CHAPTER - IV

POLITICAL DEFORMITY:

TUGHLAQ, GHASHIRAM KOTWAL AND THAT OTHER HISTORY

But for that I'll have to admit I've been wrong all these years. 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! - Tughlaq

Primitive people felt that they were powerless and inferior because they, having become aware of their own identity, alienated themselves from Nature. They have been striving to become powerful and superior since then. As civilization progressed, the alienation entered human society and caused various divisions of it. And the urge to be more powerful than one another hierarchized those divisions. This has made the society pyramidal where the few at the top usurp the great power of the masses at the bottom. This has become possible and usual because the people give away their power by taking the hierarchized society for granted. As the higher rungs of the hierarchized society are endowed with greater power in addition to the
greater privileges, people struggle hard to scramble up the ladder of power. In this, some go up while some go down. The family trains children in this struggle for power.

It is very interesting to see how a human child, like its primitive ancestors, also feels powerless when it becomes conscious of itself and its environment. Adler, a neo-Freudian, talks about the universal feeling of inferiority:

The child, by virtue of his small size and helplessness, inevitably considers himself inferior to the adult figures in his environment. Parents who neglect, ridicule, or lack tenderness in their dealings with the child often accentuate his feeling of being subordinate. The mother plays an especially crucial part in this process, for by treating him lightly or by pampering and overprotecting him she hinders the acquisition of social skills. The family constellation also serves to intensity inferiority feelings.¹

Augusto Boal, the originator of the theatre of the oppressed, says:

Sometimes you can oppress by giving, you can oppress through tenderness, you can oppress through suffering.²

He makes it clear that people are oppressed not only through cruelty but also through pity. As Adler points out, parents oppress their children in these two ways and make them powerless.

Karpman, a Transactional Analyst, identifies three roles in this situation of oppression: Rescuer, Persecutor and Victim. According to him, these roles form Drama Triangle which is called it Rescue Triangle by Steiner. He explains:

The Rescue triangle is an efficient training ground for the acceptance of hierarchies of power in which every person is one-up to some and one-down to other.³
KARPMAN DRAMA TRIANGLE
He further argues that "having been in a powerless position, we make ourselves feel better by taking, and assuming power over others as Rescuers or Persecutors."\(^4\)

Rescuers feel that they are superior to the Victim and that the latter is helpless and hopeless without their rescuing him, or her. They conveniently ignore the inherent ability of everyone to help himself or herself. They feel "not ok" and guilty about their superiority whenever they see the helplessness of the Victims. These feelings of guilt accumulate and form a racket. They obsess their mind, make them restless and urge them to make use of their superiority in rescuing the Victim. For this, they sacrifice their own interests and comforts. They always fail in improving the conditions of the Victim who never tries to help himself or herself and who passively accept the rescuing. They are never thanked for their rescuing. Moreover, they find themselves exploited and thus persecuted by the Victim. This leads to a racket of feelings of anger and they persecute the Victim. As soon as these feelings are spent, they return to their favourite role and rescuing as they start feeling guilty for having persecuted the Victim. A typical Rescuer chooses such a profession as allows him or her to play the role; so he or she becomes a leader, a teacher, a preacher, a social worker or an officer.

Persecutors also feel that they are superior to the Victim. They feel proud of their superiority and annoyed about the inferiority of the Victim. They become angry whenever they see the 'mean' behaviour of the Victim. The angry feelings accumulate and form a racket. They obsess their mind, make them restless and urge them to make use of their superiority in punishing the Victim who of course behaves complementarily by doing something wrong. They believe in the axiom, 'spare the rod and spoil the child'. After repeated persecution, they may feel guilty and so shift to the
role of the Rescuer temporarily. This invariably leads to the ungrateful and hopeless behaviour of the Victim which justifies only their original role of persecuting. It is also likely that the Persecutor is punished by the Victim and thus there can be a temporary reversal of roles. A typical Persecutor opts for such a profession as enables him or her to play the role; so he or she becomes a disciplinarian, a strict officer, a police officer, a public prosecutor, a criminal, a jailor or a military officer.

Victims feel that they are inferior to their Rescuer and Persecutor. They feel powerless. They look forward to being rescued and persecuted by others. They never see any choice. They remain dependent on others or chance. They look pliant and let others take advantage of them, exploit them or victimize them. They then send Verbal or nonverbal signals to the Rescuer to rescue them. They never try to help themselves but enjoy being rescued. They resent being belittled by the Rescuer whom they therefore never thank for their help. Moreover they persecute the Rescuer by exploiting the rescuing, by demanding more rescuing, by being ungrateful and by remaining unimproved. On the other hand, they look flaccid and succumb to doing wrong things and making mistakes repeatedly. Thus, they invite the attention of their Persecutor who punishes them sufficiently. A typical Victim selects the professions of the lower rungs so as to play his or her role.

