

Good morning. Let's continue with our discussion, of Girish Karnad's important play Tughlaq, which is based on historical life of the mid 14th century Delhi sultan, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, our 1913, 25 to 13 41. And reworks it to illuminate, the life of Tughlaq, to illuminate the contradictions that constitute, political sovereignty Right? So, one this is, one of those well-known examples of, historical drama, by Girish Karnad, which like, his other plays on let's say, if example, 'Tipu Sultan', which is called the, 'Dreams Of The Tipu'. Both use huge historical figures and reworks them to, give them a, contemporary political significance. One of Karnad's earliest works, Tughlaq, which he wrote, when he was just 26, is 1964. Bears, also bears, as Karnad said of the play, a contemporary political significance, in, the illusions its protagonist, the sultan Tughlaq makes two modern political figures of various ideological dispensations. Whether it has Gandhi's, individualist spirituality or Nehru's ecstatic visions of national vitality that we imagined to be a function of the love between, the leader and the people and the fantasies of absolute power, which include Indra and Sanjay Gandhi. And more recently, Muslim, Hindu and Sikh, fundamentalist. So you can think of Tughlaq, as a, composite figure, someone who includes, these different strands of, of political and ideological thought. So, on one hand you have for example, the irony between, Tughlaq being, someone who wants to renounce violence, mmm, someone who wants to be imagined as, a secular humanist, who brings about certain reformist measures, in his kingdom, namely, you know, lifting the Jizya tax, which was levied on, non Muslim populations or as someone who believes that he, he would he, that he is the, object of the people's devotion, that he is an ideal and just ruler. Or he's also seen, sometimes in the play, someone who was pursuing his own fantasies of absolute power, which inevitably end up, in defeat, in betrayal, in bloodshed. And so, you see these different ideological disparate, dispensations working, together and there's no resolution to these different, ideological camps, ideological standpoints, in the figure of Tughlaq. So, over the course the play it becomes, impossible, to reconcile, these different phases, of facets, of Tughlaq self, which remains unstable and fragmented constructs, that do not possess or reveal, any kind of a stable, essence. So there's a constant, for example, reference to performance, two masks, to playing and acting, in the play. Right? So, this constant, use of these terms, seems to suggest that, Tughlaq performance, as a sultan, as a king, as someone who'd like to be perceived, as, someone who is just an ideal and an ideal ruler? in fact, foregrounds exposes, the instability and the sense of fragmentation that Tughlaq experiences, across the play, through the various encounters, that he has with the different characters, especially are characters, people in, who he had most trusted in his life, end up, betraying him for various reasons. The play itself comprises of the, the Sultan, himself. Then there is Azam, and his childhood friend, Aziz, who is, a lowly Muslim washer man, the Sultan's stepmother, incestuous stepmother. His Prime Minister Najib, his quote chronicler and historian, Bharani. The Sheikh Imamudhin, you have one of the, court Nobles, Shiabhudeen, another noble, Rattan Singh, then you have the, Sheik Shamsudhin and the Abbasid caliph of, Baghdad, Gyasuddin Abbasid. Over the course of play, the Sultan has repeatedly betrayed, by the people he most trusts, which compels him to question and uphold his own principles and ideals of justice. So you see the, growing, increasing, isolation of Tughlaq, sense of loneliness, his sense of self-doubt, that plagues him, throughout the play, as more and more people, betray him, deceive him, for power. What emerges from the reading of the play is a monarch, who believes, he is a, transcendental subject, above and without the laws of justice that he formulates. So, the problem lies in the fact that, he always perceives himself, as someone who is above and beyond, the very laws of justice that he formulates, to

rule his kingdom. Right? So, it's never a sense of justice, which is being constructed, by specific situations, by the relationship that he shares the people. But, it is something that is, unanimously you know, unit actually imposed by Tughlaq on his people, simply because he's driven by a particular ideal, of justice. And that ideal of course itself remains, fairly vague, you know? It's an ideal you're not entirely sure, what the ideal Kingdom would look like for Sulthon? He's always, contradicting himself, he's always pulled apart, by the various contrary ideological positions that he occupies, throughout the play. There is only an absolute notion of the good that, for Tughlaq is above the historical considerations, of his different subjects and citizens. By the end, the Sultan is confronted by the ironies, of his political decisions, that only result in, death and bloodshed. The Sultan initially presents himself, as a secular humanist, who was willing to acknowledge, his own mistake of levying Jizya tax, on a Brahmin and illegally appropriating, his land. So, even his desire to shift the capital, from Delhi, to Devagir or Daulatabad, which is a Hindu Majoritarian City, is Tughluq wish to win the favor, of the Hindus in a state, in his kingdom. And he also wants be known, as a symbol of Hindu, Muslim unity. And, but ironically the, the journey from, Delhi to Daulatabad, which is more centrally located, because Tughluq is concerted anxious that Delhi is on the fringes of the kingdom and can always be beset, attacked by war, by neighboring, Chieftains and kings. And he also wishes to actually, secure the southern extremities of his kingdom, which is why he decides to move the capital to Daulatabad, which is more centrally located. And so he does, the move for strategic reasons. But, also for, reasons of religious harmony and unity. Right? Because, he wants to be perceived by the Hindu Majoritarians, population as a symbol of, of a secular symbol of unity and love. But, the, the journey from the Delhi to Daulatabad actually ends in starvation, in illness and disease and death. Because, although there's a, there's a very powerful scene, in fact the plate surface divided into 13 scenes and in one of the scenes, in towards the middle of the play, you have a vision of starvation and death, as the people make a long line, to, on their way to Daulatabad, but end up losing their health, their lives and their property, their assets