

TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY

Gandharva Songs: Subaltern's Subversion of Hegemony

**A Thesis Submitted to the Central Department of English
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of
Master of Arts in English**

By

Bharat Raj Dhakal

Central Department of English

Kirtipur, Kathmandu

2009

Tribhuvan University
Faculty of Humanities and Social Science

This thesis entitled “Gandharva Songs: Subaltern’s Subversion of Hegemony” submitted to the Central Department of English, Tribhuvan University, by Mr. Bharat Raj Dhakal has been approved by the undersigned members of the research committee.

Members of the Research Committee:

Internal Examiner

External Examiner

Head

Central Department of English

Date: _____

Abstract

Gandharvas reproduce hegemonic discourses of the upper class and caste in their songs. But their songs also undermine such discourses by representing their real subaltern life marked by double domination and victimization based on class and caste. Such songs primarily deal with the issues of subjugation, marginalization, suffering, pain and poverty and call for equality, liberty and justice. The spontaneity and performativity of Gandharva songs allow the possibility of resistance in the local level. Their songs, though used for the political or cultural purposes of the elites at several occasions in history, show that Gandharvas do not lack the class consciousness but the organized social movement for resistance. Their compromise with the hegemonic structures needs to be understood not only as acceptance of hegemony but also as a strategy for survival in an uneven society. This notion is further underscored by the fact that they have developed their own subculture, own language, rituals and modes of life which can function as the counter hegemonic culture and discourse. Besides, performativity of their songs generates such power that it is sometimes used by the rulers as a means of expressing and justifying their social position to the public. On the other times, this power of performativity shapes the consciousness of their real life condition and the spirit of resistance.

Acknowledgements

Inspiration always plays a pivotal role in every step in human life. I would, first of all, like to express my sincerest gratitude in this profound hour of happiness to my respected teacher Pushpa Raj Acharya, whose inspiring suggestions, encouragements, suggestions and scholarly guidance helped me to prepare this thesis.

My true respect also goes to Dr. Krishna Chandra Sharma, Head of Central Department of English for his inspiring suggestions to this task. I heartily express my sincerest gratitude to my teachers Dr. Shiva Rijal, Saroj Ghimire, Badri Acharya, Sadan Raj Adhikari, and Harihar Gyawali who not only provided me with genuine ideas and authentic materials on my research but also guided me with valuable remarks. Similarly my friend and the teacher of Central Department of English Pradip Giri is also equally thankful.

In this hour of satisfaction, I would like to thank Mohan Bahadur Gandharva, Narayan Gandharva, Tika Maya Gandharva and Kalu Gandharva for providing me invaluable songs.

I would also like to thank Kusumakar Neupane and Ramji Bhattarai for providing me with genuine ideas and materials to complete this thesis.

I owe the highest level of my gratefulness to my lovely mom and all the members of family without whose perennial support and encouragement my dream of deserving Master's Degree would never come true. My sincere thanks goes to my friends and my well wishers – Sujan Khadka, Surendra Babu Tiwari, Jiban Lamichhane, Rabi Lamichhane, Homnath Parajuli, Bishnu Dhakal, Apurba Subedi, Ganesh Dhakal, Prakash Khatri, Mahendra Subedi, Laxman Bastola, Rishi Bastola, Navaraj Baral, Ganesh Bastola, Santosh Acharya, Resham Karki, Param Lamichhane, Buddhiram Pandey, Bamdev Subedi, Dirgha Dhungana, Nagendra Tiwari, Prakash Gautam, Sushil Adhikari and Resham Sapkota for their technical and moral support.

March 2009

Bharat Raj Dhakal

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Chapter I

Introduction

This research primarily focuses on Gandharva songs as subaltern's perpetuation as well as subversion of hegemony constructed by the dominant upper class. It analyses Gandharvas' 'Karkhas' and other type of songs on the light of subaltern studies project. It also endeavors to study their "voice" which has been suppressed by the mainstream higher class of the society. The main objective of the present research is to analyse Gandharvas' level of consciousness, notion of resistance and agency which are inherent in their songs.

In 'Karkhas', Gandharvas reproduce hegemonic structures of society. In these songs, their submissive mentality is reflected. Rather than resisting and bringing change in the existing social and political situation, they are accepting the ideology of upper class uncritically. These songs show that they are obeying the commands, rules, laws, norms and values of authority without any comment. So, through these songs, it seems that they don't have their own voice, consciousness and agency. They, rather, glorify the upper class and portray them as Gods. For example, in "Shah Banshako Karkha", we find their submissive mentality. This 'Karkha' glorifies Shah rulers, their families and their deeds by using eloquent language. It seems that they are completely hegemonized.

But, on the other hand, Gandharvas have been subverting those hegemonic structures through their other type of songs by representing their real subaltern life. Though often used by the dominant class and caste for their interests, political or otherwise, Gandharvas spontaneity and performativity allows the possibility of resistance in the local level. They do not lack class consciousness but the organized social movement for resistance. They accept and compromise with hegemony and hegemonic structures only for the survival strategy. But within hegemonic structures, they have developed their own subculture; own language, way of worshipping and social system as a counter hegemonic culture and discourse. Besides,

their performativity and spontaneity generates power which is sometimes used by rulers as a means to express and justify their social position to the public. On the other times, this power of performativity generates spirit of resistance within them. Therefore, they have been challenging the upper class ideology by developing their own conception of the world; life philosophy. This conception is constructed through their own experience of being dominated, discriminated and neglected in the society. So, they have developed a counter-hegemonic stance which has undermined the dominant ideology of elites.

These songs also expose that Gandharvas have their own "voice", consciousness, agency and notion of resistance. Mainly, their songs are their voice through which they are expressing their real situation. In these songs, they are no more obeying the values, norms, laws and commands of the upper class rather they are speaking directly to the authority against discrimination, oppression and domination. They are speaking for equality, liberty and justice. The subject matter of their songs is totally about their own pains, sufferings, agonies and miseries of life in a bourgeois society. So, this indicates that they are no more "muted" or 'silenced'. Besides, in these types of songs, we can find their implicit consciousness manifested in fragments and flashes. Sometimes they raise very serious social, political, cultural as well as economical issues. In these issues, their implicit consciousness becomes visible. This consciousness occurs when they are in unity. This consciousness binds them in an organic whole and leads them to a revolution. This implicit consciousness is also seen when they sing the songs to awake people to revolt against oppressive and biased mechanisms of society. Moreover, these songs also provide us the idea that Gandharvas are also the agent of change. Their agency lies in their power of performativity and spontaneity which allows them to resist and bring change in local level to some extent. For example, in the song, "Gandharvalai Kar Nishulka", we can see the change brought by their voice or song in the system of taxation, that is, abolishment of tax for Gandharvas.

The present research, therefore, deals with subaltern issues in relation with subaltern studies project and Gramscian idea of hegemony, subaltern consciousness and resistance. The term subaltern was first used genuinely by Antonio Gramsci to refer to those groups in society, who are subject to the hegemony of ruling class, thereby, bound to be represented by the ideological standards of elites. He includes workers, peasants, and other proletariat groups who are denied the hegemonic power. He states that subaltern groups are not united and they even cannot unite "until they are able to become a state" (57). So, he is indicating towards the need of unity and solidarity among subalterns to achieve hegemonic power and to get permanent victory over subordination. Only after joint effort of resistance, they can control their own representation and have access to political, social, and cultural institutions.

Regarding the consciousness of subalterns Gramsci remarks that they have two types of consciousness or one contradictory consciousness. The first is the implicit consciousness which is manifested in fragments and flashes when they are united. This implicit consciousness binds a subaltern to other fellow-workers for the practical transformation of the world. The second is an explicit consciousness which a subaltern has inherited from past unconsciously and uncritically as normal. This consciousness allows subalterns to obey the rules and regulations of upper class. It makes their mentality submissive to authority.

Later, the term subaltern is seriously used by Subaltern Studies Group. This group endeavours to analyze the voice, consciousness and agency of subaltern classes. They try to provide subaltern people with their own history and own voice. They also try to assess the role played by subalterns in bringing change in the existing social, political as well as economic and cultural systems. The main objective of this group is to promote a systematic study of the marginalized group of society through a new historiography which rewrites the history from below'.

Ranjit Guha is the leader of this group who analyses the contribution of subaltern people to bring change in Indian political as well as social systems. He sees subalterns having clear theoretical consciousness of their activities. He regards subaltern class as an autonomous body which is not necessary to be represented by elite discourse; they can represent themselves independently of elites. He thinks that subaltern politics is an autonomous body which is originated purely by their own consciousness. Besides, he also sees subalterns having agency within them. He gives examples of India where Indian subalterns revolted against colonialism and became able to free India from colonial fist.

Dipesh Chakrabarty announces that the central aim of subaltern studies is to analyse the consciousness of subalterns which encourages them to take essential political action without the help of elites. Partha Chatterjee, too, provides his opinion about subaltern consciousness and agency which brought change in social and religious systems.

But, Gayatri Chakraverty Spivak says that subalterns cannot speak. They don't have any consciousness and agency. They also cannot represent themselves rather they are to be represented by the intellectuals. According to her, subalterns have no individuality, choice and action through which they speak and control their representation.

In contrast to Spivak's idea, the present research rests on Gandharva songs, the issue of subversion of hegemony constructed by the upper class, in relation of Gramscian idea and subaltern studies project. This research lays its focus on how Gandharva songs subvert the ideological supremacy of elites which have been dominating Gandharvas since long. It tries to prove the hypothesis that Gandharvas as subalterns have their own voice which they have been expressing through their songs. Their songs also display that they have clear theoretical consciousness and the spirit of resistance. In the like manner, their songs also display that they have some sort of agency through which they try to bring change the social, political and economic systems to some extent in the local level.

This dissertation has been divided into four different chapters to alleviate the study of Gandharvas' perpetuation and subversion of hegemony with respect to their songs. The first chapter includes the general introduction of the study, and it also presents the hypothesis, elaboration of the statement of problem against the backdrop of different critics' commentaries. Moreover, this chapter also provides some ideas about the origin of Gandharvas and their performing arts. The second chapter elucidates the methodology employed to study the text. The principal theoretical idea and tool employed in this research is that of Gramsci and subaltern studies, with Ranjit Guha, Dipesh Chakravarty, Partha Chatterjee and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in reference. The third chapter presents an extensive textual analysis to reveal how Gandharva songs reproduce and subvert the hegemonic structures of the elites and document the instances of voice, consciousness, resistance and agency central to the songs. The fourth chapter concludes research with a brief recounting observation of the work affirming the hypothesis. Finally, all the chapters will attempt to resolve around Gramscian idea subaltern studies make up of the songs.

Gandharvas as Subalterns¹

Ranjit Guha, who leads Subaltern Studies Group, defines subaltern as the other of elite. He regards subaltern as a person who has lower position in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office. Analyzing the position of Gandharvas in terms of these criterias provided by Guha, they can be defined as subalterns. Basically, Gandharvas in the socio-economic context of Nepal are dominated in terms of class, caste and office.

In the social context of Nepal, Gandharvas are regarded as lower caste people; the Dalits. The denotative meanings of the word Dalit, Yam Bahadur Kisan cites *BhargavAdarsha Sabda Kosh* are “shattered, over-burdened, suppressed, squeezed upon; kneaded; ground down; shamed by being required to bow someone elite's feet; or silenced

¹ The term 'subaltern' is used in the specific political context of Post-colonialism. But, in this dissertation, it refers to an attribution of subjugation in terms of socio-economic condition.

through suppression” (6). Now, this word also refers to those groups who are officially categorized as untouchables. This definition of word ‘Dalit’ has similarity with the definition of the word ‘subaltern’. In Nepal, Gandharvas are oppressed, suppressed, and overburdened by the elites and they are considered as untouchables. They have no prestigious position in society. They are discriminated, marginalized, and victimized in the Nepali society. Their presence in temples, public taps and social organization is considered as an insult and disobedience of the rules constructed by the elites. People use their labour without any wages or the few wages. They are just taken as cheap entertainers who have no access to social activities. Therefore, they are deprived of social justice.

Moreover, Gandharvas are denied any space in the pages of history books. Throughout the history the most revolutionary class are the Dalits and working group. But as they have no higher social and economic position, they are excluded from history. Gandharvas have made very important contributions for the nation but as they are Dalits, they have been neglected in the history books. Ram Sharan Darnal, in this context, gives the example of Mani Ram Gaine who was employed by Prithvi Narayan Shah for the unification of Nepal as a singer to arouse courage, enthusiasm and bravery upon soldier. Here, Darnal maintains: “Mani Ram Gaine was the historical figure during the regime of Prithvi Narayan Shah. Unfortunately, (as he was Dalit) written history does not much talk about him” (Dalit, Music and Society¹⁴³). So analyzing the social and historical situation of Gandharvas, it becomes obvious that they are the members of subaltern class.

Economically, too, Gandharvas can be categorized as subalterns. Most of Gandharvas are living the life of poverty. They are the lower class people; the landless, the homeless. The caste based Nepali society has assigned them the occupation of singing and music playing. So, they have to sustain life through these traditional occupations. In this regard Abhi Subedi explains:

The contradictions of caste-based society can be seen in the very process of relegating different roles to Dalit groups in society. The greatest contradiction and the hypocritical foundation of the Brahminic religio-aesthetic construct can be seen in the the roles of performances assigned to the social classes like Damais, Gaines, and Badis. Each of these castes has been traditionally assigned roles in the performance culture of this country. The main components of performance are related to music, musical instruments, dancing and drama. (121)

The upper class has assigned the roles of music playing, singing dancing etc to the Dalits which shows discrimination and domination over them. They are assigned no prestigious and standard occupation through which they can manage their economic situation.