People play their favourite roles most of the time; yet they shift to other roles temporarily. A person may play different roles in different situations. Drama Triangle has been socio-culturally accepted and perpetuated. God's saving his devotee from the demon form the inner core of several myths. Almost every story contains three major roles - hero, villain and victim. The shifting of roles is not uncommon. This can be illustrated by the myth of
Bhasmasura: Lord Shiva is pleased with the devotion of his devotee, Bhasmasura and grants him the boon that he asked for. So, Bhasmasura gets the power of reducing any body to ashes by placing his palm on his head. He is so curious to test the power of the boon that he runs after Lord Shiva to test it on him. Lord Vishnu in the guise of a beautiful lady diverts Bhasmasura and saves Shiva. Here Lord Shiva, the Rescuer, becomes the Victim whereas. Bhasmasura, the Victim, becomes his Persecutor.

In a typical family, Father play the Persecutor and Mother, the Rescuer while children are Victims. When Father hurts children, Mother rescues them. Then Father becomes her Victim as she persecutes him for hurting children. Later she becomes the Victim of children who exploit her kindness and they rescue Mother when Father hurts her. When they grow up, they either rescue or persecute their old parents. Talking about the shifting of roles, Steiner points out: "Every Rescuer - Victim transaction will eventually result in a Persecutor - Victim transaction". The concept of Drama Triangle which explains political deformity is illustrated in Karnad's Tughlaq and Tendulkar's Ghashiram Kotwal.

In Tughlaq, not only the protagonist but also other characters are involved in Drama Triangle by playing different roles according to the situation. Even in the beginning, an old Muslim persecutes Muhammad bin Tughlaq whom a Muslim youth rescues:

OLD MAN: God, what's this country coming to!
YOUNG MAN: What are you worried about, grandfather?
The country's in perfectly safe hands - safer than any you've seen before.

The dialogue runs into five pages in this way. Muhammad who plays the Rescuer effects certain reforms which he thinks will help his people (his
Victims). One of the reforms is the removal of jizia tax that the previous Muslim kings urged non-Muslims to pay. But a Hindu instead of being grateful to the Sultan criticises him. The Muslim therefore calls him 'Ungrateful wretch.'

Muhammad as a typical Rescuer thinks that his people are helpless and miserable. He feels that he alone can rescue them from their misery and that other kings, who are not so enlightened as he, could not do it:

MUHAMMAD : No, really. Suppose I die in the battle. What of it? why should I waste my last few days worrying? I am not worried about my enemies I'm only worried about my people
STEP-MOTHER : Pompous ass! As though other kings did not do it.
MUHAMMAD : No, they didn't ... (11)

He forgoes his physical comforts such as sleep and marital bliss and even his mental peace in order to rescue his people. He wants to build an ideal kingdom for his people.

MUHAMMAD (theatrical) : I pray to the Almighty to save me from sleep ... Then again I want to climb up, upto the tallest tree in the world, and call out to my people; 'Come, my people, I am waiting for you. Confide in me your worries. Let me share your joys. Let's laugh and cry together and then let's pray .... Come! I am waiting to embrace you all! 'But then how can I spread my branches in the stars while the roots have yet to find their hold in the earth? I wish I could believe in recurring births like the Hindu but I have only one life, one body, and my hopes, my people, my God are all fighting for it. Tell me, how dare I waste my time by sleeping? And don't tell me to go and get married and breed a family because I won't sleep. (10)
Even his step-mother says, "... and he works so hard for the people. He doesn't even go to bed these days!" (17) He pleads with the Amirs of Delhi to cooperate with in realizing his ideal:

I have hopes of building a new future for India and I need your support for that. If you don't understand me, ask me to explain myself and I'll do it. If you don't understand my explanations, bear with me impatience until I can show you the results. But please don't let me down, I beg you. I'll kneel before you if you wish but please don't let go of my hand (40)

This idealism is a common feature of typal Rescuers. Karnad himself finds a parallel between Muhammad and Nehru: "And I felt in the early sixties India had also come very far in the same direction - the twenty-year period seemed to me very much a striking parallel." Jawaharlal Nehru indeed shares the same idealism as that of Muhammad to build modern India and he worked hard, forgoing his sleep and other comforts. Aparna Dharwadker considers this the first phase of Muhammad's rule and comments on his idealism: "The first is the untenability of the idealistic and visionary politics that Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi practised as national leaders and valorized in their respective meditations on political action - *The Discovery of India* and *The story of my Experiments with Truth*."8

Muhammad feels that he is far superior to any other in his enlightenment and idealism. Indeed he is a great scholar and thinker. He thinks that whatever he does is right. He justifies his actions to Imam-ud-din in a scholarly manner:

I still remember the days when I read the Greeks - Sukrat who took poison so he could give the world the drink of gods, Aflatoon who condemned poets and wrote incomparably beautiful poetry himself - and I can still feel the thrill with which I found a new world I had not found in the Arabs or even the Koran. They tore me into shreds.
And to be whole now, I shall have to kill the part of me which sang to them. And my kingdoms too is what I am - torn into pieces by visions whose validity I can’t deny. You are asking me to make myself complete by killing the Greek in me and you propose to unify my people by denying the visions which led Zarathustra or the Buddha.¹⁹

Imam-ud-din agrees, ‘you are a learned man’ and tells him that his people cannot be so idealistic. Muhammad does not accept any alternative to his idealistic decisions. As a typical Resucr, he feels guilty, deeply guilty, when he cannot make use of his superiority in rescuing his people and when he persecutes people for not accepting and observing his ideals:

BARANI: It's as your Majesty said ... He says the Sultan is a disgrace to Islam.
MUHAMMAD: That's all? I could find worse faults in me. What else?