to, wayside robbers. So the, collapse of his empire, results in famine rebellions and economic chaos. The theaters corner, 'Dharwad Ghar', draws out attention to another level of irony, which is Thuglak competing for, power, with his ancestors stepmother, the historian Bharani and a powerful, but, credulous rival Sheikh Imamudhin, who resembles him. But, Tughlaq real double, in fact, the play makes use of a offered open doppelganger motif, the first double is the, is the Sheikh Imamudhin, who resembles the Sultan. But, the real double here is, Aziz, who is, the Muslim washer man. Who subparts each and every move, of Tughlaq's, by impersonating the Brahmin, who loses his land and money to money to the Sultan. Who's he's also the wayside robber. Who steals from the sick and dying travelers? As they journey from Delhi to Daulatabad. He also produces counterfeit currency, after the Imperial decree, to produce copper currency. And he also impersonates and kills, the Abbasid, caliph, Gyasuddin, who has been invited by the Sultan, to bless and purify his new capital, Daulatabad. So let us, first look at the only passages of the play, which would demonstrate, the Sultan's desire to be, a symbol of Hindu, Muslim unity. So he wants to be, perceived as a reformist ruler, a secular humanist, in the early portion of the, first scene. So, in the first scene, on page 7 & 8, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, announces, "My beloved people, you have heard the judgment, of the Kazi and seen for yourselves, how justice works in my kingdom. Without any consideration, of might or weakness, religion or creed. May this moment, born bright and light up our path, towards greater justice, equality, progress and peace, not just peace, but a more purposeful life". Now, this is the Tughlaq response to, the causes announcement, that, the Brahmin, who has been, the Brahmin, Vishnu Prasad, who had lost his land to the Sultan, has been given back his land and the Jizya tax, that, that have been levied, on Vishnu Prasad, has also, has also been lifted. And so, earlier on the Kazi's announcer says, "Attention,

attention, in the name of the Allah, it is hereby announced, that Vishnu Prasad, a Brahmin of Shikanar, had filed a suit against his merciful majesty, that his land had been seized illegally, by the officers of the state and that he should be given just compensation, for the loss of the land and the privation resulting there from". The Kazi Imumalik, having considered this matter carefully, has declared that the Brahmins claim is just, that the Brahmins claim is just and his merciful Majesty is guilty, of illegal appropriation, of land. The Kazi Imumalik has further declared, that in return for the land and in compensation, of the privation, resulting from its loss. The said Vishnu Prasad should receive a grant of 500 silver dinars, from the State Treasury. His merciful Majesty has accepted, the decision of the Kazi Imumalik, as just and in addition to the grant of 500 silver dinars, has offered, the said Vishnu Prasad, a post, in the civil service, to insure him a regular and adequate income. So, Vishnu Prasad has not, not only exempted from paying the land Jizya tax, he is given back his land and he's also, given the position, in the civil service. Right? With the regular income. So in response, that Mohammed is very proud, of himself, much to the resentment of his Muslim subjects, that he has a peace and harmony equality and justice have reigned, in his kingdom, because of his rule. And to achieve this end, the Tughlaq goes on to say, 'I'm taking a new step, in which I hope I shall have your support and cooperation, later this year the capital of Mumbai will be moved from Delhi to Daulatabad'. And the crowd of course, is shocked and, and just you know, beveled out. 'Your surprise is natural, but I beg you to realize, that this is no mad whim of a tyrant. My ministers and I, took this decision, after careful thought and discussion. My Empire is large now and embraces the South and I need a capital which is, at its heart. Delhi is too near the border and as you will know; its peace is never free, from the fear of invaders. But, for me the most important factor is that the Daulatabad is a city of the Hindus and as the capital, it will symbolize the bond between Muslims and Hindus, which I wish to develop and strengthen in my kingdom. I invite you all the company meets at Daulatabad, this is only an invitation and not Noda. So initially, it is an invitation and later becomes an order, only those who have faith in me, may come with me, with their help I shall built an empire, which should be the envy of the world. Right? So it's almost, as though his move from, Delhi to Daulatabad. Is a way of testing the loyalty of his people, only those who will believe in him, will actually follow him, will make the arduous journey, from Delhi to Devagir. Then, there are also rumors amongst the people, who are listening to the Sultan, announcing his move to, shift the capital from Daulatabad and we get to be learning that, that so the Sultan had actually murdered his father and brother, when they were at prayer. So there are, these rumors spreading and of course one does not immediately confirm the veracity of the rumors. But, initially we get to know that, the Sultana actually killed his father and brother, during prayer, all for an ideal. And so the people, who are listening to him speak, presumably Muslims, are very disappointed to the Sultan, for having desecrated ills Islam, for having corrupted to the very act of praying, by the purity of praying, by murdering his father and brother, when they were at prayer. And the people in the crowd also described. the eloquence, how entrancing, the Sheikh Imamudhin is when he gave, a sermon long speech, to the audience, about the Sultan's on Islamic Act and his desecration of Islam, by murdering his father and brother during prayer. So, the people are completely taken over by the sheikhs, a tradition the sheiks eloquence. And his, absolutely gravitating personality. And they also insinuate, the resemblance of the Sultan with the shake it. So, the kind of symbolic resemblance, identification of the Sultan, with the Sheikh, is established early on, in the play. Right? So, it's almost jesting that there is another side to Sultan, which is, which embodies, the intolerance of religious thought. Right? Are certain intolerant side perhaps to Islam, which comes through, in the play. And then there's a lot of argument also. Because, when one of the Hindu men in the in the crowd says, that perhaps the Sultan has derived his habit of making speeches from the Sheikh, the other people in the crowd, the

