Miss Ivors comes as shocking: “Irish is not my language [...] I’m sick of my own country, sick of it!” (Joyce 216). These sentences somehow sound like echoes of Stephen Dedalus’ ideas of language and nation. Just like Stephen, Gabriel cannot associate himself with Irish language, probably because he has never had a chance to learn it. The language is one, rooted in a distant and forgotten past, for the youth of Ireland; it has no immediacy but to create a division between nationalists and those who remain loyal to Britain. Since Gabriel is surrounded by people stricken with paralysis, the potency of such a comparison is obvious. Gabriel finds himself surrounded and his paralysed-minded aunts are attempting to control him, to police his beliefs. This may be considered as another example of internal exile, just like Stephen and Joyce himself. On the other hand, Joyce finds salvation through his self-exile in Europe. Gabriel, as well, seeks tranquillity in Europe instead of home. Perhaps one cannot say that the action of

taking a holiday on the continent is a form of exile; however, Gabriel's feelings toward his nation and the Irish language belie his self-exile from the hallmarks of Irish national identity.

B. Recognition

i. Recognition of Superiority

So the question that we must ask is do these characters have an awareness of their exile or is it to them just a shapeless malaise? And if they do realise they are exiles how and why is this? For Gabriel and Stephen at least the realisation that they are somehow apart from the society is apparent to them. Others such as Mr Kernan in "Grace" in *Dubliners* are not even aware of their being outside the community. They have internally exiled themselves without intending to do so. It is their intellect and understanding of the world around them that allows Gabriel and Stephen to see the truth of their situation. Despite this recognition they are largely helpless in the face of their isolation and disillusionment.

A Portrait, the author's semi-autobiographical novel, portrays the protagonist with the same sort of Dubliner characteristics, but distancing himself significantly from others. From his early boyhood and first memories until his early maturity, he is aware of his distinguished intelligence and capability of reasoning. This is in stark contrast to those around him who lack the mental faculties he displays. He always has a critical approach towards people surrounding him, since they somehow cannot think, see, or act like him. Stephen feels alienated among these people incapable of reasoning, and this alienation becomes an obstacle for his productivity as an artist. Stephen's alienation is in a sense his own paralysis; he wishes to remove himself from that place and those people, and the author is in effect exiling himself from the Ireland of mindless adherents to the various causes of the Church and the state.

As mentioned above briefly, the protagonist of “The Dead” in *Dubliners*, Gabriel is in some ways, like Stephen and Joyce. He thinks that he is superior to most people around him intellectually and culturally. This is hinted at through the thoughts of both Stephen and Gabriel in the stories. Gabriel’s is, for example, at one point during the party in Morkan’s house, rehearsing his speech. He decides that he should take care to keep his speech relatively simplistic lest his listeners would have difficulty grasping its meaning.

He was undecided about the lines from Robert Browning, for he feared they would be above the heads of his hearers. Some quotation that they would recognize from Shakespeare or from the *Melodies* would be better. The indelicate clacking of the men’s heels and the shuffling of their soles reminded him that their grade of culture differed from his. He would only make himself ridiculous by quoting poetry to them which they could not understand. They would think that he was airing his superior education. (203)

While Gabriel is listening to the sound of waltzing men’s inelegant “clacking” and “shuffling” feet in the next room, he assumes that the people in the room are not intellectually equal to him nor do they have a good educational background, and that he should keep his speech at a comprehensible level for them. Thus he thinks he should quote from Thomas Moore’s *Irish Melodies* or some famous lines from Shakespeare that his audience would be familiar with instead of Robert Browning. He has such superior understanding of art to those around him that he is worried his knowledge would cause him to be ridiculed and he would seem as if he was trying to show off.

Stephen’s recognition of himself as a superior being to others puts him in isolation from the rest of the society. This isolation becomes so intense that even his family becomes far-

removed from him. The passage from *A Portrait* below show how Stephen defines his self-isolation from his family:

He saw clearly too his own futile isolation. He had not gone one step nearer the lives he had sought to approach nor bridged the restless shame and rancour that divided him from mother and brother and sister. He felt that he was hardly of the one blood with them but stood to them rather in the mystical kinship of fosterage, fosterchild and fosterbrother. (105)

Stephen tries to be “a part of his family”; nevertheless, he experiences a never-ending isolation from them. He does not care at all about his “mortal sin” anymore, which would have been despised by his family if known. He comes to the point when he thinks that “nothing [is] sacred” and he has almost nothing to do with religion. This makes him pretend to look like what he used to be when he is at home with his family or in the society, as he explains his life has become “a tissue of subterfuge and falsehood” (105). He almost seems to act as a character that represents his younger, more ignorant and inexperienced self, and lives his life as if it is another’s. This acting distances Stephen from his family and his isolation causes him to almost reject and see them as a “foster” family. This fosterage is later confirmed by his rejection to pray for his mother on her deathbed as expressed in *Ulysses*. It is also the cause for him to look for a foster father later in the novel, which is going to be Bloom. Just as he is a “fosterchild” and a “fosterbrother” in the family, he is like a “foster” member of the Irish society, which makes it easier for him to leave Ireland and his family.

Before Stephen starts feeling this way, he has contradicting thoughts in his mind. On the one hand, he has the ideas that are the result of what society has taught him to be right and what it requires him to do: “[A]nother voice had bidden him to be true to his country and help to raise

up her fallen language and tradition” (88). On the other hand, having to listen to people’s dictates telling him what to do made him grow increasingly alienated to his whole environment: “[I]t was the din of all these hollowsounding voices that made him halt irresolutely in the pursuit of phantoms. He gave them ear only for a time but he was happy only when he was far from them” (88-89). His realisation of the hollowness of utterances or ideas surrounding him creates the “fosterage” relationship. He recognises that his mind operates differently compared to others around him and he cannot co-exist with them and be happy. He feels exiled at home and in order to achieve happiness, he has to get away from people who tell him what to do.

In “A Little Cloud”, Little Chandler has a moment of recognition when he leaves his Irish humility behind and disdains people around him. His thoughts express his realisation of the barrenness of the intellectual life of the city: “For the first time in his life he felt himself superior to the people he passed. For the first time his soul revolted against the dull inelegance of Capel Street. There was no doubt about it: if you wanted to succeed you had to go away. You could do nothing in Dublin. ... Perhaps Gallaher may be able to print my poetry in London” (79). The character’s train of thought actually mirrors that of Joyce’s in both the sense of superiority and the sense that Dublin is not a place of production or success, especially for a writer. Joyce’s description of a “dull” city offering “nothing” makes it inevitable for the artist to escape it in order to achieve success. The inaction in the city and the paralysis of its dwellers render it artistically impotent. It is emphasised that one should seek (external) exile to achieve success since the city itself forms an obstacle by maintaining its people as internal exiles.