Ratan singh says to Shihab-ud-din about Muhammad:

I have never seen an honest scoundral like your Sultan. He murders a man calmly and then actually enjoys the feeling of guilt.’ (28)

As a racket of guilty feelings develop, it urges him to rescue somebody. Muhammad therefore tries to do what he thinks is good for his people without their asking for it. Since rescuing is not realistic, it never succeeds in reaching the goal. Usually wrong people exploit his reforms and remain ungrateful to him. Aziz represents those people in the play.

The Sultan announces equality of justice to all on the second anniversary of his coronation. He adds that people may file a suit against the Sultan himself for the misbehaviour of his officers. Aziz tells Aazam, his friend how he exploited this:

Aziz: ... There’s no future in being a dhobi these days.
So I did a bit of thinking. There's a Brahmin called Vishnu Prasad whose land had been confiscated recently. I shaved my head and went to him. I said I would buy the land.

AAZM: The Land was confiscated, wasn't it?

AZIZ: Exactly, that's what he said too. But I said, 'Never mind about that', so he sold me the land - backdating the contract. And I filed my suit. Well, here I am. Five hundred silver dinars for nothing, and a job in His Merciful Majesty's won Civil Service. (7-8)

But Muhammad does not know this and thinks that he has succeeded in implementing the equality. He is overwhelmed by this mythical success and addresses the people:

My beloved people, you have heard the judgement 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 burn bright and light up our path towards greater justice, equality, progress and peace - not just peace but a more purposeful life. (3)

Encouraged by this imaginary success of his idealism, he announces the shift of the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad. He then explains how the shift will benefit their country in several ways.

Aziz is ever ready to exploit every reform of Muhammad. He mercilessly takes bribes from the people on their way to Daulatabad for small concessions as he is an officer. When the Sultan introduces copper coins, he at once starts minting counterfeit coins. Later every Hindu home becomes a domestic mint. Then Aziz gets silver dinars for his copper coins as the Sultan starts giving silver dinars in exchange for copper coins. He buys land very cheaply and collects the state subsidy for farmers. As it is discovered, he flees to the hills and becomes a robber. Finally the desperate Sultan seeks the religious help from Ghiyas-ud-din. Aziz assassinates Ghiyas-ud-din and impersonates him. Then he lands in the royal palace and leads
the prayer. When his friend Aazam gets killed, Muhammad discovers the impersonation. He learns about how Aziz has exploited all his reforms. Then he makes him an officer in the Deccan army as a punishment for his crimes. He finds his mirror image, his alterego in Aziz. While Muhammad is a Rescuer, Aziz is a Persecutor. How Aziz enlightens his friend Aazam throws light on his contemptible attitude towards the society. For instance, he says:

> If you remain virtuous throughout your life no one will say a good thing about you because they won't need to. But start stealing - and they'll say: 'What a nice boy he was! But he's ruined now ...' Then kill and they will beat their breasts and say: 'Heavens! He was only a petty thief all these days. Never hurt any one. But alas!' Then rape a woman and the chorus will go into hallelujahs: 'He was a saint, a real saint and look at him now ...' (57)

Muhammad gets enraged when anybody tries to impede his ideals. He shifts to the role Persecutor and goes to any extent to remove obstacles in the path of his ideals. First he gets his own father and brother killed at prayer in an accident contrived by him. He himself admits it: "I killed them - yes- but I killed them for an ideal". (65) Muhammad during the second year of his rule faces two problems; Imam-ud-din condemns anti-Islam policies of Muhammad very eloquently at various places and Ain-ul-Mulk whom Muhammad made the governor of Avadh wages a war against him. He with the help of Najib hatches a plot to solve both the problems with one stroke. He sends Imam-ud-din to Ain-ul-Mulk as his emissary on peace mission to avert the bloodbath. Imam-ud- din, dressed in royal costumes, rides the royal elephant. He looks like the Sultan himself. When he is about to speak something, the Sultan army sounds the trumpet. The battle is on. Imam-ud-din is killed by Ain-ul-Mulk before he understands the situation. Ain-ul-Mulk realizes his mistake and seeks the protection of the Sultan against the
wrath of Muslims. Muhammad forgives him. He gets the Amirs of Delhi killed by Hindu soliders during prayer as they try to kill him. After prayer, he kills Shihab-ud-din who joins hands with the Amirs in the plot. After the shifting of the capital to Daulatabad, he gets several people killed on suspicion. His Step-Mother thinks that Najib misleads him so she gets Najib killed. Muhammad is enraged by this and gets her stoned to death. This shift of roles by him from the Rescuer to the Persecutor can be illustrated by his own words:

I was too soft, I can see that now, They'll only understand the whip.