Besides, in the modern technologically advanced world, their traditional profession is facing a great problem. The inventions of sophisticated musical instruments and means of communications have been replacing their occupations. It has also lessened their income. So, their economic condition, instead of being improved, is becoming downtrodden. Therefore, in terms of class or economic status, they can be called subalterns.

Origin of Gandharvas

Nepal is a beautiful small country with diverse ethnic groups having different cultures, traditions and professions. These groups' contribution for the development of Nepalese culture is highly praiseworthy. One of these ethnic groups is Gandharva group which has a great contribution for the enrichment and preservation of Nepali music. They are basically recognized as the musician caste of Nepalese society just "like the singers of Serbia and African countries who sing the saga of nation, narratives of epic grandeur and stories of the communities" (Subedi 127). They also sing the song of their own experiences that is full of sorrow, misery, poverty and exploitation.

Regarding the origin of Gandharvas, there are many opinions prevailing in Nepalese society. But all Gandharvas agree to the common point that they are the descendants of Gandharvas Rishi. *Tribal Ethnography of Nepal* writes Gandharvas belief of their origin.

According to the book:

. . . Brahmaji, the creator (one of Hindu Trinity) created 4 *rishi* or hermits, 4 varnas or colours and 26 tribes. Among these 4 rishis, there was one Gandharva who was less cunning than his colleagues, and it is because of this susceptible nature of his that the other three *rishi* wanted to remove him from their group so they conspired. They gave him a leg of a cow and told him to go beg for alms uttering the word *awariha*. Not understanding the plot, this simple minded Gandharva Rishi did as he was told, that he had defiled himself because he had used the leg of a cow and so from then on he was continue his life as a beggar. Thus it is believed that Gandharva is the progenitor of the Gaine and since he was defiled, the Gaine are borned as a low caste today, and simultaneously, the stringed instrument called *arwajo*, which they use to provide music while they sing and beg, also originated. This *arwajo* is supposed to symbolize cos'w leg. (218)

The word ' Gandharva' is also mentioned in many religious scriptures of Hindu mythology and folklores. For example, it is mentioned in Ramayana and Mahabharata (the scared Hindu religious books) as a musician caste of Indra. There are many ideas about the first Gandharva in Nepalese societies. In some folklores and stories, it is mentioned that the first Gandharva was a powerful sage. He performed twelve years austerities. By seeing his penance, Gods began to worry about his power and they distracted him by dancing and singing. He was spellbound by music and dancing. But when he opened his eyes, he fond himself upon apsara and unconsciously impregnated her. For their illegimate Indra punished

them to live a life as an outcast and sing and dance to make their living. From then onwards, Gandharvas still regard themselves as 'heaven's fallen celestial'.

Moreover, there is another version of their origin as musician caste. *Tribal Ethnography of Nepal* again writes:

. . . while preparations were being made for the division of labour between the 4 *rishis*, Gandharva was engrossed in observing the dance of *apsaras* (heavenly dancers of extreme beauty and grace mentioned in Hindu mythological scripture), so he was given the task of singing or providing music. Therefore, it is believed that the Gaine earn their living by singing songs. (218)

These myths of origin of Gandharvas, seems derogatory to some extent. Some Gandharvas may not accept these myths.

Gandharvas' Performing Arts

i) Singing

The main performing art of Gandharvas is singing through which they have gained both name and fame nationally as well as internationally. They are very famous troubadours of Nepali society who have to sustain life through singing. The credit for the preservation and propagation of Nepali folklores goes mainly to Gandharvas. They possess the real genesis of Nepali folk music who entertain people with their sweet rustic melodies. Therefore, they are the integral part of Nepali folk music.

They travel around the villages singing and playing sarangi. Not only they perform the task of entertaining people with sweet folk music, they also spread news of public interests through songs much in common to Europe's minstrels. It is, therefore, said in Nepali society that "the child of Gaine and Nyauli (a bird) don't stay at the same place forever" (Nepal ka Dalitharu 12). This statement proves that they are the travelers who visit houses people to

sing. They sing different genres of songs like Karkha, Rags, Mangal, Ghatana Geet, Gatha, Malsiri, Nirgun, Jhyaure, Bhajan etc. They sing these varieties of songs according to the situation and occasion.

But, unfortunately, since many Gandharvas have begun to involve on other professions, they have been dropping out their traditional profession of singing. In this regard, Kusumakar Neupane remarks:

The number of Gandharvas sustaining life through the performing art of singing has become less. Educated and other Gandharvas who have adopted other professions don't show interest on sarangi playing. . . Because of such distraction on the art of singing, the hope of preservation of Gandharvas' traditional art of singing can not be made from the latter generation of Gandharvas". (My Translation 80)

Since their profession is not considered prestigious today and it can not fulfill their basic needs, many Gandhavas begin to adopt other professions which can make their livelihood possible. Moreover, because of the invention of television, radio and cassettes, their occupation is facing a great threat. Not only that, the dominance of western culture has been replacing their traditional songs; thereby a loss of our identity.

ii) **Music Playing**

Not only in singing, Gandharvas are equally expert in music playing. Their main musical instruments are 'sarangi' and 'arwajo'. Sarangi is a four stringed instrument carved from light wood. It is played with a bow made from the hair of horse's tail or nylon strings. They take it always with them wherever they go. It produces sweet sound that can easily spellbind anybody. Regarding the origin of sarangi, Ram Sharan Darnal writes: "since it produces the sweet sound like that of Sarang bird it is called sarangi" (27). According to another version of idea, sarangi is the combination of two words: 'sa' and 'rangi' where 'sa'

denotes the first note of music and 'rangi' refers the colorful and entertaining moments. So, the instrument that colors up the notes of music and provides entertainment is called sarangi. Gandharvas regard it 'female' musical instrument since it produces mild and soft sound.

Arwajo is another musical instrument popular among Gandharva community. It is also their religious musical instrument. It is larger than sarangi just like the guitar having fourstrings. It is also played as guitar is played. Gandharvas regard it as a gift from Lord Bishnu. Since it produces hoarse sound, they regard it as the 'male' musical instrument.

These musical instruments are facing great threat by the modern luxurious musical instruments. In the modern technologically advanced world, it has become almost impossible to preserve such traditional musical instruments. The inventions of sophisticated instruments have been replacing these traditional instruments day by day.

iii) **Dancing**

Apart from singing and music playing, Gandharvas also another form of performing art, that is, dance. Kusumakar Nepane writes that the major dances Gandharvas famous for are 'Tarbare Nritya' (Sword Dance) and 'Jaimalpatta Nritya'. In 'Tarbare Nritya', they dance taking sword in a hand and present the scene of bloodshed. This dance reflects the scene of war. In 'Jaimalpatta Nritya', they dance in group playing four sarangi, two arwajo, two madal and two mujura. But, because of the influence of modernity and their distraction on these arts, such dances are at the verge of extinction.

Chapter II

Subaltern Studies: A Critique of Elitist Historiography

I. Subalternity

‘Subalternity’ stands for the perspective of persons from regions and groups outside of the dominant power structure within the socio-cultural-economic hierarchy. Often the concept comes in parallel with the concept of hegemony, that is, “the maintenance of power without the use of direct threat, of physical force normally by a minority class whose interests are contrary to those over whom the power is exercised” (Hawthorn 146). In other words, it is the process of consensus formation through the ideology (not only through violence, political and economic coercion) for the majority of people within a given structure in which the values of elites and rulers become the common sense values of all. From this, a consensus culture develops where the lower class identify their good with the good of elites.

Subalternity, in this context, refers to the condition of being outside of the hegemonic power structure. So, within the broad division of society into elites and subaltern groups, the former exercises its hegemonic dominance upon the latter.

Once it came to the forefront of global intellectual debate in 1982, rigorous attempts have been made to give an essential identity to the concept. The noted Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, while trying to provide us a standard idea of the term ‘subaltern’ relates it to those groups in society like peasants, workers or the proletariats who are always the subject to the hegemonic exploitation of the ruling classes and thereby bound to be represented by the ideological standards of their masters. He views that their history “is necessarily fragmented and episodic” (54-55) which is as complex as the history of dominant classes. Therefore, their history is entangled with the history of ‘civil society’, ‘states’ and ‘groups of states’. He, thus, declares that it is very essential to study:

1. The objective formation of the subaltern social groups, by the developments and transformations occurring in the sphere of economic production; their quantitative diffusion and their origins in pre-existing social groups, whose mentality, ideology and aims they conserve for a time, 2. their active or passive affiliation to the dominant political formations, their attempts to influence; the programmes of these formations in order to press claims of their own, and the consequences of these attempts in determining processes of decomposition, renovation or neo-formation. 3 the birth of new parties of the dominant groups, intended to conserve the assent of subaltern groups and to maintain control over them; 4 the formations which the subaltern groups themselves produce, in order to press claims of a limited and partial character. 5 those new formations which assert the autonomy of the subaltern groups, but within the old framework. 6. Those formations which assert the integral autonomy, . . .”. (52)

So, their history is intertwined with the history of the civil society, ruling or dominant class and the state. Only by studying these various aspects, their history can be understood.

Ranjit Guha, who leads the *Subaltern Studies Group* in India during 1980s to write the ignored historiography of marginalized people, defines subaltern as the other of elite and tries his best to give an existential autonomy to the subalterns. Hence, his group aims to encourage a systematic discussion of subalternized group of society through a new historiography which reevaluates “history from below”. He uses the term subaltern as “a name for the general attribute of subordination in south Asian Society whether this is expressed in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way” (Guha VII). He further announces that the primary concern of this group is to analyze the “history, politics,

economics and sociology of subalternity and with the occluded attitude, ideologies and belief system- in short, the culture informing that condition” (VII).

Since subalterns are simply ignored any space in the official history the *Subaltern Studies Group* tried to produce their history in which the principal characters are the subalterns only. In this regard Dipesh Chakravorty explains “the declared aim of *Subaltern Studies* was to produce historical analysis in which the subalterns were viewed as the subjects of history” (A Small History of Subaltern Studies 7).

Gayatri Chokravorty Spivak, who provided linguistic, cultural, deconstructive as well as feminist turn to Subaltern Studies, defines subaltern as “a person without the lines of social mobility” (Can the Subalterns Speak’ 1). She uses the term to describe the “lower layers of colonial and postcolonial (or as many would say, neo-colonial) society, the homeless, the unemployed, the subsistence farmers, the day laborers and so on” (Bertens 212).

II Subaltern Consciousness and the Notion of Resistance and Agency

Subaltern Studies has now entered to the arena of global intellectual debate and many aspects of it have become the subject and interest of study among many scholars. Subaltern consciousness, the notion of resistance and agency are some of the widely debated issues. Gramsci, Guha, Spivak, Dipesh Chakravorty, Partha Chatterjee, Gautam Bhadra, Veena Das etc are the well known theorists to talk about these issues.

Gramsci, who first uses the term subalterns in his *Selections form the Prison Notebooks*, provides us a vivid idea about the subaltern consciousness. He views that subalterns only have some form of understanding of the world, that is, but “no clear theoretical consciousness of his practical activity” (Selections from the Prison Notebooks 333). They have ‘one contradictory consciousness’ which is composed of two aspects: one autonomous or original and other borrowed. For him,

He has two theoretical consciousness (or one contradictory consciousness): One which is implicit in his activity and which in reality unites him with all his fellow-workers in the practical transformation of the real world; and one, superficially explicit or verbal, which he had inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed. (333)

His implicit consciousness is basically the result of his understanding of the world which helps him to know the hegemonic structures and enables him to resist against it by uniting other members of the subaltern group. This solidarity, which subalterns construct through their implicit consciousness further encourage them to change the world. But, the explicit consciousness which he inherits from the past is the result of the ideological control of ruling class and the assent of the subaltern class. Here, law, education, media and religion play a pivotal role to achieve the ideological control over subaltern class by ruling class. These socializing agencies “promote and legitimize the ideas of ruling class to the point where such values are accepted uncritically and unconsciously as normal” (Slattery 122). Therefore, this explicit consciousness reveals the submissive mentality of subalterns.

Talking about the manifestation of subaltern group own consciousness which results from their ‘own conception of the world’, Gramsci remarks that it is manifested in fragments, “occasionally in flashes” (Gramsci 327) in their action when they have become a ‘State’ or united. This consciousness normally remains for a short period of time. But on the other times, they adopt borrowed conception and “affirm(s) this conception verbally and believe(s) itself to be following it” (327). It means that, in normal times, they do not have any consciousness through which they can be enlightened and emancipated. In this regard Pushpa Raj Acharya states “though the contradictory consciousness holds a social group together, it weakens their action, decision, and choice and finally leads to moral and political passivity” (82).

'Commonsense' is the key term repeatedly used in *Subaltern Studies* while talking about the subaltern consciousness. It is the 'world view' or the 'life philosophy' of the subaltern group which is "not something rigid and immobile, but is continually transforming itself enriching itself with scientific ideas, and philosophical opinions which have entered ordinary life" (Gramsci 326). Partha Chatterjee, another contributor of *Subaltern Studies*, defines 'common sense' as

the contradictory unity of two opposed elements: one, the autonomous element which express the common understanding of the members of a subaltern group engaged in the practical activity of transforming the world through their own labor, often as the behest and certainty under the domination of ruling groups and the other the element which is borrowed from the dominant classes and which expresses the fact of the ideological submission of the subaltern group.

(171)

This common sense takes various forms. On the one hand, it engages them in the practical transformation of the world and on the other hand, it leads them to submission of authority.