Muslims are very upset and saying that ,he is an infidel to actually mock or saint-like the Sheikh. You also have them, you want to have a Aziz and Azam, childhood friends. In the audience one of whom, is Aziz who wishes to actually, who plans to impersonate, the Brahmin Vishnu Prasad, in order to actually, somewhat be Sultan's decision to lift the jazzy tax from, non-Muslims and give him a position also in his own court. So, our so Aziz, decides to actually impersonates, a Brahmin he shaves his head, I need goes to Vishnu Prasad, whose land has been confiscated by the Sultan and he also buys Vishnu Prasad land ,with a post-dated contract. Right? so he, back dates the contract and he buys Vishnu Prasad land, from him and he also earns, a good five hundred silver dinars, from the transaction. Because, he buys which represses land he impersonates him and he also gets back the money that belonged to Vishnu Prasad, from the Sultan's civil service. Right? So he gets, he gets money and he also gets Vishnu Prasad job, in the civil service. and then, As am is worried and shot, he says, why did you have to dress up in these ungodly clothes, couldn't you have come back up top or Muslim and Aziz scandalizes, but then what would happen to the king's impartial justice ,a Muslim plaintiff against a Muslim King. Right? So, he's obviously exploiting, manipulating, the Sultan's self-image, as a secular humanist, he doesn't ,want to present himself as a Muslim plaintiff, against a Muslim king and he says that's exactly, why he dressed up as a Brahmin. Right? And he impersonates Vishnu Prasad, so that, he can seemingly uphold, the secular credentials, of the Sultan I mean, where's the question of justice there, Aziz asks, where's the equality with Hindus and Muslims ,if on the other hand the plaintiffs a Hindu, well, he saw the crowds, As am says, it's complicated. Aziz replies, it's a bit too subtle for you, anyway here's my offer, from tomorrow I join a civil service, why don't you come along too, I'll get you a job under me, you know, a Brahmin with Muslim friend, Sultan I like that, so he is constantly exploiting, the Sultan's self impressions, is his idealization of Hindu, Muslim community and the Muslim bonds. So Aziz and Azam, have a lot to gain from, the Sultan's seemingly secular credentials and has moved to Daulatabad. Because, they actually make, a lot of money, a lot of unfair wages and money from the move. If you look at the character of the stepmother, she's someone who was who seems to bear an incestuous love for Muhammad. But, she's also someone who wants to control him, she resents the authority and controls that, the historian Bahrain has, over the sultana offer that matter, the control the faith that the sultan has in Najib, who's his prime minister. Which is what then compels, she to poison and even kill him, much to sultana shock, meanwhile the move from Delhi to Daulatabad, also wins resentment of some of the nobles in his court, one of whom is an old monk. Who is the governor of Agra? And he has he shares a rapport with the people of Agra, he has won that their faith and loyalty, in his rule and he is very upset, he's betrayed when the, when the Sudan transfers him to recover the governorship of the Deccan. And so, he does not want to actually, move from Agra to the Deccan. And so he decides to wage a war against the Sultan. And the Sultan, that is very clever Right? So he decides, he plans to get, the Sheikh Imamudhin, killed in, in battle and he gets him killed even before the battle begins, what he does is he has an encounter ,with the shake. And he ensures that, he forbids his people from coming to listen to the, the argument, the debate that he has with the Sheikh. Now, Tughlaq, exploits the fact that, the, the shape looks like him Right? And it is also Azib's idea, that perhaps they should trap the sheikh, in this battle. Right? Because, the Sheikh is a formidable opponent and he's the sternest critic, of the Sultan's political plans. And so, he decides to get the Sheikh killed in battle, against a new moon. And Najib himself, as a man who is a Hindu convert, to Islam, he becomes he conversely Islam, thinking that Islam, would bring the kingdom of heaven on earth, in his own words, he hoped that Islam and bring the kingdom of heaven on earth, but then, ultimately it's not about religion or religious conversion, in as much as it is about political power, that has to be rested from enemies through war and violence. So they can only take action, in the present moment as he says and so

he encourages the, so the Sultan to actually, you know, ensure that there's no trouble from a Enum mulk that, he quashes any rebellion, from an Enum mulk. Because, the Tughlaq kingdom, progressively becomes more and more insecure and hard to control, over the course the play, as different, chieftains different nobles from his kingdom, rebel against him for his, decision to move the capital and for his and partiality towards Hindus. But, Mohammed is also very clever, novice tries to sow discord between, let's say, fathers and sons. So for one, so he invites Shihab, between the price of someone shared, to be to be at his kingdom in his absence, while he fights the war against mulk and he does this precisely because, the army, who is the Shiabhuddin's father, does not like him very much so he tries to sow discord in father and son, by seeking the sons favour and by giving him importance and position in his kingdom. And the historian Bharani is not for the backing Right? He is very concerned that they will be unnecessarily, unnecessary bloodshed, in the name of Islam. So, he does not wish to, for the king to fight, an Enum mulk. And but Najim is against him and he encourages him and the stepmother herself is actually quite concerned and worried about, the Sultan and his move to fight this war, And to also get the Shaykh killed, in the, in the third scene .Right? The Sultan arranges for a meeting, in front of the Great Mosque, with the Sheikh Imamudhin. who is a complete critique of Sultan's political plans and ideological dispositions, there is, a long debate argument between the two, by the end of which, Imamudhin has been convinced, to actually be present, after the war and the battle with, I Enum mulk he the Sultan convinces him to join, the battle as an emissary as a messenger of peace ,to tell Enum mulk ,that they will that, they cannot fight a war, where Muslims kill Muslims, it will be an unfortunate loss of life, in the name of Islam and so, he tries to convince, the Imam to, to go as a man emissary as a messenger of peace, to completely in the in the name of Islam. so and he also makes sure that there is no