(44)

Aparna Dharwadker considers this the second phase resembling the rule of Indira Gandhi and others in contrast with the first phase resembling the rule of Nehru her father. She writes:

The analogies with Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru thus foreground the more or less well-intentioned idealism of Tughlaq - Barani in the play's first half and suppress the cruelty, repressiveness, and cunning of Tughlaq - Aziz in the second. The analogies with Indira Gandhi (and her political successors) reverse the emphasis and bring the two halves of the play together, because what Romesh Thapar calls her 'mercurial, manipulative, conspirational, brilliant' style of leadership replicates the contradictions and tensions with in Tughlaq to an extra ordinary extent. 10.

Muhammad's life and rule cannot be divided into two different successive phases. Actually Muhammad is basically a Rescuer and often shifts to the role of the Persecutor as a part of his rescuing the people or country. His rescuing follows his persecution. He announces equality of justice after killing his father and brother. He forgives Ain-ul-Mulk and grants his wish after getting Imam-ud-din killed. He arranges all possible facilities for the people to travel from Delhi to Daulatabad after the assassination of the Amirs.
and Shihab-ud-din. He gives people silver dinars in exchange for copper coins which accumulate in cart-loads in his rose garden after his merciless persecution of certain people on suspicion. His profound feelings of guilt and spiritual agony can be seen in his appeal to God who he considers is the Supreme Rescuer:

God! God in Heaven, please help me. Please don’t let go of my hand. My skin drips with blood and I don’t know how much of it is mine and how much of others. I started in your path, Lord, why am I wandering naked in the desert now? I started in search of you. Why am I become a pig rolling in this gory mud? Raise me. Clean me. Cover me with your Infinite Mercy. I can only clutch at the hem of your cloak with my bloody fingers and plead. I can only beg - have pity on me ... (67)

He revives prayer which he banned because the Amirs tried to kill him at prayer. He admits his fault in introducing copper coins and finally in shifting the capital. He confesses this to Barani:

There is only one place to go back to now. Delhi. Back to Delhi, Barani, I have to get back to Delhi with my people. (84)

That is why Aparna Dharwadker compares Muhammed to Mrs. Gandhi:

In the political mythology of the nation Mrs. Gandhi appears both as demon and goddess, emasculating widow and nurturing mother ... But she is closest to Karnad’s protagonist in her propensity for choosing evil out of a compulsion to act for the nation and in the self-destructiveness of her authoritarianism.11

The images of god and demon refer to the roles of the Rescuer and the Persecutor.
Other characters also play their favourite roles. Step-Mother persecutes Najib in order to rescue her son from his bad influence. Sheik Imam-ud-din first persecutes Muhammad in order to rescue Muslims from his anti-Islam rule. Later he becomes the Sultan's Rescuer by agreeing to be his emissary to Ain-ul-Mulk but turns out to be the Victim by getting killed. Shihab-ud-din first is the Rescuer of the Sultan as he looks after the administration when the latter goes to the war against Ain-ul-Mulk. Later he becomes his Persecutor by being convinced by Ratan Singh, his friend, to join hands with the Amirs in the plot against the Sultan. Finally he shifts to the role of Victim by being stabbed mercilessly by the Sultan. Ain-ul-Mulk rescues Muhammad by suppressing the rebellion in Avadh; then he persecutes the latter by waging a war against him; finally he becomes the Victim to be saved by the latter from the wrath of Muslims because of his killing Sheik Imam-ud-din by mistake. Barani finally perceives the lethality of the situation, takes the permission of the sultan and leaves the capital.

People get involved in Drama Triangle and play dangerous games in order to feel powerful and important. Muhammad is no exception to this. Aparna Dharwadker rightly observes: "Tughlaqu's madness and tyranny - the only qualities his subjects attribute to him - are thus forms of powerlessness posing as power." M.K. Naik compares Karnad's Tughlaq with Camus's Caligula and finds the ultimate failure of power common to both of them. Veena Noble Dass discusses the symbolism of the play and observes, 'The game of chess is also an important symbol, symbolising as it does the political gambles Tughlaq's entire career turns out to be.' Most of the critics attributed the fiasco of Muhammad to his idealism. U.R. Anantha Murthy in his introduction to the play recognises the two opposite roles played by Muhammad and others: "Both Tughlaq and his enemies initially appear to be idealists; yet, in the pursuit of the ideal, they perpetrate the
opposite." (ix) The power games in the play therefore reveal that every Rescuer - Victim transaction eventually becomes a Persecutor - Victim transaction.