Joyce’s search for a better artistic life took him to Pola, Rome, Trieste, Zurich, Paris and back to Zurich again. He was aware that Dublin would not bestow him a bright career unless he served the nationalistic ideals of the Gaelic League. Joyce’s search for an unconstrained place

resembles Little Chandler's expectations. The fictional poet grows impatient about going to London: "Every step brought him nearer to London, farther from his own sober inartistic life" (79). Having left Ireland and entered a wider world, Joyce has the ability to experience the bohemian lifestyle. This allows him to create the types of artworks he wants to create without the overbearing figures of the church and nationalism to stifle his expression.

ii. Irony of Recognition

For Joyce and most other writers of exile that I have mentioned, the self-recognition of the artist of his genius, is ironically followed by his recognition or acceptance in other countries, rather than in his own country. Writers such as Byron, Wilde, Joyce or Beckett were acknowledged as great writers in exile before they were renowned or even accepted in their homeland. However, there are exceptions to this situation. Samuel Hynes, in his article "The Voices of Exile in 1940", discusses W. H. Auden's "self-imposed" exile in America. Hynes states that Auden had already been recognised in England before he went into exile, which possibly "provide[s] a unique case":

He had left England with his friend Christopher Isherwood in January 1939 and had emigrated to America, interrupting a promising career and alienating his English friends to go into exile among strangers. It was a move unlike those of any of the other famous modern literary exiles: if you compare the others—James, Conrad, Joyce, Mann, Pound, Eliot, Nabokov, Brecht—there is no other case of an *established* writer who left his country *voluntarily*. (Hynes 32)

Unlike the exceptional case of Auden, most of the writers gained acceptance in exile either because the socio-political environment did not make it possible for them to be successful or they had to leave their country for various reasons.

Little Chandler in “A Little Cloud”, admires good poetry and desires to produce some himself as well; however, he is self-conscious about his ability to write poetry. Indeed, the reader does not have a clue if he has actually written any poetry. In his essay “*Dubliners*”, Garry Leonard discusses this character’s hatred of his marriage, and son, “for robbing him of the chance to be an acknowledged poet” (91), and his actual creation: “One could argue that the reason he has never written any poetry (despite writing favourable reviews of the unwritten poetry in his head) is that this allows him to continue fantasizing that he one day might” (92). Little Chandler’s self-recognition is ironic since he starts dreaming of recognition by others before even actually producing any work. He hopes to gain acclamation in the English literary circles: “He would never be popular: he saw that. He could not sway the crowd, but he might appeal to a little circle of kindred minds. The English critics, perhaps, would recognize him as one of the Celtic school ... It was a pity his name was not more Irish-looking” (80). Little Chandler’s dreamy nature, not trying to achieve anything substantial makes him an internal exile. Similar to Hynes’ argument, it is suggested that a writer’s success can be recognised outside one’s own country. Little Chandler’s problem is derived from his own inaction. In this regard, as with many of the characters in *Dubliners*, he can be said to be suffering from paralysis. He does not have the means or the will to leave Ireland and attempt, like Joyce himself, to find accolades elsewhere. He is exiled into the England of his mind’s eye, praised by this select group who enjoy the Celtic school. His exile is of his own making and entirely internalised.

It is also ironic that the character is hoping to gain acceptance as a poet from the Celtic school, but in England. The Celtic school, which was a result of the Celtic Revival, appeared as a nationalist movement to move away from the English. The fact that this fictional writer would only achieve validation by the English, his enemy, but the Irish, his own people, seems ironic.

C. Desire to Escape “the Nets”

It is obvious to the reader that Stephen Dedalus is a reference to the Greek mythology and Joyce alludes to it by comparing his protagonist to Daedalus. Just like the mythological artisan had to fly away from the imprisonment of King Minos and go to Sicily, Stephen Dedalus feels that he needs to escape the limitations of his society in order to gain his freedom both as an individual and as an artist. These limitations, referred to as “nets” in *A Portrait*, should be left behind.

Stephen’s conversation with his nationalist friend Davin about Irishness, nationality, politics and religion may be one of the most astounding parts of the novel. Davin questions Stephen’s Irishness for his criticism of the Irish informers and his cessation of his Irish classes after the first lesson. Besides, he accuses Stephen of being too proud to accept his Irishness. Discomfited by his friend’s idealistic views, Stephen discloses his anti-patriotic feelings about his ancestors and their language: “My ancestors threw off their language and took another ... They allowed a handful of foreigners to subject them. Do you fancy I am going to pay in my own life and person debts they made? What for?” (220). Stephen finds the imposition of The Gaelic League to teach people their ancestors’ language unnecessary. He refuses to take any responsibility for the revival of the dead language and culture which had been overcome by the influence of an outside power in the form of British colonialism. While Davin tries to answer back with hollow words, Stephen refuses to attach his ideals and emotions to people who have been disingenuous to leaders, such as Wolfe Tone and Charles Stewart Parnell, who struggled for the independence of the Irish people. Stephen feels as though the people who speak out strongest for the nationalist leaders are often the first to turn their back on them in a crisis.

Stephen's response to his friend, who is trying to convince him to accept that "in [his] heart [he] is an Irishman", is remarkable: "The soul is born [...] It has a slow and dark birth, more mysterious than the birth of the body. When the soul of a man is born in this country there are nets flung at it to hold it back from flight. You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets" (220). Nationality to Stephen, as it was to Joyce, was an arbitrary outcome of where one was born. Stephen felt no kinship with his countrymen on the basis of their shared place of birth. His intellectualism put him beyond the yearnings of the common man for a free nation. Stephen was more concerned with the individual than with the nation as a whole. In this sense he was exiled from not only his nation but even from his family and friends. At times his internal exile seems close to misanthropy.

In "The Dead", Gabriel Conroy's awkward moments of discussion with Miss Ivors make a similar point in reflecting Joyce's view on language and nationality. Gabriel is not only criticised for choosing to spend his holidays on the continent instead of Ireland, but also for choosing to practise his French instead of his "own language". However, he is courageous enough to give a nimble answer as I have mentioned before: "Irish is not my language" and he goes as far as to say that he is sick of his own country (216). This is crucial here because it shows us that Gabriel Conroy too wants to escape the nets of the nationalists and be free to live the life of an intellectual unburdened of proscriptions to study a language that is in no real sense his own.

Just as it is verbalised by the protagonist of "The Dead", Gabriel Conroy, Joyce himself was not fit for his society; thus he chose to live the rest of his life —after the age of twenty two— away from his homeland and sent himself into a voluntary exile. As I have mentioned before, the effect of physical as well as the spiritual exile experienced by Joyce can be seen in all

his works. His desire to escape the nets would never leave him; Joyce continued to write about the experiences of isolated exiles long after he himself had, at least physically, escaped Ireland.

