



Can the Epical Hero Speak: Presenting Karna as 'Other'

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Abstract

It is believed that what is not present in the epic Mahabharata does really exist. Even all the Puranas and The Ramayana are summarized in this text. The greatest part of all the Puranas, The Shrimadbhagvata is present there in the Mahabharata. The authorship of the Mahabharata is traditionally attributed to Vyasa who is also one of the major characters in the epic, the son of Satyawati and Parashara. The epic is a legendary narrative of the fates of the Pandava and Kaurava princes and deals with the Kurukshetra war. There are many characters in the epic Mahabharata. Karna is most evocative one among them. One cannot deny his towering personality and his strength. At the same time it helps identifying oneself with the moment of frailty of his tragic life. This is the realistic mix of the shade that makes him such a lifelike and credible character. This is an intriguing story of a hero who is brought up by a charioteer Adhiratha and his wife Radha. Despite being born in a royal family his whole life becomes a great struggle against his cruel destiny. In this process Karna blazes a new glory with tremendous achievements in life both as a great person and also a great warrior.

The more we research on the epic; we come to know about Karna as the unsung hero of the Mahabharata who never gets his due. Most of the people understand the epic as a great story of the Kurukshetra war which resolves around the Pandavas and how they suffer by their cousins Kauravas and how they get protection at every stage of life by Shri Krishna. But actually we ignore one major fact in the epic that the eldest son of Pandava is not Yudhishthir but Karna, who never gets his due. How tragic and unfortunate it is that Karna has to collaborate with the so called enemies of his own brother and how he bears this burden and still behaves as the exemplary hero, who is committed to fulfill the pledged duty. He perhaps will always be remembered more as a faithful friend of Duryodhana than the eldest son of Rajmata Kunti. The tragedy of Karna starts with the misfortune of his secret birth and ends with the insult and injustice. At every stage of his life he has to endure tremendous hardship yet he never deter from the path of justice. He never gets any credit for his sacrifice and nobility, particularly when he is surrounded with Duryodhana and his company. Born out of Surya (the Sun God) and Kunti, he is outcast by his own mother at birth, he is a self-made hero, contend with the infinite misfortunate interventions of his fate against him.

Keywords: identity, subaltern, suppression, sacrifice, nobility, tragedy, injustice

Introduction

Shantanu, the ancestor of King Janamejaya is the king of Hastinapura. He is married with the Goddess Ganga. They have a son Devavrata (later to be known as Bhishma, the great warrior. Devavrata becomes the heir of the kingdom. But Shantanu's marriage with Ganga is short lived. Many years later King Shantanu goes for hunting where he sees Satyawati, a daughter of a fisherman and fallen in love with her. He prays for her hand to her father. But her father refuses to give his daughter unless Shantanu promises Satyawati's son to be the king in the future after his death. To resolve father's dilemma Bhishma agrees to throw up his right of the throne. Devavrata takes a converse proposition of lifelong celibacy to pledge his father's promise. Satyawati has two sons by Shantanu, Chitrangada and Vichitravirya. After the death of Shantanu, Chitrangada becomes the king of Hastinapura. Upon his death the younger son Vichitravirya rules Hastinapura. Later he is married with Ambika and Ambalika, two daughters of the king of Kasi. But his older daughter Amba wants to marry Bhishma. Upon his refuses Amba becomes angry and she becomes a bityer enemy of Bhishma. Later to take revenge she is reborn to the king of Panchal Dhruvada as Shikhandi. She causes the fall of Bhishma in the battle of Kurukshetra.

When Vichitravirya dies without any heirs, Satyawati asks Vyasa to father children with the widows. Thus Dhritarashtra is born in the lap of Ambika. She shuts her eyes after seeing Vyasa, so Dhritarashtra is born blind. Ambalika's son Pandu is born unhealthy and pale. Vidura is born by the maid. He is one of the wisest characters. He serves as Mahamantri or prime minister to king Dhritarashtra and king Pandu. When two princes are born, Dhritarashtra is going to be the king of Hastinapura. Vidura disagree with the proposal because a blind person cannot be a king as he is unable to project and control his subjects. Then Pandu becomes the king of the throne. Pandu is married with Kunti and Madri. Dhritarashtra is married with Gandhari, the princess of gandhara. She takes an oath to blindfold herself so that she also can feel the pain of her husband. But by this her brother Shakuni becomes enraged and takes a vow to take revenge on Kuru family. One day, pandu shoots an arrow in the forest to kill a deer. But by mistake he kills sage kidama by whom he is cursed that he will also die if he participates in any sexual act. Then Pandu decides to return in the forest with Kunti and Madri. His brother Dhritarashtra becomes the king of the land.