While we find the Rescuer in Karnad’s Tughlaq, we can find the Persecutor in Tendulkar’s Ghashiram Kotwal though there is shifting of roles in both the plays. Ghashiram is greatly hurt and humiliated by the people of Poona. So, he wants to avenge this on them, but he feels powerless. He wants to get power by becoming the Kotwal of the city. Steiner’s explanation of the roles elucidates this situation:

Being a Rescuer gives us the feeling of being one-up, and this is its only pleasure - it does remove us from the Victim, one-down role. We can also get one-up by becoming Persecutors, but this role is not sanctioned as fully. Generally to be a Persecutor we have to have some sort of official title or badge which legitimizes our persecution.14

Like Tughlaq, this play is based on history and the focus is on the contemporary political scene rather than history. It is set in the late eighteenth century history of Maharashtra when Balaji Janardan Bhanu was the chief administrator (Nana Phadnavis). People criticised him bitterly on the charge that the play was anti-Brahmin and that it distorted the history. In an author’s note, Tendulkar says:

This is not a historical play. It is a story, in prose, verse, music and dance set in a historical era. Ghashirams are creations of socio-political forces which know no barriers of time and place. Although based on a historical legend, I have no intention of commentary on the morals, or lack of them, of the Peshwa, Nana Phadnavis or Ghashiram.15

Commenting on the form and the theme of the play, Girish Karnad explains clearly the contemporary relevance of the play in the introduction to his three plays:
In his *Ghashiram Kotwal*, Tendulkar uses *Dashavatara*, a traditional semiclassical form, to investigate a contemporary political problem, the emergence of 'demons' in public. These demons are initially created by political leaders for the purposes of their own power games, but ultimately go out of control and threaten to destroy their own creators. It is a theme recurrent in Indian mythology: the demon made indestructible by the boon of gods and then turning on the gods themselves. (A decade after the play was written, in Punjab, Sant Bhindranwale and Mrs. Indira Gandhi seemed to be re-enacting the theme in real life in horrifying detail.)\(^\text{16}\)

Therefore, unless we understand the power game in the play we are likely to miss the theme and to agree with Veena Noble Dass who says that "the central weakness of the play is that Ghashiram has been provided with too explicit reason for his conversion from man to monster."\(^\text{17}\)

Ghashiram Savaldas is a poor Brahman from Kanauj. He with his wife and daughter comes to Poona for livelihood. Since he gets no noble employment to suit his caste, he becomes a servant in a courtesan, Gulabi's house. In addition to the housework that he does for her, he also sings and dances when people come to enjoy her erotic songs and dances. Once Nana Phadnavis visits Gulabi. He sprains his ankle during the dance. Then Ghashiram holds his hurt foot in his hands and says: "In my hands has fallen - grace! All here envy me my place!" Nana feels flattered and pleased and offers him a necklace of pearls and leaves. Gulabi snatches the necklace from him and sends him out with the help of her thugs. Ghashiram feels hurt and insulted. Thus Gulabi who once rescues Ghashiram persecutes him later and Ghashiram who remains in the position of the Victim feels helpless and powerless.

Ghashiram then goes out. He feels tired and hungry. When Peshwa arranges a great feast in honour of Brahmans, he also goes there. But the
soldiers do not let him in. Meanwhile a Brahman whose money given by Peshwa is stolen yells that some thief has stolen his money. The soldiers beat Ghashiram severely. Then Nana comes and says that the thief is gone. Brahmans go running after Nana who gives them coins. The soldiers put Ghashiram in prison on the charge of theft though Nana says that he is not the thief. After sometime, a soldier throws him out and orders him to leave Poona on pain of death. Then Brahmans, Brahman women, Gulabi, the Maratha lovers and other look down upon Ghashiram. So he feel immensely humiliated and tormented. In his fury, he says:

But I'll come back. I'll come back to Poona. I'll show my strength. It will cost you! your good days are gone! ... I'll come back like a boar and I'll stay as a devil. I'll make pigs of all of you. I'll make this Poona a kingdom of pigs. Then I'll be Ghashiram again, the son of Savaldas once more. (17)

Now he looks for the best way to get enough power to persecute the people of Poona.

People go to the temple of Lord Ganesh. A Haridasa narrates a religious tale through song and dance. Meanwhile Nana comes and people pay their reverence to him. They listen to the tale while he ogles the women. When the tale is over, people bow to the Haridasa and leave one by one. At last, a pretty lass prays to Ganesh when Nana gets all the doors closed. He puts his hand on her and lustfully says: "All your dreams, this Nana will fulfill." (18) She expresses her fear of being seen and steals away. He runs after her and holds a servant by mistake. Then he urges the servant to go and find her:

If she is not found, no one will keep his head! Our grandeur's gone if she's not had. We tell you, if she is found, then this Nine Court
Nana will conquer Hindustan! What a bosom! Buds just blossoming...

