The Wives’ Tales: Women and the Domestic Space in Manik Bandyopadhyay’s ‘Bou’ Series

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Abstract

Manik Bandyopadhyay’s ‘Bou’ series consists of thirteen stories written over a decade. Eight stories were published circa 1940. With five additional stories, the entire collection was published in 1953. The body of research around these stories has focused primarily on their representation of female sexuality and female psyche since most of these stories were written during Manik’s so-called Freudian phase.

It is worth noting that with very few exceptions and brief moments, the stories mostly unfold within the domestic space. These are primarily middle-class Hindu homes, in most cases, set in an urban space. This essay intends to focus on the physical setting of the stories – to read the domestic space within a longer tradition of representing the home, the family, and conjugal relationships.

Keywords: Domesticity, Space, Family, Women’s Freedom.

1. Introduction

Manik Bandyopadhyay’s literary career has often been neatly divided into two distinct phases with the year 1944 marking a watershed moment. This was the year Manik became a member of the undivided Communist Party of India. This is said to inaugurate his so-called ‘Marxist’ second phase. The first phase of his literary career is associated with another thinker – Freud. Critical attention to the ‘Bou’ series (eight short stories published in and around 1940–41 and five added later in 1953) has focused mostly on the author’s engagement with Freud’s theories and their impact on the stories – all of which deal with the position and role of women within the patriarchal family structure.1 Moving beyond the Freud-Marx division and the focus on female psyche and sexuality, this essay seeks to read the setting of the stories – the domestic space itself.

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1 This is a well-known categorisation in the body of critical work on Manik Bandyopadhyay. See, for instance, Alok Ray (1414 BS) Bitarkita Manik Bandyopadhyay, Korak, Book Fair special issue on Manik Bandyopadhyay, Malini Bhattacharya (2008), however, has argued that well before he joined the Communist Party in 1944, that he would take a Marxist turn had already been determined (Manik Bandyopadhyay: A Biography, pp. 79–80).

The construction of the Home played a crucial role in the development of nationalism in colonial Bengal in the nineteenth century. This largely had to do with the fact that the woman was at the heart of the reformist movement that emerged during this period, and the woman was also the representative figure of the home.  

As the nineteenth century marched into the twentieth, the position and role of women within the home and the world began to develop and change, albeit restricted to only the upper echelons of society. This, in turn, had an impact on and shaped the idea of marriage, and in literature from the new century, we find instances of conjugal relations based on an idea of partnership. Tagore’s *Ghare Baire* (1916) and Giribala Devi’s autobiographical novel *Raybari* are reflections of such an evolution.

During the twenties and the thirties, with the impact of social reforms and women’s education as well as the changing idea of marriage, the structure of the family also began to change. As the decades wore on, women also began to participate in the world outside, and the binaries of the home and the world began to transform and develop.

By the time Manik is writing the stories which would later come to be a part of the ‘Bou’ series, we see, in some instances, the breakdown of the joint family structure and couples moving into their own homes.

This essay seeks to read the short stories from Manik’s ‘Bou’ series with these two contexts in mind – the domestic space and the family.

2. Background

“I am your *mejobou,*”5 writes Mrinal, the only active voice in Tagore’s short story ‘Streer Patra’ (The Wife’s Letter) as the letter begins. But shortly afterwards, seemingly contradicts that very identity by saying, “This is not the letter of your *mejobou*” (p. 566).6 From the very beginning, Mrinal, whose name appears only at the end of the letter, suggests that the identity of the ‘wife’ of a family is something she has left behind at 27 Makhan Boral Lane.

In describing the space she occupied at that address, Mrinal writes,

Do you remember, the English doctor was surprised to see our inner quarters and annoyed by the *anturghor,* scolded us. You have a garden in the quarters outside. There is no dearth of decor and furniture. But the inner quarters is exactly the opposite; there is no shame, no beauty, no decor. There, the light merely flickers; the wind enters like a thief; the garbage in the courtyard refuses to budge and the stains on the floor attain eternal existence (p. 567).

And later, Mrinal also writes, “Your inner quarters don’t have an inch of land. On the northern wall, beside the drain, a *gab* tree has somehow managed to sprout roots” (p. 570).

