CHAPTER - II

REVIEW OF SOURCE MATERIAL

Historical hyperbolas in proper dimension are powerful solvents of exaggerations and useful corrective of misconceptions. A harmonious union of scientific precision, literary elegance and artistic skills give completeness to historical perception of past. In such an exercise during medieval period, various contemporary historiographical sources tried to analyze and interpret the complex configurations of human behavior taking into consideration the cultural matrix, social status, economic trends and political milieu of the age in which medieval institutions, literary conditions and cultural traditions were produced.

Keeping this in track in the present chapter of historiography we tried to identify various evidences and works for the study of "Representation of women in the miniature paintings in the Deccan School." The methodology for the present research necessitates intensive research into different historical sources. In this endeavor the work is carried over on the basis of various primary and secondary works of published and unpublished, keeping a close nexus of the present contours of scholarship related to the subject.

Among the primary sources, an enormous collection of miniature paintings pertaining to medieval Deccan have been analyzed from various government and private collections at museums and libraries. They add richness to historical evidence and are of real importance in the sense that apart from depicting the episodes of royalty they also represent glamorous and spiritual feminine world with variety of themes. Hence all these paintings are carefully observed to derive reliable conclusions. Few archival sources, which are like gold mines for historical research also have been scrutinized like documents, farmans, newsletters, and daftars from various treasure houses. A division of Persian, Telugu and proto-Urdu or Dakhni sources has also been made in this regard, which capture the complete picture of medieval Deccan. They do mention in detail the manner in which kingdoms were administered regarding law, justice, culture and art of the times, a culmination of
which is very essential to derive appropriate conclusions and analysis. Various accounts of foreign travelers like Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Thevenot, Manucci, Count Modave, Methold, Bernier, Dellevalle and others, who referred to the politico-economic prosperity, societal situations and religious tempo of medieval Deccan and their analysis of contemporary situations conducive to the growth of art have also been evaluated. Their observations can be of immense use because a comparative study of their writings may thrust out certain important aspects of Deccani art and history.

Regarding the secondary works, since the study involves of wide range of aspects like art history, women's history and general history of Golconda and Hyderabad, instead of single-way of categorizing, the study can be best understood in two strands of Historiography. The first approach is predominated by Indian scholars and few foreign experts who looks at various conditions of medieval Deccan from 17th to 18th centuries, taking into account the civil administration, military organization, inter-state relations in peace and war, the relations with non Deccani powers in India and abroad and about economic wealth and cultural progress. These works are of immense significance for they provide new outlines for the analysis of historical aspects of medieval Deccan. The focus in most of there works is concentrating mainly on the analysis of how different elements contributed to a cultural synthesis in the Deccan diverse aspects of the functioning of the kingdoms and their relation with the society and other aspects of historical analysis, they have taken into consideration the regional variations in medieval Deccan, the rise of political powers and the impact of ideology on art forms. The study of these works helps to know the factors which gave rise to the blossoming of artistic traditions in Golconda and Hyderabad.

Few works dealing with women try to signify the fact that there has been a reasonable realization among women historians that writing their own history is justified not merely for the purpose of regaining the balance but also for its own sake to resurrect, reassess and refill the lost women of history. The second and final approach is exclusively related to all works of art, their style of presentation and in particular to miniature paintings of Golconda and Hyderabad. Their importance lies either in strengthening the existing scholarship or refuting it on the basis of empirical
data, which enlarges the frontiers of historical knowledge. They highlight that Deccan Qutb Shahis and Nizams were not only good administrators, but also great patrons of art. The constructive interest of rulers in artistic pursuits and their encouragement to a class of confident artists and painters provided incentive for the development of miniature art. The foreign contacts of Sultans also resulted in variety of miniatures with Persian, Turkish and European influences, which were thoroughly digested.

They also bring to light how the economic wealth with progressive tendencies in agriculture, industry, trade and commerce provided necessary incitement for the elevation and advancement of this art. With this prosperity the Qutb Shahis and Nizams could afford the patronization of a culture, which is known for its efflorescence and splendor. The resplendency of the cultural gaiety could also be found profoundly in high solidarity of social classes, especially in matters of religion and cultures namely "the Deccani and Hyderabad cultures". The main contribution of their approach lies in lavish artistic patronage provided by Qutb Shahis and Asaf Jahis in 17th and 18th centuries. Among these primary sources and secondary works a plethora of evidences have been scrutinized which can be analyzed as follows.

I. MINIATURE PAINTINGS:

Foremost an enormous collection of miniature paintings pertaining to Golconda and Hyderabad have been thoroughly examined from several government and private collections at Museums and libraries like Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad, Wales Museum, Bombay, National Museum, New Delhi, A.P State Museum, Hyderabad, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Hyderabad, etc. This pictorial material as part of art and cultural dynamics, testify to the process of mutual accommodation and synthesis of diverse impulsion's of historic spirit.

Apart from usual male-dominated royal scenes, they also represent the neglected sensual divine and historic feminine world retaining the medieval geographical and archaeological environment with glowing Deccani colors. For instance there are several paintings in the manuscripts like Bahar Danish, Kulliyat of Sadi, Yusuf Wa Zulaikha, Shawama Wa Parwana, Khushrau- Shirin, Divan-i-Hafiz, Anwar-i-Suhailli, Laila- Majnum Nal-Daman, Kulliyat, etc, depicting royal personalities
rulers, poets, nobles, scholars, ministers, soldiers, saints, courtiers, Queens, Princesses, Courtesans, Yoginis, Ragnis, maidens, dancers, musicians and ordinary women. They deal with cluster of themes like royalty, war, nature, women, music and dance, poetry, medicine, architecture, palace atmosphere, European, aesthetic, spiritual and festive themes are also collected and evaluated. The thematic contents decimate knowledge of prevalent cultural traditions through their subject portrayals. The most important aspect is that apart from highlighting art history, they give scintillating picture of lifestyle and active role of women in various realms of that age, which is the need of the hour from historical perspective to construct women's history of medieval Deccan.

These depictions envisage eternally, an ideally modeled conceptual figure in which differences of rank and status are blurred due to the emphasis laid on charm of voluptuous character of the feminine form in general. It is pertinent here to point out that these miniatures do reflect a sound, study and deep understanding and a clear insight into the subject of women and all symbolic of amiable Deccani popular environment in which women were of significant part.

These sources which are fairly representative with brilliant expression help in clearing the confusion and in overcoming the obstacle of lack of reliable data on medieval Deccani women in particular. To establish the historicity of these representations of women a meticulous observation is imperative hence a comparison of an individual picture with other authentic portraits of the same genre has been undertaken which proved to be of immense use in this regard. This can also be made on the basis of an examination of folio, which generally contain any inscription or autograph that declares the subject of the paintings or painter of Deccan or other entity.

On the whole miniature paintings as an important source provide needed information for the present work which is primarily based on them. Here artistic concern is not just with the prettiness, charm and sensuous beauty of the females but also with the aspects related to their power, participation and strength in royal aspect as well as their artistic, aesthetic spiritual and literary endeavors, they give extensive data by dealing with the iconography composition, themes and picturization of various historical scenes of Golconda and Hyderabad.
2. ARCHIVAL WEALTH AND LITERARY WORKS:

The richness of a place does not merely lie in its geographical weather but in its contribution to its own culture that forms part of historic entity. In this aspect the archival wealth of a kingdom or city reflects the culture heritage and history. Archivists who flash the torch of truth along time mould ring records illuminating all the fading past like golden letters on an ancient scroll. Similarly the kingdom of Golconda and Hyderabad city speaks aloud for its variety and antiquity. They can claim laurels for their valuable manuscripts, documents of immense value, farmans, official records and other sources of importance.