We'll squeeze them like this. (20)

People know that even Peshwa obeys whatever Nana says. Nana is very powerful and the fear of Nana grows day by day. Ghashiram who is in the guise of the servant brings the girl, none but his own daughter, Gauri and sends her to Nana. He seeks power through his daughter.

Now he's in my hands ... I've given my beloved daughter in the jaws of the wolf.... (22)

Nana who enjoys erotic pleasure with Gauri once wants her again and again. Ghashiram blackmails him on this and urges him to make him the Kotwal of Poona. Nana issues the order making Ghashiram the Kotwal of Poona. Samik in the introduction comments: "Tendulkar suggests the sexuality implicit in power in the brilliant innuendo that caps the situation: 'our grandeur's gone if she's not had.' Nana needs Ghashiram. And Ghashiram needs Nana." (v) Thus Nana and Ghashiram rescue each other.

Ghashiram starts persecuting the people of Poona who have humiliated him before and who also happen to be the enemies of Nana. Nana is happy that Ghashiram is doing what he himself wants to do.

Nana (suddenly brightening). Go, Ghashya, old bastard. We made you. We made you Kotwal. Raise hell if you wish. But you don't know the ways of this Nana. This time, there are two bullets in this gun. With the first one, we'll fell your luscious daughter. But with the second we will make the city of Poona dance. Ghashya, child, you're a foreigner. I have put you on Poona's back. Why? As a countercheck to all those conspirators. You'll not be able to join them; they'll never trust you even if you do ... What'll happen is that our misdeeds will be credited to you account. We do; our Kotwal pays .... (24-25)
Samik explains how Nana exercises his power safely through Ghashiram and how this reflects the contemporary political scene in India.

Like ceremony, both religious and secular, the deceptions of deputation constitute yet another device of power. The real power uses the masks of deputation to mediate the exercise of power, to hide from the victims the real face of power so that all resistance is effectively deflected. Intermediate democratic institutions, or the paraphernalia of bureaucracy, too often regarded as repositories of at least executive power, are more often than not masks or mediations that veil the actual exercise of power and hide the perpetrator from the eyes of the Victim. (vi)

The role of Nana in the power game can be understood clearly through the Game Pentagon proposed by Oswald Summerton, an Australian Transactional Analyst. He adds two more roles, the spectator and the Stage-Manager, to the three roles of the Drama Triangle. While Peshwa remains the spectator, Nana becomes the Stage-Manager, managing the power game in which Ghashiram who persecutes the people of Poona ruthlessly finally ends up as their Victim by being mercilessly humiliated and murdered by them.

Ghashiram as a typical Persecutor feels that he is superior to his Victims (the people of Poona). So he cannot tolerate being victimized by the inferior people whom he calls pigs. The Brahmans of Poona once enjoyed the erotic pleasure with courtesans while their wives enjoyed the company of Maratha lovers and courtesans like Gulabi earned great wealth by offering the Brahmans erotic experience. All this is stopped with immediate effect. Everybody has to take the permission of Ghashiram to do anything out of routine. Sutradhar narrates:

Ghashiram Kotwal says to kill a pig, to do an abortion, to be a pimp, to commit a misdemeanour, to steal, to live with one’s divorced wife,
to remarry if one's husband is alive, to hide one's caste, to use counterfeit coins, to commit suicide, without a permit, is a sin. A good woman may not prostitute herself, a Brahman may not sin, without a permit. (26)

Then he adds that whoever does wrong will be punished severly, will not be pitied. Ghashiram started making rounds of Poona at night after eleven O'clock. He accosts anyone that he meets in the streets. He whips people. He arrests and imprisons them. The prisons are full. He harasses and punishes people on mere suspicion. He gets them tortured inhumanly when they do not confess. Revenues have increased and crimes have decreased. But the city of Poona trembles at Ghashiram's name.

Ghashiram feels satisfied with his effective persecution and now he thinks of getting his daughter married:

I've got the Kotwali and I've got Poona straightened out! All these proud Brahmans are as soft as cotton now. No one dares to look at Ghashiram straight in the eye! Now once I find a fitting husband for my darling daughter - that piece of my heart named Lalitha Gauri - and get her married, then everything will be the way I want it. I'll make such a show of the wedding that no one's tongue will move to utter one bad word about my daughter ... (37)

It is thus clear that he wants to make the marriage of his daughter a way of exercising his power. Unless he is very powerful, nobody will accept his daughter who sleeps with Nana. Gauri, the innocent lass, becomes the scapegoat of the power game. Nana enjoys sex with her and gets her killed when she becomes pregnant. Now he marries another teenage girl secretly and she will be his seventh wife. Ghashiram learns this and is heart-broken. He then murderously approaches Nana who is frightened but defiant:
Ghasha, how much more will you grieve? Now be calm. Whatever happened, protocol should not be forgotten. Don't forget that. Whom do you stand before? First you must bow. Now - bow. (43)

Ghashiram like a tamed animal obeys Nana and bows but he is still angry. Nana then praises his work as the Kotwal. Then he quotes from scriptures and advises him to forget the past and to attend to his present duty:

... What has happened, happened. All the world need not know. Your good name. Your reputation is our reputation. Anyone's saying strange things about the Peshwa's Kotwal would be unbrahminical. Every care should be taken that no one anywhere speaks of this. If you hear a gossip - monger, don't wait a second longer - cut off his head!... (45)

Ghashiram once sold his daughter for power and now he accepts her death only to continue exercising his power. Thus Nana cleverly stagemanages the power play and quietens Ghashiram.