one, there's no witness to the meeting, which is why he forbids his people from coming ,in the initial discussion or debate between the two, Amanda mom says, that the sultan has transgressed and he has desecrated the Quran by, by creating this, by lifting the Jizya tax, by shifting the capital and, by projecting himself as, as a support of Hindus, mom had been Tughlaq here, again projects himself or someone who's secular and he says that, I can never make Islam or religion, the basis of rule, that politics and religion have to be kept separate ,but for the Imam, he says that, one can never transgress, the rules, the injunctions, laid down by the Quran, that all rule, political rule is fundamentally, based on the Quran. So, the Tughlaq says, that of the demon forces, please your majesty even you can't believe that, you can't believe what, that, moment has gone against, the tenets of Islam and Imam Wood says, I have never gone against the tenets, of Islam I've always followed, I've been always been devoted to Islam and the Imam says, I can quote scores of transgressions, if they want will fall ,they could only be results of ignorance, but I can't believe that in a scholar of your eminence, perhaps you're sincere, but if one failed to understand ,what the Quran says? one must ask the sides and the ulema, instead you have put the best of them behind bars, in the name of justice, Muhammad, they tried to indulge in politics, this is the religious leaders dilemma and the sides, I couldn't allow that, I had never denied the Word of God, shaikh sahib, because it's my bread and drink, i need it most when the surrounding void, pushes itself into my soul and starts putting out every light burning there, but I'm alone in my life, my kingdom as millions, Muslims, Hindus ,Janis, yes. there's dot and Sydney My Kingdom, but why should I call on God, to clean up the dirt deposited by men, so he says that, he's alone, there's a deep sense of isolation Right? Because, he doesn't know how he can rule Kingdom, while supporting any particular religious sect, that's a religious group, so, he has to be above all forms of partisanship, in order to be just ruler, but, in the process he also has to isolate himself, because he cannot trust anyone, he's unable he's incapable of trusting anyone, even the religious leaders of the ulema, have indulged in politics he says, that they have tried to fragment, the kingdom, along religious lines, which the Sultan fears will

completely result in the destruction, of his kingdom. So why should I call God. So, he seems that he seems to be the kind of person, who does not want to divest himself of agency, by investing the same agency in God, but that, only men, only a ruler like him, can clean up the dirt, deposited by other men. The Imam says, because only the voice of God, the holy word, can do it. Please listen to me, your majesty the Arabs spread Islam around the world and they struggled and fought for it for 700 years, they are tired now, limp and exhausted. But, they work must continue and we must and we need someone to take the lead, you could do it ,you are one of the most powerful kings in earth today and you could spread the kingdom of heaven on earth, God has given you everything, power, learning, intelligence, talent. Now, you must repay his debt. Right? so this is, in stark contrast ownership or the Sultan himself who believes that, one cannot wait for God to act on your behalf, one has to act, one has to act, on one's own terms then, the Imam says, that are you willing to actually do it, without the Quran to guide you, maybe Sultan, you're trying to become another God. It's a sin worse than patricide. Right? So, what is worse than, patricide is to is to claim to be caught yourself. Right? So, of course the, Imam is also insinuating the Tughlaq's, to Tughlaq's murderer, of his father and brother, doing prayer. And mom what is also himself, proud of being the grandson of a slave, who, who rested power from the Delhi Sultanate. so here, a lot of his own, his own lineage, his own ancestry, has to do with, people who were once slaves, were once disenfranchised ,have now acquired power, they have rested power, from the ruling powers. Imam says, religion, politics, take he Sulthon, one day these verbal distinctions will repeal the two. it was no distinction for the Imam, but for Tughlaq there seems to be at least, distinction between religious rule and political rule, would have to be kept, separate. the Muhammad says, 'Don't I know it, I still remember the days, when I read the Greeks, Sukrat, who took poison, so he could give the world, the drink of Gods, of Lathun, who condemned poets and wrote incomparable, beautiful poetry, himself. And I can still feel it thrilled, with which I found a new world, a world, I had not found in the Arabs or even the Quran, they adore me into shreds and to be whole now I shall have to kill the part of me, which sank them and wrecking them to is what I am, torn into pieces by visions, whose validity I can't deny. You're asking, me to make myself complete, by killing the Greek in me and you proposed to unify my people, by denying the visions, which led the Vj lejrastera or the Buddha. I'm sorry, but it can't be done. Right? So, he presents himself, as someone who's torn apart, from these different visions, of justice. These different, divisions of ethical justice, from the Buddha or sahasrara or the Greek, the Greek only Greek philosophers and poets. So, the Sultan is obviously being portrayed in the player someone who's learned, someone was intelligent, but as, what is politically, inept in he seems to lack the, the wisdom, to be able to actually balance, carefully balance, you can negotiate. The contradictions that make up, his own persona. Right? The contradictions, with political contradictions, between the subjects who are divided along lines of class and, and his own position, as a Muslim Sultan, Muslim Sultan in or Hindu, Majoritarian state, he even insinuates that he has forbidden the people, from attending, the meeting because, the people do not have only Honea faith in him and not in the Sheikh, who was dividing the population along, Common Era lines. But, initially later, later on he tries to trick the Sheikh, into meeting Enum mulk ,as a peace emissary, Mahmud tells the Sheikh, that the people will assume that, he will he is a spy ,I didn't ,mean that he is, his Spy. That they will probably suspect, that he is a spy of, of Islam and as someone, who has tried to rise against the Sultan, so he threatens him, but he also tells him that, the people are with him and the people only believe in him and that, the only way that pie mom, can actually secure his own power and life, is by presenting himself as an emissary of peace, at the Battlefield. so he does, but then, of course, what happens at the battle, is an ironic tragedy where, the Imam is killed, even before the battle can begin when just as, the sultanas declare the battle open and on, he's shot ,by an arrow and he's killed