In this unmatched archival wealth, historical manuscripts proved to be of immense use for the present research. For instance Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Telugu manuscripts of antiquity from these various treasure houses have been analyzed to the maximum extent possible with help of translators and concerned persons. These manuscripts are mostly historic and artistic giving exhaustive and authentic information of the times. The illuminated manuscripts on display are of a very high artistic taste and show how oriental nobility and royalty lavishly spent resources in making their books beautiful, attractive and informative. The use of precious mineral colors, delicate and intricate designs and high standard of calligraphy speak not only of those who worked on the manuscripts but also of those who patronized the artists. These manuscripts represent Kufi, Maghrib, Naskh, Thulth, Raihan, Tughra and Ghubar scripts?

(A) PERSIAN SOURCES:

Since Persian was the official language of the place as well as language of communication among the learned, it became the rendezvous of scholars and writers of that language. Some important Persian manuscripts and sources analyzed for the present study are Ferista Muhammad Kasim's Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad Gilani's Hadiqatus-Salatin, Syed Ali b Azizullah Tabataba's Burhan-i-Maathir, Abdullah Qutb Shah's Diwan-e-Abdullah Qutb Shah, Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's Diwan-e-Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, Nuruddin Jami's, Yusuf Wa Zulaikha, Ali Bisutun's JChuliyat of Sadi, Faqir Baba's Zakhira-i-khwarizmShahi, Abdullah Qutb Shah's, Divan-i-Hafiz, Hatifi's JChushrau-Shirin,
Tatar Khan Bihariji's, Bahar Danish, Tajalli Ali Shah's Tujuk-i-Asifi, Abul Qasim's, Hadiqatul Alam, Hatifi's Khushrau-Shirin, etc.

These manuscripts and works apart from giving the politico-economic socio-cultural history of Golconda and Hyderabad do provide relevant data regarding women of the times. For instance Hadiqatus- Salatin contains history of Abdullah Quli Qutb Shah. It also deal with royal palace, its layout, various architectural structures and arts of time including painting. It mentions the position which men of learning, artists of talent and scholars of wisdom occupied in the kingdom and mention about administration of the country. It also mentions about procession of Tazias, army reviews, grand concourses of the people, free food to the needy, palaces of the king, Moharram celebrations, Prophet's Birthday, festival and about musicians and dancers.

Tarikh-e Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah gives an account of all Qutb Shahi kings of Golconda complied in 1612 AD. Takira -e- Asiffiyah has an history of first three Nizams, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Nasir Jung and Muzaffar Jung covering a period of 35 years from 1718 to 1751 AD. Tarikh-e —Nizami discusses about Nizam Ali Khan and historical events related to his time. Maasir-e- Asifi gives a description of Hyderabad and about all Asif Jahi rulers. Tuzuk-e-Asifi depicts the lives of Nizams and describes all events of importance to which the author was an eye witness. Hadiqatul - Alam mentions about history of Qutb Shahi's and Asaf Jahis in two volumes. Mah- Nama also gives information about Asaf Jahi rulers. It was complied at the request of the versatile courtesan of Nizam's darbar, Chanda Bai who was honored by the title of Mah- Laqa (Moon face). It also mentions about administrative structure and officials like Peshkars, Ulemas, Munshis, Qadis, Calligraphers, Hakims and Astrologers. Tarikh -e-Dakkan has an history of Haidarabad from fall of the Golconda dynasty to the establishment of the Asif Jahi dynasty from 1687 to 1724 AD and of Rajas of Warangal.

Anonymous author in Maathir-Qutb Shahi dynasty describes the history of Qutb Shahi dynasty, beginning with the description of Qara Quyunlu background of Sultan Quli family. For instance, it gives detail information about the foundation of Golconda and Hyderabad, history of Qutb Shahi's and Nizam Shahi's dynastic origin and regime, personal character and accomplishments of rules, about their army,
campaigns undertaken, conquest made public works their matrimonial alliances and patronage to literature, edifices and cultural aspects.

Ali bin Taifur-al-Bustani in Hadiquutu's salatinf kalami-i-khawaqin (The gardens of the Sultans and the poetic compositions of kings) mentions about life - histories, poems and letters of some ministers, judges and learned men. It mentions in detail the manner in which kingdom was ruled, the duties and functions of ministers, day-day postings of high civil and military officers, administration of law and justice, administration of economic prospects and profits of the kingdom, etc. It gives a fairly correct picture of social life of people, their superstitions, and their rites and ceremonial festivals.

Regarding few manuscripts dealing exclusively with the paintings are Zakhira-i-KhwarizmShahi which contains depiction of Persianate angels, both seated as well as flying with tambourines and other holding trays. Sinbad Nama has seventy illustrations in a mixed Turkman- Safavid style like Soloman and Queen of Sheba enthroned. Several miniatures have Telugu captions. Yusuf Zulaikha contains two miniatures dated to the period (1582-1590 AD). It illustrates few scenes of a story of Queen of Egypt named Zulaikha, who fell madly in love with Yusuf, the beloved son of the prophet yaqub, Diwan-e-Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah has 138 folios of which few depict King and Queen enthroned with cups in heir hand, watching dance performances to the accompaniment of music. All the dancers and musicians depicted are female artists, Kulliyat of Sadi has 353 folios in Deccani style executed in early 17th century in the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, few scenes depicts Queen zulaikha in her court along with distinguished ladies of Egypt. Bahar Danish illustrated in 1712 AD has 58 paintings of good style and 251 paintings executed in 1789 AD of mediocre.

Rafiud Din Shirazi observed in his Tazkuratul Muluk written in 1608 that in a large city with magnificent mansions was founded everyone of which had a garden attached to it. Some of the trees of these gardens were so tall that they seemed to touch the very sky, both bazaars and house were so full of trees that the whole city looks like one garden and there is such a variety of fruits from Khurasan and Portugal that they have lost all their worth. Such sceneries were often depicted in the miniature paintings of the time. Regarding the Bhagmati legend, Nizamuddin
Bakhshi in his *Tabaqat-i- Akbar Shah*; remarks that Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah succeeded Ibrahim and became so enamoured of a Hindu Prostitute (*Patare*), Bhamgasi by name that he founded a city which he called Bhagnagar.  

During Sultan Muhammad's reign several Persian books as *Risala Micarea*, by Mir Mohammad Momin, *Mizanuth-li-bai Qutb Shahi* by Hakim ta Qiuddin, *Tarikh-e-Muhammad Qutb Shah* were written highlighting political, cultural aspects.  

Mirza Muhammad Amin Shahirstani wrote *Masnavi’s* and *ghazalas*. Another Persian poet was Mulla mu'n Misak Subazwari who mentioned courtly matters.  

During Asaf Jahi period some important Persian sources were *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk* of Muhammad Yahya Khan, *Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin* of Muhammad Qasim and *Hadikatul Alam*. Several Persian archival documents, letters, newsletters of Hyderabad State also throw light on early history of Nizams. Some famous poets of the time were Khaja Munim, Mir Abdul Wali Uzlat, Wafmuddin Ajiz, Mir Nawazish Ali Shaida, Hafiz Mohammad Miran, Rafiuddin Shamsul Umara and others. The royal magnanimity inspired these literary activities and it is very interesting to know that when Asaf Jah I shifted from Aurangabad to Hyderabad, many Persian scholars accompanied him like Tajalli ali Shah, Lala Mansa Ram and Laxmi Narayan shafeeq. Asaf Jah himself was a poet of distinction in Persian, who wrote extensively about nature and romantic women.