Ghashiram starts acting out his fury caused by the death of Gauri. He starts murdering people. People says: "The Kotwal has acquired a penchant for human blood." They are greatly frightened. Prisons are over crowded and some die of suffocation. Poona Brahmans cannot bear it any longer. They are enraged and demand Nana to issue an order to behead Ghashiram Kotwal. Without much hesitation, Nana gives them the order and tells them to do with him whatever they like. Then he says:

Use a thorn to take out a thorn. That's great. The disease has been stopped. Anyway, there was no use for him any more ... (52)

The angry mob surround Ghashiram. They beat him, shave his head, paint saffron on it, ride him on a camel, tie him to the leg of an elephant and finally tie his hands behind his back. Ghashiram, overcome by remorse, says to them:
I danced on your chests but I wasted the life of my little daughter.
I should be punished for the death of my daughter. Beat me. Beat me. Hit me. Cut off my hands and feet. Crack my skull,... (54)

The people shout around him. He succumbs to injuries and dies.

Nana, the Stage-Manager in the Game Pentagon of power, comes and addresses 'his epilogue' to the people:

Ladies and gentlemen. Citizens of Poona. A threat to the great city of Poona has been ended today. (The crowd cheers). A disease has been controlled. The demon Ghashya Kotwal, who plagued all of us, has met his death. Everything has happened according to the wishes of the gods. The mercy of the gods is with us always. (55)

He then bans the funeral rites for Ghashiram and banishes all his relatives. The people shout and cheer. Now Gulabi comes dancing. Nana's wives come dancing. All people dance happily and Nana joins them.

Nanas and Ghashirams will be there in every society as long as the hierarchies of power and the alienation that is behind them continue to exist in our societies. The people of Poona think that Ghashiram is dead. But Ghashiram is dead only as a person while his role is very much alive and somebody will play the role. That is why Tendulkar himself aptly observes:

Broadly speaking, I had in mind the emergence, the growth and the inevitable end of the Ghashirams; also those who create, and help Ghashirams to grow; and the irony of stoning to death a person pretending that it is the end of Ghashirams. (Quoted by Samik in the Introduction, V)

So is the role played by the people: the Victim. They give away their power by accepting the hierarchy of power and by obeying the authorities.
dulkar while writing the play felt the need to treat the people as a single character and so he searched for a form that suits it. He said to Samik:

The urgency was of finding a form in which a class or a multitude could become the central character. (The present title came only to suggest the incident and not the character Ghashiram Kotwal.) De-glamorization of the historical incident incidentally happened because of the form and I liked it. I meant it. (viii)

Girish Karnad also explains how the form fits the theme:

The central theatrical device in the play is the use of about a dozen singers who start conventionally enough as a chorus. But as the play progresses, they become the human curtain alternately hiding the action and revealing bits of it as in a peep show. From the neutral commentators, they slide into the role of voyeurs who enjoy the degeneration they condemn, of courtiers who perpetrate atrocities, and of the populace that suffers the harassment.19

The Victim resorts to voyeurism in order to enjoy the vicarious experience of power. And this prevents the people from realizing their hidden power so they perhaps play the under-dog power games.

Tendulkar's another play, Sakharam Binder, can also be analysed using Drama Triangle. Sakharam is actually born in a Brahmin family. His father plays the Persecutor and always beats him severely for petty reasons. Sakharam cannot bear it any longer and flees from home when he is eleven. He develops disgust for orthodox Brahminism. He gives up the Brahminical tradition and lives like a Mahar, a dirty scavenger. Thus he tries to overcome his powerlessness by rebelling against the tradition.

Sakharam rescues the women who have been victimized by the tradition. He detests the institution of marriage which is also a part of his revolt against the tradition. So he lives with a single woman on contractual
cohabitation. The woman is free to leave when she feels like leaving. Six women have left him. So he brings Lakshmi, the seventh one, who is deserted by her husband. Sakharam thinks that he is better than any husband. He says to Lakshmi:

And you're free to take all that you've been given here. I mean clothes, Chappals, bangles. Oh, yes, Everything good and proper, where Sakharam Binder is concerned. He's no husband to forget common decency.\textsuperscript{20}

But he proves himself to be worse than a husband. He tortures his woman if she deviates from the rules that he tyrannically imposes on her. Thus he shifts to the role of the Persecutor, which he hates in his father. He rebels against his father and the tradition but he plays the role of his father and observes new but oppressive rules.