Don Gifford suggests that “Stephen Dedalus’s dramatic insistence (and Joyce’s personal insistence) on exile from Ireland as the only viable course for the Irish artist” and he asks “Why ... couldn’t the artist both remain in Ireland and sustain his artistic integrity?” (15). One answer he proposes to this question is The Gaelic League. If the artist chooses to stay home, he is expected to write in Irish and about the Irish culture. Therefore, anything he produces has to meet the expectations of The Gaelic League requirements. Otherwise he would be harshly criticised for his writing and excluded from the society, which indeed did happen. Even though he escaped “the nets” and fled to the continent, he was still criticised in Ireland. Irish people were especially critical of his anti-clerical attitude and his irreverence towards the church. Even long after Parnell had died and Ireland had become the Irish Free State the people of Ireland were still divided along the lines of the table at the Dedalus house in *A Portrait*; Dante on one side and Mr Dedalus on the other.

Another reason why the artist could not stay in Ireland, in my opinion, is that he felt the oppression of religion too much on him. Stephen, the young artist, becomes a prefect of studies and finds himself contemplating his irrevertible and unatonable sins and his Saturday mornings spent in the chapel with the sodality. He thinks of confessing his sins; however, he abandons the idea for “a glance at their faces restrain[s] him” (112). He has always been taught and raised to be a devout Catholic but he turns out to have a “sinloving soul”. Since he can no longer start afresh, nor does he want to do so, he decides to live with his sin. But “the nets” of religion and culture “trap” him and keep him from “flying”. He had difficulties publishing his writings in Dublin because publishers would find them too confrontational or carrying the risk of libel. In

terms of personal life, it would have made it more difficult for both Joyce and Nora to live together as an unmarried couple in a devoutly Catholic city like Dublin, crowded with familiar residents at the beginning of the twentieth century. Joyce was concerned about the ignorance of the religious Irish people who had recently been provoked to become nationalists, which made it doubly intolerable for an intellectual like Joyce to live there and produce his art.

We know that *A Portrait* was semi-autobiographical and the hero, Stephen, who appears in *Ulysses* as well, stands in part for the author himself. Louis Menand, in his article “Silence, Exile, Punning”, claims that Joyce barely disguised his characters and even used their real names: “Joyce’s dramatis personae include a lot of ‘as himself’ parts. It is one of the reasons he never returned to Ireland after ‘Ulysses’ came out: many people in Dublin were prepared to sue him for libel” (4). By harshly criticising his people, Joyce had understood there would be a possibility that it would make it impossible to go back home since people would hate him. Joyce’s mockery of the Irish and of his acquaintances vexed people and filled them with hatred towards him. Menand points out that “[The Irish] didn’t like what they saw of themselves in [*Ulysses*]” (9). He quotes another Dubliner, George Bernard Shaw’s opinion showing how the Irish are not open to criticism: “If a man holds up a mirror to your nature and shows you that it needs washing--not whitewashing--it is no use breaking the mirror” (qtd. in Menand 9). The Irish apparently were not ready for criticism and they chose to “break the mirror” by refusing to appreciate Joyce’s criticism and being unable to criticise themselves. Menand supports Shaw’s opinion with the response of Joyce to his aunt Josephine, who declined to read *Ulysses*: “If ‘Ulysses’ isn’t fit to read, life isn’t fit to live” (9). Aunt Josephine, like the other Dubliners who do not like to be criticised is critical of her nephew’s writing. Despite the success he had in later

life, Joyce would never truly be free of “the nets” of the oppressive society into which he was born.

PART II

PRODUCTION AND EFFECT

A. Writing in Exile

Whether they have been exiled by force or exiled themselves, exile evokes a deep emotional response from writers. This often causes them to become more productive artistically. It may be, for such writers as Joyce, the place, where they actually start producing their major writings. Moreover, people's worldviews change every time they come across a new culture or people and this, as well, contributes to their writing.

John Neubauer suggests that "exile writing constitutes a considerable segment of 'literature for Europe'" in the introduction of his article about European literary exiles (134). This is an apt argument to make because Europe has been a continent consisting many countries, ethnicities, religions and cultures since the first city states emerged. It has witnessed a clash of these multiplicities, in the form of innumerable revolutions, wars, conquests, pogroms and migrations. This diversity, over years, causing conflicts among groups and individuals, has caused or forced many people to leave their homelands and seek peaceful places in which to live. As a consequence, their experiences found their way into literary works of many writers, some of whom I have mentioned; having said that international travel had become far easier during the Modernist period. However, access to that travel would remain something of which relatively few people could avail.

Robert Adams Day, in his article titled "Joyce's Gnomons, Lenehan, and the Persistence of an Image", states that Joyce's inspiration from his life is known, but, in addition to this, his inspiration was partly dependent on his leaving his city: "Joyce composed his art out of his life; but he also composed his life to a great extent, once he had got free of Dublin" (18). Thus his

exile gave him freedom and inspiration. He also claims that “like the *Dubliners* character Little Chandler, Lenehan is a projection of a part of Joyce, a person whom Joyce might have become had he not met Nora, left Dublin, and become a dedicated artist” (Day 6). It is acceptable to compare Joyce and Lenehan as internal exiles. Lenehan experiences exile in the epiphany about his life: He cannot settle down because Ireland is not an appropriate place for it, which reflects Joyce’s mind. However, I do not totally agree with Lenehan’s being like “a projection of a part of Joyce”. Lenehan is the type of character that Joyce criticises; he is a stereotypical lower class Irishman residing in Dublin. He is exiled for being at the bottom of the society, whereas, Joyce is exiled for being on top. However, it can be stated that Little Chandler is a projection of a part of Joyce, regarding the character’s appreciation of Byron, desiring to compose good poetry, or to leave Ireland to achieve literary recognition and success.

Joyce produced most of his literary work when he was away from home; however, he wrote solely about Ireland. As Menand puts in his essay: “After 1912, he never saw Dublin again, although he never wrote about any other place ... He could not be present for his father’s funeral” (Menand 9-10).

Joyce and his father John Stanislaus Joyce loved each other. Joyce wrote to T. S. Eliot three days after his father’s death that he wanted to go back to Ireland to see his father if it were not for his enemies: “it adds to my grief and remorse that I did not go to Dublin to see him for so many years. I kept him constantly under the illusion that I would come and was always in correspondence with him but an instinct which I believed in held me back from going, much as I longed to. ... I did not feel myself safe and my wife and son opposed my going” (qtd. in Ellmann 643). Joyce could not go back home to see his beloved father before he died. It was not safe for him or his family to go to Ireland because his enemies there were threatening. However, this was

not the only reason he did not go back. It is further quoted in Ellmann that Joyce feared going back to Dublin because it “would prevent [him] from writing about Dublin” (643). Just as it was stressed by Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait* that he needs to escape his country in order to become an artist, Joyce confirmed that Ireland restricted his artistic abilities. Even though he has already created his works, he is concerned about possible negative effects it would create in the future.

An authority on Anglo-Irish literature Declan Kiberd, in his interview “Comparative Literature in Ireland and Worldwide: An Interview with Professor Declan Kiberd”, with Yulia Pushkarevskaya-Naughton, stresses the importance of exile in Comparative Literature by drawing examples from Auerbach and Spitzer: “Auerbach had to go to Istanbul where he wrote *Mimesis* and then on to the United States. Spitzer ended up in exile. And they were very able to formulate European culture by being removed from it on another continent” (130). Auerbach and Spitzer like Joyce, Shakespeare, Beckett and others I mentioned above were inspired considerably by foreign lands in which they found themselves exiled. Parallel to that, a number of masterpieces are completed in exile and the contribution of the feeling of being in exile is irrefutable.