In culmination these manuscripts and works provide authentic data of social and cultural life of people along with dynastic and administrative set-up. They are wealth of facts because of being very punctilious about dates and events. Their survey of facts are chronologically correct to a large extent and hence are authentic in corroborating miniatures paintings with such data and facts.  

(B) TELUGU SOURCES:

Telugu language rose to high pinnacle of glory mainly under the dynamic patronage of Qutb Shahi dynasty. Though their official language was Persian, Dakhni Urdu and Telugu developed simultaneously in a congenial atmosphere amounting to cultural integration. Several Telugu chronicles like Sehshayya’s, *Andhra Kavitha Tarangini*, farmans like Yousuf Hussain Khan farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans, songs, poems and manuscripts give information on the
political, social and women's history of the times. For instance, different kinds of Telugu songs connected with Muharram festival are sung throughout the year by Telugu folks.  

Direct encouragement was also given by the court to Telugu music and dance which reflect the culture and social life of the medieval times and the aspects with which common women were involved with.

For instance, musician Kshatrtyya, who was the founder of a particular style of music and dance called *Mowa Gopala Padamu* came to Golconda and composed as many as one thousand songs.  

Another great name in this regard was Kancherla Goppana also known as Badrachala Ramadasu, who composed a large number of *kirtana* songs in praise of the divinity. These *kirtanas* are very popular all over the Andhra region. He composed 108 *Satakas* called *Dasarath Satakamu* or implorations which describe the religious conditions of the time. These are very useful to know the cultural and religious synthesis during that time a theme which got reflected in miniatures also.

Several poems composed by great poets like Adanki Gangadhara, Pattametti Somayajulu, Ganesha Pandita, Kandukuri Rudrakavi, Saragu Tammayya, Ponnaganti Teleganarya Kavi and many others give information on conquest and culture. For instance, Ibrahim Qutb Shah who was acclaimed by native Telugu poets as Malkibarama had imbibed a passion for the Telugu language. He even married one Andhra woman, Bhagirathi.  

His court was crowded with Telugu poets. He appointed Adanki Gangadhara Kavi as a Telugu poet laureate of his court. He was the author of well-known poem *Tapathi Somavarnamu Upakhyanamu* dedicated to the Sultan. The poet says that the Sultan's court was thronged with men learned in the vedas, sastras, puranas and ambassadors from the courts of Vijayanagar, Gajapathis of Orissa etc.

He says that that the Sultan's simhasan (throne) was placed in the middle of the royal court and was flanked on one side by foreign representatives and ambassadors and on the other by protected and feudatory rajas, commander of troops and other high officials. This description of the order of Sultan's court is depicted in most of the - then miniature paintings. The poet also describes Ibrahim's charity to the poets as exceeding lakhs and crores of rupees depending on their proficiency which
indicate the wealth of the period, a part of which was channeled also into the
development of lavish art of miniatures.

Another poet of Ibrahim's reign, Kandukuri Rudrakavi describes in his work
*Nirankusopakhyanam*, about the accomplishments of courtesans- another popular
theme of paintings. These courtesans without themselves liking anyone evoked
interest in their clients by pleasing each one in a particular way. During Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's reign a poet named Sarangu Tammayya, the karnam of
Golconda wrote an interesting devotional song entitled *Vipranarayana charitra*. In
it two sisters Madhuravani and Devadevi, both courtesans by profession, lay a wager
to entice a Vaishnava bramhachary of Srirangapatnam named Vipranarayana
Devadevi succeeds in her attempts but later changes her profession moved by his
devotion. Such accounts of courtesans and their depiction in paintings reveal that
courtesans formed an important corpus of women spear and hence were recognized
both by poets and artists of that time and were generally perceived as dancing girls
and concubines in royal court harem. Such works of poets patronized by royalty do
remain an important source to reconstruct history of few sections of women of
medieval Golconda in particular.

Such patronage of Telugu literature was also followed by nobles as well. One of
whom was Amin khan of Patancheru, a philanthropist and a lover of Telugu. A poet
named Ponniganti Telaganarya dedicated his "work *Yayathi charitam* to Amin
Khan. The poem gives information about the social history of the period, for it
gives an inside view into the family life of nobles and their women. For instance, the
poem mentions that Amin Khan founded a town named Amin Pura, constructed a
large tank, performed many marriages, built many wells and garden for the public at
large. He had three wives of whom Ban Bibi had soft corner for the poor and
distributed milk free to the children of the town. The other two wives being Sekkar
Bibi and Semma Bibi.

Though most of these *kavyas* served the interest of the aristocracy yet they give a
picture of the society and common woman. They reflect the tolerance and patronage
of rulers and the broad features of the cultural fabric. In literary works like these
elements of realism and socio economic conditions can be tapped to a large extent.
Another interesting source in Telugu during Abdullah's Qutb Shah's time was bilingual farmans with a longer version in Telugu than in Persian language. These farmans issued by the Sultans became a symbol of the composite culture of dominions and gave information about administrative matters, karkanas and rent free lands. These karkanas were work shops where several utilitarian things and art objects were produced like miniatures. These farmans also give information of the life of nobility, their relationship with people and show how the scions of their family were not content with the patronage accorded to them by the court but try to excel in the art of war and peace on their own account.

There are several other books in Telugu which give information on women for instance Saint Akbar Shah's Sringaramanjari a work on love in Telugu and Sanskrit talks about profane love and the classification of woman from the physical and Psychological point of view. It mentions the subject of the Nayaka - Nayikas theme that had been made popular among Muslim patrons interest and hence the author mentions such aspects in his books. The subject of Nayaka-Nayika even became an important theme of miniature paintings that reflect sensual love and affection. There were other writers like Chitalapalli Chhayapati Kotikalapudi Veeraraghava Kavi and others whose works talk about social history.

Regarding Telugu manuscripts relevant kaifiyats or narratives collectively known as Mackenzie manuscripts have been examined which gives information at village level and impact of contemporary events in a particular area. Most important kaifiyats from present view point are those of Cuddapah, Hanumakonda, Kondavidu, Tadapatri, Nandyala, Korukonda, Samalkot and Kimnourus. They also deal with cultural aspect of the time.

During Asaf Jahi period also, certain Hindu poets displayed talent and skill, where elegance and beauty became essential elements of poetry. Among them prominent were Narsing Rai, Guru Saranbati Azad, Rajarajeswar Rao, Lala Mukundlal Jouri, Giridhari Pershad and others.

(C) DAKHNI OR PROTO URDU SOURCES:

The encouragement from royalty to learned men as well merchants from over the seas to settle down in the kingdom created unity among different sections of the
population. One of the results of this intimate relationship was the rise of Dakhni, which created a niche for itself in the kingdom.\textsuperscript{44} During Ibrahim reign poets namely Mullakhiyalli, Firoz, Mahmud Shauqi and Ahmed gave an account of history of Golconda. The poems of Mulla Washi and Ibin-i-Nishati also became popular.