Pandu's first wife kunti is given a boon by Durvasa the if she wants she can call any god to gift her child. She there gives

birth of three sons, Yudhishtira, bhima, and Arjuna, through three Gods. She shares the mantra with Madri, who bears twin sons Nakula and Sahadeva. Pandu dies while making sex with Madri. Madri also dies out of remorse. Kunti raises the Pandava brothers. Dhritasrastra gives birth of a hundred sons; all of them were after Yudhishtira. They are also called kaurava brothers. His eldest son is Duryodhana. After his birth Dushasana, vikarna, sukarna are born. The enmity and rivalry between the Pandava and Kaurava brothers were from their youth which leads to the Kurukshetra battle. After the death of Madri and Pandu, Kunti returns to Hastinapura with the Pandavas. Yudhishtira is crowned by Dhitrashtra although he wanted his son to be the king. Duryodhana, Dushasana and their maternal uncle plot to get rid of Pandavas. Shakuni calls Purachana to build a flammable palace with lac and ghee. Shakuni arranges a plan with the intention to kill Pandavas and their mother Kunti by setting the palace alight. However they are warned and become conscious by Vidura, their wise uncle. They escape safely and decide to hide themselves. At Hastinapura they are presumed as dead.

The Pandavas come to know of a swayamvara while they were hiding. It is taking place in Panchala for the Princess Draupadi. The Pandava brothers enter in the competition as Bramhims. Arjun participates in the competition when the other princes fail. However Arjun succeeds in the competition and returns home to inform his mother that he has won the competition and to see what he has brought back. Without looking Kunti orders them to share among themselves what Arjun has won. Because of that one thing Draupadi ends up her life being the wife of all the five brothers. After the wedding they are invited to Hastinapura. Upon Vidura's decision Dhritasrastra breaks the kingdom into two parts because of the never-ending quarrel between Kaurava and Pandava from their childhood. Kauravas dwell in Hastinapura. Pandavas get a place of Maya and Danava to live. Upon Krishna's advice Bismakarma agrees to build Indraprastha. In rajsuya yagna ceremony they invite the hundred Kaurava brothers. Duryodhana falls in the pond and is insulted by the five brothers and Draupadi herself which is the cause of his rage. He cannot control his greed to get the property. So he arranges a plan with Shakuni to lose the five Pandavas in dice game. Yudhishtir and other brothers lose the game. So they are required to go into exile for twelve years. In the thirteenth year they must stay hidden. If Kaurava discovers them they will be sent for exile for another twelve years. At the end they try to negotiate a return to Indraprastha. However, Duryodhana stops them to enter in Indraprastha. He objects that all the properties of Indraprastha belong to him. But Pandavas become more agony and decide to fight against Kauravas. They fight in the huge place name Kurukshetra. So the fight is named the battle at kurukshetra. In this battle all the Kauravas including the other Maharathis lose their lives. Gandhari cannot accept the fact that her all sons are dead and so she curses Krishna. After Yudhishtir's death Arjuna's grandson Parikshit rules the land. At last he also dies bitten by snake.

Karna, the classic hero

In the epic Mahabharata Vasya has introduced some heroic characters along with Sri Krishna and Arjuna that they cannot