In one of her questions to Declan Kiberd, Yulia Pushkarevskaya-Naughton gives a Russian émigré writer, Gaito Gazdanov’s *An Evening with Claire* as an example to exilic narrative: “He talks about the sense of distance that precipitated exile, the sense of distance that he experienced in his motherland, and the sense that he had to go into exile precisely because he felt that estrangement. But he also always had to write about his homeland, about Russia” (Pushkarevskaya-Naughton 132). She makes a good point by saying “the sense of distance ... precipitated exile” and that he feels distanced in his motherland; however, one can even go further to say that writers such as Joyce, Gazdanov and others were already exiled internally in

their motherland. They were born or became alien to their societies; therefore, they had become internal exiles before they were physical exiles.

On the contrary to the boosting productivity of the exilic writers, it is crucial to mention that unlike most of the writers mentioned above, Joyce left home for he was not satisfied with what Ireland offered (or could not offer) to him. Therefore his “exile” had started even before he left his country. He had realised that he did not belong to his society, he was different from everyone else and he could not survive there, as a writer.

Nâzım Hikmet spent most of his adult life as an exile and in prison. During his time in prison we can consider him to have been metaphorically exiled from the rest of his society. Thus most of his major works were written in one form of exile or the other. Carolyn Forché mentions in the “Foreword” to *Poems of Nazim Hikmet*, that having “spent thirteen years in prison and thirteen in exile; he is one of the twentieth century’s strongest voices of the carceral imagination and exilic being” (Forché x). Just like Shakespeare, Joyce and Beckett, Hikmet produces most of his art when he is away from home. Given his long absence from Turkey, one could question whether the state of exile had become his home.

B. Obstacles Everywhere

Even though Joyce fled his country to live and write in better places, he was not welcomed in other countries. Having been rejected by his countrymen in Ireland, Joyce struggled to find a publisher in Europe. His quest to find a publisher took many years. Louis Menand suggests that Joyce experienced hardships getting all his works into print and even his play was not well received:

Four publishers turned down his first book, a volume of poems called “Chamber Music.” He spent nine years getting his story collection, “Dubliners,” into print. It

was rejected by eight publishers. At least thirteen printers refused to set his first novel, "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man," in full. His play, "Exiles," after being turned down by theatre companies in Ireland and England, opened in Munich, was poorly received, and closed almost immediately. It took Joyce two years to obtain an injunction against a pirated American version of "Ulysses." And, throughout his career, he had chronic censorship afflictions. (3)

Joyce not only had difficulties finding a publisher but he also had to conform to a number of censorships. These obstacles, in a way, add up to his exilic identity during his exile. Joyce had difficulties getting his works published but getting them published would not terminate the problems.

Day mentions one of the censorship problems Joyce faced getting his *Dubliners* published: "[Two Gallants] was his second favorite among them, and when his publisher wanted it dropped because of a few dangerous phrases Joyce indignantly protested that its removal would ruin the whole fabric of the book" (Day 12). It is explained in Richard Ellmann's *James Joyce*, that the English publisher Grant Richards suggested changes and omissions from the book and "managed to lose the manuscript, then asked Joyce for a second copy only to turn it down in May 1905" (Ellmann 219). He encountered similar censorship issues with the Irish publisher George Roberts, who went so far as to burn the manuscript of *Dubliners* (335).

Obstacles related to his writing were not only problems Joyce was faced, but all exilic writers. They all had to deal with various obstacles depending on their experience. It was these obstacles that gave them more strength to endure hardships, and perhaps more power and influence for their writing.

Mutlu Konuk, in her “Introduction” to *Poems of Nazim Hikmet*, mentions the hardships Hikmet went through in Turkey. Hikmet was considered a traitor, put into prison and at other times was chased by the police, who were trying to claim his life for what he wrote. “Since the Communist Party had been outlawed by then, he found himself under constant surveillance by the secret police and spent five of the next ten years in prison on a variety of trumped-up charges” (Konuk xiii). He was given an extended sentence as if his imprisonment due to the lack of freedom of speech in the country was not giving him enough of a punishment. It was only years “[a]fter his death, Hikmet’s books began to reappear in Turkey; in 1965 and 1966” (Konuk 16). Even though he was welcomed in the Soviet Union, he was considered a traitor in his own country. Thus the biggest obstacle for Nâzım was his own country’s attempts to eliminate him as a literary figure.

Talking about the obstacles James Joyce faced getting his works fully published or his plays staged, Nâzım Hikmet’s writing leading his imprisonment and putting his life at risk in his post-carceral years, one’s mind immediately leaps to Oğuz Atay.

Murat Belge reminds his readers in his article “Türk Edebiyatında ‘Doğu-Batı Sorunsalı’” how Atay’s writing was influenced by world literature and reminds one of Joyce: “Oğuz Atay’s intellectual world consisted of world literature. One is reminded of Joyce, Woolf, Kafka and Durrell while reading his works” (108). He lists Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and Oğuz Atay as writers who were not recognised in their lifetime: [T]he readers in the seventies were also largely indifferent to Oğuz Atay. He also left us after having become a member of the league of authors who were only recognised posthumously” (108). Atay and Tanpınar were unknown to most people during their lifetime. It was only after their death that their works were

highly respected. In this respect, Joyce's was a similar case; he had no place in his society, neither as a person nor as a writer.

Yıldız Ecevit, in her biography of Oğuz Atay, "*Ben Buradayım...* ": *Oğuz Atay'ın Biyografik ve Kurmaca Dünyası*, states that when Atay started writing his masterpiece *Tutunamayanlar*, Turkish literature was not at all influenced by Modernist writings of authors such as "Joyce, Kafka, Proust, Musil, Woolf, Faulkner" yet. These were Atay's greatest inspirations from the West. However, in Ecevit's view, the greatest obstacle facing *Tutunamayanlar's* success was not only the conservatism of Turkish literature at the time, but also the political turmoil of Turkey during the 1960s.