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6 Giribala Devi’s autobiographical *bildungsroman* is set in the first half of the twentieth century. It was first published in 1991 by Dey’s Publishing with the School of Women’s Studies, Jadavpur University. The novel traces the coming of age of its female protagonist Binu, a young village girl married into a *zamindar* family. Here, she finds a friend and companion in her husband Prasad, who introduces her to education and even politics.
5 Translations are mine, unless otherwise stated. Page numbers are from the Bangla original.
6 The page numbers for ‘Streer Patra’ are from the edition of *Galpaguchchot*(2002) published by Bikash Grantha Bhavan.
Margaret Urquhart, the wife of the Principal of the Scottish Church College, writing in 1925, describes a typical dwelling house of the Bengali 'bhadralok'. She writes that such a house will have two courtyards – the front, which is larger and opens up to the more important rooms, and the outer – which is like the hall of an English home, where domestic and religious festivals are held. Around the outer court are the public rooms including the baihakkhana, the daftar– making up the men's section of the house. The inner court is the women's quarter which lacks light, air, proper sanitation and are often claustrophobic and stifling. Women's quarters, writes Urquhart, seem to have been constructed with the sole aim of protecting privacy (pp. 16–19). Tagore’s description in ‘Streer Patra’ closely reflects this reality.

By the end of the letter, Mrinal can explicitly state her claim to life and freedom and her realisation that “it does not take even a moment to rid yourself of the garb of mejobou” (p. 575). Unike Bindu, who finds eternity in death, Mrinal is able to find it through her determined renunciation of familial ties with her in-laws, in front of the vast, open sea, away from the claustrophobic, constricted space of the andarmahal.

Himani Bannerji writes:

The figure of the woman serves as a metaphor for Tagore’ sentire humanist–aesthetic philosophy, making her a locus of the oppressive aspects of social life as also of their critique. Going far beyond reportage, moral exhortation, and legislative demands, Tagore projects the need fora radical social transformation. His short stories bring out the oppression of women and girls within and outside the family, exposing multiple patriarchal oppressions in daily life. The family becomes the habitus and matrix of patriarchal normativity, the microcosm of an unbalanced and unjust social macrocosm. (2020, pp. 240–41)

It is in this context that Tagore’s prose-fiction in general, and Streer Patra in particular, with its female voice who has succeeded in finding her freedom from the restrictions of her marital epithet becomes a suitable entry point to the discussion of Manik’s ‘Bou’ series.

3. Family and the Domestic Space:

Tagore’s novel Ghare Baire was published in 1916. The same year, the periodical Grihastha published two articles on the joint family in their spring (falgun) issue. These were – ‘Ekannabarti Paribar Pratha Lop Paitechhe Keno?’ (Why is the Joint Family Becoming Extinct?) and ‘Ekannabartitar Dosh-Gun o Amader Kortobyo’ (The Positives and Negatives of a Joint Family and Our Duty). In the first article, the author identifies the joint family as an old Indian tradition and cites three causes that has set it on the path of extinction – the decline of national economy, the decline of morality and the rise of individualism due to the colonial education system, and laziness. A fourth reason has been added to the list right at the end – domestic quarrels between women caused by their lack of education. These two articles follow in the line of a series of articles on the joint family published in various periodicals from the first decade of the twentieth century including Bamabodhini, Antahpur, and Jahnavi among others.7 Some of these articles were written by women. This brief survey is to show that discussions about the joint family were very much a part of the public discourse in the twentieth century, in the decades leading up to Manik’s ‘Bou’ series. It may safely be assumed that by the 1940s, nuclear families were emerging in Calcutta and we see a reflection of this in two of the stories from the ‘Bou’ series – ‘Dokanir Bou’ and ‘Keranir

The author of the first article published in *Grihastha* identifies the essential characteristic of the family as an economic unit. Economic decline, thus, is cited as the first cause of its impending extinction.\(^8\) The second – moral bankruptcy – is also premised on economic factors. The author writes, “We often see in families today, if one brother earns more than the other, then days and nights are filled with quarrels.” (from *Samayiki*, p. 180).

In the reference to the clerical class, the author of this article is advancing here a direct critique of the colonial education system and by extension, a more indirect critique of the creation of the *kerani* that had begun in the second half of the nineteenth century and would have been an established category in the second decade of the twentieth.

### 4. The Wives’ Tale(s)

The title of Manik’s ‘Keranir Bou’ (*The Clerk’s Wife*), then, carries that historical baggage and the sarcastic connotations that the term ‘*kerani*’ had come to carry. In this story, we find Sarasi and her husband Rashbehari moving into a rented dwelling after Rashbehari decreases his contribution to the family funds.