because, they assumed the opposition assumes that he is, the Sultan. And one of the people, who actually helped Sultan, in this entire plan and conspiracy, is Ratan Singh, Ratan Singh, who is a Hindu. But, is also loyal to the Sultan, the Sultan also lets go of Enum mulk and he restores his position, as the governor of Agra and he also ensures that, the Sheikh is killed in battle, he observes a day of mourning, for the Sheikh, there will be no he says, there'll be no, festivities to celebrate the victory, when men like him die, it's a sin to be alive. Right? So he makes, it seem like as though, the Sultana, the Sheikh is a pious and on and in an integral subject, to his kingdom. And it is Rathanam Singh, who reveals what actually happens on, the Battlefield, he says, so we march towards a Enum mulk army, this is what he tells she hubbub Dean, the Prince of sharp and said, we marched was, we marched, was Enum mulk army, led by the gorgeous shake ,on the Royal elephant. The elephant halted about 100 yards are we from the enemy, this isn't seen for, and the Sheikh stood up on it. And tried to say something, when I jump it here on our side, sounded the judge, the battle was on, yes my dear sheikh, Enum mulk didn't start the battle, weeded and sultan, on the earth unseen replies,I couldn't understand what was happening, neither did the Sheikh obviously, his face was twisted with fear, but he was shouting at the top of his voice, asking us to stop. He didn't stand a chance, arrows poured into him and within minutes, he looked a gory human occupant and the Sultan, 'Didn't he do anything?' Shiabhuddin asks. Ratan Singh replies,' He did, the Sheikh plunged down from the elephant and over his corpse, we fled in confusion, the enemy was convinced the Sultan was dead and they pursued us ,they walked right into the trap, it was a bloodiest mass massacre ever seen, we won Sheikh Imamudhin, was murdered you know, in cold blood, so Sheikh Mohammed has just been used, as a decoy, as a scapegoat, to win the war against, a new world. Later the scene 5 ,you see again, a new conspiracy to kill, the Sultan, a conspiracy between Shiabhuddin and the two armies, to Nobles of the, of the royal court. And they're, obviously really upset, that the Sultan has decided to move the Kingdom and capital, from Delhi to Daulatabad, which is a Hindu city. Where the Muslims do not have as much power. So, again they, decide to murder the Sultan, when he is at prayer, in the mosque. Sheikh Shamsuiddin, tries to convince Shiabhuddin to, actually modern Sultan Right? Although Shiabhuddin initially unwilling. Because, he wants to distinguish himself, from the other shakes, who have indulged in political conspiracies against Sultan, many of these shakes, shake Hydra, shake hood and so on. Have been sent, off an exact, been exiled but Sultan. many of them are in prison, which is why Shiabhuddin, is not, is not its reluctant to actually, rise up in rebellion against the Sultan and kill him, but the Sheikh Imamudhin is trying to convince him, to be a part of the conspiracy, to hatch a plot of plan, a plan to murder the Sultan. they also discover that, the that, the Sultan soldiers, had gone from door to door, forbidding people from attending the meeting, between the Sheikh and the Sultan .they're also, very resentful and upset that, that this Sultan has lifted ,the Jizya tax, when the Quran sanctions, for taxes. On non-believers and non Muslims. So, they upset, that, that you see a sanction that the Quran, is not being, levied anymore, being paid anymore, by infidels. So these people definitely want to divide the kingdom along, common lines. In fact, it Shiabhuddin his father, who was an ally, of the Sheikh and the two armies. But, they're also trying to recruit, Shiabhuddin, into the plan. Right? Rathanam Singh, seems to be part of the plan, but he, he, he ends up, betraying them in the end when he writes a letter, to the Sultan, warning him, of this conspiracy this plan to assassinate him. Rathanam Singh says, don't be stupid Shihab, don't tell me, you still think the armies want to fight the Sultan in the open. Because, the armies don't have the power to fight this will turn the open, so they can only fight him in this light, you see what it is, she harbors an intelligent young man, but he's just too nice, you see his father, Shiabhuddin don't turgle, Rathanam Singh come, on everyone knows about it, his father's supposed to have killed, my father by treachery and use of the Kingdom. Shihab can't forget that, he wants to make up for it, that's why I'm

here, as his adopted brother. And that's why he just can't stand the mention of treachery, to Shiabhuddin, so this is what he's saying to himself, to Shiabhuddin, don't overdo, it you'd have to face it someday, after all. What the Sultan do, to Sheikh Imamudhin .Okay? So he, tries to threaten him, he tells him, that of the possibility that this whole time may also end up murdering him and the other sheiks, if did not, they do not take action to stop, the Sultan. So they plan to act, in the name of Islam and Rathanam Singh, seems to go along with the plan, but then later on he ends up becoming, the most loyal subject, of the Sultan, by warning him, of the plan of the plot to assassinate him. So even though prayer, is supposed to be a pure moment, where they cannot be any violence and bloodshed, they the armies and the Sheikh, corrupt as they are, anxious to secure, the power, the their own authority and the power of the Muslims, decides to actually attack the Sultana precisely during prayer. So, this happens in scene 6. Where the armors and, and, and Shiabhuddin, are on the verge of carrying out executing their plan. But, Tughlaq pretends to not know, what's happening. Initially they try to beg, Shiabhuddin tries to implore the Sultan, also asking him not to change the capital from Delhi to the Daulatabad. But, then Mohammed is not willing to listen to them. He also announces the, circulation of copper currency, along with seven dinars and when, the public protests, he says that, you know obviously imagine that copper currency, has a same value of silver and gold. And that if they have, faith in him, they will also have faith in the copper currency .Right? And this is, this is also very prescient. Very patient move because this anticipates the, the circulation of, the