This avant-garde novel [*Tutunamayanlar*], which is full of experiments of form and fiction seems astonishing for Turkish literature, the conformist nature of which would not be the primary obstacle to its success. The year in which the novel was written, 1968, goes down in history as a time of huge social unrest in the Western countries. ... Although this was overcome in a shorter period of time in the West, it caused a greater turmoil in Turkey, lasting a longer time. During these years bloodshed, executions and coups became commonplace. (232-33)

Consequently, as Turkey went through social changes in the sixties, it did so by the influence of the West. Even though Martin Luther King's assassination and the protests about the Vietnam War caused significant civil unrest, these problems were overcome within a relatively short period of time in the West, Turkey suffered a series of unfortunate events, such as coups, which would have a lasting effect. Atay was writing at a socio-politically chaotic time during which people were not very receptive of innovative writing. Ecevit quotes Cevat Çapan's words recounting their struggle to find a publisher for Atay's novel:

“The publishers - most of whom would not finish reading the manuscript- would decide not to publish the novel as soon as they read it. Practical concerns such as the book’s being too thick and consequently the risk of its failing to cover the printing expenses were among the reasons for their refusal to print it. ... It was too innovative and experimental a novel for them. I assume, most of them failed to understand or enjoy it.” (qtd. in Ecevit 306-7)

Ecevit explains that Çapan, who knew many publishers in person, personally endeavoured to find *Tutunamayanlar* a publisher. However, they rejected to publish the book, each time with the excuse of its being “too long”. Atay’s avant-garde writing was not well received by publishers who were unfamiliar with the growing Modernist literature of the western world. The obstacles Joyce faced, trying to get his writing accepted, became the obstacles for his followers.

C. Interpreting Foreign Cultures

Different writers view and interpret foreign cultures from a wide range of perspectives. Some, like Hemingway, prefer referring to foreign cultures and regions in their writings, whereas Joyce and Hikmet tend to write about their homeland. On the other hand, the writers of exile tend to read and interpret previous writings in other cultures with their own viewpoint and this mutually contributes to both literatures.

Declan Kiberd, in the interview, claims that all writers are comparativists and that “[t]hey sometimes feel a deeper sense of affinity with writers from other languages and nations than with previous writers in their own tradition” (Pushkarevskaya-Naughton 130). This statement is true for Joyce because Homer, Dante and Shakespeare were his greatest inspirations. Although he spoke and wrote in the same language with Shakespeare, he was still from an “other” nation.

In the section “1902” of his biography, Richard Ellmann mentions the disinterest of Joyce in Hellenistic literature when he was still in Dublin: “At this time Joyce had no interest in Homer. He told Padraic Colum that the Greek epics were before Europe, and outside the tradition of European culture. The *Divine Comedy* was Europe’s epic, he said. He distrusted Plato, as Herbert Gorman says, and described Hellenism in an early notebook as ‘European appendicitis’” (Ellmann 103). Even though Joyce did not consider Greek literature as European at first, he became interested in Odysseus while he was in Paris (490). He probably had thought it was obsolete to write in Greek fashion. It might be his self-exile in Central Europe, in contact with people from other cultures that made him consider recreating Odysseus in his own work with a contemporary story.

Kiberd further claims that Joyce could be the first to see Shakespeare “as a kind of exilic writer” and that Joyce’s moving from Ireland to the continent can be seen as a “recreat[ion]” of Shakespeare’s moving from Stratford to London (Pushkarevskaya-Naughton 131). It is unquestionable that Shakespeare was another exilic writer in that he spent most of his life in London, away from his family. But how it would be possible to base Joyce’s exile on Shakespeare’s is uncertain to me. It is improbable that Joyce left home in order to follow the Bard’s fate, otherwise he would have probably ended up in London. Shakespeare was certainly in a sense an exilic writer; however, he gained great acclaim even within his lifetime in England. Joyce on the other hand struggled with recognition at home even as his star rose in other countries.

Nâzım Hikmet was a patriotic poet and wrote mostly about Turkey. However, his writing was not solely confined to his country, he wrote about foreign lands and cultures as well. Forché comments that “Hikmet’s “exilic displacement [becomes] a borderless country where one

encounters *the most honest people on earth*" (Forché x). For Hikmet, according to Forché, being outside Turkey is being in a new country where there are no borders and nations but people. Wherever he goes, he feels like he is "home". This was perhaps because he was affectionate towards people or since he was an outcast from his country, everywhere became his country, or perhaps both.

Hemingway appreciated his contemporary and friend Joyce's *Ulysses*, but this appreciation was reciprocal. In an interview in Copenhagen, Joyce told about their relationship:

We were with him just before he went to Africa. He promised us a living lion. Fortunately we escaped that. But we would like to have the book he has written. He's a good writer, Hemingway. He writes as he is. We like him. He's a big, powerful peasant, as a buffalo. A sportsman. And ready to live the life he writes about. He would never have written it if his body had not allowed him to live it.
(qtd. in Ellmann 695)

From the perspective of Joyce, Hemingway was a brave and a modest man and he would write about his life. Hemingway largely wrote about his experiences in exile. His short story, "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber", which is a story about an American man on safari in Africa, is an example of his writing in exile. His other exile writings include different locations, such as Spain, in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and Northern Italy in *Farewell to Arms*. Unlike Hemingway, Joyce's works are mainly set in Dublin despite his mention of other places. Joyce is more inclined to write about his city from which he fled.

All the writers in exile, which I have mentioned in my thesis, had in one way or another similar experiences; however, they still differed from each other. Some were banished and forced to leave, whereas others volunteered to abandon. Since they all had different experiences, the

expression of their exiles came out in as many ways as the number of exilic writers. These different experiences had massive reverberations on their writing. Hikmet, for example, wrote about his beloved country, to which he could not go back, with passion and nostalgia, whereas Joyce mostly criticised his despite using his hometown as the basis of all his works.

D. Is Writing Exile?

Kiberd suggests that “all writing in its own way is a kind of exile, it’s a metaphor for going into exile. Sitting down to write, blocking out the world as you do so, that’s a kind of exile. So is getting lost in a book as a reader” (Pushkarevskaya-Naughton 131). If one is to agree with Kiberd’s suggestion, they must be willing to accept that while writing or reading, one is trying to ignore the world to focus or concentrate, but while doing so, they feel different—or maybe to the point of superiority—from other people around them. Further they must accept abandoning reality for a while to get away from the vulgarity or coarseness of the people, which is close to how Joyce or Shakespeare felt, but did this arrogance translate into a form of exile? I would argue it does not, Joyce was exiled by being removed from the social and political status quo of Ireland; he did not fit in the society. The act of writing which may have elevated him, in his own mind, did not constitute a form of exile in and of itself. This may recall Stephen’s recognition of having a superior mind or Shakespeare’s contemptuous lines about the artisans uttered by Puck: “[a] crew of patches, rude mechanicals” (III.ii.9) in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. While Shakespeare and Joyce shared a certain arrogance it is not possible to show with certainty that the mere act of writing manifested itself to them as exile.

Even on the continent, Joyce would not be totally free of his culture, which would haunt him and his works. He escapes Ireland, only to write freely and extensively about it. In his voluntary exile, he encounters obstacles about getting his works published. After having

difficulties getting *Dubliners* and *A Portrait* published in Dublin, finally with the help of Ezra Pound, he meets the publisher Harriet Shaw Weaver in Zurich and manages to get *A Portrait* published (Ellmann 414). After his refusals to publish *Dubliners*, Grant Richards eventually published it in London (353).