be forgotten till the end of the time. Karna is one of the classic figures of the Mahabharata. He is originally known as Vasusena, the son of Kunti and Surya, and born to Kunti before her marriage with Pandu. At her young age Kunti, the princess of Kunti kingdom had been granted a boon by Sage Durbasa. She is able to invoke any deity to have a child. While still unmarried she was so eager to test the power given by Durbasa, she called upon the Sun God Surya and is gifted a son, Karna. Karna is born with the Kavacha (wearing armour) and Kundali (pair of earrings). Kunti, afraid of being an unwed mother she put the child in a basket and left him afloat in the river. Karna is found by Adhiratha, the charioteer of Bhishma. Adhiratha and his wife Radha bring up Karna and named Radheya, the son of Radha. Karna from his childhood becomes interested in the art of warfare. He approaches Guru Dronacharya to teach him the art. Dronacharya refuses to teach him when he comes to know that he is not a son of a Kshatriya, as he is bound to teach only the princes, the sons of Royal Blood. Here becomes the struggle of Karna. He is insulted and refused because of his birth. He challenges Dronacharya that one day he will be the greatest fighter of the world. But this challenge is because of his own insult. He does not think for all the people of his cast. Then he decides to learn that art from Dronacharya's own guru Parashurama. Parashurama only teaches the bramhims. Karna goes to him to learn the skill and tells him a lie that he is a Bramhim. Parashurama also accepts him as his disciple and teaches the skill of archery and warfare. He trains Karna to such a point that he declares Karna's power to be equal to himself. One day toward the end of his training Karna offers Parashurama his lap so that his guru could take rest. While Parashurama is sleeping, a bee stings Karna. Still Karna does not move from his place despite of the pain., just not to disturb his guru. Parashurama sees that blood is oozing from Karna's wound but he does not move. At once Parashurama deduces that Karna is not a son of a bramhim; He accuses Karna for telling lies and stealing knowledge and curses him that he will forget his all the knowledge when he needs it most. For him his birth has become curse for his own life. First rejected by his mother then is rejected by Dronacharya to teach any art of warfare. Unlike the other common persons he does not stay silent but protests against the injustice before him. Beside this he is a person who is dedicated to his well wishers. He accepts the friendship of Duryadhona heartily without thinking the hidden purpose of Duryadhona. He carries his friendship till the end of his life in Kurukshetra. He has a heart full of kindness. He has not the greed for property and kingdom. He has not left anything for him but has donated his own properties to the poor people. He always prevents his mother Kunti from releasing his identity in front of the five Pandavas. He knows that it will be an insult for his mother Kunti for being an unwed mother. Kunti does not accept Karna, still his love and respect for his mother does not get lower. In the "Karna Kunti Sambad" Rabindranath Tagore also focuses on the heroic quality of Karna and his sacrifice.

"You left me to the embrace of the earth on the night of my birth.

Without a name or a home to call my own – today as well
Forsake me with a cruel heart, give me up Mother

To the darkness and ignominy of defeat
Simply leave for me this blessing if you may
That lust for victory, for fame and wealth does not sway
This son of yours from the path of the brave, from Truth's
way."(13-19) (Tagore)

When Kunti first comes to Hastinapur, Karna welcomes her with the rain of lotus by his art of archery. Blue lotus is a symbol for his mother. Even when he first meets with her puts a lotus in front of her foot but it's also smashed by Bhima. He promises to his mother that he will not kill her other four sons in the battle of Kurukshetra rather he will fight with Arjuna because he believes that his only competitor is Arjuna. But he denies to join in the side of Yudhishthira by denying the friendship of Duryadhona. Karna says Kunti:

"It is not that I do not believe in your words you have spoken Kshatriya lady, or deny that for me the gateway to the law is to carry out your behest. But irreparable wrong you have done to me by casting me out has destroyed the name and fame I could have had. Born a kshatriya, I have not received the respect due to a baron. What enemy could have done me greater harm than you have? When there was a time to act you did not show me your present compassion. And now you have laid orders on me, the son to whom you denied the sacraments. You have never acted in my interest like a mother, and now, here you are, enlightening me solely in your own interest."

Before the battle of Kurukshetra when Indra, the father of Arjuna begs his own armor (Kavacha) and the pair of earrings (Kundala), Karna also gives those to Indra although he knows the Indra wants those to save his son Arjuna from Karna. In this aspect he is also famous by the name of Data Karna. He took the crown on his head and become the king of Anga Pradesh. He has not the greed to become a king but he does so only to keep the promise given to his dearest friend Duryadhona. His kindness is also proved in the end battle of Kurukshetra when he has to kill Abhimunya. When the others were torturing Abhimunya without any sympathy he cannot tolerate that. Without the order of Duryadhona he gets down from the chariot and kills Abhimunya before the sunset just to release him from the pain. He says to Duryadhona that it is the sunset for the country, when the warriors like Abhimunya die the sun sets. He confesses to Abhimunya that Abhimunya is the best warrior of the world of all times, he is better than Arjuna and Karna himself. But the only flaw of Karna is his pride. Once he believed that he will be the best warrior of the world which is broken down in front of Abhimunya. But at the time of his death he is weaponless; he forgets the mantra and dies like a brave man. Even Krishna has to make plan to kill him which also proves his bravery.