To explore about subaltern groups' need of resistance and victory over elite domination and hegemony is the underlying motive of Gramsci. According to him, the subaltern classes are deprived of means by which they can represent themselves independently of elites and raise voice against the elite groups. They also have less access to social and cultural institution. So, they are in the prison of elite social, political and cultural structures. The only way to get rid of this domination is the permanent victory. But for that they have to be united or become a 'State'. He views that "The subaltern classes, by definition are not united and cannot unite until they are able to become a 'State'" (Gramsci 52). Here 'State' refers to the unity and power of subaltern groups against the domination of elites. He further shows the proper way of becoming 'State', that is, 'eliminate' and 'win'. It

means that subaltern groups in order to develop itself as the hegemonic and dominant group that can hold authority and represent itself, first of all should eliminate the earlier hegemonic structures “of ruling class by developing its own alternative hegemony or world view a new socialist common sense...a counter hegemony to lead the revolution and to stabilize and legitimize worker’s power there-after” (Slattery 123). Then, they should win the consent of other people.

There are always two groups in a society where one group tries to dominate other group either by coercion, armed force, economic control, law or by hegemony. No ruling class could dominate by economic control or even by political force alone. The ideological control and the assent of the people also play the vital role of domination. Therefore, Gramsci expresses:

. . . the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as “domination” and as ‘intellectual and moral leadership’. A social group dominates antagonistic groups, which it tends to “liquidate”, or to subjugate perhaps even by armed force: it leads kindered and allied groups. A social group can, and indeed must already exercise “leadership” before winning governmental power (this indeed is one of the principal conditions for the winning of such power); it subsequently becomes dominant when it exercises power, but even if it holds it firmly in its grasp, it must continue to ‘lead’ as well. (57-58)

A true subaltern revolution will, therefore, first requires an intellectual struggle against elite ideology, its flaws, its exploitation and its naked oppressions so as to provide a basis for a new social order in which the subaltern class seizes the philosophical and moral leadership before gaining political and economic control of the state and society. But on the other hand, the subaltern group’s all the activities of internal solidarity and voice against the complacent

elite groups to get emancipation from the bondage of authority is always interrupted by the ruling class. So, pointing towards the counter actions from the ruling class Gramsci warns that “there undoubtedly exists a tendency to (at least provisional stages of) unification in the historical activity of these ruling groups, but this tendency is continually interrupted by the activity of ruling groups . . .” (53).

All in all, Gramsci who is also regarded as the ‘super structure theoretician’ of modern Marxism aims a real and active role in promoting revolutionary change by “popular classes” or “masses”, that is, the “subaltern classes”.

But Guha, more than Gramsci, sees subaltern (which he equates as "people") having clear theoretical consciousness and the spirit of resistance. According to him, the historiography of Indian nationalism, from a long time has been dominated by two types of elitism that is, colonialist elitism and bourgeois nationalist elitism. This kind elitist historiography fails to acknowledge subaltern's contribution for India's struggle against British rule. So, he tries to assess "the contribution made by people on their own, that is, independently of the elite to the making and development of this nationalism" (3). According to him, thousands and millions of "people" participated in the nationalist activities that overthrew "the wheels of state apparatus and of elite institutions geared to it" (3). In this regard, he thinks that subaltern's one of “invariant features was a notion of resistance to elite domination” (5). The movements like 'anti-Rowlatt' upsurge of 1919 and the 'Quit India' movement of 1942 are some of the nationalist movements initiated by the subalterns where there was no participation of elites. All these activities of subalterns are clearly indicating that they possess the complete theoretical consciousness, agency and the notion of resistance against elitism.

By privileging 'politics of people' over 'elite politics', Guha remarks that "the politics of people" was an autonomous domain, for it neither originated from elite politics nor did its

existence depend on the latter" (4). According to him, "the principal actors of the politics of people" were not the dominant groups of the indigenous society or the colonial authorities but the subaltern classes. . . the people" (4) The 'politics of people' had its existence even before the period of colonialism. It began to operate rapidly through different conditions. In this regard, Guha remarks:

Far from being destroyed or rendered virtually ineffective, as was elite politics of the traditional type by the intrusion of colonialism, continued to operate vigorously in spite of the later, adjusting itself to the conditions prevailing under the Raj and in many respects developing entirely new strains in both form and content. (4)

This politics of people began to expand its form and content even in the colonial period which indicates that the subalterns were denying the intrusion of colonial authority and intrusion. By developing its own 'conception of the world, they began to work against the physical as well as hegemonic domination of the colonial authorities.

Partha Chatterjee also couldnot remain silent and untouched from the debate of subaltern consciousness. He provides his opinion about it in relation to caste and caste ideology, that is, 'dharma'. In fact, he in his essay, 'caste and subaltern consciousness', builds his view upon Gramsci's ground breaking book '*Selections from the Prison Notebooks*'. Gramsci's views on subaltern consciousness, commonsense, unification of subordinated classes, need of resistance against elite domination, and the dominance of 'religion as a constitutive force in subaltern consciousness' provides Chatterjee a special methodological tool to talk about the issue of subaltern consciousness and the notion of resistance. Though, he, like Gramsci, does not explicitly talk about forms, natures, and manifestations of subaltern consciousness, we can did out his idea about these issues in his genealogical presentation of caste system and its external and immanent critique. From his detailed

observations we can find that the subalterns have some sort of consciousness through which they can undermine the hegemonic domination of upper class and caste.

Chatterjee provides some examples of empirical work containing detailed observations of how the religious beliefs and practices of subordinate caste groups are quite often based on principles that are contradictory to those of the Brahmanical religion" (109). He not only gives the examples of religious beliefs and practices of lower caste groups which are quite opposite to those of upper caste, but also presents some of the practices that lower caste people often imitate from upper caste not as mimicry but as rebellion and counter hegemony. As the evidence of this, he takes recourse to the myth of Balaram Hadi, 'the founder of the Balarami or Balahadi sect'. From the observations of such practices, he tries to see the level of the consciousness of subaltern classes. Balaram Hadi performs the activities like those of Brahmanical traditions like preaching people, keeping disciples, offering tarpan etc. not as mimicry but as an example of counter hegemony. He has his own interpretations of activities unlike those of Brahmans. From his activities, it can be informed, that Balaram hadi, a subaltern from both caste and economic status, possesses some sort of consciousness, agency and rebellious nature within him.

Like Gramsci, he also tries to see the role of religion in shaping the subaltern consciousness and the possibility of heightening the struggle between the dominant and subordinate group. According to him, the subaltern group's one contradictory consciousness allows them to follow the elite religions and philosophies on the one hand and on the other establish their own religion and values. The newly emerged religion and philosophy is not:

Unrelated to the process of struggle between dominant and subordinate groups. The autonomous element in common sense erupts precisely at the moments of heightened conflict between classes, and at such moments the crisis of society is expressed in the threat of a rupture of the community into

two opposed faiths, two opposed religions, two opposed views of the world. The emergence of new religions on social philosophies fulfills the need for restoring, either on a progressive and new basis or on a forcible reassertion of the old basis, the ideological unity of the entire social bloc. (171)

Generally, religion is looked from a single stand point as a doctrine which offers a universal moral code for the society and works as a unifying force of the masses into a single whole. But, Chattarjee, here looks it from two distinct vantage points. In the first, he looks at it from the perspectives of dominant groups where it offers the necessary ideological justification for existing social divisions, makes those divisions appear non-antagonistic and holds together a potentially divided society into a single whole" (172). In the second, he looks it from the perspectives of subordinate groups where "religion enters their common sense as the element which affords them an access to a more powerful cultural order" (172).

Thus, the same religion appears as the ideological integration of two opposed and contradictory tendencies as the assertion of the universal moral code that binds society into a harmonious whole and as the element of common the common sense of the subordinate class. In this context, Chattarjee, here, cites Gramsci's lines:

Every religion, even Catholicism (indeed Catholicism more than any, precisely because of its efforts to retain a 'surface' unity and avoid splintering into national churches and social stratifications), is in reality a multiplicity of distinct and often contradictory religions: there is one Catholicism for the peasants, one for the Pettis bourgeois and town workers, one for women, and one for intellectuals which is itself variegated and disconnected. (172)

The moral imperative of the Subaltern Studies Group is to establish subaltern people as the subject of insurgency and the subaltern consciousness as the autonomous domain. They want to retrieve the suppressed and effaced voices of the subaltern. In this regard, Dipesh

Chakraverty, in his essay *"Invitation to Dialogue"* remarks that the central aim of subaltern studies project is to understand the consciousness that informed and still informs political actions taken by the subaltern classes on their own, independently of any elite initiatives" (374). So, he thinks that only by giving the specific place to their consciousness, they can create their own history and represent themselves. However, he further illustrates that subalternity does not necessary indicates the resistance of domination and subversion of hegemony. It also implies the subordination to authority and hierarchy.

Chakraverty, furthermore, searches the political consciousness in subaltern activities. He, in his essay 'A Small History of Subaltern Studies' sees the political consciousness on the peasants who have participated in masses for the nationalist 'struggles against the British'. He clarifies his statement as "the formal granting of the citizenship to the Indian peasant after the achievement of independence from British simply recognized his already political nature" (A Small History of Subaltern Studies 19).

Many debates have been made regarding the issue of mentality of subaltern mentality and consciousness. Like their history, their consciousness and mentality tends to be a complex one. Gautam Bhadra, in this context announces that the mentality of subalternity is the composite of 'defiance' and 'submission' to dominant authority. It means that sometimes they revolt against the authority and disobey its command and sometimes they accept the authority. But focusing on the rebellion of subaltern classes, he further writes: "from recent reseaches it can be shown that, time and again, the subordinate classes have risen in rebellion because of their faith in some social order, out of an urge to restore justice" (94).

But, Spivak, on the other hand, tries to evaluate the works of subaltern studies theorists "against the grain of their theoretical self-representation" (Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography 338). She charges their project as a 'positivist' one as it aims to recover and establish subaltern consciousness. She finds problems with their

'compartmentalized views of consciousness' and condemns Subaltern Studies Group for trying to establish subaltern or peasant consciousness as an autonomous body which is reality is not possible. Unlike Guha and other Subaltern Studies Group, she thinks that "subaltern cannot appear without the thought of 'elite' (339). She is primarily "concerned to emphasize, so-called subaltern consciousness is a product of elite discourse not a concrete entity in the world; it is a construction of socially authorized language, not a self or subject that can will itself to speak" (Boehmer 354). She therefore states that "subaltern's view, will, presence, can be no more than a theoretical fiction to entitle the project of reading. It cannot be recovered, 'it will probably never be recovered'" (Deconstructing Historiography 340).

Furthermore she charges that their project reflects the eighteenth century European enlightenment project whose chief objective was to emancipate people through the use of reason, that is, consciousness in other word. This project, therefore, is like that of enlightenment project, because they (SSG) also aim to recover peasant consciousness as an autonomous and independent domain. So, she charges their project as an ideal project which does not have any objective utility. She regards "consciousness, here, is not consciousness-in-general, but a historicized political species thereof, subaltern consciousness" (338). She, then analyzes the "definitions of 'consciousness' offered by subaltern studies group" having "plenty of indications that they are in fact concerned with consciousness not in the general, but in this crucial narrow sense" (343).

In her another essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", Spivak opines that subalterns can not speak and even resist because they do not have any agency and consciousness. Rather, she questions. "How can we touch the consciousness of the people, even as we investigate their politics? With what voice consciousness can the subaltern speak? (Can the Subaltern Speak 32). She states that subaltern are to be represented which, according to her, is the left intellectual's stock-in-trade. There in her view, "is no unrepresentable subaltern subject that

can know and speak itself" (32). But while representing them, their voice gets effaced or overshadowed by the intellectual who is representing them. There can arise the bias perspectives from the side of elite intellectual who represents the subaltern, thereby, the dominance of elitist perspective.

Moreover, Spivak argues that subaltern's also can not have the power to resist because their "so called resistance is merely a ventriloquizing by the author" (Acharya 79). Here, she tries to unveil "the irony that the social-historical analysis which is most intent on retrieving the voices of such politically and historically 'silenced' groups succeeds, by the very practice of that analysis and the deployment of privileged knowledge, conclusively by to silence them" (Boehmer 353).

Subalterns, Spivak opines, even if they speak, their voice cannot create any political effect and they are not heard. It means that any voice which does not have any effect in community or nation and which is not heard by the concerned authorities, itself does not become voice or speech. Therefore, Spivak suggests that any attempts from outside to represent subaltern will results on the dependence upon other intellectuals to "speak for" the subalterns rather than encouraging them to represent and speak for themselves. This also helps to stop their movement towards upper social structure makes subaltern always subaltern. By speaking and representing oneself, they will efface their subordinate position in society.

Sanjeev Upreti explaining Spivak's idea about subaltern's speaking remarks:

Subalterns are deprived from the access of the public means of expressions like newspaper, radio, television through which they can express their voice. Since they can not represent themselves, they are thrown outside the elite historiography. Therefore, it is the responsibility of intellectual to speak for them and explore their life philosophy. (My translation 16)

The notion of agency is another hotly debated issue of subaltern studies. Critics have their own ideas whether the subaltern have any sort of agency through which they can act, assert individuality, gain freedom, change their social, political and economic level and in short represent themselves independently without the help of elites. Spivak, in this regard, puts her distinct ideas about the agency of subalterns. She thinks that subalterns do not have any agency through which they can speak and act without the help of other. They, she views, do not have any choice, freedom and individuality, thereby, submission to authority. They can not represent themselves, rather they are to be represent. Their agency remains just in a metaphoric and ironic level. Therefore, they can not be the agent of change

But the critics like Guha and Chattarjee opine that the subalterns have their own agency which is very essential to bring change in society and nation. Guha thinks that subaltern's spontaneous participation in Indian revolution against the colonial oppression brought change in system. This provides him the basis to believe that they posses consciousness. In the like manner, Chatterjee also gives the example of the member of subaltern class, Balaram Hadi, brought change in the existing social and religious system of his society. This situation ensures him to announce that the subalterns have agency within them.