introduction of, paper currency, in China. Fifty years later. so it's all about faith, he says if you have faith in me, if you have faith in the Sultan. So kingship, being Sultan itself, becomes a fetish. Because, one has to have faith in it, even though, the power of the Sultan is actually increasingly growing Hollow. It's not absolute power; it's not a transcendental power. But, it's actually growing more and more insecure and hollow and yet people have to pretend, as though ultimate power authority is vested, in the Sultan. Just like it is, in the currency introduces, in the kingdom, as a common mode of exchange. Tughlaq seems to actually, initially beg, their support, the support of the armors and addition Shiabhuddin. But, Shiabhuddin embarrass in says, it's not it's not right for a king to beg, the king should only command. But, then obviously, by now, we know that, that the Sultan knows of their plan, so he gets up, he walks to the throne and he picks up a copy of the Quran and he asks them to, swear on the Quran, that they will support him in all measure. And Shiabhuddin unwilling and he says, dozens Majesty distrust me so much, that he needs an oath on the Quran from us and that is when, sultan rises up in rage, against Shiabhuddin and the others and from nowhere, 20 Hindu soldiers, Russian with Spears and this around the armies and as the armies, try to run out the soldiers barred away and then, the soldiers drag them away, all exception of Imamudhin and why all this is going on, Muhammad Been Tughlaq is just praying and concerned. it's only after finishes his prayer, that he steps down from the throne and as a silence and Shiabhuddin asked him, how he knew, how he got to know about the conspiracy and then he says that, he mentions the letter that he caught from Ratan Singh, warning him about the, plot to assassinate. And he asked Shiabhuddin, that why have you gone against me, what have I done wrong. And Shiabhuddin says; get on with your killing Mohammed. Or does your hand refuse to rise against me, we were, you won't people trapped me with your wiles; I'm not a normal to live crushed, under your kindness. Right? And Muhammad would slowly takes out his dagger and repeatedly stabs, Shiabhuddin until he's dead. And this leaves Muhammad feeling rather anguished, the Sultan asks, why must has happened to his historian, why must has happen Bharani, are all those I trust condemned to go down in history as traitors, what is happening, tell me Bharani, when will my reign be nothing more, than a tortured scream, which will stab the night and melt away in silence, Najib, see that every man involved and this is caught and beheaded. So, in order to actually completely quash the rebellion and to make sure there are no witnesses to the, to the Nile to the



murder, he asks his prime minister to, to capture each and every man, was caught, who was involved in the conspiracy, he wants a stuff their bodies with straw and hang them up, in the palace yard, for everyone to watch, as an example to all those who wish to transgress and challenge his rule. He also decides to hold a funeral for Shiabhuddin and he wishes to, remember Shiabhuddin as a murder, as someone who died, protecting the Sultan from the attack. Right? So, he also invites Shiabhuddin father, to the funeral and treats him with respect, that's due to the father of a law and noblemen. So you see how clever, Muhammad Been Tughluq is that, even though he is, he's been attacked he's been betrayed by, a person whom, he trusted. He wants to be believed, he wants the people to believe that, all those concerned me to believe that he is, a martyr, who tried to, who died trying to protect the Sultan's life from, the attacking noblemen. And that's when, Muhammad Been Tughluq decides to make, make it compulsory for everyone to leave Delhi, to vacate Delhi and to leave father Daulatabad. Because, he, he feels that he has to make the trip, as soon as possible, before he is again betrayed and his moves are, either frustrated by all his enemies. He also, he also decides, that there will be no more, praying in the kingdom, because doctrine has also, become has come, to be associated with murder than material and so he says, there'll be no more praying in the kingdom. He tells his prime minister, anyone caught praying would be severely punished, henceforth let the moment of prayer walk my streets in silence and leave without a trace. So prayer, is comes to be associated with, identified with, betrayal and bloodshed. In scene 7, you see, Aziz an Azam, you know, enacting, acting as we said robbers, who kill and steal, the assets the property, the money of, the wealth of the people. Who are moving from Delhi to da Daulatabad? Right? And the journey itself is an arduous one, which results which, which ends and in, in sickness and disease in depth. In fact, he also, as he is also impersonates, the Brahman in the camp and he even this allows the Hindu boom woman, who needs, to take her child to a nearby hospital no doctor, refuses to let her go. Right? Even after her child is dead, she refuses to let in the woman go. And this is where, these also decide to plans, to produce counter feed copper currency. And so he tells, he tells awesome, 'Don't call me Aziz, I've told you, as for her referring to the Hindu woman, I have only operated my orders, besides I'm a Brahmin and she won't complain against a Brahmin to a Muslim officer, that'll send her straight to him, in any case unless Lewis carefully, we won't stay in Sudan service for long, I heard some rumors in Delhi, this Sultan going to introduce copper coin soon. And a copper coin will have the same value, as a silver dinner, what you say to that? In scene 8, the Sultana, meets one of the young soldiers, who doesn't recognize him initially, who has been, entrusted with the responsibility of guarding, the port, in Daulatabad and he meets one of the centuries, who's a young man of 19. And the Muhammad says 19, nice age. And age when you think you can clasp the whole world in your palm, like a rare diamond. I was 21 when I came to, that came to the earth about first and build this fort, I supervised, the placing of every brick in it and I said to myself, one day, I shall build my own history, like this, brick by brick. One night, I was standing on the ramparts in the old fort here, there was a torch near me flapping its wild wings and scattering golden feathers, on everything inside, there was a half-built gate, nearby trying to contain the sky within its cleft, certainly something happened, as though someone had cast a spell, the torch, negate, the fort and the sky, all melted and merged and float in my bloodstream, with the darkness of the night. The moment shed its symbols, its questions and answers and stood naked. And calm weather, Stars, throbbled, in my veins. I was the earth, was the cross, was the smoke, was the sky, suddenly a century called him for attention ,attention and to that challenge the half-boned torch and a half-built gate, felt a fell apart, no young man, I don't envy, you, your, your route, your youth. all that you have to face and suffer is still ahead of you ,look at me ,you have searched for that moment, since then and Here I am still searching for it, but in the last four years, I have seen only the woods, hanging to the people, clinging to the earth, heard only the howl of wild