Karna, fallen victim of identity: A study of Karna from Stuart Hall's concept of cultural identity

Stuart Hall is a cultural theorist, born in Jamaica on 31st Feb 1932. He is a sociologist, political activist, who lived and worked in United Kingdom. He was born in a middle class family in Jamaica. He is the "godfather of multiculturalism". In his 1996 canonical essay Cultural Identity and Diaspora Hall presents his view how culture and identity, though considered secondary by some Marxists achieve major

concerns for anyone struggling for liberation. Hall challenges each notion of identity from African and European places. Hall's essay investigates and furthers a discussion on cultural identity and representation. Before Hall gets to his identity in difference he calls into question the very problematic issue of identity as production and its relation to the black subject. Hall enunciates two different ways of thinking about cultural identity. The first position defines 'cultural identity' in terms of one, shared culture a sort of collective 'one true self,' hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Within the term of this definition, cultural identities reflect the common historical codes providing us as 'one people'. It is this identity that practices of representation, such as cinema, seek to (re)discover, excavate and enunciate. This is the identity that Black Diaspora must cover.

The second definition of 'cultural identity' emphasizes the similarities and differences among an imaged cultural group such as 'The Black Triangle' of Africa, the United States, the Caribbean and the United Kingdom- who have similarities in their histories and ancestries but whose part as a people contains ruptures due to the continuous play of culture history and power. This is an identity understood as unstable, metamorphic and even contradictory which signifies an identity marked by multiple points of similarities as well as difference. Based on this second understanding as an unstable Hall discusses Caribbean Cultural Identity as one of the heterogeneous composites. It is this second notion of identity that offers a proper understanding of the traumatic character of the colonial experience of the Caribbean people.

To explain the process of identity formulation, Hall uses Derrida's theory 'difference' as support and Hall sees temporary positioning of identity and strategic and arbitrary. He then uses these three presences- African, European and American- in the Caribbean to illustrate the idea of 'traces' in identities. Firstly the cultural identity of Africa which is considered as site of the repressed, secondly, the cultural identity of European which is the site of the colonialist and thirdly the cultural identity of the American which is a new world, a site of cultural confrontation. Thus the presence of these three cultural identities offers the possibility of creolization and points of new becoming.

In Mahabharata Karna has to face the problematic issue of his identity crisis. His identity keeps changing from the very beginning of his life. At the time of his birth he loses his parental identity as Kunti leaves him in a basket and flows him in a river. At that time he is unaware of his identity. When Adhiratha takes him and brings up he gets a new name Vasusena. From then he accepts Adhiratha and Radha as his parents. He has to face many irrelevant questions because of his birth. He cannot engage himself as a charioteer so he wants to join in the art of warfare. But he could not get a place there. Dronacharya also denies teaching him any art. He learns the art from Parashurama but there also he has to take a path of lies. There is an inter-link which is found between the identity issue of Karna and the theory of Stuart Hall. 'Identity' as Hall shown is an ongoing process of 'production' that is constituted within, never outside. His second definition is more poignant since it relates that what we call 'identity' is an

ongoing process of 'becoming' as well as 'being'. Stuart Hall's theory of three presence- African, European, and American can also be early found through the process in which Karna's life goes. At first Karna is brought up in such family for which he is called untouchable, which is very much similar with the native black category of 'Presence African'. In the competition of the princes when Karna wants to participate, Kripacharya protests him by saying that this is a competition between the Kuru princes, no outsiders cannot participate in this competition.

"This prince, who is ready to fight with thee, is the son of Pritha and Pandu and a scion of the Kuru race. Reveal O mighty armed thy parentage and the race rendered illustrious by thy birth. It is only after knowing thy lineage that Partha can fight with thee, for high-born princes cannot engage in single combat with unknown adventurers."

Bhima insults him by saying that a son of a charioteer has no quality of a warrior.

"O he is after all only the son of a charioteer! Take up the driving whip then as befits thy parentage. Thou art not worthy of death at the hands of Arjuna. Nor shouldst thou reign in Anga as a king."