The 17th century was considered to be the golden age of old Urdu, particularly the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah - which forms a distinct land mark in the development of Dakhni. Muhammad Quli himself describes in his poems about his indulgence in wine and his affairs with his amours, about nature, gardens, scented blossom festivals and the persons he loved.\textsuperscript{45} He was the first major poet of old Urdu style. His \textit{Kulliyat} covers all the significant forms of Urdu poetry like Ghazals, Qasida, Rubai, Marsiya and Mashnavi, etc.\textsuperscript{46} All his compositions in Dakhni Urdu have been compiled into a book called \textit{Quliyath Quli}.

Another poet and romancer of note who wrote in Dakhni during his reign was Mulla Washi, who in his romantic work Mashnavi \textit{Qutb Mushtari} mentions the supposed love of the king to Mushtari, Princess of Bengal.\textsuperscript{47} In the poem, he also mentions about the happiness and generosity of the king Sultan Ibrahim on the birth of his son. Of the celebrations on the occasion, he says: "Because in this gathering angels had come to render service the king gave them so much gold that they made a new sky of gold. After giving all these charity the king celebrated the festival of spring (\textit{basant}) with diamonds."\textsuperscript{48} Such description can also be perceived in miniatures, which depicted angels and golden skies.

Mulla Washi's another allegorical romantic work \textit{Sabras} deals with eternal conflict of love and reason. \textit{Sabras} is a milestone in the development of Urdu prose and is perhaps the most resplendent specimen of old Urdu. It mentions about king, his \textit{Ishq} (love), and other characters like spy, demon and so on, mentions the names of cities, forts, garden and groves.\textsuperscript{49} Such description was illustrated frequently in the miniature paintings also. A manuscript \textit{Nal-Daman} dated to 1698 AD written in Deccani Urdu also contains such illustrations.

Another poet of eminence of this period was Shaik Ahmed who composed three Mashnavis, \textit{Laila Majnu}, \textit{Musebat-e-abi-e-bail} and \textit{Yusuf Zaikha}.\textsuperscript{50} Here it is apt to remark that many paintings of the time centered around themes like \textit{Laila Majnu} in Golconda School of miniatures and contains several other illustrations of those
aspects mentioned in the poems of the times. For instance, like love-stricken ladies, waiting for beloved, description of the beauty of women, etc.

During Abdullah Qutb-Shah Ghawasi compiled three Mathnawis, Malha Satwanti, Saiful-Mulk wa Badi-ul-Jamal and Tuhnama, where he mentioned allegorical romances. He practically wrote all forms of Dakhni poetry like Mathnawi, Ghazal, Marthia, Rekhti or women's idiom. Other important poets and their works of the times were Ibn-e-Nishati's Phulban, AH Akbar Junaidi's Mahpaikar, Syed Ballaqi's Merajnama, Abid Shah's, Saikeen, etc.

Gradually the tone of Dakhni literature began to change and a greater inclination to compose marthiya or dirges in honor of martyrs. Famous poets in this regard were Shah-Quli Khan Shahi and Shah-Raju, who wrote Bayaz-i-Qadum (Marthiya of 24 lines). They show effervescence of a sincere faith. There is also an interesting composition Suhagan Nama in which a Suhagan (a woman whose husband is alive) is admonished in familiar though appealing lines to lead a life of purity and to deal with her husband with courtesy and respect. Other Mathnawi being Tabal Bahramwa Gulandam, Faiz's Rizwan's Shah wa Ruh-Afza. In later years Dakhni literature mentioned religious history of the time like Ghawwasi's Qissa-i-Hussaini, Muhibb's yMujiza-i-Fahima, Muhibb's Mathnawi, etc.

Thus, Urdu, which is Turkish in origin and means a camp or army in Deccan, came to be known Dakhni gave different accounts of cultural, religious and women's history of medieval Deccan. Urdu poetry mentioned episodes like separation from beloved, acute deprivation, love themes which have became popular in miniature paintings.

With the downfall of Golconda in 1687 A.D. and the Mughal conquest of the Deccan, Urdu attained a new garb. Poets like Ruhi, Qadir, Mirza wrote Marthiyas. Few wrote romantic and secular themes like Shaikh Dawood Zaifi (Hidayat-e-Hindi). Muhammad khan Ishrati and Wajhi were known for their classical Dakhni style.

When Asaf Jahi dynasty came to power in 1724, Nizam-ul-Mulk held sway over the Deccan and many men of letters from different parts came to Deccan. Famous poets and their works during this period were Mir Gulam Azad (Bahur-e-Moheet), an encyclopedia referring to Gasaid, Mashnavis, Rubiyat, Qitab, etc, Samsamul Mulk
Sanm wrote a book on cities, districts and towns. Lachmi Narayana Shafiq wrote three Tazkeras and biography of the Nizam.\textsuperscript{55}

Thus, all this poetic forms and most of the trends of poetry of 17th and 18th centuries, had their sprouting on the soil of Deccan. In totality, Dakhni literature contained certain linguistic and social trends maintaining a balance between Indian and Persian elements. Purely Deccani elements and sentiments remained principle themes of inspiration apart from mystic thoughts, which were synthesized at descriptive level.

These sources are of utmost importance as they do give information about certain aspects of women's live in Deccan. Moreover since the essence of art lies in codification, technical analysis, theoretical enunciation and speculative interest, the miniature paintings can be corroborated with them in order to know the authenticity of the themes illustrated, to analyze internal similarities and depictions of these sources and finally to remove various contradictions and anomalies regarding medieval Deccani art in their existence.

(D) FOREIGN ACCOUNTS:

Several accounts of foreign travelers and merchants like Tavernier, Thevenot, Methwold, Schoerer, Van Ravesteyn, Manucci, Niccoloo, Francois Bernier, Abbe Carre, Dellavalle, Martyn Fryer, Count Modave, Buchanau Francis and others who referred to the political parameters, progressive economic tendencies, social structures and cultural patronage of medieval Deccani kingdoms are also analyzed to derive reliable conclusions.

Inspite of their ethno-centric bias and the necessarily limited understanding of Deccan history these sources can be utilized in terms of methodology and comparative approach to know the interplay of various forces, influences and issues of Golconda and Hyderabad history. For instance Methwold an English traveler mentioning about the historicity and personal life of Golconda rulers remarked that "The King [Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah] had four wives and at least 1000 concubines contrary to his king who had three kingdoms and only one wife".\textsuperscript{56} This fact can also be seen in miniature paintings, where king was depicted in a harem
surrounded by a number of concubines or courtesans. He also mentioned about climatic conditions and social set-up of the kingdom.

According to Schoerer the Dutch traveler, Manucci the Italian traveler, Tavernier, Thevenot and Bernier, French travelers the revenue of the kingdom was in crore rupees, which also indicates that the wealth provided necessary incitement for the Sultans who could afford the patronization of the culture known for its extravagance and efflorescence, mainly for the advancement of the art of miniature paintings which were executed lavishly representing grandeur of the royal courts.

Tavernier who visited Hyderabad in 1648 AD and in 1652 AD and Thevenot who visited in 1665-66 mentioned about the economic history and environmental entity of the period. For instance Tavernier who visited the mines of Golconda recorded about the famous Kohinoor diamond and other famous diamonds which resulted in economic prosperity. This abundance of wealth can be perceived in contemporary miniatures in the lavish use of golden arabesque, dress, ornaments and decoration of furniture and utensils. Thevenot describes the city of Hyderabad at great length. In particular he gave an account of extensive gardens with fruit trees, palms, Areca-trees, flowers, water works, etc. Here it should be noted that exact representation of garden scenes was very important characteristic of Deccani painting.