Yeats stays in Ireland and writes about Ireland; Wordsworth stays in England and writes about England. For neither is writing an exile. On the other hand, Joyce leaves Ireland and still writes solely about Ireland. His exile contributes to his writing; similarly, Hikmet's exile is reflected in his poetry. His exile brings with it a feeling of yearning. "From exile he longs for *just one hour in Istanbul*. But his journeys are epic, not only in his recounting of the life and death of Sheik Bedreddin but in many other poems" (Forché xi). As Forché emphasises, not only the poem written in epic form but Hikmet's poetry in general has epic characteristics. This is no coincidence since epic form carries the theme of exile in its essence and it may attract an exilic writer for including a quest or a journey in its essence, as it can be seen in the examples of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Lord Byron's *Don Juan*, Wordsworth's *The Prelude* and Joyce's *Ulysses*. Even though *Ulysses* is not an epic poem, it carries epic characteristics as a novel and most crucially, is inspired by one of the most renowned epics of the Western canon, *The Odyssey*.

PART III

EPIPHANY OF EXILE

Exile provides a great opportunity to writers to develop their skills. When one is removed from one's society, they gain a fresh perspective on their own culture. This allows them to better understand the world and the people in its societies. This gives a wide scope to writers to change their perspective, or at least, come face to face with a different range of worldviews. In doing all of this, writers can escape their often solitary lives and come to understand a new sense of camaraderie in their adopted country.

A. Understanding One's Culture from Afar

Declan Kiberd, in his interview about Comparative Literature, mentions Acton's description of exile as "the 'cradle of nationality' and that Irish people discovered they were Irish by making constant acts of comparison" (Pushkarevskaya-Naughton 130). Considering Acton's definition, it can be assumed that foreign lands foster the concept of nationality amongst expatriates. Although this idea cannot be applied to Joyce since what he writes is anti-nationalist, it can be said that his exile contributes to his writing, at least to the extent that he can write so much and so well about his country. The cradle of Joyce's anti-nationalistic sentiment was his years at Jesuit school and growing up during the Home Rule Movement's attempts at creating a nation and these anti-nationalistic beliefs were tempered by his exile. So his exile started even before he left Ireland.

Similarly, Neubauer suggests that "most exiles remain patriotic and deeply political precisely because they were forced into exile" (Neubauer 146). It is usually true that "voluntary or involuntary", both can be said to have been forced in a way. Joyce's exile was a voluntary one

but he forced himself to leave due to his conflicting ideas with his culture. Although involuntary exiles have been forced to leave usually by the government or their society as a result of a “wrong” behaviour or utterance, it can be claimed that there is actually a fine line between voluntary and involuntary exile. Ones having a choice to stay but preferring to leave are voluntary, and the ones without a choice, thrown out of their land by wars or individuals banished by laws are involuntary. However there are others who are free to stay but cannot, not due to judicial reasons or wars but natural or economic reasons such as disasters, famines or unemployment, these people can more rightly be said to be displaced rather than exiled. For instance, The Irish Famine of the eighteenth century “forced” many Irish people to leave their country. They probably did not really want to leave their home but they were forced by the collapse of the potato crop. Similarly many others were “forced” to leave due to rack-rents in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is not very clear to which side of the line these exiles belong. Irish exiles in America mostly became patriotic because they had been “forced into exile” mostly by the English exploitation or due to their resentment to the government, which totally ignored their plight.

Kiberd claims that Comparative Literature “makes your own culture strange to you all over again by way of the comparison” (Pushkarevskaya-Naughton 131). Considering Joyce’s estrangement from his society all along, it would not be irrelevant to say that by comparing *Ulysses* to *Odysseus*, Joyce became a greater stranger to his culture.

Contrary to Joyce’s voluntary exile, Dante’s exile was a literal one, tearing him apart from Florence without his consent. While the former had a chance to go back, the latter was banned permanently and would never see his home again. Kiberd explains Dante’s experience of exile as one of longing. He imagines the writer “recall[ing] all the sights and smells and sounds

of the city” in order to prevent it from “vaporis[ing]” and “disappear[ing]” forever from his mind, “so he tries to keep it real in an extended work of literature” (Pushkarevskaya-Naughton 131). For Dante, the thought of home is full of nostalgia; however, for Joyce it is a place from which he escaped. All he needs to refresh the sights of the city in his mind to put in his literary work, is to write to his aunt who would count her steps in the streets of Dublin for her nephew.

Acton’s description of exile as “cradle of nationality” may suit the life experiences of many Turkish writers such as Bekir Fahri İdiz, Refik Halit Karay, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Halikarnas Balıkcısı (Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı) in the final years of the Ottoman rule and the beginning of the Turkish Republic. Bekir Fahri had to flee his country and go to Athens, Paris, and then to Egypt because his being in touch with the secularist Young Turks was putting him in trouble. Young Turks were Turkish nationalist reformists in the late nineteenth century and they later established İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (The Committee of Union and Progress). Bekir Fahri left this committee later since he realised they no longer shared a common goal; however, he wrote about the Young Turks’ experiences in his book *Jönler*. Bekir Fahri was in favour of a more independent state and he had to continue his struggle away from home. It was his nationalist ideas, in a way, that made him flee into exile. Besides this, when his seeking “refuge” in the Young Turks’ company in Paris is considered, it can be said that his nationalism grew during his exile.

Refik Halit was conservative and this made him cross with the radical nationalists of the new republic. As a result, he was exiled to Beirut and Aleppo, where he wrote stories about his country: *Memleket Hikâyeleri* (Stories of Homeland) and *Gurbet Hikâyeleri* (Stories of Foreign Land).

Atilla Özkırmılı, in his edition of *Bir Sürgün* (An Exile) by Yakup Kadri, mentions that the author was born in Cairo and lived in several cities in Anatolia before he became a statesman. He was in favour of the independence of Turkish people, so he took part in politics and joined the school of national literature. Later during the Republic, he was sent as an ambassador to different cities in Europe such as Tirana, Prague, La Haye, Bern and later, to Tehran for some of his thoughts did not conform to the government. Özkırmılı mentions in his Introduction that the protagonist of *Bir Sürgün*, Dr Hikmet, seeks an escape from the oppressive Sultan Abdülhamit in Paris and hopes to end up in the reformist and intellectual environment of the Young Turks there; however, he ends up disappointed with what he finds in Paris. Özkırmılı quotes from the author's criticism: "Young Turks are so much confined to each other and their surroundings that despite their all being Francophiles, they have so few French acquaintances that it is very unlikely for them to be knowledgeable about the French traditions and morals, let alone having an idea about the structure of the Western world" (14). This criticism was aimed at an earlier period in history and did not completely reflect his own experience. However, the years in which the novel was written coincides with the author's duty as an ambassador abroad. Consequently, his exile may have caused him to produce stories about his country.

Halikarnas Balıkcısı, who came back to his homeland after studying at Oxford University, was exiled to Bodrum for his criticism of the capital punishment of untried draft dodgers. This partly made him an internal exile as well since his criticism was not well received in his country and made him an outcast. He was already a nationalist; however, Bodrum made him a fervent proponent of the Mediterranean and Anatolia as the cradle of world civilisation.