Chapter- III

Gandharva Songs and the Question of Hegemony

This chapter basically analyses Gandharva songs from two perspectives. The first, is the analysis of reproduction of hegemony in karkhas where they reproduce the hegemony constructed by the upper class of the Nepalese society. The second is the subversion of those structures through their other type of songs where they express the hardships of true subaltern life imposed by the elite structures of society.

i) Reproduction of Hegemony

Gandharvas sing varieties of songs on many occasions. Usually, in their songs, we find very serious social, political, economic and cultural issues. Sometimes, they reproduce the hegemonic structures constructed by the dominant upper class and sometimes they subvert those structures through their songs by representing their real situation, Gandharvas, in the socio-cultural-economic and political context of Nepal, are regarded as the lower class and caste, the subalterns. So, being the member of subaltern class, they do not have any access to state power. They are dominated, marginalized and victimized in the Nepalese societies and simply excluded from the history. No written history talks much about their contribution to the development of Nepalese society. Their contributions are simply ignored by dominant groups thinking it to be worthless. And, on the part of Gandharvas this exclusion forms a kind of belief within them where they forget their own contributions and accept the hegemony.

Karkha is one of the varieties of song usually sung by Gandharvas where we find the reproduction of hegemonic structures created by the mainstream elite class and caste. In these songs, their mentality seems submissive to the authority. It is not necessary that they always rebel and resist against hegemonic domination rather they also bow down before the authority. Pointing to the mentality of subaltern, Gautam Bhadra writes: "defiance is not the

only characteristic of the behaviour of subaltern classes, submissiveness to authority in one context is as frequent as defiance in another" (The Mentality of Subalternity: Knatanama or Rajdharmā 65). So, "defiance" and "submissiveness" are the two elements that constitute subaltern mentality. In reality, "submissiveness" to authority is not the will of Gandharvas to accept the authority rather they are forced to do so.

In Karkhas, they portray upper class just like Gods. They glorify their activities and think that they are the only source of their livelihood that provides all the basic needs to them. On the one hand, they picturize them with all the positive qualities and on the other hand, they accept their domination. So, they seem completely hegemonized.

But, Gandharvas' other songs reveal their true life experience which are marked by marginalization, domination, victimization and poverty. They express the hardships of their life caused by the unjust social systems and practices. They, in Karkhas, show that they got everything that is needed to live a prosperous life from the upper class. But on the other type of songs, they show lack of food, land, shelter, clothes, education and so on. So, they are undermining the hegemony created by the upper class through their songs.

Shah Bāshako Karkha (The Karkha of Shah Dynasty)

In this karkha, we can find the forceful subaltern mentality of Gandharvas. Here, they are glorifying shah kings, their families, and their activities by using high standard language and beautiful adjectives. While analyzing this song, the construction of hegemonic structure is clearly seen. Apart from the submissive nature of Gandharvas, the flashes of consciousness and the ironical representation of upper class is also depicted in this song (even in all karkhas). The song can be analysed from the two perspectives; one from the perspective of uncritical acceptance of hegemony and hierarchy and another from the perspective of manifestation of consciousness and ironical representation of shah dynasty and its deeds. However the former perspective is more dominant than the latter.

According to the former perspective which is clearly visible, Gandharvas are accepting their own lower position in relation to the so-called upper position of shah kings. In this, song, Gandharvas recite the names of the entire shah from Sali Bahu to Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah. Here, they also sing about the contributions of those shahs for the nation and people. They regard Prithvi Narayan Shah as the God who appeared in this human life to make people grateful. They also sing about contribution of Tribhuvan to establish democracy in Nepal. They also say that the democracy which is planted by Tribhuvan will be secured forever. King Mahendra's contribution is also described here. He provided education, food, land, fertilizer, seed etc. to the people. He also established courts to provide justice to people. The new system of Land Reformation was established during his regime. He also established hydropower companies from which also the nation became glittering and shining. It also looked like the heaven in the earth. Every people used to get beautiful clothes to wear and diets to eat. So, Nepal was a kind of heaven at that time.

By seeing their words of glorification of Shah, it becomes obvious that they are completely hegemonized. They are no longer revolting against the ruler rather bowing down their heads before the shahs. In surface, it seems that they have only one consciousness (no two consciousnesses or one contradictory consciousness) which they inherit from the past uncritically and unconsciously. They are providing their consent to be governed. They are promoting and legitimising the values of ruling class which halt their voice, action, choice and decision. They ultimately become passive characters who have no agency of change. The values and ideologies of ruling class constitute their 'common sense' which signifies that they don't have their own clear theoretical idea of the world rather they have to be dependent on the borrowed conception of the ruler. In this song, apparently, it seems that the Gandharvas or the subalterns cannot come to the fore front of society without the thought of elite. They are not revolting against the elite ideology, its demerits, its naked exploitation and its flows.

They, even, do not have their own language. They use the standard language of Shahs which indicates that they are hegemonized by language also. It is clearly visible in the following extract:

Devabhakti Siri Panch Prithvi Narayan Shah
Duniyalai Darshan diya manukhe cholama.

In this extract, Gandharvas are using language that was used to be used by the Prithivi Narayan Shah. The word 'diya' (gave) is the high standard language frequently used in the "Divya Upadesh" (sacred didactions) of Prithvi Narayanshah. Similarly the words like "thiya" (there was), "ghumidiya" (visited) and "banaidiya" (made) are the words used by the then upper class people but now are Gandharvas are using those words to express their loyalty to the upper class. So, it looks that they are also hegemonized by the language, too.

However, the complete hegemonization is never possible; there always remains a tendency to revolt. So, analysing the song from the second perspective, the expression of implicit consciousness and the ironical representation of shah rulers can be seen. In fact, subalterns have two consciousnesses; one is autonomous or implicit and the other is borrowed or explicit consciousness. Their explicit consciousness allows them to accept hierarchy whereas their implicit consciousness functions all throughout their activities. Their implicit consciousness unites them with other Gandharvas in the practical transformation of the world. Subalterns' implicit consciousness manifests in flashes and fragments. This implicit consciousness allows them to speak and act against the elite ideology. In the lines:

Sat Salma Tribhuwanle amrit bristi lyaye
Babajyule lyayeko chij Mahendra le khaye.

In this extract, it is said that King Tribhuvan established democracy in Nepal. But later King Mahendra threw (swallowed) that democracy. Except these lines, all the other lines praise the shah rulers. But in this extract, we do not find the words of honour to the deeds of shahs

rather Mahendra is depicted negatively. The implicit consciousness is manifested here which shows that Gandharvas also didn't like Mahendra's "Panchayati Byawastha" (Panchayat System) in the cost of democracy. So, they are negatively picturizing Mahendra in these lines. The word 'Khaye' (indirectly destroyed) itself does not sound sweet. It gives negative connotation to Mahendra's activities. Furthermore, ironical representation of shahs is another salient feature of this song. In this song, Ghandarvas seem very satisfied by the contributions made by shah rulers for the nation and people. They say that they have got everything from the kings. Kings, they sing, have given foods, lands, justice, electricity etc. to them. But the question is that "Do they really have these things? Have electricity reached to their slums?" "Isn't their any problems of starvation?" and the answer is that most of Gandharvas are deprived of these thing. But why are they saying these things. The answer is obvious that they are ironically representing the rulers.

Chandra Shamser ko Karkha (The Karkha of Chandra Shamser)

Just as in the 'Shah Bانشa ko Karkha', the submissive Gandharva mentality is clearly visible in this song also. Rather than resistance and insubordination, the acceptance of hierarchy and hegemony constitutes Gandharvas psyche here. In this regard, Dipesh Chakrabarty like Gautam Bhadra also announces "subalternity-the composite culture of resistance to and acceptance of domination and hierarchy- is a characteristic of class relations in our society. . ." (Invitation to a Dialogue 376). But he goes a bit further than Bhadra's opinion and tries to unveil the mask of bourgeois domination. He says, "... the veneer of bourgeois equality barely masks the violent, fental nature of much of our systems of power and authority" (376). So, in this song, the rebellious subaltern Gandharva mentality turns up under the shadow of upper class 'power' and 'authority'. From this song, it also becomes obvious that Ranas have constructed the exaggerated myths which portray themselves as the true disciples of God. They have also picturized themselves as the beloved and chosen people

of God. Not only that, they are not even hesitating to regard themselves as the reincarnation of god. They have exploited religion, myth and the abstract power of god as a means to justify their social strata which blinds the potentially divided society into totality. And what is more interesting is that this religion, enters into the common sense of Gandharva and makes a more powerful cultural order. Therefore, they are accepting those myths uncritically and even unconsciously. Besides, they are giving life to those myths by singing and handing over to off-springs.

This song is just the hagiography of Chandra Shamsar. In this Karkha, the story of Chandra Shamsar's travel to Britain and his turn back to Nepal is presented in a highly exaggerated manner where he has been picturized as a highly fashionable, powerful, diplomatic intelligent, clever and aristocrat . He is also shown as perfect ruler who has got the blessings from Gods like Pashupatinath, Gorakhnath, Budhanilkantha etc. The stories about British emperor's humble request for Chandra Shamsar to visit Britain, his preparation to leave Nepal and his activities in Britain are described in a hyperbolic manner in the song.

The song begins from the lines of glory about Chandra Shamsar. He is addressed as a great emperor who is quite illustrious. He is taken as god Shree Krishna's reincarnation in the earth. It is clear in lines:

Badi Badshah Chandra Shamsar Pratapi thiya

Siri Kisna bhegamanko janamna payeni

In this extract, Gandharvas have been simply accepting Chandra Shamsar as the great emperor who is quite glorious. They have equated him with Shree Krishna the Hindu God. This extract is quite hyperbolic which reveals that Gandharvas just believes in rumor uncritically.

Chandra Shamsar's preparation for his travel to Britain is described in quite exaggerated manner. When he begins to leave Nepal, he gives some of authorities and the

ideas to handle the palace to his brothers. His wife and other relatives weep making the flood of tears. He makes his prophet to fix the good date for the travel. In the day of his travel, all the people from the valley are making a beeline for streets to see him. Here, he is described as Ram, the Hindu God.

Tin Shahar Nepal ka manis Ram herna aaye
Bhadgaun, Patan, Kantipur shahara
Sattaun, Balaupur, Thankot, Bhanjyang
Samali, Dhulikhel, Charkot, Panauti Shahar
Tahadekhi ayeka dashai nara nama
Singhadarbar dekhi Thankot Bhanjyang samma
Lam Kase dohorikarikana
Bich bich pulish ka dank rakhidiya
Hukum bhayo maharajako gairha paltanlai
Sapha banau komal peti nala.

These lines clearly depict the picture of Nepali system of the time. People had to stay in the streets to welcome and farewell the rulers in a much disciplined manner. They had to stay on the straight lines even hours to welcome farewell to ruler leaving their own works in home. Streets had to be neat and clean. Guns must be fired and army must salute them. If anybody rejects to do this, he had to face the hard punishment. So, this is a forceful situation created by the then rulers. But the Gandharvas are describing these activities as the spontaneous participation of people. They have not used their consciousness or the critical faculty of their mind rather taking it as a true participation of people. So, they are reproducing the hegemonic structures unconsciously.

Furthermore, Chandra Shamsheer's welcome in Britain is also described in the exaggerated language. According to the song, Britain was decorated for the welcome of

Chandra Shamsheer in such a way that everywhere it looked golden, shining and glittering. The sky, the tent, the wall were looking so beautiful that it resembled the palace of Indra, the heaven. The following lines clarify this:

Beleyati pal suwarnale chayo
Bhitta kalath charai dishi laya
Chandra, chanduwa ra bijali ra batti
Indra basni baithak banaye

Moreover, his unbelievable activities in Britain are described in such a way as if they are real. The story of wrestling and shooting competition is the evidence of this. There was a wrestling competition between British and Nepali wrestler where Nepali wrestler defeats the giant and well known British wrestler. Nepali wrestler colonel Gopal Pandey recites the hymns of Gods Pashupatinath and Gorakhnath before taking part in wrestling and with the blessings of those gods he defeats the British wrestler who had already defeated the wrestlers of so many countries. Similarly, the story about shooting competition is also quite interesting which also gives the picture of Gandharva mentality. It is said that the shooting competition was held by British king to demoralize and inferiorize the Nepalese ruler. It is well known that Nepalese people worship 'cow' as a goddess and they never kill this animal. But British king put an object on the backbone of cow as a point to be shot. He selected cow because he thought if Nepalese did mistake in shooting the object that was kept on the backbone of cow and by mistake shot the cow itself, he would blame them as cow-eaters (Gai Khane) which is very shameful and immoral thing for Nepalese. But Nepalese shooter shot the point very nicely and got victory over other competitors.

Likewise, Chandra Shamsheer's photo session in Britain, British king's gift to him and his craze among British women are also described in the exaggerated language. All these activities indicate that Gandharvas just take the things for granted. They don't use their

rational faculty of mind. Rather than rejecting such hyperbolic myths, they are giving live to these myths by reproducing them time and again. So, the myths constructed by upper class become the source of the consciousness and knowledge. It is mentioned nowhere in the song that there was even a single Gandharva in the travel with Chandra Shamsheer to Britain. So they believe on myths constructed by upper class.

Nevertheless, there is also an ironic touch in the song. It is said that with the emerging glorious and illustrious nature of Chandra Shamsheer, the cities and nations like Delhi, Calcutta, Lahore, China and Britain become terrified. The following lines show these ideas

Badi Badshah Chandra Shamsheer Pratapi thiya

Dilli tharkyo, Calcutta, China Tharkyo Belayeta.