He tries to make him understand that he is superior to Karna by birth. This logic is totally irrelevant because it is not the issue of birth of Karna but it's Bhima's dark mind for which he is unable to see the quality of Karna. Karna is oppressed like the African and Caribbean native people. Then he meets with Duryadhona, the son of the king, a very clever person who only thinks of his own profit. He uses Karna like a slave. He is the so called colonizer and Karna is colonized native. Karna's power is his power. He accepts and appreciates karna's talent and uses his power as he wants. Again Karna's new identity is built by Duryadhona. He gives him the title of Angaraj Karna or Maharathi Karna. Now he gets a new identity like the 'Presence Americane' which is socially acceptable this title is given by the colonizer so that he can be used legally. Thus his identity belongs to the future as much as the past. He accepts all his identity and fights against the insults and hatred which which he gets throughout his life. Like hall he wants to establish his identity in a socially acceptable position.

So identities are not a priori; they do not a priori, they do not transcend culture, history, time and place. They are historical, they come from somewhere, they change in and through power relations that are temporal, placed spatial and situational. Cultural representations like those in cinema, photography and other arts are not simply, 'a second-order mirror'; of an essentialized identity, but productive of old and new identities.

Presenting Karna in the light of Gramscian subaltern

Italian neo-Marxist theorist and politician Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) is best known for his theory of "Cultural hegemony" which describes how states use cultural institutions to maintain power in capitalist societies. If the French Marxist thinker Louis Althusser (1918-1990) makes the distinction between power and control, Gramsci's credit lies in his distinction between rule and hegemony. The pathbreaking essay of Gramsci "The Formation of the Intellectuals" is the master-piece from his "The Prison

Notebook", which is the result of his thinking, the only solace during his four years (1929-1933) prison life. Gramsci's basic area of consideration here is how the intellectual can be effective especially in moving people to action.

In strictly political terms, Gramsci's concept of subalternity applies to those people or groups in a society who lack the autonomous political power. "Gramsci's concept of subalternity is most often used for an analysis of a group's position, and in these analyses subalternity is usually assumed to be a negative condition, based on a lack, that needs to be overcome by a confrontation with the structures of power." (Smith) In his time these people are easily identified and much of his work on the concept of subalternity is centered on the groups like proletariat and the peasant. But Gramsci also argues that subalternity exists on a larger scale than this. People of different cultures and religions, or those who exist at the margin of society also remain at the stage of subalternity. But this aspect of Gramscian concept is often overlooked. Many writers are interested and focus on the political theory of Gramsci which they analyze in a way where capitalism, a structural system becomes hegemonic over time. But here the main focus is on the history of the organized struggle of the organized group. Hence, this emphasizes largely on the white male oriented institutions that are in power. But Gramsci argues that hegemony comes from the beliefs, actions and thoughts of the everyday people who are at the lower level and cannot see themselves as a part of the organized groups.

The term hegemony comes from the idea of domination of a group of people over another. Taking clue from Lenin, Gramsci thinks that the intellectuals, the working class and the peasantry need to be fused in some way. In this connection Gramsci makes a binary opposition distinguishing between 'organic' intellectuals and 'traditional' intellectuals is a way in which Gramsci's flexible Marxism illustrates Lenin's concept of how ideas are transmitted.

Gramscian concept of the subalternity can be related with the life of Karna in the epic Mahabharata where Karna represents a subaltern class and is dominated by the upper class like Duryadhona. From the beginning to the end of his life Karna is suppressed, oppressed and misused by Duryadhona and by the other upper class people, where he is unable to express his feelings, his anger towards the colonizer. His mother leaves him because of the fear to be the unwed mother. Then Dronacharya rejects him to teach the art of warfare because of his caste problem. He learns his art of archery from Parashurama but there also he has to take the path of lies. He is always left as the other category and does not get the opportunities like the others. His quality is always unseen or overlooked. Though Duryadhona makes him the owner and emperor of Anga Pradesh, he could not participate in the battle with Dhrupada. Bhishma protests him to join in that battle because he does not belong from that family. Only the disciples of Dronacharya can join in that battle. Gramsci develops his notion of subalternity to an account for the way aruling class maintains itself in power, or secures and suatsains its hegemony. It does this he argues, not simply through a direct expression of its economic authority, but by actively exercising its intellectuals, moral and ideological influence in the realm of civil society- a term for the social realm between the economy and state.