Francis Bernier, a French Physician who came to Golconda at the time of its conquest by Aurangazeb mentioned about transformational situations in quality and gave interesting details like why Golconda was allowed to preserve its independence. He found Hyderabad to be one of the most beautiful cities in the east. He moved freely with unlimited access. This freedom of moment combined with his power of observation added to his narratives.

Count Modave, another French traveler who visited between AD 1757 and 1777 has given vivid account of the city, its people, pomp, pageantry and extravaganza of Hyderabad during 18th century. Manucci gives a picture of court life of last Golconda monarch, with illustrations containing portraits of all the Qutb Shahi rulers from Sultan Quli Qutb Shah to Abul Hassan, which are very useful in relation with art history of depicting royal scenes.
Regarding secondary sources, the important works, which are in tune with the present thesis, have been analyzed in two strands for historiographical scrutiny.

- First strand deals with works on political, economic and social history of Golconda and Hyderabad.
- Second strand highlights those works exclusively on art history of Golconda and Hyderabad.

The analytical work of H.K. Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty*, discusses various aspects related to Golconda like the foundation of the kingdom, a period of uncertainty, kingdom at its height, cultural uplift, the downward trend and the end of an era highlighting royalty's power, military campaigns, diplomacy, administrative set-up, economic trends, social structure, literature, painting and architecture. The author analyzed how the scions of the dynasty formed a connection link between the Bahamanis and the Asaf Jahi's and were promoters of peculiar Dakhni culture.

The period saw a complete understanding between the two great sections of the population namely Hindu and Muslim. These included migrants from the north as well as those from over the seas, mainly from Iran and central Asia the home of the Qutb Shahi progenitor. In economic sphere, various aspects like European factories, articles of trade, price levels, coinage, industries, products, manufactures, agricultural produce, taxes, roads, etc are discussed in detail, which proves that in the early 17th century the Qutb Shahi dominions were not nearly self-sufficient but were able to export surplus products. This indicates wealth of kingdom that was spent extravagantly by royalty, which in turn led to cultural and artistic development of Golconda.

H.K. Sherwani’s another work, *Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah-Founder of Hyderabad*, also deals with several aspects of Golconda kingdom and in particular provides informative facts regarding poetry and women and the connection between two, which was also a theme for Deccani miniaturists. For instance the author mentions about the *Kulliyat* of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah containing natural scenery, scenes of bazaar, description of palaces, rulers, religious propensities, armors, transparency of the dress of mistresses, their baths and physiognomy. It gives
a list of 17 of royal mistresses by real or pet names, each of whom has odes ranging from 1-5 composed by the Sultan. This *Kulliyat* got represented in miniature paintings of Golconda. The author highlights the fact that ever since its inception the Qutb Shahi kingdom of Golconda passed through critical periods of stress and storm.

The struggle for survival continued unabated but despite this the Qutb Shahi rulers found time to make decisive contributions in every sphere of human activity. In particular Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah contributed much to the tradition inherited from his ancestors and founded the great city of Hyderabad, which excelled in planning and beauty and exuberance of the most flourishing cities of the Deccan. He highlights on the fact that so-called provincial dynasties like Golconda were the promoters of various facts of culture, which went to fan the composite culture of India.

Raza Ali khan's Hyderabad 400 years(1591-1991), deals with the reign of the Qutb Shahis in the first part and then looks at the Asaf Jahis better known as Nizams and their reign of the Deccan from 1724-1948 AD in the second part. It offers a study of history in the framework of a royal life style and the accompanying regalia. The author analyses how the Qutb Shahi kings who were rulers between 1518-1687 AD were great builders, lovers of architecture, patrons of learning and promoters of economic prosperity and social solidarity.

Eight rulers of royal line have left a firm impression of their strong personalities upon the land and its people. Economic history inherited a rich legacy, with prosperous kingdom and densely populated capital of Golconda that became famous for its diamond, steel, printed cloth and commercial activity. The well-rounded personality of rulers made social life pleasant with public buildings, palaces and gardens. The author also gave an account of transformation and a temporary set back of Hyderabad, mainly the invasion by the Mughals and the capture of Golconda in 1687 AD. In later years the emperor Muhammad Shah (the 7th successor of Aurangzeb) issued a farman conferring on the Nizam-ul-Mulk the title of Asaf Jah and the Subedari of six provinces of the Deccan.

Another important work of Sai Prasad Alahari, The story of a great city is English translation of 'Nalugu Satabdala Nagaram' of Vedagiri Rambabu. It discusses in detail the foundation, progress and fall of the kingdom. The author remarks that most
of the rulers are perceptive and realized to endear themselves to Hindu subjects who were in majority. This resulted in the political stability at large though few frequent wars and palace intrigues occurred. The book also gives lot of information about women of royal family. The rulers in particular administered the kingdom in a federal system with central and provincial authorities keeping welfare of the people as primary objective. Economic aspects like grants, jagirs, traders, artisans, technicians, foreign trading companies are also discussed in detail. The rulers were also reputed patrons of arts like music, dance and paintings in particular, which resulted in artistic enhancement.

Omar Khalidi in his Haydarabad State under the Nizam (1724-1948) - A bibliography of monographic and periodical literature attempts to present a complete data of historical sources for the history of Hyderabad. He remarks that despite the large size, population and economic resources of the erstwhile state of Hyderabad, there have been few serious studies devoted to any aspect of the region. Two reasons account for this neglect. One is the Indian bias of most historians of India regardless of new ideological orientations. The other is the negative image of the former princely state held by politicians, scholars and administrators.

Historically most of such states were held in contempt by the Indian nationalists, communalists, communists and even the British colonial administrators. The communalists and the traditionalists view the reign of the Nizams as an extension of the medieval Muslim rule, which allegedly oppressed the Hindu population, destroying temples, facing religious conversions, excluding the majority from political participation, so on and so forth.

The historic work of Narendra Luther, Hyderabad-memories of a city is a first of its kind on the subject Hyderabad city written with rare empathy and objectivity. It tries to bring out the sprint of the Deccan, with high information and indeed fascinating and eminently reliable data. It combines the sweep of popular history with rigor, passion and persuasiveness. The author tried to revive some of the faded dreams of old Hyderabad and stirred memories of a bygone era. It unfolds the drama of men involved in struggles that steadfastly clung to the cosmopolitan culture in India and strove to bring about social change. In totality it contains information on variety of themes like history, culture, administration, architecture, town planning,
foreigners, role of press, library movements and economic development and also provide greater insights into the life and developments of the region.

Another interesting work of Narendra Luther, Prince, Poet, Lover, and Builder, analyses the historical personality of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, the founder of Hyderabad as a ruler and patron of arts. He highlights the fact that though a geographical entity, politically India was never one country. It was divided into numerous Kingdoms, principalities and estates in a feudal system of hierarchies, where emperors, kings and chieftains kept on fighting with different groupings, sometimes gaining and sometimes losing. He gave an account of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's multifaceted personally as a prince, poet, lover and a build the ruler founded the city of Hyderabad and built its architectural centerpiece, the Charminar. His love for Bhagmathi, a commoner was so strong that he first named the city as Bhagnagar after her. The author inquires into the reasons for the abiding popularly of the gifted and versatile monarch.

Regarding the long line of kings and potentates particularly from 1518-1948, author says Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah stands out as a multi-faceted personality who in an age of cruelty and bigotry exhibited a surprising degree of tolerance and liberalism and touched responsive charts in the hearts of his people. Hence the name and memory of Muhammad endures and exits doubtless with justification. The extensive evaluation of Muhammad poetry in this book is of great use for the present study as many narratives and description of women are engulfed in them.