But the question is: Were those cities and nations really terrified by him? This is quite ironical. This gives us the clue that the over exaggeration of upper class activities and glories can be a deliberate means of inferiorizing them.

Buddhibal Ranako Karkha (The Karkha of Buddhibal Rana)

In this Karkha, along with the issues of reproduction and acceptance of hegemony and hierarchy, the issue of domination of women in the traditional patriarchal society is depicted in a realistic manner. This is especially the karkha of Gorkha's reputed army officer Buddhibal Rana who had fought against Bhot (one province of China) and killed in the battle field in B.S. 1811. But the sati custom followed by his wife is also as equally important part of analysis as that of Buddhibal Rana's story of bravery. So, in this Karkha, both the issues of reproduction of hegemony constructed by the upper class and the victimization of women in the male dominated society are the two major aspects of research.

This karkha, like other karkhas, contains the myths of upper class people who have hegemonized the lower class people by showing them as the powerful and chosen, people God. And, Gandharvas take those myths for granted and give life to them by singing

frequently on the public places and handing over to their generation. In this Karkha, Gandharvas sing about the bravery of Buddhibal Rana who had fought against Bhot and killed there. They also regard him as the beloved of God Gorakhnath who had given him the blessing. This myth is constructed by the upperclass to show themselves as superior and powerful. And it has been entered to their commonsense since long and they simply reproduce it. The following extract clarifies this idea.

Chalyo fauj asadal Shree Kautanka sath

Jas diya Shree Gorakhnath

In this extract, Guddhibal Rana is presented as a chosen and beloved of God Gorakhnath who has got the blessing from him and goes to fight against Bhot with his battalion. This shows that the upper class always tries to suppress the voice and consciousness of lowerclass by exploiting religion as a means. They want to create a kind of ideological control over the subaltern class which is ". . . achieved through such important socializing agencies as the family, church, law, media, schools and even trade unions" (Slattery 122).

Furthermore, in this Karkha, Gandharvas are reciting the names of other army personnel who had fought bravely in the battle. Interestingly, all these people are from upper social strata. People like Nawal Singh Thapa, Tilakbikram Thapa, Karbire Karki, Sarwajit Rana, Haribire Adhikari, Dilli Singh, etc. are from the upper class than the Gandharvas. It is said, in the song that they all fought bravely against the enemy. But the question is: Weren't there other soldiers from lower class who fought against Bhot? But why don't they recite their names? It's all because of the power of hegemony constructed by the upper class and caste. This is their explicit consciousness which they inherited from the past uncritically. Though the subalterns play the pivotal role in every aspects of national life, they are simply excluded from the history, for history is written by the upper class people. The selfsame situation is can be found in this song. In the history written by the upper class, the names of subalterns are

not included; only the names of upper class people are written. And Gandharvas, instead of searching the roles and names of subalterns, take that history normally and uncritically.

Moreover, domination of women in a male dominated is another dominant issue of this Karkha. After Buddibal Rana's death, his wife follows the sati custom which was the tradition of the then society. The women were forced to do so by the males of the society. They describe the scene of 'widow sacrifice' (sati custom) in a very melancholic manner as if they are really dissatisfied with this tradition. It is described in the lines:

Maharajbata Sdhona lageye

Aba ghar kautanni lai jana deu sati

The king ordered the wife of captain to follow the sati custom in these lines. It is clear that a woman is forced to obey the rules of society constructed by the mechanism of patriarchy. Women are denied to have any freedom choice, voice thereby no identity and subjectivity.

Spivak, talking about the sati custom blames to males who have denied their subjectivity and reduced them into the object of male's desire. She locates women in the status of subaltern who don't have any access to power and authority in the male dominated society. The hegemonic males have blocked their voice and offered them biasly constructed voice and rituals.

ii) Gandharva's 'Voice' and Subversion of Hegemony

Gandharva song is also the composite of the issues of resistance and subversion of hegemony. Though the reproduction of hegemony is one aspect, the resistance against elite domination and ideology is another more essential and more dominant aspect of their songs. They can never keep themselves under the shadow of hegemony which has 'silenced' their voice. Rather they are speaking their own voices and experiences that were previously marginalized by elite domination and doctrine. The complete hegemony is never possible because there always remains a tendency to revolt against it. In this regard, Martin Slattery,

clarifying Gramscian idea about the temporariness of hegemony expresses, "hegemony can never be complete that struggles for ideological control will always exist among ruling class as well as among the proletariat. The total indoctrination is never possible, even in a totalitarian state" (Slattery 122). So, they are always in opposition to elite domination and marginalization.

Subaltern Gandharvas are not 'muted' and they don't need to be represented by the ideological standards of dominant group. But, Spivek thinks that subaltern cannot speak and they should be represented by the intellectuals. According to her, they don't have any consciousness and agency. They cannot resist and appear independently without the thought of elite. But, here in case of Gandharva song, her opinion is relevant only to the extent that their voice is not heard properly and seriously in mainstream discourses. She is completely wrong because Gandharvas, the subalterns, are not 'voiceless'. They are expressing their own real life experiences that are marked by domination, marginalization, victimization and hardships through their songs. They compose songs in which the subject matter is mostly about their agony and the painful family life. Besides, they are also revolting against the unjust and biased social systems. They are expressing their extreme hatred and anger against the mechanisms of society constructed by the upper class elites and rulers. Talking about their own situation is a kind of revolt which shows the injustices and jaundiced vision of society upon them. Moreover, they can also represent themselves. To represent themselves, they don't need to have any access to the public means of communication like radio, television, newspaper etc. By nature, they are the people who visit the houses of people and sing their own story. They are the famous troubadours of Nepali society. So, their performativity generates a kind of power to represent them through their own standards. Moreover, we also find consciousness in their song, though in nascent form. Sometimes, they raise highly serious political and social issues which expose their level of consciousness.

When they sing to the people to awake, unite and revolt against the discriminations of society, their implicit consciousness becomes clearly visible. This consciousness, however, appears in fragments and flashes when they unite.

Their agency can be analysed from two perspectives. First they are used by the upper class to express and justify their social position to the public thinking that their songs can produce some kind of effect upon people. Second, within that hegemonic situation, their power of performativity allows them to resist and bring change in local level. Both these cases gives us the clue that they, to some extent, posses agency. Their songs about public awareness and social participation explore that they have agency which brings change in society on the local level to some extent. However, since they have not achieved and 'permanent victory' over hegemony, their agency lies under the shadow. For example, Mani Ram Gaire's contribution for unification of Nepal during the regime of Prithivi Narayan Shah was highly praiseworthy. The king employed the former as a singer who brings change in the mind of warriors and makes them courageous. So, Gandharva songs bring psychological as well as physical change in people and society.

Mainly, their texts, documents and their voices are their songs through which they are protesting against elite domination. Through their songs, we can understand their 'aspirations about the world' and their experience in history. But many historians interested to study about peasants or subaltern classes think that these social groups do not leave behind their own documents. So, Dipesh Chakraverty remarks that those historians "have often turned for help to resources of other disciplines: anthropology, demography, sociology, archaeology human geography etc." (A Small History of Subaltern Studies 15). But, here, in the case of Gandharvas they have their song through which their aspirations and experiences of the world can be noticed. These peasants, though illiterate are not muted and inarticulate. Their song is their voice and means of representation. In this regard, Chakraverty quotes Eugen

Weper that “the illiterate are not in fact inarticulate; they can and do express themselves in several ways. Sociologists, ethnologists, geographers, and recently demographic historians have shown us a new and different means of interpreting evidence” (15).

Gandharvalai Kar Nishulka (No Taxation for Gandharva)

This song is a perfect example of Gandharvas speaking, resistance and consciousness, obtained from their own experiences of the world. This song represents the sorrow, misery, discrimination, anger, hunger, pain and poverty of every Gandharvas. In this song, they are speaking about their own difficult life which is the result of society's unjust and biased mechanisms. It also shows that they are never the subject to ruling class. They can emancipated and represent themselves by achieving victory over ruling class and its hegemony.

This song paints a real and grim picture of subaltern Gandharva life, the life which lacks property and food but the imposed taxation. In this song, a Gandharva who is suffering from the problems of hand to mouth but has to pay the tax speaks the common problems of all the Gandharvas. He sings the real problems of being subalternized in the society. He does not have any land from which he can grow grain and sustain his family life. He visits the doors of people to sing the song with 'hollow belly like sarangi' and gets only little rice which is also not good for health. When he gets tired, he returns to his house but his wife scolds him for not carrying enough food. He has his duty to feed his children but without any source of income. Therefore, by expressing his real situation, he is speaking to king to dismiss the system of taxation for Gandharvas. As a result, the taxation for Gandharvas is removed. So, here, in this song, the Gandharvas are speaking about situation which subverts the earlier idea that they as subaltern cannot speak.

Besides speaking, he is also expressing extreme enmity against the division of occupation system on the basis of caste but not division of caste on the basis of occupation.

He expresses the idea that the division of occupation on the basis of caste has marginalized Gandharvas because they are assigned to limit themselves only on singing which can not solve their problem of hand to mouth. The following extract clarifies this idea:

Kheti garni bahun parabhu darbar basne sipahi

Bista kamai khani, Sarki, Damai

Sunchutne sunar parabhu phalam chutne kami

Sarangi jastai khokro pet liyee hidne matrai hami

This extract picturizes the system of division of occupation according to the caste of people. Brhman has the occupation of farming whereas a soldier serves in the palace. Damai, Sarki etc. also gets livelihood from their occupation Sunar has the profession about gold and kami earns his livelihood from his profession about iron. All these people, according to the Gandharva singer, can sustain their life from their respected profession but he can not earn anything from his occupation of singing. So, they have to walk with hollow belly like sarangi to sing on the houses of people. This division shows biased distribution of occupation to people. This division is also made by the upper class people who are holding the systems of society. He is not accepting the system of division of occupation built by the dominant group uncritically. Rather, he speaks against the faults of this division. Therefore, by expressing the rage against this division, the Gandharva singer is subverting the hegemonic structures of the society.

In the above mentioned extract, the level of the subaltern Gandharva consciousness is also clearly visible. The word 'hami' (we) implies that this singer is representative of all Gandharvas who is expressing their common problems. Here he is trying to unite the Gandharvas by using the word 'hami'. His implicit consciousness is functioning throughout his activities and binding him with other Gandharvas. He realizes that all Gandharvas should not be deprived job, land, property and food and they should raise their voice against this

discrimination. He makes a condition, that, if all the Gandharvas are deprived of land and property, they should be free from imposed for taxation. So they are directly talking to the concerned authority; the king, for no taxation for Gandharvas. It is further clarified in the lines:

Diusbhar dulchu parabhu goda dukhchan mera

Baya dinchin bistinile chaudhawata geda

Gharma jau bhane gharaki budhi

Gainenile ankha lauche teda

Maharaj rasaut maph garai paman

This extract points a very terrible picture of a Gandharva. He walks whole day to sing and get some food which could solve the problem of one day's dinner. But he gets only few (chaudha geda biya- 14 seeds of rice) that can not solve his problem. Instead, he is scolded by his wife for not carrying enough rice. He gets tired by hunger. But apart from these problems, the more difficult problems always cling to him, that is, taxation. So, he gets furious and raises his voice against taxation. Since they are deprived from other profession from which they can earn their livelihood, they have decided not to pay any tax. For that, they speak to the king, who has made the law of taxation for Gandharvas, to dismiss the system taxation for them.

Along with the notion of speaking, resistance and subversion of hegemony and development of consciousness, the notion of agency is also an essential aspect of this song. Are they heard? Do they have any agency? Does any change occur? These are some of the questions associated with this song. While analyzing this song, we can find the answers of these entire questions. Instead of obeying the system or the orders, they went against it. After speaking against taxation, they became free from it. The abolishment of taxation is primarily the result of their voice. So, they brought change in the system. That's why, they have agency which can bring change in the system. In fact, they are heard here.

Sukumbasiko Pir Byatha Doshro (Miseries of Squatters-Second)

To know how Gandharvas are subverting the hegemonic structures constructed by the dominant groups, this song must be studied in contrast to Karkhas; especially the "*Shah Bansh ko Karkha*". In this song, they are breaking the hegemony which they had accepted previously as naturally and normally. In Karkhas, they praise the rulers and elites thinking that they are really great and gifted people. In those songs, they also express that they have got everything from the rulers which is needed to live the easy life. But, in other songs like the present song, they are stating that they are deprived of even basic needs and exploited by upperclass. This song is especially the 'voice' of

The so-called idea that the subalterns cannot speak and doesnot have their own consciousness has been broken in this song also. Elleke Boehmer explaining Spivak's idea of subaltern's speech and consciousness states, "Subaltern consciousness is a product of elite discourse, not a concrete entity in the world; it is a construction of socially authorized language, not a self or subject that can will itself to speak" (354). But quite opposite to this statement, the subaltern Gandharvas are showing their consciousness not 'as a product of elite discourse' but as the outcome of their own experience and understanding of the world. In this song, the Gandharvas are voicing their own opinion against king Mahendra's activities of providing land for the landless people in the jungles of Chitwan.

In this song, Gandharvas are revealing their dissatisfaction against the settlement program organized by King Mahendra. They are satirizing Mahendra's activities. They are saying that the land provided by Mahendra to the poor people is not a good land for settlement. It is just a jungle where there is always the fear of flood and wild animals. It is also not good for farming. In the following lines this idea is clearly manifested.

Dhan kutera chamalu daling

Gamle jhare chitwan ko jhadima.

[. . .]