Lakshmi suffers a great deal yet remains compliant. She succeeds in re-Brahminizing Sakharam so Sakharam drinks little, swears little, baths regularly and prays to God. But he does not tolerate her religious obstinacy of not allowing Dawood, his Muslim friend, to join in the worship of Lord Ganesh. So he beats her severly. She does not yield and leaves him.

Sakharam then brings Champa, an agile woman who has deserted her sadistic husband who enjoyed inflicting pain such as putting chilly power in her genitals. She becomes frigid. She drinks liquor to overcome frigidity when Sakharam forces her to have sex. Gradually this becomes routine. He enjoys life and stops going to the press. Dawood advises him to go to the press to earn livelihood. Meanwhile Lakshmi comes again. Sakharam does not allow her into his house. However Champa takes pity on her and urges Sakharam to allow her. He grows impotent after Lakshmi's arrival. Champa, probably cured of frigidity, seeks sexual pleasure with Dawood.
Lakshmi learns this and conveys it to him when he orders her to quit. Unable to reconcile himself to the loss of his power of sex, he strangles Champa to death in his emotion. He is shocked at what he has done. Then Lakshmi encourages him to bury her secretly. The shift of roles is very clear: Sakharam from the Rescuer to the persecutor; Lakshmi from the Victim to the Persecutor; and Champa from the Rescuer to the Victim. Thus the Rescuer - Victim transaction shifts to the Persector Victim transaction.

Badal Sircar’s That other History, like Sakharam Binder, exemplifies the power struggle at family level. The play is in three acts. In the first, Vasanti tells her story while in the second, Sharad, her husband narrates his story. The third is the reverie of Sharad.

Seethanath marries Kanak. Whose sister becomes a concubine to overcome poverty. He saves money and buys a site. He deposits some amount in a bank regularly. Kanaka is happy about it. But her drunkard father threatens him that he will make his wife also a concubine if he does not give him money for liquor. Seethanath yields to this blackmailing and gives him money regularly. For this, he sells the house-site and withdraws the balance of money from the bank. Thus, he allows himself to be persecuted by her father in order to rescue his wife. One day Kanaka comes to know that her husband has sold the site and also that he has drawn all the money from the bank. But he keeps the blackmailing of her father secret. She is not told the real reason so she loses her faith in him and leaves him to follow the example of her sister. Broken-hearted, he commits suicide. Thus he persecutes himself in rescuing his wife.

In the second story, Seethanath is a teacher. He persecutes a student for reading a morbid novel Lolita in which Lolita, small girl, is raped. This triggers intense guilty feelings in him as he once raped Parvati, a twelve-year
beautiful girl. Now Gauri, the daughter of the headmaster, evokes erotic emotion in him. Now he is afraid of repeating the old crime with Gauri. So he sends Kanak, his wife, out and commits suicide to avert the crime. Instead of overcoming the morbid desire, he persecutes himself.

In the third, Sharad sees the other side, the negative side of history, in his reverie. He witnesses the ruthless persecution of people by cruel kings and dictators from Alexander to Hitler at various times and places from Jallianwala Bagh to Hiroshima for expanding power. Seethanath says to Sharad: "This, Sharad, is that other, the unspoken, the remaining history of thousands and thousands of years." Sharad then sees Seethanath and his morbidity in himself. He feels horrified to perceive the other side of his own personality which he has never expected to exist in himself. He then wakes up from his reverie. This psychological play of Sircar throws light on the existence of the demon, the Persecutor in the personality of everybody and the havoc that it has caused throughout human history.

"Having been in a powerless position, we make ourselves feel better by taking, and assuming power over others as Rescuers or Persecutors" as Steiner rightly points out. The eponymous character of Karnad's Tughlaq assassinates his own father and brother and becomes the king to overcome his powerlessness. He believes that he can alone rescue his people. All his reforms are exploited by the people like Aziz and thus he comes down to the role of Victim. He persecutes the people who try to obstruct his rescuing and he therefore shifts to the role of Persecutor. Soon after he returns to his original role - the Rescuer. This shifting of roles continues till the end of the play. The protagonist of Tendulkar's Ghashiram Kotwal is humiliated and hurt by the people of Poona. Now he is the Victim. Later he sells his own daughter to Nana and buys power by being made the Kotwal of Poona. He
persecutes the people ruthlessly and creates a veritable hell for them in the city. Thus he becomes the Persecutor to overcome his powerlessness. But finally, the people take the permission of Nana and murder him after torturing and humiliating him. Thus, he ends up as a Victim. In Tendulkar's another play, *Sakharam Binder*, Lakshmi persecutes Champa who has rescued her from Sakharam. Sircar's *That Other History* shows how everybody has in his mind the demon that is responsible for violence, destruction and wars, the other side of history.
REFERENCES

4. Steiner, 182.
5. Steiner, 182.
9. Sukrat and Aflatoon refer to Socrates and Plato.
11. Dharwadker, 53.
12. Dharwadker, 52.
22. Steiner, 182.