K.S.S. Sehan's, Hyderabad 400-saga of a city contains papers on a number of themes that highlight various aspect of Hyderabad during its long history of 400 years. The significant aspects like administration, culture, society and economy are vividly portrayed on their manifest details. The architectural grandeur of the residents, the services of rulers, cultural synthesis are discussed in detail. The author encapsulated the history of 400 years of the city of Hyderabad mainly designed to highlight more people, places, palaces and events which have played an important role in the shaping of the history of Bhagyanagar.

Sheela Raj's 'The Legacy of the Nizams' main aim is to highlight the theme of Hindu-Muslim unity, which existed in the Hyderabad state for centuries and to acquaint the present generation with the secular ideas of the Nizam's rule that gave
equal opportunities to every religion, caste and community to live in peace and harmony. The stress factor here is that Hindu rulers gave equal importance to Muslims while in power and similarly Muslim rulers mainly Nizams in power too gave equal importance to Hindus and Non-Muslims. There was complete harmony among the citizens in all walks of life who shared a common culture, customs, traditions and rituals. The study is neither a historical assessment of the Asaf Jahi dynasty nor of Nizam's political alignments, but steers clear of controversial issues without passing value judgements in Nizam's policies and style of governance.

K.S.Mathew in his work 'Masulipatam and Maritime trade of India' during the 17th century, gave an account of significant changes on economy that had impact on the history of Golconda. He mentions about western European powers that had factorial contacts with Deccani kingdoms. A study of political set-up, authority, degree of allegiance and nature of obligations of these kingdoms would be of great value in understanding their ideologies and patterns.

The work of J.D.B.Gribble, history of Deccan, talks of economic and diplomatic relations of Golconda. The author mentions that Qutb Shahi possessed such a geographical area that had lot of opportunities available for the growth of trade and industry mainly handicraft production. The rulers had diplomatic contacts with neighboring rulers and foreign countries in west Asia and Europe. This inturn led to the participation of Europeans and many new trading centers came into existence. This interest in commercial transactions brought revenue to the Qutb Shahi kingdom and resulted in overall prosperity that got reflected in various spheres.

Another interesting work is of P.V.Kate, Marathwada under the Nizams(1724-1948), states that, the Nizam rule of southern Deccan was the culmination of the dynastic rule, it's pomp and pageantry spread over a period of about 200 years. This book throws new light on the administrative pattern of Nizam's rule and attempts to trace out the political activities and socio-economic conditions. He also mentioned about the patronage given by Nizams to various fields of art, structure of the society, Nizam's religious policy and the general characteristics of the masses, which is a rare feature in many works.

Yusuf Husain's, The First Nizam (The Life and Times of Nizamul-Mulk Asaf Jah I)/ gives a critical study of Nizamul-Mulk, based on contemporary histories and
records. He has attempted to present event as viewed in relation to the dynamic and outstanding personality of Nizam, the founder of Asaf-Jahi dynasty. In the midst of strife, resulting from the action of disintegrating forces in the Mughal Empire, Nizam succeeded in effectively restoring the Imperial authority in the Deccan. His influence has proved deep and lasting. The book gives an estimate of the career of the ablest and the most clear-sighted general and statesman of the early 18th Century in India and also to sketch the history of the conditions under which he succeeded in restoring the Mughal predominance in the Deccan.77

The Asaf Jahs of Hyderabad (Their rise and decline) by Rajendra prasad endeavors to capture the historical forces and political realities of the time, the vaulting ambitions and continuing frustration, the complex interaction of varied interests, the high drama and occasional force and the struggles and disorder in Hyderabad.78

The Days of the Beloved of Harriet Ranken Lynton and Mohini Rajan is neither traditional history nor traditional biography, but is a book about people. It attempts to recreate the atmosphere of the days of Mahbub Ali Pasha, whose reign spanned the turn of the century, by depicting the lines and manners of a cross section of the people of Hyderabad. The book also gives instances of crossing of communal lines by royalty. Present friction, exemplifies how Hyderabadis achieved through deliberate cultivation a remarkable degree of communal harmony among different races and religions. It gives an interesting account of how the Asaf Jahi tradition had never demanded that heirs to the Musnud (throne) necessary be neither sons of royal wives, nor indeed that they even be legitimate. In consequence a legal friction had grown up which implied legitimacy to all children of the Nizam, whatever the status of the mother. Generally Nizams wives and concubines ranged from singing girls upward and included Muslims, Hindus, and even Anglo-Indians. These ladies were gently referred to as palace ladies. Generally speaking the Nizam got any woman he fancied.79

K. Chandraiah, Hyderabad 400 Glorious years, gives an interesting account of Hyderabad history under Qutb Shahis and Asaf Jahis. He remakes that the city of Hyderabad continues to shine like the Kohinoor diamond, undiminished insights, beauty and glory. It was a city known for its lofty palaces, lovely gardens and it rich
culture. The history of Hyderabad has the cultural integration of different ethnic groups, which can be gauged by the gaiety with which the festivals of all communities are celebrated. It is a history of its glorious past 400 years throbbing with life and leading the way to an equally glorious future.80

Some Aspects of Hyderabad, by the Information Bureau, of H.E.H, the Nizam's Government, contains articles by Dr. Syed Husain, Prof. H.K. Sherwani, G.Yazdani, Hanumanth Rao, Yusuf Husain Khan, Ishwar Wath Topa and Siddiqi A.M. on geographical features and a historical sketch of the medieval Deccan.81

The illustrious Maha Manthri Maadanna by Komagagiri Venkata Bhoopala Rao, presents a forgotten chapter of the Qutb Shahi regine in which Maadanna served king with ability, sagacity, and loyalty as prime minister. By using Telugu sources like folklore, poetry in addition to usual Persian, English and Urdu sources, the author tried to bring out various aspects of Polity and society of Golconda. He also mentioned about the controversy issue of Bhagmathi and her historicity.82

Sha Rocca, Golconda and the Qutb Shahis, gives an historical account of Golconda, which dates from the centuries of warfare. It is one of the many hill fortresses in India that sprang up to shelter wives, treasures and faithful followers of various potentates.83 They mainly ruled over the Telangana, the country where Telugu is spoken, extending down from Ganjam in the north to pulicat in the South and from the East coast to Kurnool in the West. Sultan is not a royal title and the personal name was Sultan Quli, which signifies, servant of the king as QuliJ Turki words meant servant of or slave.

Thus, these works on political-economic, socio-cultural conditions of Golconda and Hyderabad deals with fortunate and exalted royal dignitaries, political vicissitudes, trends in administration, annals of economic progress, status and prosperity, inter-relationship of social groups and cultural twists. We find that there is a lacuana in works, which focus on women. Hence there is a need to look for the women in this period.

In the present study a synthesis of these sources with the analytical study of paintings has been made in particular to derive systematic conclusions and
derivations regarding women and to ensure promising lines of analysis to portray real character and ethos of these kingdoms at large.

In such an endeavor, an attempt is made by us to present in detail the legacy left by the patrons picturing strong self-supporting kingdoms, sense of royalty and dignity, self-reliant economy, aesthetic and moral resurgence in fields of art and in totality composite Deccani and Hyderabadi cultures that prevailed in 17th and 18th centuries of medieval capitals of Golconda and Hyderabad.