Koima laune sagpata koima laune alu

Sukumbasi basne thauma auchan bagh-bhalu

This extract exposes the problems of settlement in the new place. King Mahendra provides the land for poor in the jungle of Chitwan where there is the fear of wild animals. So, these people are showing this dissatisfaction against this task of Mahendra. It is, they think, the biased distribution of land. Aren't there other places where they can settle easily? They are questioning indirectly. These lines reveal that they are directly talking to Mahendra which means that subalterns can speak.

Furthermore, there is another example of speaking own voice in the song. The following extract will justify their voice:

Hera sarkar basana bhayena

Layaun kheti kehi pani rahena

In this extract they are directly addressing to king Mahendra. They are expressing their sorrow in these lines. They are saying that they work hard to grow some grains but in vain. Sometimes it is destroyed by wild animals and sometimes by bad weather. So, they can't live on such places which were provided by King Mahendra.

Besides, there are some ironical stances in the song also. On the one hand, they are glorifying king Mahendra but on the other hand they are expressing disagreement on Mahendra's activities.

Contrarily to the present song, in '*Shah Bansha ko Karkha*', Gandharvas are praising Mahendra as a virtuous and tender king who have provided everything for Gandharvas. They say that he has provided house, land, shelter, food, clothes, education, electricity etc. to them. They are praising him as if he is the God and by his blessing there are not any problems for them. But in this song, they are expressing that they are not getting anything from him. Their

song exposes that there is biased distribution of land. So, they have become the victims of king Mahendra's unjust system. In this way, they are subverting the hegemony which they have accepted in their earlier period. In fact, it is their protest, and "at the beginning of every peasant uprising" Dipesh Chakravarty announces, "there was inevitably a struggle on the part of rebels to destroy all symbols of the social prestige and power of the ruling classes" (A small history of subaltern studies 10). On these reasons, they are undermining hegemony.

Prachar Prasarma Gandharva (Gandharva in Public Awareness)

The facts that Gandharvas can speak, they have political consciousness, and their voice can be heard are proved by this song. They have been undermining the hegemonic structures by taking part in election as well as public awareness activities. In this song of public awareness for the election of 2015 B.S., we find their extreme joy because it is first democratic election of Nepal and they are free to choose their own representatives.

In hegemony, the lower class people associate their good with the good of upper class people. The people of upper less think that the lower class people don't have any agency and consciousness because they can't bring any change in society. But here, in the case of this song, they are breaking such hegemonic structure by talking about their own good which does not have any relation upper class. This election is precious for them because it is the result of their voice for freedom. So, it shows that they have some sort of consciousness.

These lines will justify their level of consciousness:

Swatantratako narale aja lyayo hera nirwachan lahara

Dui hajar pandhra sal phagun pandra gate

Dashami budhabarka dina

Hamro deshma aam chunaw huna lagayo kina.

This extract classifies that this election is the result of their own call for freedom. The lower class people had not been getting any freedom before this. In Nepal after the fall of Rana Regime, democracy is established on B.S.2007. But the people were not getting any equality, liberty and opportunity. The political scenario was also not good. Though democracy is established, it provided freedom for the few elites. So, the lower class people protest against it and the result of which is the democratic election of 2015 B.S.

It is generally thought that the hegemonied people do not show any interest on the changing social, political, cultural and economic activities. Though they are not dominated

physically, they are ideologically under the control of upperclass and accept the existing social order as normal. So, the “domination of upperclass” thinks Thomas Mauther “depends not so much on the repressive machinery of the state, but on the fact that a prevailing mode of thought shields the existing social order, by persuasively defining for the whole of society what is to be regarded as normal and natural” (*Dictionary of Philosophy* 172). But, in reference to this song, the prevailing mode of thought has not been controlling the Gandharva mentality because they are showing their interest in the existing as well as the changing, political order. They are time and again, saying that this election of 2015 B.S. is basically the result of their call for freedom. Not only that, they think that it will further provide liberating alternatives for them. Besides, they are also showing their knowledge on election procedures. They know that who are eligible to take part in election, how people must form the lines and vote. In this way, what becomes clear is that Gandharvas are equally conscious about the socio-political system as are upper class people.

They are regarding voting paper as the piece of their heart because it is the outcome of their struggle. Though they are spreading the news of elections and its procedures by working as a public means of expression, they are not getting my thing in return as a reward. However, they are singing the song of election, thinking that it is their duty to make people aware. In the line:

Geet matrai gauna lamchan dini kehi chaina

Prachar garchu bachunjel, lanu kehi chaina.

It is the great pleasure for them to sing the song of election. It is said in the lines that they are requested to sing the song of public awareness but are not given anything as reward.

However, they will sing the song of election as long as they live thinking that reward for their song is not as worthy as the election for them. They take it as their sacred duty.

Gaule Daju Gaule Bhai (Younger and Elder Brothers of My Village)

This song paints a grim picture of Subaltern Gandharva life full of domination, poverty and discrimination. In this song, the terrible plight of Gandharva is expressed in a very gloomy tone. By expressing the real experiences of being poor, hungry and neglected and dominated by rich landlords and even by king, they are showing their disgrace against the repressive state machinery. From this song it can also be inferred that too much tortures finally evokes rebellious mentality.

This song reveals the gap between rich and poor. Within the broad division of society into elites and subaltern, how the former class suppresses the latter is shown in this song. The people who are under the lines of poverty have to face many problems in the society. They don't have any job, land, food, shelter and money. They do very hard work, irrigate lands with sweat and blood and go to foreign land for the hope of living easy life. But the irony is that the rich people, who are holding the power, snatch their property and they are always compelled to live the life of poverty. What they earn from their hard labour ultimately goes to the pocket of elites. The elites live the life of prosperity upon the labour of poor. Instead, the rich people make them work without any wages. So, the lower class people are not being able to make any change in their own economic status because of the direct intrusion of elites. It becomes clear in lines given below:

Gaule daju gaule bhai ke dukha paiye ni

Sukha lagi gardachu kama jhan dukha paiyo ni

Jhan dukha paiyo ni . . .

Himdai bhari paradesh gaye dhakara bokera

Gharama sahule bejjattai garchan dui hata thokera

Daju hisapai garea

These lines expose very difficult life of Gandharvas resulted from the exploitation of upper class that is habituated to enjoy upon the labour of them. The lower class people always work hard to be prosperous and make life easy but the rich people seize their assets. They leave the country to get some work and earn money but the rich elites take money from them. Instead, they taunt at the poor people for their poverty.

In the context of Nepalese society, from the historical period, elites have been dominating the lower class people by various means. Kamaiya Pratha, haliya Pratha, false paper of debt and high charge of interest are some of the ways adopted by rich people to dominate the poor. The debt taken from grandfather will never be complete and his son and grandson have to pay that debt even by being slave or the ploughman. However, they earn a little from other side work, but that is also captured by the elites. Such situation is clearly depicted in following extract.

Sayako jetha (property) pachasama layo, lagecha sahule 2

Aghika mera purana bhanda khaidiyo sahule

Daju khaidiyo sahule

The poor people earn a little from their hard work which is every thing for them. They have to manage everything for daily life from that little earning. Moreover, they have to pay the debt from to their masters from that, too. The rich people snatch the property of poor people even by devaluing it. They take every thing from poor people for fulfilment debt. So, they do not hesitate to snatch even the old pots.

This song exposes the real gap between rich and poor through which it becomes easy to analyse the nature of country's indifference towards poor people. This song reveals country's economic as well social policies have neglected the concerns of lower class people and emphasize only on the needs and satisfactions of upper class. It becomes obvious from the following lines:

Sukhile khancha marsika chamal tin palta phalera

Gariplai chaina kodako dana tatama dalera

Jatama dalera

[. . .]

Sukhile lauchan bammai (Bombay) ka sari misin ma buneko

Gariplai chaina cha hate phita nau thauma taleko

Daju nau thamma taleko

These extracts depict the real picture of Nepalese society where there is vast gap between rich and poor. The rich people enjoy delicious food and expensive as well as luxurious clothes whereas poor people have to sustain their livelihood on the cheap food and old rended clothes.

Along with speaking against the existing social order and elite discourse, the level of implicit consciousness is manifested in 'flashes' in this song. Spivak think that subaltern consciousness is nothing but the ideology constructed by the upper class. But, in this song, the singer expresses his sorrow before those people who are also the victim of the same social order and trying to unite them against the tyranny of upper class. He is playing the role of an intellectual to unite people. Gramsci views that the subalterns should become a "state", that is unite and only then they can negate the hegemony and the exploitation of the upper class. In this song, the singer begins his song by the words, "Gaule dai, gaule bhai". This indicates that he is trying bring solidarity between them and rebel against the domination. What is lacking is only thee organized social movement against the tyranny and injustices. However they have become able to bring change in the minds of people in the local level to some extent.

Sukumbasika Pirbyatha Pahilo (Miseries of Squatters-First)

This song is the real voice of Gandharvas who are the victims of powerful elites and are deprived of land and home. In this song, Gandharva's the notion of resistance and the

consciousness obtained from the real conception of the world can be seen. This song is the direct revolt of Gandharvas against exploitation of upper class and the unjust social systems constructed by the powerful bourgeois.

In this song, Gandharvas are expressing their miseries and agonies in a rebellious tone. The problem of being homeless, landless, marginalized and discriminated is expressed in this song. It is the story those people who are poor and exploited by upper class. This song reveals the plight of poor people who are always being unable to change their social as well as economic status. It expresses that the poor people work hard to uplift their economic status but fail to achieve success. The elites of the society always seize their property. They work day and night and earn a little but ultimately go to the hands of rich people. It is their plight to live always as the paper. They don't have money. So, they have to beg with rich people who take unnecessary interest from them. They don't have clothes to wear. So, children have to face great problem from cold as well as hot weather. The song also exposes the hate of Gandharvas towards rich people. In the line "Agipani nisipma hareko, ahile pani dhanile mareko" they are accusing the rich people for the present situation of being poor. The same hatred is also found in the line: "paisa bhaye sabaile manchan, garipko mutu samai tanchan". In this line, they are exposing the fact that a rich man is praised by everyone but a pauper is neglected and exploited. They also can not celebrate the festivals because of poverty.

Moreover, their anger is strongly expressed in this song. The following lines show their rebellious mentality and call for unity:

Gariplai ke dashai tihara, samjhi lyauda dharkanacha liyara

Jahile pani sarkharle jagga dinchu bhani

Sukumbasi nam lekhi jagga pauchan dhani

Janne sunne dhanile nai jagga payeka chan

Sarwahara sukumbasi dukha payka chan

Jam bhani kaha jam janata, najam bhani sodhaiko tamasa

It is the fact the rich people are gaining benefits in the name of poor. The government announces its policy to distribute land for the landless people but the authentic poor people don't get the land. Instead, the clever and cunning rich people get that land in the name of poor. But the uneducated and honest landless people are always deprived of that land. Besides, there is not any place where their voice is heard.

So, they are requesting these poor who are the victims of same practice to raise their voice against it. The word "janata" (people) refers the unity of people who have the common problem. Thinking that the collective voice will be heard, they are uniting people to break this tradition and bring equality in nation. It is the solidarity of oppressed and subalternized people where their implicit consciousness is manifested. This consciousness is preparing subalterns to revolt against injustices.

To sum up, analyzing the song from the perspectives of reproduction and subversion of hegemony, it can be proved that gandgharvas have been subverting the elite discourses frequently by developing their own consciousness, and spirit of resistance as a counter hegemonic discourse. Accepting hegemonic exploitation as a survival strategy, they have been developing their own subculture which is enabling them to understand the forms and natures of exploitation and preparing them to the impending revolution.

Chapter-IV

Conclusion

Gandharva songs though reproduce the hegemonic structure created by the upper class, subvert those structures while representing the real subaltern life marked by exploitation, discrimination, suppression and poverty. Their songs are the clear manifestations of their political as well as revolutionary consciousness, and resistance. Their songs expose that Gandharvas as subalterns can “speak”, they have their own voice which the mainstream upper class always tries to suppress.

Gandharvas are compelled to live the life of subaltern because of the prejudiced and repressive mechanisms constructed by the dominant higher class of the society. The mainstream upper class always tries to suppress their “voice.” However, they speak through their songs. Basically, their songs are their voice which reflects their pain and suffering imposed by the elites. Their songs reveal that they are deprived of house, land, food, well earning occupation and the prestigious position in society. This situation has risen up their rebellious mentality and the realization of distinction between norms to be followed by elites and paupers and creates a consciousness which leads them to establish their own ideology as a counter hegemonic stance. This consciousness encourages them to violate the norms of elites. So, by challenging and disobeying the authoritative norms and values, they have been subverting the hegemonic domination and representing themselves without the help of elites. Hence, they are speaking through their songs against the social and economic domination by developing their own consciousness, spirit of resistance and agency which are inherent features of their songs.

Their songs manifest that they have clear political consciousness of their own activities. This consciousness or commonsense is their life philosophy which they have obtained from the real life experience that is filled with exploitation, marginalization and

victimization. This consciousness binds them in solidarity for the practical transformation of repressive social system and helps to establish common system which is equally applicable to everybody. So, this consciousness enables them to create their own voice, own understanding of the world and own vision. However, they have not achieved the final and permanent victory over repressive social mechanisms. Yet, they have not forgotten their class consciousness. So, they are on the process of changing biased norms of society. Through this consciousness they also have been representing themselves which indicates that complete hegemony is never possible.

The notion of resistance is another inherent feature of Gandharva songs. They have been lambasting elites for the present downtrodden condition and advocating for the establishment of equality, justice and liberty. These songs also warn them the impending revolution. Through these songs they have become able to represent themselves according to the ideological standards of their own 'without the thought of elite' which indicates subversion of hitherto system of representation based on the standards of master and slave. The effects of these songs also reveal us that they are the real agent of change because through these they have become able to bring change in the existing social systems to some extent though not on national level, but on local level. Not only that their songs of public awareness are also bringing change in the minds of people and making them conscious to take part in public affairs.