wolves and the answering Bay of Street dogs, another 20 years and he'll be as old as me and maybe lie, I might be lying, under those woods there by them. do you think, you'll remember me, then so he's obviously identifying partly with the youth of the century and he remembers his own youth, when he felt the entire world belong to him. But, then he also then looks back, in irony, he looks at how his present life is couldn't be more different from his youth, when now he has become, completely isolated by, all those whom he thought ,he could trust ,well now betrayed him, who have now tried to kill him. And so now he feels extremely lonely and isolated, that someone who cannot keep the kingdom together, who believes that he is above all the laws of justice, that he formulates and yes. And yet, is unable to actually an act, an actual realizable concrete program of Justice, which is constituted only by the people and their interests, he also realizes that, the Hindu homes, every Hindu home has, become a domestic mint, he looks at how traitors are just waiting for me to close my eyes and my whole kingdom there are only two people, I can trust and Enum mulk and Shia would be his father, what should i do Bharani? What would you prescribe for this honeycomb of disease? So he's not able to trust anyone, even the people, even his plan to actually produce, copper, copper currency, has been subverted by the production of counterfeit copper coins and mass corruption. And his historian Bharani, who's only a historian says that, when he asks, when he asked Bharani. What to do? Bharani says, I cannot prescribe, again I cannot prescribe, it's not my place to prescribe, what the king, of what the sultan, should do and he says, that maybe perhaps, he should just join the ranks of lurid men, since he's not learning himself, and a band in the kingdom. But, Tughlaq unable to, abandon unwilling and unable to abandon the kingdom. Right? He is, on one hand, he would wish to sit by the Kaaba in Mecca and search for peace, which Daulatabad hasn't given me, it hasn't given him. But, at the same time, he realizes that, there is that he is consumed and possessed by this disease, for power, for authority, which he just cannot seem to be able to shake off and let go. Right? So, he says that, 'Don't you see', this patient, referring to himself, wracked by fear and crazed by the fear, of the day of the enveloping vultures, can't be, separated from me. 'Don't you see that', the only way I can abdicate, the throne is by killing myself, I could have done something, of the vultures weren't so close, I could have crawled forward my knees and elbows, but what can you do when every moment, you expect, a beak, to dig into you and tear a muscle out, what can you do? Right? So he is, he is, on the one hand he is , willing to let go everything and he wishes that he could read cope everything and, and search for peace in Mecca. But, on the other hand he also feels that, he cannot let go of his kingdom, precisely at this very insecure moment, where everyone is trying, to topple and all overturn is his power Authority. Bharani says that, your majesty, there was a time when you believed in ideal, in love, in peace, in God. What has happened to those ideals? you won't let your subjects pray, he tortured them to the smallest offence, hang them on suspicion, why this bloodshed, please stop it. And I promise Your Majesty something, better will emerge out of it. And Muhammad Been Tughluq says, but for that I'll have to admit have been wrong, all wrong. So, he's not willing to admit that he was wrong in the first place, by carrying out all these pre-emptive, measures, to quash, any rebellion, by killing people, at the slightest suspicion and I know, I haven't, I have something to give something to teach, which may open the eyes of history, but I have to do it within this life. I've got, to make them listen to me before I lose even that, it so determined to not let go of his ideals, that he will come at any amount of violence and bloodshed in the name of his own ideals, the fact that he is striving very hard, he's desperate, to actually present himself, as an ideal rule. So, he's his and which is why ,in fact the play is surely about the writing of history itself, about what it means to write history, what does it mean to write an official history? And what ways can be actually questioned official history, for its prejudices for his loopholes. And it is also in some sense popularizes, the image of the impression of Muhammad as mad, as a madman. As a madman, who is even by his own, passion his own his, own

desire for power, the course of which are refused to leave him in peace. Right? So, even though, he seems to have apparently desire peace and equality and common, harmony. He's unable to actually let go of his own, his own greed and greed for power, absolute power. In Scene 9, Azam and Aziz accidentally chance upon Keyasuddhin, who was on his way to meet the Sultan. Because, he's been invited to actually purify and bless the new capital of Daulatabad. Aziz, Azam capture Keyasuddhin and they end up murdering him and Aziz impersonates Keyasuddhin, in order to gain access to, the Sultana escort. Keyasuddhin himself, has even though he's been invited as, a as, as a ambassador Sheikh, who can bless, who has the power to bless and purify this the capital, gives himself ,someone who comes from a very humble and modest background, he says he grew up in filth and he lived in filth. And then a letter from nowhere. Right? So, he believes that this letter was invitation from the Sultan, will give him the prestige and the poverty that he never had back, in back at home. In scene 10, the Tughlaq, discovers from his stepmother, that she killed, she poisoned on a jeep to death. Minister and so she also orders and stepmother, to be poisoned to death .Right? he is upset, that the stepmothers also has also betrayed. So he believes that that she has been killed for no reason while in response to his