In the Swayamvar Sabha of Draupadi Karna is insulted by Draupadi and her father himself in front of Shri Krishna and the other princes. Although Karna has the ability to win the challenge Draupadi denies marrying him as he is a son of a charioteer. His life has become just a curse for his birth. Karna is not only an ordinary person, he represents a class. He is the unsung hero of that time who gets only ignorance, hatred and insults. He fights against all these to prove himself as the best. Draupadi laughs at him because of his class, but she does not know that she has insulted not only Karna but also those subaltern people or class whose strength is not their position but their talent and body strength. Draupadi compares him with the animals, cannibals by saying that the competition is not opened for all those animals or beasts. Only the princes, the son of the emperor can attend in that program. He is always detached from his mother but still he cares for his mother and promises her that he will not kill her other sons, his competition is only with Arjuna. Throughout his life he tries to prove that one's quality should not be judged by his birth but by his talent and strength. Everybody should be respected in the society and should get all the opportunities to improve and prove his quality.

Karna, more sinned against than sinning

Reimagining all the problems that he has to face, all the insults, hatred which Karna gets from the society, the upper class people, if his sequence of life is seen very carefully it will be clear that he also has not used his God gifted strength, his quality and talent in proper place but he has wasted that talent in investing that in wrong place. He always has a hidden hatred for Arjuna but from Arjuna's side which was never so. He wants to learn the art of warfare just to take revenge for his insults and he also asks for a special weapon from Indra to kill Arjuna in the battle of Kurukshetra. So, while taking education from Parashurama he could not stay quite because he has the greed to be the best but unfortunately could not become a proper good person who could think for the society. It's also true that the upper class society has insulted him because of his birth which is very wrong. Everyone is the son of God so everyone should get a chance to prove himself. One cannot detach anyone from his property, should not make any difference between two person or classes because of their birth and caste. It is against humanity. Before the death of Karna, in a conversation with Krishna where Krishna is giving him the knowledge, tries to make him understand with an example about the fault of Karna which is very symbolic. He says that there was a time when Kirtibir Arjuna, the son of Kirtibir killed sage Yamadagni, father of Parashurama. At that stage of pain for losing his father he thinks deeply and takes his pain not personally but he thinks for the society, the bad works of the evil persons and defeats the evil power of the Kahatriya. Similarly the pain, the insults which Karna gets is true but he takes that pain personally, does not think for the society. If he would think for the society, for the lower oppressed class, he could help for them; he has the ability and quality to defeat the evil power. But he does not do so rather he has flavoured all his power and his crown to Duryadhona; whose side there is only corruption and nothing else. Thus he becomes the part of the insult of Panchali. He also says slang language to Panchali compares her with a prostitute for having

five husbands. But later he understands his mistake and feels pity for Draupadi. He confesses that sheds his blood to clean the mark of insult of Draupadi. He cannot respect his mother properly cannot take care of her, kills his own brother's sons. He kills Abhimanya, son of Arjuna and Ghototcocha, son of Bhima. And at last he is ready to be killed weaponless, forgetting his education, by his own younger brother Arjuna. He is so blind in the friendship of Duryadhona that he could not see the purpose of Duryadhona. He could not understand that Duryadhona has made friendship only for Karna's strength and his hatred for Arjuna and nothing else. He does not release all the people of the subaltern class from slavery after making friendship with Karna. If Karna think for the society he could understand the false friendship of Duryadhona, he could do something good for the society and for himself also. It's true that he has given all his property to the poor people but he could give them more if he could think for the society, if he could use his strength to rescue them from their bad condition of their life. A person who lives for the society, thinks for the society can do good for the society and for himself but if a person lives only for himself he creates problem and for himself also. The cause of the destruction in the battle of Kurukshetra is not Duryadhona and Shakuni but Dronacharya, Bhishma and Karna are responsible for the battle. If these three persons could think for the sake of the society and could not help Duryadhona the battle would not have been happened any more. The person who knows what is right and wrong and still stay quiet and tolerates everything does more damage to the society than the person who actually wants to harm. However he is the first person to protest against the injustice, insult, partiality and oppression.

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