Thus, Gandharva songs subvert the hegemonic structures constructed by the the mainstream upper class by expressing their real subaltern life. By developing their own consciousness as a counter hegemonic position and resistance, they have been speaking their own voice, which, generally thought, is not possible.

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Appendix

1) *Peachar Prsarma Gandharva*

Swatantrako narale aaja hera lyayo nirwachan lahar
Diu hajar pandhra sal fagun pandhra gate
Dashami ka din
Hamro deshma aam chunab huna lagyo kina

Mathi mathi hawajahaj udaune, prithvima bhot chunab garaune
Ghar ghar aai hamro nam lekhe thar
Kati barsha lekheka chan samjhaudai ni gara
Ekkais barsha mathikale bhot dina pauncha
Nalajau bal bachha, Kichne ko dar huncha
Mathi mathi hawajahaj udauni, prithvima bhot chunab garamni
Swatantrakonarale aaja lyayo hera nirwachan lahar.....

Aaimai logne manisko bhindai laain huncha
Swarkariya pulisharu palo basne huncha
Duwai tira lain lageko bela
Ubhieko manislai hatma tiket dela
Dekhauni tiketlai hatma leu
Manle khako bakasma chattai halideu

Swatantrako narale aaja lyayo hera nirwachan lahar
Biskun kurne budi aama, hida lau daili thoki
Sathi barsha pugeka budapaka hida lauro teki
Dekhauni tiketlai hatai hatma leu
Manko khako bakasma chattai halideu

Swatantrako narale aaja lyayo hera nirchawan lahar
Jetho choro gharko dai ni mailo choro lahure
Pandhra salko bhot chunable petai bhayo chaure
Git matrai gauna lamcha dini kehi haina
Prachar garchu bachunje, lanu kehi chhaina
Mathi mathi hawajahaj udauni, prithvima bhot chunab garamni
Swatantrko narale aaja lyayo hera nirchwachan lahar.....

2) *Gandharvalai Kar Nishulka*

Kheti garni Bahun parbhu darbar basne sipahi
Bista kamai khani, Sarki, Damai
Sunchutne Sunar parbhu phalam chutne Kami
Sarangi jastai khokro pet liyee hidne matrai hami
Parbhu rasaut maph gari paman

Khetiko namama parbhu khursani ropni tham chhaina
Bhitra khopra mukha mattai rachaun hami Gaine
Maharaj rasaut maph garai paman

Diuns bhari dulchu parbhu goda dukhchan mera
Baya dinchin Bistinile chaudha wata geda
Gharma jau bhane gharki budhi
Gaininile aakha lauche teda
Bhokle garda laudainan mera yi goda
Maharaj rasaut maph garai paman

Kheti chhaina jagir chhaina birta chhaina sarkhar
Hami kata gaye hamra lala bala bhokle marlan
Kaso gari palne parbhu tyasile po chapo
Hukum bhayo maharajbata rasid upar maph bho

Timra santan darsantanlai Nepal bhari jana
Kar tirne chhainan yinnle bhanne bhayo urdi mana
Hukum bhayo maharaja Juddha Shamsar ni ho.....

3) *Gaule Dai Gaule Bhai*²

Gaule daju gaule bhai ke dukha payeni
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jhan dukha payeni
Jhan dukha payeni
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jahan dukha payeni
Jhan dukha payeni

Himdai ra bhari pardesh gaye dhakara bokera 2
Gharama sahule beijattai garchan dui hata thokera
Daju hisapai garera

Gaule daju gaule bhai ke dukha payeni
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jhan dukha payeni
Jhan dukha payeni
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jahan dukha payeni
Jhan dukha payeni

Sukhile khanchan marsika chamal tinpalta phalera 2
Gariplai chaina kodako dana jatama dalera
Jatama dalera

Gaule daju gaule bhai ke dukha payeni
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jhan dukha payeni
Jhan dukha payeni
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jahan dukha payeni
Jhan dukha payeni

Khiyeko paniyo chuhine tapke tasala buchhai cha 2
Gharama mero baisesa jana patama (leaf) khanu cha
Daju syaulako chanu cha

² Collected by the present researcher in Lekhanath. The singer is Kalu gandharva.

Gaule daju gaule bhai ke dukha payeni
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jhan dukha payeni
Jhan dukha payeni
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jahan dukha payeni
Jhan dukha payeni

Sukhile bandhchaa pardani dhoti hatama kalama 2
Gariplai chaina khangale bhoto sadhaiko halama
Daju sadhaiko halama

Gaule daju gaule bhai ke dukha payeni
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jhan dukha payeni
Jhan dukha payeni
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jahan dukha payeni
Jhan dukha payeni

Sukhile lauchan bammai (Bombay) ka sari misin ma buneko 2
Gariplai chaina cha hate phita nau thaunma taleko
Daju nau thamma taleko

Gaule daju gaule bhai ke dukha payeni
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jhan dukha payeni
Jhan dukha payeni
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jahan dukha payeni
Jhan dukha payeni

Sayako jetha (property) pachasama layo, lagecha sahule 2
Aghika mera purana bhanda khaidiyo sahule
Daju khaidiyo sahule

Gaule daju gaule bhai ke dukha payeni
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jhan dukha payeni
Jhan dukha payeni.
Sukhako lagi gardachu kama jahan dukha payeni maile
Jhan dukha payeni.

4) *Sukumbasiko Pir Byatha Pahilo*

Garipko dukhi katha kehi lekhi sadhya chaina
Gariplai dukha garyo dhanika ra chaina
Kamayeko jati dhanikarle layo
Pathi samai gariplai rudai basna paryo
Agipani nisipama hareko, ahile pai dhanile mareko

Paisa magna jada pani theki bheti moho
Chahiyo januparch bhitra paracha waha
Najanuta bhanedekhi kamala khacho paryo

Gariplai bhitra marma kati pir paryo
Paisa bhaue sabaile manchan, garipako mutu samai tanchan

Nango bhayo pithyun dadyo, lamna napai napai
Peta bhayo khopiya jhai khana napai napai
Jado huda ketaketi kamchan thurthuru
Yo ridaya e hari runcha dhurudhuru

Gariplai ke dashain tihara, samjhi lyauda dharkanacha hiyara
Jahile pani sarkharle jagga dinchu bhani
Sukumbasi nam lekhi jagga pauni dhani
Janne sunne dhanile jagga payeka chan
Sarwahara sukumbasi dukha payeka chan
Jam bhani kaha jam hai janata, najam bhani sadhaiko tamasa

Thata chaina, bas chaina banaka chara jasta
Nyauli chari sadhai runchin dukha parda kasta
Chula bhitra jalna laye makura ko jalo
Kahile pani amni bhayena garip ko palo
Bijoli chamkanch sahara, herda herdai banayo bagara

Kalo dhaddi fadi joti thikkai parem chasi
Khamla bhani lako bali sabai layo pasi
Jane tham kahi chaina bhayem banabasi
Ballatalla rakheko biu pani, khola pasi satte nas jiu pani
Bata muni patero riupani, dhanna dhannai lagena jiu pani

5) Sukumbasiko Pir Byatha Doshro

Awak

Hamra raja Mahendra udaye
Sora hajar Chitwan fulaye

Faki

Hamra raja ta paitalis ka thiya
Sora hajar Chitwan ta sabai khuai diya
Sara deshko charai rajya shree panch le cheke
Janasankhya dekhi sarai aapat dekhe
Jado huncha ketaketi kamchan thuruthuru
Gharko jahan budhapaka runchan dhurudhuru

Awak

Dhan kutera chamalu dalima
Gamle jhare Chitwan ko jhadima

Faki

Kaile janchan Rapatima kaile Bharatpurma
Dui char biga paye banauthe ni ghaa

Awak

Tato cha riu ko pani Madi ma basera ke khani
Ma ta pare Rapati Madima aur pare kharkatta Tadima

Faki

Koima laune sagapata koima laune aalu
Sukumbasi thauma aauchan bagha bhalu

Awak

Hera sarkar basana bhayena
Layaun kheti kehi pani rahena

Faki

Annadhunna Madhesma gari basne kuhiro
Jagga payem bhanikana manche gaye dhuiro
Chitwan ko dalbhat mitho bhai ho
Chait Baishakh jagda kheri tauko bhayo khuilo

Awak

Thute cholo tharuni pairana
Jangal khanda pariyo hairana

Faki

Hamro ghar ta Harinagar ghangar chauki dham
Aaja hamra raja Mahendra le chalaune chau nam

Awak

Hamra raja Mahendra udaye
Sora hajar chitwan fulaye.

6) **Shah Banshako Karkha**

Deva bhakti siri panch Prithvi Narayan Shah
Duniyalai darshan diya manukhe cholama

Jasma jiju Shahka bansha Bali Bahu,
Narahari, Drabya Shah, Ishwar, Chatrapati,
Ram Shah, Puran Sha, Dambar Shah, Rudra Shah,
Chatrapati Shah, Rajendra Shah, Surendra Bikram Shah,
Trilok Bikram Shah, Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah,
Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah, Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah,
Birendra Bir Bikram Shah, Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah,
Dipendra Bir Bikram Shah kali jugma janmeu Narayan
Deva bhakti siri panch Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah
Duniyalai darshan diya Manukhe cholama

Punya bhumi prithvi ma Mahendra hun raja
Andhakar hataidini Tribhuvan Raja
Atma gyan tyagidiye raja Tribhuvan
Mukhye jaro prajatantra parne chaina runa

Sat salma Tribhuvan le amrit bristi lyaye
Bubajyule lyayeko chij Mahendrale khaye
Suddhu buddhu janatalai siksha dini kam cha
Solai ana prithvima siri panchko nam cha
Jhutto haina hajur dadai mathi gham cha
Sat salm ropeko biruwa prajatantra phool phulyo bharkhar

Dev bhakti siri panch Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah
Duniyalai darshan diya manukhe cholama ni...ho

Ram rajya kiswa lila Mahendraka palama
Charai muluk duniyale bikash garna thala
Alu, pyaj, chyapi lasun, kopi, kauli, jau, gau
Dhan ropna thala chaitma ropai pani hala
Chaitama ropeko dhan asarma katera nwai pani khana

Dev bhakti siri panch Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah
Duniyalai darshan diya manukhe cholama...ni...ho

Charai patti bikashko phutisakyo mul
Tham thamma baneko school
Panchayat adda bhawan ta nisaf gare tham
Kachari hunthyo tyaha sadhai gam-gam

Deva bhakti siri panch Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah
Duniyalai darshan diya manukhe cholama

Kiswa Radha jasta prabhu rajarani thiya
Mahendrale sappai ghumaidiya
Aphnai rastra ujelo ta swargaidham jasto
Pratapi yi Mahendra shahle sappai banaidiya
Paura (power house) ghar trishuli Chandra ranga jeli
Charai muluk batti balyo sarai jhilimili
Ramro launio mitho khani sukha sahela
Thiyo hajur Mahendra Shah ka pala
Dash autar phernu bhayo yasai ra cholama

Dev bhakti siri panch Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah
Duniyalai darshan diya manukhe cholama

7) *Shree 3 Chandra Shamsenko Belayat Sawari Hudako Karkha*³

Badi badshah Chandra Shamser pratapi thiya
Siri kiswa bhagamanko janaman paye ni

Jiti janma gorkheswarma chhetri karma pai

³ The explanation of this karkha is provided by Mohan Bahadur Gandharva of Lekhnath which is collected by the present researcher in the Video CD

Jiti janma parmashwarko baradan pai
Gorkhali devi phurman bhaya
Chandra Shamser maharaj ko thant matra dekhda
Budhanilkantha bahut khushi bhaya

Badi badshah Chandra Shamser pratapi thiya
Siri kisna bhagamanko janaman paye ni

Buba Dhir Shamser Jangaka kula prashanta
Mahatari mumako kokhi liyee janma
Dashadhara dudh khai piida bhaya satra bhai
Ram rup siri Kisna udaye
Bhabi ta lekhi diyo dhanrashi karma
Pratapi maharaj Chandra Shamser
Bhai banka mantari Bir Shamser
Khadga Shamser, mittiyar Dev shamser
Bhim Shamser, Rana Shamser
Phatte Shamser, Lalit Shamser
Til Shamser, Krishna Shamser
Purna Shamser, Jabit Shamser, Sher Shmser
Juddha Shamser, Bakhat Shamser, Padam Shamser
Bhim Shamser, satra bhi ma rajako akil (mind)
Buddhi sammalai kaunai rajale sakne chaina
Pratapi maharaja Chandra Shamser

Barshai pichhe bintipatra amthe Belayat bata
Binti patra parna ayo maharajka hata
Pansarkhar maharajlekholeka dastakhat
Jana paryo Belayat sahara
Baunna bhardara basi matlap gara
Arti buddhi dinu bhayo pan sarikhar
Darbarko abhivara gara mukhtiyar
Mukhtiyar Bhim Shamser bhi jangilath
Hal khabar bujhdai rahanu Belayatbata
Maharani surta manchin sadhai dina rata
Gaira paltan Tundikhelma gayi basyo garat rai
Sahasra dhara ansu ni bagyo paltanbata
Pan sarkhar maharajko man bismat
Sait gare maharajle Singhadarbarbata
Jasa diya Pashupatinath.....