Rashbehari had always, on the first of every month, submitted three fourths of his salary to his brother. After about two years into his marriage, when he decreased it to half, Banbihari asked him to make alternative living arrangements.

Rashbehari arranged for a room, a kitchen, and a small balcony on the first floor of a house in Pataldanga. (p. 357)\(^9\)

For Sarasi, this new dwelling was equal to independence. Rashbehari asks her, “Will you be able to manage?” (p.357). This management is a reference to the running of the household. But for Sarasi, independence was not merely having the reigns of the household expenses. She thought of independence as being alone – in a room of her own.

She would be at home – alone! Completely alone! No one would insult her if she bathed in front of the servant, nobody would find out if she visited the neighbours twice a day, no one would mind if she stood by the window and watched the people on the road and showed herself to the strange, unknown, terrible, and mysterious people on the road. (p. 357)

Sarasi’s first marital home is never described in detail. But her desperate, almost child-like desire to be alone suggests that it is a place of surveillance, where every move is watched by someone or the other. Sarasi herself is an eavesdropper. The point of surveillance is further established when her sister-in-law, Banbehari’s wife, says to Rashbehari before their departure,

She won’t go to the roof if I ask her to hang the washing out to dry. She says, ‘No didi, they stare at me from all corners, I won’t go.’ I curse myself as I trudge up the stairs, but I also think, never mind, she’s only a child, and the neighbours are no angels. Oh my! Not a minute had passed since I closed my eyes for my afternoon nap,

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\(^8\) For a discussion on India’s economy during the two world wars and its effect, see, Amiya Bagchi, (2014), *Indian Economy and Society During World War One*, *Social Scientist* Vol. 42(7/8), 5–27; Utsa Patnaik (2014)*India in the World Economy 1900–1935: The Inter-War Depression and Britain’s Demise as World Capitalist Leader*, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 42 (1/2), 13–35.

and she had hopped and skipped her way to the roof! (p. 358)

4.1 Volatile Spaces

The roof has a significant role to play in two of the stories in this series. In this story, it is Sarasi’s space of freedom. Sarasi who had been reprimanded as a young girl for roaming around the neighbourhood all dressed-up, Sarasi who was sexually harassed by Subal and blamed for it, Sarasi who had learnt that the rule of the world dictated that women protect themselves constantly from a fall that is otherwise inevitable, nevertheless, or perhaps because of these experiences, finds her freedom under the open sky that only the roof can accord.

“Everywhere around the open roof there were temptations, there were wonders, there were mysteries.” (p. 360)

Within a minute of her husband’s departure for work, Sarasi climbs to the roof. Defying his explicit orders of not staying there for too long, her eyes sweep over the city – bricks piled on top of more bricks, cornices and parapets jostling for space, not a gap to be found. It was a new experience for Sarasi, who had climbed to the roof before, but for the first time in this new home, she was doing so without the fear of being seen or the fear of reprimand.

The story reaches its climax on the roof. Sarasi’s pent up energy comes bursting to the fore, culminating in a hysterical fit that seems to stop as abruptly as it had struck, leaving behind a metallic taste in her mouth. When she climbs back down, her eyes now sweep over the room – she must arrange its many knickknacks, she thinks, to restore order as compensation for her transgression (pp. 362–363).

The roof, Manik writes in ‘Bipatniker Bou’ (The Widower’s Wife) is the only refuge for Bengali wives. In this story, the domestic space is haunted by the memories of Manasi – the first wife of Pratima’s husband. In an instance of naming that could well be metaphorical, Manik accords the humane to the first wife and the replica to the second – Pratima must be a mirror image of the first. Members of the household initially seek for and find similarities between the two women. Not only is the domestic space littered with the memories of a dead woman, Pratima must bear the burden of resembling Manasi in her physical appearance. Cluttered as Pratima’s domestic space is with objects imbued with memories that do not belong to her, for her too, the roof is the only escape.

Manik writes, “Signs of Manasi’s memory are strewn across the house. They hurt Pratima. There are three framed photographs of Manasi. One in her bedroom, one in Ramesh’s study, and one in her mother-in-law’s room” (p. 398).

In ‘Sarbabidyabisharader Bou’ (The Know-It-All’s Wife), the roof is the setting of Sukumari’s rebellion against the dictums of Nibaran and his loveless care. When Nibaran tells her that he has forgiven her for humiliating him in front of her brother only when he realised that she was pregnant, Sukumari, with all her force, frees herself from his embrace and runs out into the roof where a new room was being constructed. Even in the dim light of the moon, the low wall was clearly visible. Yet Sukumari trips and crashes to the floor (p.474).