These Turkish writers in exile were nationalists who had problems with the regimes for their different interpretations of Turkish nationalism.

B. Changing One's Perspectives

Joyce was aware that living in other countries would change one's perspective and contribute to their worldview. As a writer, he believed this would improve his writing as well as giving him personal freedom. Even though he thought that he was different from others around him while he was still in Ireland, he was aware that he would personally improve once he was free of the "nets" of his country. Ellmann quotes what he once said to Hemingway as follows: "Joyce said to me he was afraid his writing was too suburban and that maybe he should get around a bit and see the world" (qtd. in Ellmann 695). Since this was said to Hemingway in Paris, Joyce had already lived in Pola, Rome, Trieste and Zurich, and seen quite a bit of Europe. Even though he escaped his country, he still believed seeing more of the world would enrich and "urbanise" his writing.

Nâzım Hikmet was obliged to leave his country in order to escape the risk of being assassinated after having spent thirteen years in prison. He managed to escape to Romania and then to Russia, to live the rest of his life in exile. Just like Joyce he mostly wrote about his country and people. However, unlike him, Hikmet wrote longingly about Turkey and with passion and nostalgia. His carceral years as well as his banishment from home added up to his exilic identity. Even though he was internally exiled at home, he always struggled with a wish for change for the better of Turkey. Konuk describes Hikmet's art as "Marxist", "mystical", "casual" and "serious", which is in unison with his life. Hikmet's worldview and personality is reflected through his art. Konuk's following statement draws attention to the poet's creativity and its consequences in making him "heroic":

[H]is life and art form a dramatic whole. Sartre remarked that Hikmet conceived of a human being as something to be created. In his life no less than in his art,

Hikmet forged this new kind of person, who was heroic by virtue of being a creator. This conception of the artist as a hero and of the hero as a creator saves art from becoming a frivolous activity in the modern world; as Hikmet's career dramatizes, poetry is a matter of life and death. (Konuk xviii)

Konuk's above paragraph describing the artist as a hero and a creator may remind one of *A Portrait*, especially the closing lines of it, where Stephen writes in his diary: "I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race" (275-76). The narrator, or the young artist, is disclosing his purpose for leaving his nation: he hopes to "forge" his people's "conscience", from where he goes and he hopes to do so with his pen. Perhaps it cannot be inferred that he is changing his perspectives by leaving Ireland but it is true that he is trying to change the perspectives of his "race". His leaving Ireland is like opening a new page not only in his life but also in the history of the Irish nation. And this makes him a hero, and a creator, both for creating the people's conscience and for creating his art.

As we have seen in the examples above, many artists who are spiritually or internally exiled tend to become physical exiles as well. However, this may be vice versa, as Cawelti suggests; artists "treated physical exile, whether actual or metaphorical, as a symbol of the pervasive spiritual exile of modern experience" (Cawelti 39). Therefore, physical exile may sometimes become a "symbolic exploration of exile" for the artist.

Kiberd quotes from Shaw's character Keegan in *John Bull's Other Island* when he admits that he discovers more about his country when he is abroad and comments: "Until you do travel and have a basis for comparison, you don't really fully understand your own culture" (Pushkarevskaya-Naughton 132). Only by travel can one overcome the drab familiarity of one's

home nation. In living abroad one's mind is opened to the corruptions of one's home nation as well as its triumphs. Only by gaining a relativistic perspective could Joyce and other exilic writers truly understand themselves and the places from which they came. However, it should be kept in mind that there is not always only one culture. Just like Joyce and Shaw, Kiberd, too, is Irish, and talking about Irish culture, one may think about the various populations within the country: Catholics, Protestants, gypsies, and Jews. Furthermore, there is the point that within any society there are inequalities between men and women, and between rich and poor. These inequalities create the environment where people can fall into the cracks and be excluded by society.

Lord Byron is another example of exilic writers. He was criticised in England because of his sexual life and left for continental Europe to avoid further repercussions related to his personal life. He was inspired by the Mediterranean, chiefly, Italy and Greece. Howard Nemerov, in his review titled "Poetry and Life: Lord Byron", states that the reflection of Byron's exile in his works forms a balance between his homeland, which he hates, and his exile: "His love of Italy, often expressed in detail, gives a tone of balance and solidity to his detestation of England and perhaps slightly theatrical feeling for the rôle of exile" (Nemerov 288). On the one hand, solitude of exile creates melancholy, but, on the other hand, it brings freedom. The fact that Byron was an exile, hated England, and sought peace in the continental Europe might be one reason for Joyce's sympathy and admiration towards him. Byron is indeed "the greatest poet" for young Stephen, as he declares to his friends in *A Portrait* (85).

Byron is briefly mentioned in "A Little Cloud" in *Dubliners*, when Little Chandler is dreaming of going to London and writing poetry beautifully like Byron: "Could he go to London? There was the furniture still to be paid for. If he could only write a book and get it published ... A

volume of Byron's poems lay before him on the table. ... Could he, too, write like that, express the melancholy of his soul in verse" (92). Little Chandler, an unversed man looking up to Lord Byron's work, is reading "On the Death of a Young Lady, Cousin to the Author, and Very Dear to Him", in the poet's first collection of poems, *Hours of Idleness*. It is noteworthy that the poem was written to a deceased woman with whom Byron was in love, therefore, it depicts the poet's lost love. This creates a parallelism in the reader's mind that Little Chandler feels like "a prisoner for life" (93); his child and marriage mean imprisonment for him. In this instance of epiphany, he is dreaming of exile and freedom in England.

Byron was not only a self-exile, but he was also notorious in England for his scandalous love affairs. It may be claimed that Little Chandler wants to abandon his country just like his friend Gallaher, Lord Byron and James Joyce. He is interested in the extraordinariness and immoralities of life abroad, and he seeks a break in his unexciting life.

C. Overcoming Isolation

Individual exiles or smaller group of exiles, like most of the exile writers, are bound to be isolated in their new country as a result of facing an utterly new environment, language, culture or people. As they start on their own at the beginning of their journey, they start a new life in solitude and become isolated by the time they meet others —possibly other exiles— that will share their destiny. Ernest Hemingway is one of the exiled intellectuals that Joyce met in Europe. Richard Ellmann states that they met in Paris (515). Later, Hemingway read and praised *Ulysses* in a letter to Sherwood Anderson: "Joyce has a most goddamn wonderful book. It'll probably reach you in time. Meantime the report is that he and all his family are starving but you can find the whole celtic crew of them every night in Michaud's where Binney and I can only afford to go

about once a week” (529). Hemingway and Joyce were friends and they could often be seen together in the cafés or bars in Paris. As Hemingway noticed and wrote to his contemporary Anderson, he was surprised that Joyce and the other Irish intellectuals could find so much money to spend in the bars while they had so much difficulty making ends meet. Joyce was criticised by his wife, Nora Barnacle, for his heavy drinking and they had quarrels many times (Ellmann 268, 455).