In the second strand of historiography the most significant works dealing with miniature paintings and art history of medieval Deccan are analyzed in detail, which boosted the present concept and gave unique shape and form to present thesis.

The historic work of Jagdish Mittal, Paintings of the Hyderabad School tries to investigate into the proper historical implications of the paintings of Hyderabad School. The author remarks that the work of Hyderabad artists was mainly produced in 18th century and painting at Hyderabad started with the foundation of Asaf Jahi dynasty by Mir Qamruddin Khan Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1724 A.D. This phase of painting gained momentum due to various factors other then the interest in painting of Asaf Jah-I (1724-1748) like migration of artists to Deccan during Aurangzeb's prolonged stay in this region, etc.

In Survey of Painting in the Deccan, Stella Kramrisch stated that painting under the patronage of the Deccani dynasty like Golconda was not deflected from its cores by the order or tastes of any of the rulers, but Turkish and Persian elements entered largely into Deccani painting following political events which gave impetus to them. In his view the inter penetration or the several traditions and Schools and their concurrence at the Deccani courts stimulated Deccani painting, which later made felt its presence outside the Deccan also. He gives a catalogue of paintings from Golconda and Hyderabad which possessed certain peculiar characteristics like width and monumental quality in spacing the picture and use of colors like light yellowish green ground and reds of sun shade.

At the end of 18th century Mughal conventions seized to exert and released new trends, which had been at work. For instance westernizms incorporated during preceding centuries were reinforced by contemporary consignments. In overall
analysis the author appraises the miniatures of Deccan as one of the essential classical Indian paintings which tied up the long duration of Indian past.

An excellent and important work in the field of miniature world of paintings is that of Mark Zebrowski's, Deccani painting. The author outlook on the development of the art of the Deccan Sultanates particularly of Golconda is certainly a great achievement. It deals with many important Deccani paintings at a time, when there is lot of debate on matters of details pertaining to dates and prominence of Deccani paintings. It tries to give answers to the differences of opinion between scholars and at the same time brought to notice new material pertaining to medieval Deccan.

The author remarks that Golconda kingdom patronized outstanding miniature paintings. But because of strong cultural links with the Middle East, especially with Safavid Iran, Deccani painting has long been confused with Persian, Turkish and Mughal court art. However the art of the Deccan achieved its own unique character due to indigenous influences. He deals in chronological order of various paintings executed on Golconda kingdom and brings to light their features, colors and characteristics. Here Hyderabad remained as the center of the paintings depicting variety of themes of royalty, nobility and femininity. The main purpose of this book, aside from giving a glimpse of the artistic height reached by a major culture also to encourage others to rescue the many unforgotten chapters of Indian art from oblivion and to throw light on new material.

On other hand M.S. Randhawa in his Indian miniature painting remarked that painting at Hyderabad Deccan is strongly influenced by the Mughal style. In fact some of the miniatures are hardly distinguishable from Mughal paintings among different themes Ragamala paintings were painted popularly under the patronage of Asaf Jahi rulers, which had background of stylized vegetation, palms and plantains of Deccan. He analyses the works of each School or center where various trends in art gained prominence. The miniatures in his view often provide true records of the social and cultural life of the time. The book also traces the development of miniatures of various Schools. He remarked that at Golconda, the mining of diamonds and trade with Persia brought prosperity to the kingdom.

Mathur. N.L's, Indian miniatures, simplify the story of art extending over centuries. The art styles and their distinguishing features evolved in various Deccani
regions in particular Golconda are explained in a concise form in their historical and cultural background. He remarked that "A distinctive style of painting with local variations developed in the Sultanate courts in the Deccan and tried to point out the chief features of the masterpieces of miniature paintings and their significance. Deccani painting reached its high water mark during 17th century and retained perfection during the 18th century. Regarding paintings of women, author finds the influence of the Lepakshi mural paintings of the female types.

Another interesting work of Basil Gray, Treasures of Indian miniatures, gives an introduction and notes on the aesthetic side of the most exciting discovery of Ragamala series which has enlarged our knowledge of Deccani School. These paintings had the harmonious colour and Persian and south Indian elements like deep cool blues, contrasting with a wide range of strong reds, with a forceful line and delicate drawing. Ragamala paintings attained uniqueness and importance among corpus of miniatures in medieval Deccan.

C. Sivaramamurti, in his Indian painting, has attempted to narrate in a simple manner the story of Indian painting from the earliest times to the present day with a special section on Deccan and Allied Schools 17th - 19th centuries AD. It gives solvent features of various Schools and includes discussions of the personality of the painter, his life and thought, canons of art criticism, the variety of art galleries, the mode of painting, etc. Here the way idea of chitra or painting which interests and stimulates the mind is an effective expression of the emotion arising out of the reaction to the sight of something arresting in beauty of form of color.

Mildred and W.G.Archer Indian painting for the British (1770-1880) Oxford university press, Oxford, 1955. tries to reveal some hither to neglected styles of painting and the nature of the British impact on it. Regarding Southern India, he remarked as early as 1686 AD When the Italian adventurer Nicolao Manucci left Golconda, the local artists were already painting subjects with a European bias. Manucci secured a set of pictures illustrating native rulers as well as many of the Deccan notables and included in the set, which were typical of Indian - British art - forms. Such a set is typical of 18th Century Deccani painting in its Hyderabad form. It mirrored British tastes and in style it conveyed the British and Indian techniques. Such sets of painting removed as standard articles of trade.
Douglas Barrett in paintings of the Deccan from XVIth-XVIIth century highlights the salient points of Deccani paintings. Several color plates signifying the artistic work of Deccan kingdoms are brought to light in his work. He remarked that the painting of the Islamic kingdoms of the Deccan like the atmosphere of their courts was of a different order. Frivolous in war, they were indolent in peace, leaving the conduct of affairs to a stream of ministers and favorites chosen as much for charm as efficiency. They occupied their leisure hours with the arts, with women and attractive cup-bearers.94

Another important work on art is Mario Bussagli’s Indian miniatures, where author pointed out that pictorial art ranks as one of the India's foremost arts with literature, theatre and music. He remarked Golconda as the great center of the Indian market.95 The prosperity resulted in multifaceted development of Hyderabad in different spheres of activity.

Francis Brunei in his Splendor of Indian miniatures, dealt with variety of paintings that depicted life-styles of rulers, ambassadors, commoners and other noted figures that were charged with energy with vigorous gesturing and pose retaining somber Deccani glow. He remarked that each miniature is an expression of the soul and its sensitivity.96

Bedekar.B.H and Goswami.B.N in Stylistic approach to Indian miniatures, gives an account of stylistic development of miniature paintings in the kingdom of Golconda and Hyderabad highlighting different types executed, characteristics contained, differences blurred and influences effected. While he remarked that Golconda painting reached high water mark under Abdullah Qutb Shah, Hyderabad style gets differentiated after the foundation of Asaf Jahi Dynasty.97 Here the word stilus or stylus was the writing instrument of Romans. The style is connected with the power of expression that is always connected with the skill.98

Indian Miniatures of Toby Falk and Mildred Archer has an extensive collection of miniatures from the 16th to 19th centuries. Many of thee were purchased by the East India company for its library in 1807 AD from Nawab Richard Johnson, who served in India from 1770 to 1790AD. For a time he resided at Hyderabad, where he commissioned his own artists to paint subjects which interested him, especially the Ragamala sets based on a variety of musical systems.99
W.G Archer's Indian miniatures, points out that many kinds of miniature prevailed until the 19th century. The roles of patron and artists have fluctuated at different periods. Though the tradition was most popular at Muslim courts, Hindu strands are also noticed. Klaus Ebeling's Ragamala paintings provides descriptive notes of various regional Schools illustrating Ragamala paintings, which give a visible form to a sound form and combine the elements of music, poetry and painting.