stepmother's accusations, he says that he, killed his father and his brother for an ideal. In scene 11, when Aziz makes his appearance, as Keyasuddhin ,there are many people, many of them ,many former Hindus in the audience, who recognized him as the wayside robber, who killed his children, they children and forbid them from ,from, from escaping. Right? so they, all accuse him of having, captured them, torture them, kill their children, for having robbed them, of their wealth and this is when moment when, Muhammad Been Tughlaq also discovers, the real person who's behind the disguise. And in scene 13, we see that, that Muhammad finally, finds his, his most loyal companion, in Aziz. Who is the real double, he finds his match, in Aziz who has managed to subvert, all his plans, all his strategies, to consolidate his power and authority. So, the only one actually, benefits from all the political contradictions, of the silver and the loophole, his plan is Aziz and even though the historian Bharani, once Tughlaq from giving, from granting or offering Aziz a position in his court, Mohammed believes, that he can finally only recognize himself, in Aziz. As a man, who wanted more than he could have? Right? So, he identifies and admires Aziz, Aziz's ambition Right? his ,his ambition his desire to move ,above his own low station and in the, last conversation between Aziz and Sultan, Aziz reveals his past conspiracies to the his, his plots, his plans, to the sultan. And Tughlaq is completely impressed, by Aziz 'as courage. so even, i justed he's trying to is about the verge of killing Aziz, Aziz says that come, on sir, let's be sensible, you know His Majesty will never do that to me as and will never imprison me or kill me, he says, ever since your majesty ,came to the throne, I have been your most devout, I have studied every order, followed every instruction, considered every measure of Her Majesty's with the greatest attention, I insist on your Majesty's true disciple, then later on Aziz says, Your Majesty has publicly welcomed me as a saint, started the proper public prayers, after lapse of five years in my honor, call me a, ' Savior'. you majesty as even forgive me for pointing it out, I wasn't responsible for it, falling at my feet publicly, then Aziz says, I'm not a common black pillar, your majesty, I stand here on the strength of my convictions and my loyalty to you. Aziz says, I was a poor starving Dobby, when a Majesty came to the throne and declared the Brotherhood of all religions, does a sultan remember, the Brahmin who brought the case against him in one, I was a Brahmin , what a disguise necessary. Aziz says, I believe so since soon after your majesty, introduced a new copper currency, I suck on to its temptation, then there was enough money in that business, but too much competition, soon it became unprofitable. so we took the silver dinars and went to dog and bought some land there for farming and Mahmud realizes that he has bought, the land dirt cheap and collected also state subsidy ,for the farmers and when they discovered, they escaped the hills and became wayside robbers. Aziz says, Your Majesty missed out an

important stage in my life, your officers tracked down criminals, with the zest of a tribe of hunters, there's only one way to escape them ,we join them, we had to shift the corpses of all the rebels executed by the state and hang them up for exhibition, such famous king's, warriors and leaders of men, passed through our hands then, beautiful strong bodies and bodies eaten up by corruption, all always stuffed with raw, wood straw and went up to the top of the walls, one day suddenly a revelation, this was all human life ,was worth, I said ,this was a real meaning of the mystery of death ,straw and skin. With that enlightenment, I found peace; we left the camp and head, headed for the hills. So, he found peace, in the fact that, this was all that human life was ,what we discovered, that all the, the princes and kings and chief dessert he had killed ,all the Warriors had killed. Where only, one was only skin and bones and they could easily be stuffed with strong and exhibited, as trophies, of the Sultan's power. Then Aziz says, one day I heard about a beggar, who claimed to be Kasim Abasid and was on his way to the capital, I couldn't resist the temptation of see my master and person, I admit I Keyasuddhin, have been ,I cheated you, yet I'm your Majesty's ,true disciple I ask you your majesty which other man in India has spent five years of his life fitting every act deed and thought, to his Majesty's words, though the sultan is enraged by his treachery, but he can't help being impressed, by the man's cunning ,cleverness and courage. So Aziz says that, what if I man. what if I man Toby. I may be masquerading. as a saint but I'm still a saint as no match for the toby,whose job is to wash me felt Right? So, my job is to wash me filled, and no saint can match me, so Mohammed is upset, but also very impressed, by the Aziz's insolence and when he asks him on how he should punish, him, Aziz says, make me an officer of your state and he says that if he were made an officer in the state, he would do anything for him, he would show him his loyalty and he was ready to die for the sultan. And so he finally does a grant, Aziz with a state office ,much against the demonstrations of Bharani who thinks that he's making the worst mistake by appointing someone who is definitely going to betray him and kill him, and then he says all your life, Mohamed finds realizes that he has finally met his mirror image, his companion in Aziz, on your life you wait for someone who understands you and then you meet him punishment for wanting too much, Aziz said, one day suddenly a hand revelation and he also realizes that Enum mulk ,by killing, Sheikh Imamudhin has also lost the support of the Maldives and the people. So he needs, to Tughlaq. Tughlaq support and so ultimately even though. When Bharani also uses an excuse to. Leave the service of the Sultan. Under the pretext of meeting of course we are going to see his dying mother. He realizes that he could no longer work for the Sultana. Because this whole time has completely crazed and driven by politics and there's no space left .for peace. For transparency for innocence .Right? I mean everything is corrupt, everything has been corrupted by Sultana Tughlaq, own plan, for to seize absolute power and justice. So which is why, he is he ends up appointing Aziz as his state officer. Right? So, let's actually end with that, which is our discussion of Girish Karnad Tughlaq, we will continue our discussion of Girish Karnad with his play on, the dream of Tipu Sultan next. Thank you.