John Neubauer compares “mass displacements” and individual exiles and makes a distinction between the two:

[E]xile, voluntary or involuntary, [has been] a recurrent tragedy throughout European history that assumed a variety of forms. Exile is akin to, yet different from, such mass displacements as the expulsion of Jews from Spain and Portugal, the flight of the Huguenots, or the forced repatriation of millions of people in Eastern Europe after the two world wars. Exile is an individual fate, a departure from home due to some form of official ejection or a decision by the exile him- or herself. The mentioned mass displacements involved surprisingly few major writers; they usually followed individual trajectories. (Neubauer 134)

The idea that exile is “akin to, yet different from” mass displacements is appropriate because as well as the Jews, the Muslims who were later expelled from Andalusia, or other examples of people having been forced out of their lands, brought most of their communities with them. Even though they were in a completely different place, they had others around them, sharing the same fate, when they needed interdependency. “[V]oluntary or involuntary” exiles were bound to face solitude and make new acquaintances to overcome their isolation in the new community. This isolation in the process of overcoming it, might have given these exiles time to

contemplate, melancholy, and inspiration to write since they have more time alone and opportunity to think to themselves.

Mentioning the expulsion of Jews and Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula, one is reminded of Patricia Seed's article "The Key to the House". Seed mentions how she is inspired by the Palestinian writer Anton Shammas' essay mentioning the story of Muslim exiles, who were forced to leave Andalucia five hundred years ago, but kept their story alive through their descendants, and how they still keep the key to their house there. Seed notes that this is one of many similar stories and "the story of the key to the house can be told neither as a Muslim tale nor as a Jewish one" (Seed 89). "Their stories and keys commemorate a shared dispossession. For their keys unlock memories of a now-vanished place" (92). Each of these keys tell one of many secrets and stories, different from each other and at the same time, sharing common aspects. Mentioning keys may remind one of the two exilic characters of *Ulysses*: Bloom and Stephen. Unlike the Andalusians and Sephardis, who were forced into exile, and thus keep their keys as a symbol of their memories and resentment, Bloom and Stephen have surrendered their keys with their own consent. Bloom seems to have forgotten his keys yet he remembers to go back and pick them up. He is afraid of waking Molly up so he just gives up about them, the thought of which will haunt him for the rest of the day. Stephen, on the other hand, grows weary of Buck Mulligan's insistence on taking the keys. Consequently, both surrender their abodes and their keys even though they are not obliged to, so both Bloom and Stephen's "keys commemorate a shared dispossession". They lack the keys to enter and the idea of home has "vanished" for them, too.

There needs to be made a distinction between the two types of exiles. Clearly, Bloom and Stephen's exiles are different than the exiles mentioned by Seed. Bloom can go back home and

Molly would open the door for him. He is not forced into exile; he chooses to be an exile; so does Stephen. He can refuse to give the key to Buck Mulligan, who wants “to keep [his] chemise flat” (27). However, Stephen just gives up perhaps not to argue with the “usurper”. In contrast to the two voluntary exiles, Iberian exiles were forced to leave home. They were to convert, or leave, or be slaughtered.

Seed argues the difference between “home” and “homeland”. The nostalgia of losing their home for those people is made stronger by the notion of the lost homeland, which meant they were abandoning their friends and a high-cultured society along with other things. “The present-day reality of the key reminds these exiles’ descendants of their losses of not just a home but a homeland. It reminds them that the home in which they now reside—in North Africa or the eastern Mediterranean—is a kind of home under erasure, a home that *is* home, but not the homeland” (Seed 90). Consequently, they do not feel at home, even though they are at home, away from their homeland. It could be true of Bloom, as a Jew, that he is lost and he does not have a “homeland”. Even though he “converted” to Christianity, he is still considered a Jew in the society he lives in. Having been born as a Jew, in the middle of a Christian country, he is born without a “homeland”. He is alienated from the society and this makes him an internal exile.

Gabriel Conroy may be considered as another example. Theoretically, he has a homeland; however, he is “sick of it”. He refuses to be emotionally attached to it because he is tired of hearing nationalist propaganda. Likewise, Stephen Dedalus has a similar attitude towards his country. For him “Ireland is the old sow that eats her farrow” (220). This sentence from *A Portrait* can be said to reflect the author’s own view point. This metaphor for his country as a cannibalistic being, is clearly criticising the government institutions and the people for being

devoid of reason, like an animal, and trying to make something for their own benefit, destroying their future.

The key for the forced Iberian exiles, is a symbol of memories and loss in Seed's view: "Thus, as if by some twisted logic, the key preserves the sweet pain of exile, allowing it to be called up and relieved" (91). Contrary to this, the Joycean characters may be said to choose to leave their keys behind as a result of the feeling of isolation. Stephen, in *Ulysses*, wants to get away from Haines: "He was raving all night about a black panther ... Where is his guncase? ... Out here in the dark with a man I don't know raving and moaning to himself about shooting a black panther. ... If he stays on here I am off" (3). Stephen is irritated by the unbalanced actions of Haines; besides, Mulligan, to whom he complains about this, is a usurper. Thus Stephen has no desire to return to the tower. Bloom, on the other hand, has given up about the key because he is disturbed by the idea of his wife's infidelity; so by leaving the key behind, he tries to ignore the fact that he is cuckolded. This is a largely symbolic act which characterises him not only as exiled but as paralysed. Even though he realises his wife is having an affair he chooses not to confront this fact. Keys are not a mere utilitarian object but are rather a symbol of our link to home. In abandoning, these people are walking into exile.

CONCLUSION

In essence exile is the complete feeling of isolation and the feeling of distance from one's people, even from the times in which one lives. Whether this feeling of isolation comes from one's deviant beliefs from the majority of his people or their dissent against the current political movements, the sense of exile and isolation is no less strong. Being a pluralist in a country where nationalist sentiment is growing leaves one with the sense of being a traitor to the cause. Nothing can more quickly exile writers and intellectuals than "revolution".

In looking at this literature of exiles, I have examined different kinds of exiles and different kinds of exilic writing. I have not; however, looked at the very real issue of the reader. Literature creates a relationship between author and reader. Readers who feel themselves exiled from their community or their society will feel a sense of recognition upon reading exilic literature. This will create in them a feeling of sympathy and understanding towards the writer or the characters that the writer portrays. Many of those readers who are not themselves exiles will often be overcome with new found understanding of the others within their society. Many readers' prejudices and dogmatic beliefs are only heightened at seeing themselves being criticised or satirised in literature.

Exile writing has a particular significance to the people of Turkey as a country with a plurality of ethnicities and many religious minorities there is no doubt that our society has created a great many exiled people. Our republic has not always endured as it should have. Many times one particular political group has dominated the others.

To a certain extent, Turkish nationalism left others out, so these people who found themselves on the periphery of Turkish society were unable to play a full role in society. Since the decline of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey has too often looked inward. This kind of

isolationism has left many members of the society internally exiled; for this reason internal exile is important in our society and culture. It is my belief that the study of Joyce, exile and Ireland has the potential to open our eyes to the exiles who are here living among us.

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