Mulk Raj Anand, Album of Indian Miniatures, National Book trust, New Delhi 1973, traced to show the continuity of the tradition of painting over two thousand years with different styles by presenting link between one period and another. He remarked that at Golconda, Sultans were prolific patrons of art. Douglas Barret and Basil Gray in Treasures of Asia, Painting of India, also gave an account of Golconda School. They divided painting into two phases of artistic tradition, as classical represented, by mural paintings and Post classical dominated by miniatures and defined it as post script to classical art.

Thus from these systematic and verifiable works, it is evident that the study of art of miniature paintings was undertaken both by Indian and European Scholars who covering main areas of Deccan history tried to demystify complex issues and methodologies. They attempted at history of miniature paintings of medieval Deccan understanding their origin, development and identifying different varieties.

But despite this immense contribution to historical knowledge one can mark that if we take up the issue of women and their depiction in history of medieval Deccan, what we find is that the perspectives envisaged in these works are not broad-based. This precludes clarity of perspective in so far as women's role in medieval Deccan is concerned. There is still a need to explore the lives of women in meticulously researched areas with variety of source materials to know the embodiment forces of women in historical framework and to develop new interpretative possible within established feminist analytical frames.

Hence the necessity to emphasize and initiate a new thrust in this direction, in the present thesis, an attempt has been made to scrutinize new sources of painting for further exploration to keep in constant touch with experience and facts in medieval past, highlighting the expression and actions of patrons, events and incidents of medieval Deccan and in spectrum the life and feelings of women. An attempt has
been made to observe all the miniatures evolved gradually by a process of accumulation, juxtaposing old and new in a manner perhaps reflecting the tempo of royal life and contemporary lives of commoners and especially the intellectual and emotional accomplishments of women. A reflexive methodology is initiated in this regard to show how patronage, culture and ideology permeated this artistic activity and how art struggles for whatever autonomy is possible and how it is the expression of variety of historical events and personalities.

In such an endeavor, a fluid combination of empirical data, assimilation of materials, useful strategies, sensitizing concepts, synthesizing accounts and research setting tandem with major secondary and primary intellectual sources have been analyzed to have complete epistemological, geographical, chronological and theme-wise strategic framework. Apart from this the usage of Internet data has also been examined to search out existing knowledge on medieval Deccan art history in order to analyze arguments, ideas and perspectives and to have interesting insights of myriad issue of women both at conceptual and methodological levels. Such an approach also helps in understanding miniatures in relation to women in proper frame work and to explore the representation and portrayal of women of Golconda and Hyderabad with integrated and enlarged approach and hence present work derives the justification for itself from this perspective.
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5 Anonymous author, *Tarikh-e-Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah*, MS NO, 361, 1612 AD, folios 312, It is in the collection Salarjung Museum. (Persian).


7 Abul Qasim, *Tarikh-e-Nizami*, MS NO, 381, pp 1-75. It is in the collection Salarjung Museum. (Persian).

8 Lachmi Narayan), *Maasir-e- Asifi*, MS NO, s, 383, 384, folios 387. It is in the collection Salarjung Museum. (Persian).


10 Abul Qasim’s, *Hadiqatul Alam*, MS NO, 391, 1813, folios 153. It is in the collection Salarjung Museum. (Persian).


15 Nuruddin iamb Yusuf zulaikha, MS, NO, 1053, folios, 45b, 87a, 1582-1590AD. It is in the collection of Salarjung Museum. (Persian).

16 Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, Diwan-e-Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, MS, NO, 2519, folios, 92a, 96b, 4a, 23b, 11a, 52a, 22b, 26b. It is in the collection of Salarjung Museum. (Persian).

17 Ali Bisutun JCulliat of Sadi, MS, NO, 752, folio 261b, 203b, It is in the collection Salarjung Museum. (Persian).

18 Tatar Khan Bihariji, Bahar Danish, MS, NO, 689 1712 AD and 691, 1789 AD, 58 paintings. It is in the collection of Salarjung Museum. (Persian).


23 P.V. Kate, Marathwada under the Nizam (1724-1948) Mittal publications, Delhi, 1987, p.143.


Ramaraju, *Mohurram Folk songs in Telugu*, pp 1-4, the stories connected with Muharram, The month of the martyrdom of the Prophet's grand son Imam Hussain, became a part of the Hindu folk-lore and were rendered into Telugu verse. Different kinds of the Telugu songs connected with the Muharram festival such as Jangnama, Panitan-i-pak and Marthiyas, meaning respectively the story connected with the war, The five sacred personalities and the Dirges. These songs are no doubt are the results of the mutual understanding between the two great sections of the populations which reach its apex during the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah and Abul Hassan Qutb Shah.(Telugu).


E.Vasumati, *Telugu literature in Qutb Shahi period*, p.264. The songs mentioned about the story of the payment of money to Abul Hassan TanaShah while he was asleep and mentions about the ministers Madanna and Akkanna. The portraits of these ministers are even found in miniatures. (Telugu).

31 Chanchiah and Bhujang Rao, *History of Telugu literature* p.84. (Telugu).

32 H.K.Sherwani, *History of Qutb Shahi dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal publishers Pvt. ltd. New Delhi, 1974 Pp 181-182 where the author remarks that Ibrahim even invited and requested foreign chieftains to bring their court poets with them some prominent among them were Pommasani Chinna Timma Nayadu, Malla Reddy and others to whom Ibrahim gave pensions and jagirs.

33 B.V.Krishna Rao, *Telugu literature under the Qutb Shahi's*, Triveni, April-June, 1942, p.132. (Telugu).

34 Kandukuri Rudrakavi, *Nirankusu Pakyanamu*, p.28.(Telugu).

35 Sarangu Tammayya, *Vipranarayana Charita*, p. 18 (Telugu).


37 Ponniganti Teaganarya,*Yayati Charitam* p.34 (Telugu).


41 Col.Mackenzie, *Kaifiyats*, pp- Kaifiyats means village accounts or records kept by village karnam or revenue officer. These are admixtures of legend and history it was Col.Mackenzie who spied the value of these village kaivalis, collected them and prepared several copies. (Telugu).


43 Sheela Raj, *The legacy of the Nizams*(Translated and compiled from source material, vani prakashan, New Delhi, 2002, p. 179.


52 *Ibid* p.610.


58 *Ibid*, 331-346, under the title *A true history of Golconda*.

59 Sen S.N, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, Delhi, 1949.,p.123


69 *Ibid*

70 Narendra Luther, *Hyderab-B-Memories of a City*. (Preface).


   Sheela Raj, *The Legacy of the Nizams* (Translated and compiled from source material, vani prakashan, New Delhi, 2002, p.179.


76 P.V.Kate, *Marathwada under the Nizam(1724-1948)* Mittal publications, Delhi, 1987, p.137.


83 Sha Rocca, *Golconda and the Qutb Shahis*, printed and published at the civil and military gazette press, Lahore 1920, p.4


87 Ibid


90 Ibid.


96 Francis Brunei, *Splendor of Indian Miniatures*, Editions Delroisse, France, pp.4-12.


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