The dangerous potential of the domestic space is also explored in ‘SahityikerBou’ (The Litterateur’s Wife). In this story, Amala, whose romantic disposition has been nurtured
by the very novels her husband has written, realises that he is nothing like heroes he has
created. But when he starts to put on a show of passion, Amala’s mind becomes unhinged.
The home becomes a volatile space where danger lurks in every corner. Amala wonders,
“What would have happened if she had not clutched onto the rails when her feet had slipped
while climbing down the stairs?” (p. 383)

‘RajarBou’ (The King’s Wife) tells the story of the death of love, and for that reason
perhaps, it dwells the longest on conjugal love. Jamini and her husband Bhupati climb to the
roof in the middle of the night to watch the world (p. 434). Jamini is never a part of the world
that lies beyond her home. She can only look down upon it, from her position of royalty and
womanhood. The roof provided the stage on which their romance is enacted. But as love
begins to die, the same setting sees Jamini standing alone at the ledge (p.441).

The roof has often appeared in literature and autobiographies describing the
andarmahal as one of the few open spaces where women could breathe freely. Malavika
Karlekarhas noted that because of the claustrophobic nature of the apartments, the roof, the
balcony, and the inner courtyard became regular haunts for the women, while acknowledging
that access to the roof was often curbed or denied (1991, 24–25).

In Manik’s stories, the roof is sometimes a temporary escape, often a space of
transgression, perhaps the stage for rebellion, maybe even a safe haven. But Manik’s female
protagonists are always brought back down to earth, reminding the readers of their
inescapable condition. Even the titles of the stories imprison them in their given roles.

4.2 Open Spaces

‘RajarBou’ is also the only story where the woman is seen beyond her domestic space and
role. When the doctor suggests a ‘change’ of scene for Bhupati, he decides to go to Bombay
and is reluctant to take Jamini with him. Adamant, Jamini eventually does accompany him in
his sojourn. During their stay, they visit Vehar Lake where Jamini, enchanted by the scenes
around her, forgets Bhupati, “not having the time to feel Bhupati’s proximity”. (p. 443)

The other story that shows the woman in a public place is the much-celebrated
‘Kushtho Rogir Bou’ (The Leper’s Wife) where Mahashweta goes to Kalighat to offer
prayers to the Goddess to cure her husband and feed the beggars to accrue virtue on his
behalf. It is a turning point in the story, because after this incident, Mahashweta decides to
turn the house into a sanatorium for leprosy patients. The members of the family are shifted
to a different house by Mahashweta so that she can expand the facility. Mahashweta brings
the streets to her drawing room even as a metaphorical rot seeps into her marriage.

The first visible sign of the rot in a marriage which, prior to the disease, seemed
healthy and filled with happiness, is Jatin’s jealousy and suspicion. When Mahashweta starts
to avoid him, Jatin wonders:

Where does she spend all afternoon leaving him all alone? Does she rest in another
room? Jatin cannot believe it. If another room is required for rest, what is wrong with
the one next to Jatin’s? Is she not able to rest in the solitary afternoons unless she gets
the corner room on the ground floor where anyone from outside may come and go as
they please without being seen? (p. 416)

At the opposite end of this spectrum, Nalini in ‘Juarir Bou’ (The Gambler’s Wife) leaves with
her husband’s friend to his house on the pretext of meeting his wife to arouse her husband’s
jealousy. She leaves the house as an act of rebellion. But perhaps because it is her own
agency that leads her to commit this act, the rebellion fails. Makhan, her husband, remains

unmoved. ‘Juarir Bou’ is the second story that deals directly with money. The first is ‘Dokanir Bou’ (The Shopkeeper’s Wife).

4.3 Money Matters

The story features Sarala and Shambhu who live alone on one third of Shambhu’s father’s property:

Shambhu’s house is actually not an entire house. It is merely a part of a house – one of three parts. The big room is divided into the shop and the bedroom, there’s another very small room in the northern corner, the kitchen is next to it and a triangular courtyard marked by a hard fence from the corner of the bedroom to the corner of the kitchen. (pp. 340–341)

The story makes clear that it is Sarala’s father’s money, given to Shambhu to set up his shop that has “bought” Sarala her happiness and freedom. Unlike Sarasi, who seeks her happiness and freedom in being completely alone, Sarala’s happiness is marred by her loneliness. From across the fence that separates her from her in-laws, she can constantly hear the clamour of their daily life. Sarala, torn between the two worlds, creates for herself a middle ground by poking holes in the fence through which she can spy and eavesdrop on the goings-on of the other household. Like Sarasi in ‘Keranir Bou, Sarala is also an eavesdropper. As are the members of her husband’s family. Sarala eavesdrops on her husband at work, having mastered the art of tucking her anklets between her legs in order to stifle their jingling noise, otherwise a symbol of her husband’s upward mobility.