Badi badshah Chandra Shamser pratapi thiya
Siri kisna bhagamanko janaman paye ni

Belayat jana lage siri maharaja
Din herna guruji lai hajurma jhikaye
Yaspalta sait ramro hera gurujyu
Maharajbata hokum marji bhaye
Hos bhani hukum marji shirma chadhaye
Himan subbale din herna laye

Yas palta belayatma jas huncha bhani
Maharajka binti gurujuyle thaharaye
Maharajka lal jhanda nishan chalaye
Chausathi salka chait ra mahina
Pachis gatema sau barka (Monday) dinma
Saita gari prasthan bhaye

Badi badshah pratapi thiya
Sakah sukhala danga bajai swamini

Sait gari maharaj le pare subha ghadi
Daine chandramalai bela pari
Dashadhara anshu bagai maharanibata
Jas diya Pashupatinath...
Singhadarbarbata sawari chalai
Bagmati Ganga jal ta achai
Tin Shahar Nepal ka manis Ram herna aaye
Bhadgaun, Patan, Kantipu shahara
Sattau, Balaupur, Thankot, Bhanjyang
Samali, Dhulikhel, Charkot, Panauti Shahar
Tahadekhi ayeka dashai nara nama
Singhadarbar dekhi Thankot Bhanjyang samma
Lam Kase dohorikarikana
Bich bich pulish ka dank rakhidiya
Hukum bhayo maharajako gairha paltanlai
Sapha banau komal peti nala.
Jhikuwa jhikuwa bhani jhiki ra raiphal
Maharjka sath jani sat jarnel (general)
Tin karnel (colonel), dash subidar pachas jana sipahi
Chante, bhanse, baithake, poshake
Maharaja ka chalyo abhisora
Tiket ganyo babule ni bara paltan bhara
Maharajaka ra sakal racha prithvi tharahara
Raksaulwala stationbata chalayeko rela (rail)
Patana, kalkatta(Calcutta), dilli (delhi) bajarako
Chain bain garda raja dakhil bhaye bammai (Bombay) sahara.

Badi badshah Chandra Shamsar pratapi thiya
Siri kisna bhagamanako janaman payeni

Desh deshko tasbir khichi herna lako bela
Nepalbata chutyo bhancha maharajko dal
Siri maharajko ni bhai sawari
Chaudhai bhamannama pugyo hal
Kalkatta dekhi liya angrej (English) bahadurele
Dhuwako cha rel ganti gari Gorkhalilai
Halyo kotha bhar
Ago pani koila pheryo pathharko (stone) ko gola
Relko bhara lagyo paisatthi hajar
Kalimai ko sakati angreji kala

Bammai saahra udai lani rela

Bai badshah Chandra shamser pratapi thiya
Siri kisna bhagamanko manaman pai

Lapsin istan dekhibata chalayeko rel
Lahur Panjabko ra chain wain gardai
Dakhil bhaye bammaika sahara
Aipuge maharaja Chandra Shamser
Khusi bhaye Belayatka lath
Jaldi lyaunu parcha bhani jahaj pathaye
Bammai sahar garikana reali chadi diya
Tin mahinako jahaj chadna bhani gaya
Jahajbhita kalath baja, bijuli bahan parbhu
Indra jasto baithak banaye
Layeka faujalai Bammai bas bhani maharajle laye
Tin mahinaka rahama jahaj chadikana
Maharaja parasthan bhaye
Jo tapu khadkhadai sikhai tapuma rajmukam bhaye
Belayatka badshahle ni hal paye waha
Basni baithak takhat banai
Beayati pal suwarnale chayo
Bhitta kalath charai disha layo
Chandra, chaduwa ra bijuli ra batti
Indra basin baithak banaye
Badi badshah Indra ni baithak banayo

Jahaj chade maharajle Shukrabarka din
Bais din samma bhane jalma thiya
Teis din bichma Sansarbarka (Saturday) din
Kharak, rista pul mukam bhaye
Badshahko hokum bhayo sabai rajalai
Badshah china parcha bhani laye
Belayatle hokum diyo badshah china kana
Sanjhako bela bhayo ma chindina
Bholi chinamla bhanne maharajko hokum
Sunai diya kitabi bachan
Yati bhani maharajko sawari chalaye
Bhat, bhansa garikana sukulma gaye
Gorkhalika devi Pashupatinath
Narayanhiti Narayanle deu bardan

Chaudhaiwata baggi kasi sabhama gaye
Bhari sabhama najar laye
Ekai barne top, ekai barne kot
Ekai barne poshak, ekai barne chadi
Ekai barne phita, ekai barne jutta
Chini saknu nai angrj ko desh
Siri maharajle abla garna laye

Belayatko badshaha ra yahi ho ra bahni
Bahulima pakari Good maning (morning) salam garda
Desha deshaka raja achaman

Badi badshah maharaj Chandra shamser
Dilli tharkyo Kalkatta, Chin tharkyo Belayat

Badshah chini maharajle jaspatra paye
Satra hajarko top rajalai cahadaye
Bisauli sunma hira jadeko
Jahar jadayko mani jadayeko
Bahaduri takma bandeko
Lakhka ra karodka bhani
Belayatko chajj maharajlai chadayo
Maharajka man ma ni harka badhai bhaye
Nepal saharma hal pathaidiye
Baunna addama gamada gamadi padki topko badai
Bannukai ko awaj sindir jatra ghode jatra baggi jatra
Garnu parcha bhni dhiraj bata hokum marji bhayo

Badi badshah Chanra shamser pratapi thiya
Dilli tharkyo Kalkatta, Chin tharkyo Belayat

Badshahko hokum bhayo sabai rajalai
Taro hanna parcha bahani laye
Hosh bhani laye laye hokum marji shirma chadhaye
Titin fayer (fire) role banidiya
Taro handakheri sabaile biraye
Maharajko man ni rang chali aye
Dari karnel lai han bahni laye
Maharajko pratap Pashupatiko shakti
Karnel shahable handa kheri
Pahila chotama udaidiya chandmari

Badi badshah maharaja pratapi thiya
Dilli tharkyo kalkatta, Chin tharkyo lahur

Badshahko hokum bhayo taro handakheri
Karnel sahib gaye aghi sari
Pachis manko top liyo bhari
Hanna ate karnel saheble bado hosh gari
Ankho dik maro manko sur rakhi
Durpanle heri toplai giramda
Pheri pano udaidiya chandmari
Badi badsha Chandra shamser pratapi thiya.....

Chal garcha angrejle anek gari
Tinmro hamro ris rag chaina kehi gari
Timra hamra pahalman ko tamasa herau
Badshahko hokum bhayo pheri

Pahalman ladamnakaman badshahka man
Sat dip ka rajaharu herchan ram
Chattis hajar bahttuwa khuwai rakheko ra thiyo
Pahlaman ladchu bhani niskyo manijan
Saya manko luha uthai jiminma ni rakhda
Desh seshka rajaharu lai paryo tharkaman
Lahur Panjab Kabel Khamdar Japan
Panjabi Royas maha Cina ka
Bada bada khelharulai jitisaki bahnikana
Ladvhu bahnacha Gorkhali sanga

Pahalman ladamnakana badshahka man
Satai dipka raja taha herna auchan Rama
Chattis hajar bahtta khuwai rakheko
Ra thiyo pahalnman
Ladchu bahni niskyo manijan
Pahila hat jodadama ni karnel le pacharda
Afai maharaj le laye dham

Badi badshash pratapi maharaja Chandra shamser
Dilli tharkyo Kalkatta, Chin tharkyo Belayat

Bairiko mulukma aai nun harnu chaina
Bhani ma ladchu maharaj pandey karnel
Binti gari maharajaka hajurka shan
Bais hajar kahanki kahne thiyo pahalman
Afule je mar bhani mura thokikana
Mato dhari jimin lincha ladne jagga herikana
Ladne jori paye bhancha Gorkhali ra samma
Yahi bhusuna ra Gorkhali ko sato rakhne chaina
Bhani pahalman ayeko jawan

Badi badshash pratapi maharaja Chandra shamser
Dilli tharkyo Kalkatta, Chin tharkyo Belayat

Pandhra din samma sahar ghumda kherima
Adha sahar ghumera sakinna
Belayatma maharajko mahina din mukam
Bada patra pathaidiye maharajka hajurma
Bida hunchu na ta Nepal janakana
Tasbir khiche angrejle sapha garikana

Badi badsha pratapi thiya
Belayatka mim haruko ichhe bhayo man

Nepali rajalai dekhna bhanikana
Tasbir rakhyo agrejle saf garikana

Baisko jasto bhanikana durbin tangidiyo
Belayatka mimharuko sawari chalaye
Raja henukana Bishnu autar hau bhani
Salami lagauchan sabaijana

Badi badshah pratapi thiya

Dahine baya karnel sahib bichma maharaj
Pachadi fauj dui jana angrej aye sawari bhejamna
Jaldajaldi garikana satrai dinma Bammai ashaer mukam

Badi badshhsa Chandra shamser pratapi thiya
Bammai sahar maharajako tin dinko mukam

Ichha bhayo maharjko tirtha nuhauna
Kashi, Bishweswor, Jagannath, Badrinarayan
Jal ni khikayekale nirmal bhaye tyasai bela
Rel chade maharajale Shukrabarka dina
Jaldajaldi garikana kalkattama dakhil huna
Kalkattako kalghar herna bhani gaye
Kisim kisimka pakki kam dekhda
Akilliechan manamanai hekka
Eksaya egharaka fiyarka banduk banaye
Rel chade maharajle Shukrabarka din
Jaldajaldi garikana Birgunj ma aye dakhil huna

Badi badshah Chandra shamser pratapi thiya
Dilli tharkyo Kalkatta, Chin tharkyo Belayat

Dilli karnel bhanne Makwanpur ma thiya
Maharjko sawari bhetna bhani aya
Nepalko hal khabar sabai sunaidiya
Khusi baya maharaja Chandra Shamser
Budhabarko khatan gare sawari bhitrauna
Jaldajaldi Sombarka sawari bhitraye
Maulabarka din bagmati nuhai
Pashupati darshan garna gaye

Siri panch sarkharko darshan garna gaye
Belayatko halkhabar sabai sunaidiya
Khusi bahya maharaj hal sunikana
Dhanya pratapi Chandra Shamser

Badi badshash pratapi maharaja Chandra shamser
Dilli tharkyo Kalkatta, Chin tharkyo Belayat

Mahrajko hokum liye siropar launa
Chattis paltan jamma gari Tundikhelma jaun bhani
Unnais fayar topko ra badai launu bhani
Sora saya Brahman rakhi maharajalai tilak chadaye

Satra bhaiko satrahai aunsha muluk bandi khaye
Afna afna tapesma rajai chalaye
Kohi bhailai Thapathali, kohi bhailai Naranhiti
Kohi bhailai Bhadgaun, kohi bhailai deupatan
Kohi bhailai Gokarna, kohi bhailai Dhulikhel
Kohi bhailai Palpa kohi bhailai Pokhara
Hijaidekhi rajai badi khaye
Naya ain naya chain garchu bhani laye
Kamara kamarilai phoideu bhani laye
Baramas juwa khelna bhani laye
Yasta ulka rajalai rakhnu chaina bhani
Dev Shamsar maharaja lai Dhankuta khatai pathaye

8) *Buddhibal Ranako Karkha*

Chalyo fauj asadal kautanka sath
Jasa diya shree Gorakhnath
Uttar khand himalko garyo satani
Mahamantari kautan aye bhanda
Dhewa khambalai paryo khallaballa
Buddhibal Ranale garyo ghamasan
Kartik mahina Sombarka din
Tithi ekadashi atyo ladai huna
Kautanale chal paye baira auchan bhani
Adalatma bigul mare bhoteka lascar
Chalyo fauj.....

Bikat basne sipahi paryo ekai ghan,
Sipahi ayo attalie hamfaldai jhana
Ranapriya letter sun gumba jaun
Bhotele peldai lyayo kaso garne launa?
Chajo laudai thiye Tilak Bikram Thapa
Nawal Singha, Keshare Baniya
Karbire Karki, Sarwjit Rana
Buddhibal badshahkootaram bhanchan nun
Chalyo fauj.....

Nachtai aye Bhotak lascar ti dushman
Dhal phatphataye pheri dhuro badhi aya
Unai pani jana payenan ni phadkikana
Bara bhote kateka gani kana ni
Chalyo fauj.....
Unai bhote kautanale hane basi kana
Tesro sita paryo thulai ghamasna ni
Usai bela chautho le bhalale jhukkyayo
Chausaththi Bhawani ayin biman ma chadhauna ni
Charai paltan gadi ma paryo tyas dina

Hikka hikka pare Budhhibal Rana
Hakahaki pran dine Bhandari kautan
Nwal Singh Thapa Hanabire Adhikari
Budhhibal kautan ladyo jodhani
Chaudharajko muluk uthi bairi aao
Charai paltanle nikai salaka layo
Palak bharama hajar nalaka killa
Tyasai bala michi luti liyo Naran ni

Kuti sar ranasangram nautop luti lagyo
Khar khajana pakri lagyo Bhandari Kautan
Jamagardi bhardara Dil Singh karnel
Til Bikram kaji ka kop chade manaman
Pheri gaye Jita Gadi Dhripi gaudhama kate Bhote jhan
Nisse pare kautan bhanne lyaye samachar
Hajurama chadaye arji binti ni
Chalyo fauj.....

Maharabata sodhana lagaye
Aba ghar kautani lai jan deu sati
Mana chamal birta diya babako khangi bhani
Chela Sura Singh Ranalai diyako kamani
Pharki kautan aulan bhanni thiyo abhiklashi
Annamal dhanamal chodi gayau kautanni
Chalyo fauj

Nakaka bulaki jeri paijeri
Khamli pattiya baipankhi bicchiya
Hirako jhiknu paryo har
Bahulima suhayeka daivasita bhayena bichar
Chutyo khasam siraiko sindur
Kautanaka china dekhda runchan dautari
Dhanya jodha Rana Budhhibal ni