Of all the stories, ‘Dokanir Bou’ alludes most directly to the family as an economic unit and to the importance of economic agency. And it is the only story where the woman, albeit via her father’s wealth, is able to control the ebb and flow of money in the household. Despite her longing to spend some time within the hustle and bustle of her in-laws house, Sarala knows her freedom and agency to be more valuable. Thus, when her husband decides to partner with his brothers behind her back, Sarala decides to steal the money given to Shambhu by her father at her request. It is the one of the few instance in the series where the woman has the last word.

4.4 Final Departure

In a tragic instance having the last word, Kadambini in ‘Pujarir Bou’ (The Priest’s Wife) dies by suicide, after taking an earthen pot from the temple where her husband is the priest and drowning herself in a pond.

For Kadambini, mourning the loss of two children, the house becomes a haunted space. In ‘Bipatniker Bou’, the memory of a dead woman found its physical form in everyday objects. Here, Kadambini’s husband Gurupada has tried to erase all signs of their loss. In contrast to the claustrophobia created by the excess of objects in ‘Bipatniker Bou’, here, emptiness pervades the scene. Kadambini’s grief moves her beyond the space of the home both literally and figuratively.

It was as if she had travelled to some far-away subconscious land, crossing the boundary of the nest where she had spent twelve years of domestic life, twelve years worshipping her husband, had twelve years’ worth of memories. It was a place where one can feel nothing but the desperate sense of one’s own loneliness (p. 429).

Before she physically leaves the house, Kadambini pauses in the courtyard for a moment. It is
as though even she is aware that she is about to commit the final act of transgression – one from which there can be no return. The courtyard becomes an in-between space—literally and metaphorically—between the home and the world. In the end, Kadambini opens the door and steps out onto the street.

5. Conclusion

The stories in the ‘Bou’ series, in most cases, do not provide the reader with detailed descriptions of the domestic space. Yet it is worth noting that in all the stories, with the exception of ‘RajarBou’ and the very brief episode in ‘Kushtho Rugir Bou’, the women are hardly seen in public spaces, and the narrative unfolds within the space of the home itself. It is not so much a horizontal survey of the space as it is a deep-dive into it – an analysis through representation – which has since become the author’s trademark along with his economy of language, so essential to the form of the short story.10 Almost like the eye of the camera, Manik’s lens sweeps across open spaces in the rare moments that they do appear – the description of the city from the rooftop in ‘KeranirBou’ or Abantipur in ‘RajarBou’, for instance. When inside the house, the sense of a dearth of space is clear.

Where details of the domestic space or household do appear, it is to further cement its constrictions and restrictions. Below the surface, the tension to break free always lurks. And when it is a woman who seeks that freedom, it is always dangerous to the ‘sacrosanct’ space of the home and the family. The women often succeed in finding gaps within that congested space – be it the roof, or a secluded room, or in case of Sarala, the shopkeeper’s wife, the literal holes in the fence.

Other than being the story of a woman identified as a ‘wife’, Tagore’s StreerPatra and Manik’s ‘Bou’ series bracket momentous changes in the world, the impact of which India also acutely felt. The two authors are writing in the middle of two World Wars and in a world that is rapidly changing because of them. Sudeshna Banerjee has noted a change from spirituality to materiality in the twentieth century with regards to the ‘woman question’ (1997). In drawing a line from Tagore to Manik, we see the emergence, in Manik’s stories, of a world that is more physical and material from which, it seems, the women cannot be physically or metaphorically free without paying the ultimate price.

References


Pabitra Sarkar has drawn our attention to this style in ‘Manik Bandyopadhyay: Bisheshaner Bhumika’ in the seminar proceedings of the Department of Bengali, Ramakrishna Mission Vidyamandira, Belur Math titled Manik Bandyopadhyayer Katha Sahitya: Ekaler Mulyayan-bhittik Ekti Panorpath, 2009.
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**Bio-note**

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